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Research on the Demographic Changes Around San Antonio's St. Paul Square from 1880 to 1920

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Research on the Demographic Changes Around St. Paul Square from 1880 to 192	20
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HIST-4301	
March 12, 2020	

We often hear of the massive boom in population experienced by various Northern cities during the Great Migration (1916-1960), where over 6 million African Americans would migrate across the country in search for better opportunities. What we do not often hear is how such migration affected the larger Southern cities. Such a seemingly important and relevant question deserves to be covered extensively. San Antonio, while a large city (and once the largest in Texas), has been left unexplored on this question, while other Texas cities like Houston are receiving some coverage on this topic.^[1] I want to begin answering this question by utilizing a collection of evidence to provide an informative report on the changing demographics of San Antonio's "St. Paul Square district" from 1880-1920.^[2] This report will ultimately demonstrate that San Antonio's St. Paul Square district, much like some districts in Houston, was a hotspot for African American migration due to the various opportunities it provided.

Although the African American past in the South during 1880-1920 is nowhere near fully covered, other historians have shed some light on this forgotten African American past.

Nonetheless, the African American demographics inside the city of San Antonio during this time remain completely untouched. In order to examine the inner fabrics of this African American past, we also need to know who lived here from 1880-1920, and the Cultural Landscape that surrounded them. The period from 1880 to 1920 is largely uncharted territory by historians in regards to African American San Antonio demographics. This is unfortunate because this period is so important for early African American San Antonian history since it ends with the dawn of the Great Migration (1910s to 1960). The Great Migration was a period of opportunity for African Americans (mostly younger ones), to look beyond the same agricultural lands their

¹ Pruitt, Bernadette. The Other Great Migration the Movement of Rural African Americans to Houston, 1900-1941. Texas A&M University Press, 2013.

² The term "St. Paul Square" is not an official term used from 1880-1920.

ancestors settled, to the big cities for better higher paying jobs. As Nicholas Lemann wrote in his book *The Promised Land: The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America*, millions of African Americans migrated either to the North or to the West in the early 1900s in search of these better jobs. Lemann states that African Americans were looking to escape racial tensions and reach a level of economic freedom, which brought them to urbanized cities all across the country. However, what many sources also leave out is how not all African Americans moved to the North or West to find a better life. Some actually stayed in the South, maybe not even leaving the same state. Bernadette Pruitt the author of *The Other Great Migration: the Movement of Rural African Americans to Houston, 1900-1941*, points out that Houston became a hotspot for African Americans living in the South during the Great Migration. Pruitt explains in her book that contrary to common interpretations of the Great Migration as a mostly Northern event, Houston, like other Southern cities, had many cases of population booms for the African American community. Houston, just like San Antonio, was one of the largest cities in Texas during this period, and experienced a massive change in African American demographics.

However, it left me wondering what San Antonio, and most specifically, the District of St. Paul Square, was like during this time and if it shared a similar fate. I wanted to see what changes happened in the African American community in San Antonio, but focus specifically on the area in and surrounding what we know today as the St. Paul Square District. My research relied almost exclusively on the 1880 and 1920 federal census records for San Antonio, paired with an 1896 digital Sanborn map of the city.^[5] The census records provided me with very useful

³ Lemann, Nicholas. *The Promised Land : The Great Black Migration and How It Changed America*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 1992.

⁴ Pruitt, Bernadette. The Other Great Migration the Movement of Rural African Americans to Houston, 1900-1941. Texas A&M University Press, 2013.

⁵ Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867-1970. San Antonio: Environmental Data Resources, 1896.

information about the African American community in the designated area in 1880 and 1920, such as their various occupations, places of birth, marital status, female to male ratio, population size, and age. The map I used enabled me to draw out what would become my own boundaries that included modern day St. Paul Square.

The area that I designated includes everything in between La Fitte and Santa Clara to the South, East Crockett Street to the north, North Walnut to the east, and Bonham and Nacogdoches to the west.



(The highlighted portion of the map illustrates the designated area for this research, the area is slightly larger than the modern day St. Paul Square district).^[6]

The area also includes large portions of Crockett street, North Walnut street, and North Center Street. It is important to keep in mind that the numbers I will cover only account for the Area I designated, and in no way reflect the conditions of all African Americans in San Antonio. My

⁶ Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867-1970. San Antonio: Environmental Data Resources, 1896.

research is meant to focus on the demographics of an area surrounding St. Paul Square nothing more.

Before I can begin to cover the demographics of 1880 and 1920, I felt it imperative that I first briefly cover how San Antonio actually played a considerable role in the institution of slavery. [7] San Antonios involvement in slavery from 1850 to 1860, still pales in comparison to Galveston, Austin, and Houston, who had many more slaves then San Antonio did by 1860. Nonetheless, San Antonio was still one of the larger (not largest) slave holding cities in the Nation, surpassing Kansas City in Missouri, Covington in Kentucky, and Fort Smith in Arkansas (along with others), in total slaves by 1860. [8] According to the U.S. Federal Slave Schedules for 1850, there were 220 African American slaves with 16 free African Americans in San Antonio. However, in 1860 before the Civil War, the slave population skyrocketed with over 592 African American slaves and not a single freedman. This means that 6.77% of the San Antonio population in 1850 was African American. In 1860 African Americans would make up 7.19% of San Antonio's population.^[9] This was a significant percentage of African Americans in San Antonio for the time. This African American population in San Antonio would increase to 14.8% by 1880, which is still the second highest African American population percentage for San Antonio ever recorded.[10]

⁷ Campbell, Gibson. "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 to 1990." Census.gov. U.S. Census Bureau, Working Paper No. 27,1998. https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.html

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

1990 (-, -)	128 713	100.0	113 879	88.5	5 325	4.1	441	0.3	5 158	4.0	3 910	3.0	8 019	6.2	109 947	85.4
Sample	128 679	100.0	113 976	88.6	5 207	4.0	421	0.3	5 180	4.0	3 895	3.0	7 804	6.1	110 333	85.7
1980 (-, -)	72 331	100.0	67 864	93.8	2 383	3.3	197	0.3	844	1.2	1 043	1.4	2 524	3.5	66 220	91.6
Sample	72 329	100.0	67 921	93.9	2 398	3.3	167	0.2	934	1.3	909	1.3	2 495	3.4	66 258	91.6
1970 (-, -)	17 872	100.0	16 897	94.5	879	4.9	27	0.2	24	0.1	45	0.3	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
15% sample	17 872	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	410	2.3	(NA)	(NA)
5% sample	(NA)	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	736	4.1	(NA)	(NA)
3 /6 Sample							(1424)	(14/4)	(1474)	(1404)	(1474)	(14/4)				
1960 (-, -)	3 695	100.0	2 815	76.2	880	23.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950	2 126	100.0	1 495	70.3	631	29.7	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1940	1 582	100.0	1 045	66.1	537	33.9	-	-	-	-	(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1930	1 554	100.0	(NA)	(NA)	427	27.5	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
"Mexican" in Other race	1 554	100.0	1 117	71.9	427	27.5	(100)	(1474)		0.6	(74)	(70)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
Mickelli in Other race	1 334	100.0	1.111	71.0	721	27.5		-	10 0	1		_	(rec)	(Lacy)	(rect)	040)
San Antonio						- 1										
1990 (10, 3)	935 933	100.0	676 082	72.2	65 884	7.0	3 303	0.4	10 703	1.1	179 961	19.2	520 282	55.6	339 115	36.2
Sample	935 927	100.0	676 464	72.3	65 852	7.0	3 447	0.4	10 625	1.1	179 539	19.2	517 974	55.3	340 798	36.4
1980 (11, 3)	785 880	100.0	617 998	78.6	57 700	7.3	1 782	0.2	5 087	0.6	103 313	13.1	421 954	53.7	297 915	37.9
Sample	785 809	100.0	621 679	79.1	57 566	7.3	2 375	0.3	5 821	0.7	98 368	12.5	421 808	53.7	299 270	38.1
	654 153	100.0	597 723	91.4	50 041	7.6	739	0.1	1 661	0.3	3 989	0.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1970 (15, 3)							739	0.1			2 909	0.6				
15% sample	654 468	100.0	599 697	91.6	49 920	7.6				0.7			335 950	51.3	268 575	41.0
5% sample	653 928	100.0	598 762	91.6	50 486	7.7				0.7			293 601	44.9	311 755	47.7
1960 (17, 3)	587 718	100.0	544 497	92.6	41 605	7.1	179	-	1 327	0.2	110	-	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1950 (25, 3)	408 442	100.0	378 897	92.8	28 729	7.0	58		688	0.2	70		(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1010 (20, 3)										0.2		///				
1940 (36, 3)	253 854	100.0	234 022	92.2	19 235	7.6	40	-	557		(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1930 (38, 3)	231 542	100.0	213 110	92.0	17 978	7.8	53	-	401	0.2	(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
"Mexican" in Other race	231 542	100.0	130 737	56.5	17 978	7.8	53	-	401	0.2	82 373	35.6	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1920 (41, 1)	161 379	100.0	146 799	91.0	14 341	8.9	18	-	221	0.1	(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1910 (54, 1)	96 614	100.0	85 801	88.8	10 716	11.1	18		79	0.1	(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
							3	-1	58							
1900 (71, 1)	53 321	100.0	45 722	85.7	7 538	14.1				0.1	(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1890 (81, 2)	37 673	100.0	32 854	87.2	4 720	12.5	53	0.1	46	0.1	(X)	(X)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)
1880 (96, 2)	20 550	100.0	17 514	85.2	3 036	14.8	-	-	-				Black			
1870 (-, 2)	12 256	100.0	10 298	84.0	1 957	16.0	1			- 1	Total	8)	Free		Slav	ρ .
1860 (-, 1)	8 235	100.0	7 643	92.8	592	7.2	- 3			- 3	592	100.0	327		592	100.0
1850 (-, 2)	3 488	100.0	3 252	93.2	236	6.8	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	236	100.0	16	6.8	220	93.2
1650 (-, 2)	3 400	100.0	3 232	93.2	230	0.0	(14/4)	(14/4)	(1474)	((44)	230	100.0	10	0.0	220	93.2
Waco																
	103 590	100.0	70 031	67.6	23 972	00.4	291	0.3	955	0.9		8.1	16 934	40.0	61 862	50.7
1990 (-, -)						23.1					8 341					
														16.3		59.7
Sample	103 590	100.0	70 041	67.6	24 010	23.2	275	0.3	896	0.9	8 368	8.1	16 722	16.1	61 904	59.7
1980 (-, -)	103 590 101 261	100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897	67.6 72.0	24 010 22 042	23.2 21.8	275 184	0.3	896 371	0.9	8 368 5 767	8.1 5.7	16 722 11 240	16.1 11.1	61 904 67 393	59.8 66.6
1980 (-, -)	103 590 101 261 101 262	100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004	67.6 72.0 72.1	24 010 22 042 22 191	23.2 21.8 21.9	275 184 256	0.3 0.2 0.3	896 371 300	0.9 0.4 0.3	8 368 5 767 5 511	8.1 5.7 5.4	16 722 11 240 11 169	16.1 11.1 11.0	61 904 67 393 67 549	59.8 66.6 66.7
1980 (-, -) Sample	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9	275 184 256 61	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1	896 371 300 103	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1	8 368 5 767 5 511 284	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA)
1980 (-, -) Sample. 1970 (-, -) 15% sample.	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA)	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA)	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA)	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA)	275 184 256 61 (NA)	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA)	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA)
1980 (-, -) Sample	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9	275 184 256 61	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1	896 371 300 103	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1	8 368 5 767 5 511 284	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA)
1980 (-, -) Sample. 1970 (-, -) 15% sample. 5% sample.	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA)	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA)	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA)	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA)	275 184 256 61 (NA)	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA)	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA)
1980 (-, -) Sample	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 (NA)	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA)	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA) (NA)	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA)	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA)	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
1980 (-, -) Sample 1970 (-, -) 15% sample 5% sample 1960 (-, -) 1950 (-, -)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.2	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) 78 33	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
1980 (-, -) Sample	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.2 19.7	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) 78 33 12	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
1980 (-, -) Sample. 1970 (-, -) 15% sample. 5% sample. 1980 (-, -) 1980 (-, -) 1940 (-, -) 1930 (-, -)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982 52 848	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944 43 463	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3 82.2	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025 9 370	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.2 19.7	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) 78 33 12 7	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X) (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA) (NA)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
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1980 (-, -) Sample. 1970 (-, -) 15% sample. 5% sample. 1980 (-, -) 1980 (-, -) 1940 (-, -) 1930 (-, -)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982 52 848	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944 43 463	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3 82.2	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025 9 370	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.2 19.7	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) 78 33 12 7	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X) (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA) (NA)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
1980 (, -) Sample 1970 (, -) 15% sample 1970 (, -) 15% sample 1960 (, -) 1960 (, -) 19930 (, -) 1930 (, -) 1940 (, -) 1930 (, -) 1920 (, -)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982 52 848 52 848	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944 43 463 41 771	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3 82.2 79.0	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025 9 370 9 370	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.2 19.7 17.7	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7 1 8	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) 78 33 12 7	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X) (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA) (NA) (X) (X) 3.2 (X)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
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1980 (, -) Sample 1970 (, -) 15% sample 1960 (, -) 1960 (, -) 1960 (, -) 1960 (, -) 1970 (, -) 1970 (, -) 1970 (, -) 1970 (, -) 1970 (, -) 1970 (, -) 1970 (, -)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982 52 848 52 848 38 500 26 425 20 686	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944 43 463 41 771 30 762 20 333 14 839	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3 82.2 79.0 76.9 71.7	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025 9 370 9 370 7 726 6 067 5 826	23.2 21.8 21.9 19.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.2 19.7 17.7 17.7 20.1 23.0 28.2	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7 1 8	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) 78 33 12 7 7 7 12 17	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA) 0.1	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X) (X) 1 692 (X) (X) (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
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1980 (-) Sample 1970 (-) 15% sample 1970 (-) 15% sample 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1990 (-) 1990 (-) 1990 (-) 1910 (-) 1910 (-) 1910 (-)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982 52 848 52 848 52 848 38 500 26 425 20 686 14 445 7 295	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944 43 463 41 771 30 762 20 333 14 839 10 365 4 729	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3 82.2 79.0 79.9 76.9 71.8 64.8	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025 9 370 9 370 7 726 6 067 5 826 4 069 2 562	23.2 21.8 21.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.7 17.7 20.1 23.0 28.2 28.2 35.1	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7 1 8 8	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) 78 33 12 7 7 7 12 17	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA) 0.1	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA) (X) 3.2 (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
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1980 (-) Sample 1970 (-) 15% sample 1970 (-) 15% sample 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1990 (-) 1990 (-) 1990 (-) 1910 (-) 1910 (-) 1910 (-)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982 52 848 52 848 52 848 38 500 26 425 20 686 14 445 7 295	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944 43 463 41 771 30 762 20 333 14 839 10 365 4 729	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3 82.2 79.0 79.9 76.9 71.8 64.8	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025 9 370 9 370 7 726 6 067 5 826 4 069 2 562	23.2 21.8 21.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.7 17.7 20.1 23.0 28.2 28.2 35.1	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7 1 8 8	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) (NA) 78 33 12 7 7 7 12 17	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA) 0.1	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA) (X) 3.2 (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
1980 (-) Sample 1970 (-) 15% sample 1970 (-) 15% sample 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1980 (-) 1990 (-) 1990 (-) 1990 (-) 1910 (-) 1910 (-) 1910 (-)	103 590 101 261 101 262 95 326 95 326 95 326 (NA) 97 808 84 706 55 982 52 848 52 848 52 848 38 500 26 425 20 686 14 445 7 295	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	70 041 72 897 73 004 75 923 (NA) (NA) 79 714 70 094 44 944 43 463 41 771 30 762 20 333 14 839 10 365 4 729	67.6 72.0 72.1 79.6 (NA) (NA) 81.5 82.7 80.3 82.2 79.0 79.9 76.9 71.8 64.8	24 010 22 042 22 191 18 955 (NA) (NA) 17 986 14 571 11 025 9 370 9 370 7 726 6 067 5 826 4 069 2 562	23.2 21.8 21.9 (NA) (NA) 18.4 17.7 17.7 20.1 23.0 28.2 28.2 35.1	275 184 256 61 (NA) (NA) 16 7 1 8 8	0.3 0.2 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA)	896 371 300 103 (NA) (NA) (NA) 78 33 12 7 7 7 12 17	0.9 0.4 0.3 0.1 (NA) (NA) 0.1	8 368 5 767 5 511 284 (NA) (NA) 14 1 (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X)	8.1 5.7 5.4 0.3 (NA) (NA) (X) 3.2 (X) (X) (X) (X) (X) (X)	16 722 11 240 11 169 (NA) 7 413 7 274 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	16.1 11.1 11.0 (NA) 7.8 7.6 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	61 904 67 393 67 549 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)	59.8 66.6 66.7 (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA) (NA)
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⁻ Represents zero or rounds to 0.0 in data cells. In first column, represents greater than 100 for national rank and greater than 3 for state rank. (X) Not applicable. (NA) Not available. 1 Rank in population among urban places (2,500 or more population). Rank in state excludes unincorporated places. See text.

Internet Release Date: July 13, 2005

(*Gibson, Campbell. "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 to 1990." Census.gov. U.S. Census Bureau, Working Paper No. 27,1998.

https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.html).

The year of 1880 was a very tumultuous time for America, with the Civil War only ending 15 years earlier and the Compromise of 1877 effectively ending most freedoms enjoyed by many African Americans during Reconstruction. [11] Texas was no stranger to the infamous Jim Crow laws either, and would go on to pass 21 of them, some of which already took effect before the year of 1880. [12] Americans during this time were beginning the second industrial revolution, which would end with the First World War in 1914. The world was changing all around with the recent inventions of the phonograph, telephone, typewriter, electric street lighting, and the rapidly expanding urbanization that came with it. 1880 was a sad time for many African Americans in San Antonio, who no doubt had better opportunities still then many others due to less racial violence, a history of Union and anti-slavery sympathies in the region, and a booming economy, but clearly were mostly limited to just the lowest of positions as my research will show. [13]

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^{11 &}quot;The Compromise of 1877 (Article)." Khan Academy. Khan Academy. Accessed May 7, 2020. https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/civil-war-era/reconstruction/a/compromise-of-1877.

¹² Rossetti, Chris, Rosemary W. Pennington, and Kevin Alfred Strom. "American Racial History Timeline, 1860-1900." National Vanguard, May 27, 2017.

https://nationalvanguard.org/2017/05/american-racial-history-timeline-1860-1900/.

Glasrud, Bruce A. "Jim Crow's Emergence in Texas." *American Studies* 15, no. 1 (1974): 47-60. Accessed May 10, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/40641087.

¹³ Confederate States of America, Army, Military Commission Collection, 1862, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas *Handbook of Texas Online*, Ralph A. Wooster, rev. by Brett J. Derbes, "CIVIL WAR," accessed April 18, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qdc02. Uploaded on June 12, 2010. Modified on December 11, 2019. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

Loewen, James W. "Sundown Towns: a Hidden Dimension of American Racism." Amazon. Touchstone, October 3, 2018.

https://www.amazon.com/Sundown-Towns-Hidden-Dimension-American/dp/0743294483.

Monroe & Florence Work Today, "Map of White Supremacy's Mob Violence," Monroe Work Today Dataset Compilation. Accessed May 8, 2020.

https://plaintalkhistory.com/monroeandflorencework/explore/map2/#5.36/33.206/-88.496. Handbook of Texas Online, Laurie E. Jasinski, "SAN ANTONIO, TX," accessed May 07, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hds02.

San Antonio was still the second largest city in all of Texas at this time, with a population of 20,550, only being surpassed by Galveston. San Antonio also had a booming economy during 1880, largely thanks to it being an important wool market, mercantile and military center, the southern hub of the cattle trail drive, and having the city's first railroad built in 1877. so it is in no way an extremity to say that there were some valuable employment opportunities. [14] The issue is that although they were there, African American in St. Paul Square did not get to enjoy it. The opportunities were also not as diverse as they would be in 1920, due to increased industrialization and population. My research shows that African Americans in St. Paul Square (this does not account for all of San Antonio) during 1880 faced little to no opportunities and had fewer choices of jobs to choose from.

1880	St. Paul total Numbers:	St. Paul African American Numbers:	St. Paul African American Percentages:	San Antonio Numbers:	San Antonio African Americans Count:
Total Population	1,691	229	13.54%	20,550	3,036
African American Females		149	65.1%		
African American Males		80	34.9%		
Under 40 African Americans (not		99	43.23%		

^{14 &}quot;TexasAlmanac.com." TexasAlmanac.com. Accessed April 15, 2020. https://texasalmanac.com/sites/default/files/images/CityPopHist web.pdf. Handbook of Texas Online, Laurie E. Jasinski, "SAN ANTONIO, TX," accessed May 07, 2020,

http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hds02.

including			
children			
under 15)			
Married	78	34%	
African			
Americans			
Working African	135	58.9%	
Americans			
Skill Crafts	12	8.88%	
Positions			
Educated	1	0.74%	
Positions			
Proprietors and	0	0%	
Managers			
Total	19		
Number of different			
kinds of Jobs			
worked by African			
Americans			
Total States	215		
Born in			
Traditional	211	98.1%	
Southern Slave States			
Born in			
African	137	63.72%	
Americans			
Born In Texas.			

(Chart relies on data collected from the 1880 Federal Census taken for San Antonio, and also a census report of the population of the 100 largest cities in America from the 19th to 20th centuries).^[15]

African Americans actually made up a larger than expected percentage of the overall population back in 1880, with 229 African Americans recorded (out of 1,691 San Antonians) within the designated boundary. This alone would equal 13.54% of the whole St. Paul Square population for 1880. However, according to my research there was only one single educated position filled by an African American in this boundary I designed which was a Nurse. There were also only 12 recorded positions filled by African Americans that required special training or craftsmanship (like a blacksmith or tailor). The other African Americans in my boundary within San Antonio during this time, worked low wage entry level positions such as laborers, servants, and housekeepers which provided little to no opportunity for advancement. Blum street and Walnut street seemed to house the largest African American communities with laborers, housekeepers, and servants mostly living there. At least as far as the census would tell me for St. Paul Square, my research could not find a single African American manager or business owner. In addition, it is important to keep in mind that only 135 of the 229 African Americans were recorded as having an official job of some kind, so this does not account for school children, retirees, missing or inaccurate census data, unemployed, those working side-jobs, etc... These numbers thus do not account for the entirety of the St. Paul Square population.

Slavery before the Civil War would cripple the opportunities of many (but not all)

African Americans across the country. Considering the Civil War ended in 1865, it is easy to link

¹⁵ U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Federal Census for 1880 and 1920, San Antonio. Gibson, Campbell. "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 to 1990." Census.gov. U.S. Census Bureau, Working Paper No. 27,1998. https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.html

these poor job opportunities for African Americans in the designated area in 1880 to slavery which only ended 15 years ago. African Americans as slaves could not always choose their craft, because they were forced to do whatever their white masters told them to do, which often included unskilled labor. African American slaves could not always go to school and receive an education in hopes of accomplishing a dream of theirs (many southern states even outlawed it). Many African Americans after the Civil War had to start from scratch with few, if any, resources. This explains why in 1880, a mere 12 years after the passing of the 14th amendment (which granted citizenship to everyone born in the United States), we still do not see much progress made in the opportunities for the African American community. African Americans still had to rely many times on jobs that they were already familiar with from their time as slaves. Even those who could find another kind of work still were left with low paying jobs that offered very little if any opportunity for advancement.

In addition to the unfortunate numbers about African American employment during 1880, African Americans around the St. Paul Square area were quite unevenly divided between males and females, with African American females making up 65.1% of the population. This means that there were 69 more females than males in 1880 for the designated area. This pairs well with our current understanding of San Antonio history, as a place with more female slave labor than

¹⁶ "Conditions of Antebellum Slavery 1830 - 1860." Africans in America. Public Broadcasting Service. Accessed April 19, 2020. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2956.html.

Eugene R. Dattel (July 2008). "Cotton and the Civil War". mshistorynow.mdah.state.ms.us.

¹⁷ Randall, Vernellia R. (2000). "Excerpts from: Monique Langhorne, the African American Community: Circumventing the Compulsory Education System, 33". *Beverly Hills Bar Association Journal 12-31, 13-17*. The University of Dayton School of Law. Retrieved 25 April 2012.

Freedman, David. "African-American Schooling in the South Prior to 1861." *The Journal of Negro History* 84, no. 1 (1999): 1-47. Accessed May 7, 2020. doi:10.2307/2649081.

male slave labor since 1850.^[18] While there could be many complicated reasons for this, I feel confident that a potential minor reason for this, is the census records themselves. The Census records do not show everything unfortunately, as some information is provided but just not intelligible due to misspellings, sloppy handwriting, or stains, not to mention errors by the census takers themselves.

In 1880 African Americans around St. Paul Square were mostly older rather than younger, with only 99 recorded African Americans being under the age of 40. That is 43.23% of the African American population in my rendition of St. Paul Square. This further proves that St. Paul Square was really not affected by any significant migration yet at this point. This means that an overwhelming majority of African Americans in San Antonio's St. Paul Square District, were old enough to at least have witnessed and have clear memories of the horrors of slavery before or during the Civil War (1861-1865). Many of these African Americans would grow to become the parents and grandparents of the future generations of the Great Migration.

My research also has shown that African Americans in the St. Paul Square District recorded in the 1880 census were mostly single. Only 78, which is 34% of African Americans were married during this time in St. Paul Square. With a population composed of mostly former slaves, the joys of a family that we take for granted today did not exist in the same manner. Slaves did not have rights before the Civil War, and their marriages were never officially recognized. African American slaves would actually marry each other and form families like any other human being, but they always faced the fear of being separated from each other. The white

¹⁸ Handbook of Texas Online, Paul D. Lack, "SLAVERY, URBAN," accessed March 15, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/yps02. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Modified on November 20, 2015. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

master could and often did seperate families by selling family members at slave auctions.^[19]
These white masters sometimes would even seek out a female slave who had demonstrated her fertility, to be used as a tool basically for the production of more slaves.^[20] Because of this, I feel many of the African American former slaves represented in this research for St. Paul Square, simply could never become reunited with their loved ones or weren't able to move on yet during this time to marry someone new.^[21] In addition, it is important to keep in mind that technically illegal interracial relationships did indeed exist.

In my research into the census records, I also discovered that in my rendition of St. Paul Square back in 1880, Texas was the overwhelmingly dominant state of birth for the African American community. Out of 215 recorded birth entries, 137 were from Texas, while 14 were born in Kentucky. This means that Texas alone counted for 63.72% of the 229 recorded African Americans in my rendition of St. Paul Square. Out of the 215 entries, 211 were from former slave states like Texas, Louisiana, Kentucky, Virginia, or Alabama. This accounts for 98.1% of the total African American population. This shows that African Americans did not move very

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¹⁹ "Slave Marriages, Families Were Often Shattered By Auction Block." NPR. NPR, February 11, 2010. https://www.npr.org/transcripts/123608207.

Dusinberre, William. "Families." In *Strategies for Survival: Recollections of Bondage in Antebellum Virginia*, 168-179. University of Virginia Press, 2009. Accessed May 8, 2020.

²⁰ Curtis Harris, "The Loathsome Den– Sexual Assault on the Plantation: #MeToo," President Lincoln's Cottage, December 19, 2017,

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²¹ Dusinberre, *Strategies for Survival*, 168-179.

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far, if at all from where they were located as slaves. The Great Migration had not come yet to touch Texas, and will not be seen for another 40 years.

1920 was an eventful time to be an American, with the passing of the 19th amendment giving women the right to vote and the recent defeat of Germany in the first World War, along with surpassing the world as the leading industrial powerhouse.^[22] In time, America's expanding urbanization brought by being the largest industrial powerhouse, would prove too enticing for younger African Americans who were eager to seek better paying jobs and escape racial tensions prevalent in the south. [23] This became especially true once World War I started, due to the great need for maximized production (many job vacancies needed to be filled in the factories along with other industries). [24] Similar to how many women would fill the spots left by men in the manning of jobs left vacant due to the draft of the first and especially the second World War, African Americans, too, would find opportunity in the first World War. Where African Americans prior to April 6, 1917 would originally be left with few opportunities outside of the same places their parents and ancestors before them labored away as slaves, the war brought many opportunities straight to them. American companies offered mostly younger African American males in the South free trips to various states across the country to work the machines which would supply the war effort (there was heavy resistance to women working heavy factory

²² Vatter, Harold G.; Walker, John F.; Alperovitz, Gar (June 1995). "The onset and persistence of secular stagnation in the U.S. economy: 1910–1990, Journal of Economic Issues"

²³ Gollin, Douglas, Remi Jedwab, and Dietrich Vollrath. "Urbanization with and without Industrialization." Houston, Texas: University of Houston, 2013.

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²⁴ Dodson, Howard, and Diouf, Sylviane A. *In Motion: The African-American Migration Experience*. New York City, New York: National Geographic, 2005.

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jobs in World War 1).^[25] This opportunity was seen as a wonderful chance to see the world and move up in life, and hopefully gain more respect from society. This would start the massive migration of over 6 million African Americans across the country known today as the Great Migration. I will be showing the effect the Great Migration had on the designated area by drawing from the 1920 census.

In 1920 the population of San Antonio was an impressive 161, 379 out of a state population of 4.7 million. San Antonio was still the largest city in all of Texas.^[26]

1920	St. Paul total Numbers:	St. Paul African American Numbers:	St. Paul African American Percentages:	San Antonio Numbers:	San Antonio African Americans Count:
Total Population	3,779	1,238	32.8%	161,379	14,341
African American Females		630	50.9%		
African American Males		608	49.1%		
Under 40 African Americans (not including children under 15)		794	64.1%		

²⁵ Kim, Tae H. Seattle General Strike: Where Women Worked During World War I. The Great Depression in Washington State Project. Accessed April 18, 2020. https://depts.washington.edu/labhist/strike/kim.shtml.

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²⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Federal Census for 1880 and 1920, San Antonio.

Married African Americans	592	47.8%	
Working African Americans	740	59.8%	
Skill Crafts Positions	260	35.14%	
Educated Positions	38	5.14%	
Proprietors and Managers	27	3.65%	
Total Number of different kinds of Jobs worked by African Americans	77		
Total States Born in	1087		
Traditional Southern Slave States born in	1066	98.07%	
African Americans Born In Texas.	914	84.08%	(27)

(Chart relies on data collected from the 1920 Federal Census taken for San Antonio). [27]

There was a recorded population of 3,779 in my rendition of St. Paul Square during 1920, with an African American population of 1,238 or 32.8%. Out of 1238 recorded African Americans,

²⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Federal Census for 1880 and 1920, San Antonio.

there were 630 African American females. This is equal to 50.9% of the African American population (slight majority). This shows that while women still held the majority status in the African American community for 1920, the ratio between men and women was balancing out. There were also 794 African Americans in St. Paul Square who were under 40, which was 64.1% of the population. African American marriages increased in 1920. There were 592 married African American couples in 1920 for St. Paul Square, which was 47.8% of the population.

There were 740 total working African Americans in St. Paul Square during 1920. This comes out to 59.8% of the St. Paul Square African American population, which is slightly more than what it was in 1880. A significant boost in skilled or trained positions came about in 1920 compared to 1880, with 260 African Americans working such positions. This is equal to 35.14% of the African American population compared to 8.88% from 1880. These skilled positions would include blacksmiths, plumbers, dressmakers, carpenters, and even a professional wrestler. In addition to the increase in skilled positions, there was a significant increase in recorded educated positions in 1920, with 38 educated positions like doctors, teachers, nurses, and accountants being filled by African Americans. This is equal to 5.14% compared to 0.74% in 1880. In addition, there was also a massive boost in African American business owners and managers in 1920 compared to 1880. There were 22 African American proprietors and 5 business managers during 1920, while there was not a single one in 1880. This is equal to 3.65% of the 1,238 African Americans actually owning their own business or at least managing it. There was also much more diversity in employment opportunities as well, with over 77 different jobs recorded compared to just 19 in 1880.

These changes from 1880 to 1920 tell a story of a massively urbanized and industrialized city that could provide many opportunities for the African American community to assert agency. These significant improvements can be attributed to many different reasons, but as I made clear earlier, a likely reason is it has to do with how the various employment opportunities brought by World War 1 helped spark the Great Migration. It's also due to the wonders of the second industrial revolution. During the first World War, America was heavily industrialized, being the leading industrial power in the world. [28] Since America vowed to use its industrial strength to help the allies without actually joining the war, production needs changed and increased (meaning a larger need for employment). While many African Americans and women would be removed from their jobs upon the return of white Americans from the war, some would stay in place which created tensions between whites and blacks. [29] Kenneth Mason's *African* Americans and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas, 1867-1937, argues that some African Americans in San Antonio like Charles Bellinger, successfully manipulated the political and ethnic divisions (San Antonio was divided between Mexicans, Germans, Anglos, and African Americans during this time), provided services and goods, and maintained the right to vote "during a period when African Americans throughout the South had lost such privileges". [30] Ultimately there is no single answer for why there were so many African Americans in San

²⁸ Vatter, Harold G.; Walker, John F.; Alperovitz, Gar (June 1995). "The onset and persistence of secular stagnation in the U.S. economy: 1910–1990, Journal of Economic Issues"

²⁹ Dodson, Howard, and Diouf, Sylviane A. *In Motion: The African-American Migration Experience*. New York City, New York: National Geographic, 2005.

https://www.amazon.com/Motion-African-American-Migration-Experience/dp/0792273850.

³⁰ Mason, Kenneth. "African Americans and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas, 1867-1937." Google Books. Taylor & Francis, 1998.

 $[\]underline{https://books.google.com/books/about/African_Americans_and_Race_Relations_in.html?id=bVeW6svnE-\underline{UC}.$

Antonio, and how they managed to improve their living conditions so considerably compared to 1880.

While my research provides ample evidence that St. Paul Square, much like districts in Houston or other large cities in the South, became a hotspot for African American migration, it also proves that the Great Migration really was a Southern event almost, if not as much, as it was a North or Western event. In 1880, the population of St. Paul Square was 1,691 with around 229 African Americans, of which 14 would not have their birthplaces recorded on the census. This means that there were only 215 African Americans with a recorded birthplace, and out of these 215 African Americans in St. Paul Square, only 4 of them would have a birthplace different from the South or former slave states during the Civil War. That is a whopping number, but due to the Civil War being so recent and the era of Reconstruction only ending 3 years earlier (1877), it is not unexpected. Out of these 215 recorded African Americans in St. Paul Square during 1880, 63.72% of them were born in Texas. This relationship between Texas and African Americans in St. Paul Square only strengthened in 1920. Out of the 1,238 African Americans in St. Paul square during 1920, only 1087 had a recorded birth place (or a legible one) on the census. With over 914 (out of 1087) African Americans in 1920 who were born in Texas, this would come out to 84.08% of the St. Paul Square African American population. Only 21 of these 1087 recorded cases would have a birthplace away from the old South or former slave states during the Civil War. This means that 98.07% (a 0.04% reduction from 1880) were still born in a former Southern slave state.

What this research shows is that while Houston and Dallas themselves would experience a significant boost in African American population during 1920, San Antonio would have

pockets of substantial black migration as well. San Antonio actually decreased percentage wise from 1920 compared to 1880, when it comes to African American population percentage.

However, St. Paul Square proves that there were at least some regions in San Antonio where the opposite was true. This research was mainly designed to provide some useful demographics related to San Antonio and St. Paul Square, and attempt the difficult task of providing possible explanations for the changes from 1880 to 1920. These explanations were never intended to be the only explanations for the changes, just arguably valid ones. My research also brings to light San Antonio's history as a racially/ethnically divided city between Germans, Mexicans, Anglos, and African Americans as far back as 1850. The use of the census (including federal slave schedules) and the provided 1896 map of San Antonio, were the dominant resources throughout my paper. This report will ultimately demonstrate that San Antonio's St. Paul Square district, much like some districts in Houston or Dallas, was a hotspot for African American migration due to the various opportunities it provided.

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