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THE URBANIZATION OF THE SOUTH  
(Emphasis Since 1930)

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A Research Paper  
Presented to  
the Graduate Council of  
Austin Peay State University

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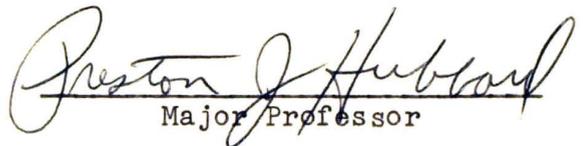
In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in History

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by  
Sandra Williams Crain  
May 1968

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a Research Paper written by Sandra Williams Crain entitled "The Urbanization of the South (Emphasis Since 1930)." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

  
Major Professor

Accepted for the Council:

  
Dean of the Graduate School

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In about the last three decades, there have occurred trends in the South to which the authorities have referred as a major "breakthrough." The term "breakthrough" means that the South has broken out of the bounds of its agrarian economy and has rapidly progressed the road of urbanization. "Urbanization involves an increase in the number of points at which population concentrates and a growth of these concentrations."<sup>1</sup>

A noted economic historian Rudolph Heberle specifies that while the South is not one of the heartlands of modern capitalism, the growth of urban centers is due to the same general factors to be found the world over.<sup>2</sup>

There have been many factors affecting urbanization in the South. The Depression of the 1930's and World War II played a tremendous part in awakening the South from its economic slumber. The agrarian revolt which has come about due to a changing governmental farm policy and much mechanization has had a profound influence on migration

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<sup>1</sup>Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, The Urban South. (New York: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-4.

trends which have in turn been a prime factor in Southern urbanization. The new rise of industrialization and capitalism has naturally had an effect on drawing people to the cities in the process of urbanization. All of these factors will be examined in this paper. It will also endeavor to show how urbanization has affected Southern life, especially through the examples of Atlanta and Houston which are the South's two greatest metropolitan centers.

## CHAPTER II

### FACTORS IN URBANIZATION

There are many factors involved in urbanization. For a long while the "colonial character" of the Southern economy retarded its urbanization even though there are some of the oldest cities in the United States in the South.<sup>3</sup> All of the cities in the New World owe their existence to European establishment, but the sudden burst of urbanization in the South is a very recent phenomenon as compared to other areas which attained their growth much earlier.<sup>4</sup>

One of the factors contributing to increased urbanization in the South is the rapid growth of population. Another reason is the development of improved means of communications and transportation in the South. Also, the expansion of governmental agencies, such as welfare and education, has attracted many people to urban centers. The development of the Gulf Coast as one of the nation's playgrounds has been important in the urbanization of the area.<sup>5</sup> This vast migration to the South, whatever the reason, has played an important part in its urbanization.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

The choice of the South as a location for a military establishment has often been the impetus for rapid growth.<sup>6</sup> The great depression and World War II have been very influential factors in the urbanization of the South, but the two most important factors were probably the rise of industrialization and the great trends in migration.

#### I. THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II

The rise in Southern cities can be divided into two stages. The first stage was from their founding to the Great Depression of the 1930's; the second and greatest advance has been from the Great Depression up to the present.<sup>7</sup> The depression of the 1930's was especially hard on the South. Its cotton based economy, with the almost complete lack of industry, was laid waste. College graduates were working at jobs for ten cents an hour when they could find them; the average income in the South in 1932 was \$191.00.

The coming of World War II brought great spending on national defense; new military installations such as Fort Jackson at Columbia, Fort Benning at Columbus, and Fort

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>7</sup>David O'Shea, "Urban Evolution," America, CI (July 25, 1959), p. 532.

Campbell in Kentucky, were bringing in millions, and they were being accompanied by new defense industries. The average per capita income rose from \$287.00 when the war began in 1939 to \$802.00 when it ended in 1945.<sup>8</sup>

New legislation passed during the period between 1929 and 1945 played an important part in the new look of the South. Harry S. Truman stated that he felt that the New Deal and the Fair Deal had done a lot for the whole country, but he felt that they did more for the South than any other part of the nation.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the Depression, the New Deal, and World War II so shocked and revitalized Southern economics that its agriculture and economy no longer followed traditional paths.<sup>10</sup> This awakening of the South in general led to a great awakening of Southern agriculture which was the mainstay of Southern economy. Our next chapter will be devoted to these changes in Southern agriculture.

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<sup>8</sup>G. M. McNabb, "South Bets on Industry." American Mercury, LXXXIV. (January, 1957), pp. 16-17.

<sup>9</sup>Harry S. Truman, "Progress in the South: the Service of the People," Vital Speeches, XVIII (July 15, 1952), p. 588.

<sup>10</sup>Rupert B. Vance, "Urban Breakthrough in the South," Virginia Quarterly Review, XXXI (Spring, 1955), p. 225.

## CHAPTER III

### CHANGES IN AGRICULTURE

Until 1930, the South's economy was primarily agricultural, and its pattern of employment was greatly influenced by tobacco and cotton farming, both requiring large amounts of hand labor. Since 1930, mechanical energy has rapidly been replacing human and animal energy; this has resulted in a changed pattern of forming a much smaller labor force.

In 1930, the South had 5.5 million agricultural workers as compared to 5.3 million for the rest of the nation. By 1950, the South had 3.2 million agricultural workers, and the rest of the nation had 3.8 million.<sup>11</sup> In 1930, the South had 42.8 per cent of its population engaged in agriculture as compared to 21.3 per cent for the rest of the nation. In 1950, the South had only 14.6 per cent of its population pursuing agrarian careers as compared to 9.0 per cent for the rest of the nation. In 1960, the South had only 10.4 per cent of its labor in agriculture compared to 5.5 per cent for the Non-South.<sup>12</sup> Between 1940 and 1960,

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<sup>11</sup>Vance, The Urban South, pp. 40-41.

<sup>12</sup>Avery Leiserson, The American South in the 1960's, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), p. 28.

agricultural employment lost 2.4 million, nearly 60.0 per cent of its workers in the South while public employment gained 1.2 million which was an increase of 12.6 per cent.<sup>13</sup>

The changes in agriculture have been balanced by dramatic changes in other fields of endeavor. From 1930 to 1960, the proportion of the Southern population engaged in manufacturing went from 19.0 per cent to 17.6 per cent, while it dropped from 32.4 per cent to 28.3 per cent for the rest of the United States.

The most important changes have developed in the tertiary services. From 1930 to 1950, the percentage of the Southern population employed in these services increased from 38.2 per cent to 61.1 per cent. The rise in the rest of the nation was only from 53.0 per cent to 62.7 per cent.<sup>14</sup>

Regionalism began in the South as an agrarian movement, but it is now becoming urban regionalism. The dominant psychology of the South is no longer agrarian; it is Chamber of Commerce.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>14</sup>Rupert B. Vance, "Urban Breakthrough in the South," pp. 231-232.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 227.

Southerners identify themselves with Northerners in resisting any competition that would threaten industry; for a threat to domestic peace and safety in the South is a threat to future industrial expansion, and voices pleading for moderation can be heard above the din of protesting extremists.<sup>16</sup>

### I. NEW CROPS AND METHODS

The evolution of Southern agriculture has meant employing a much smaller agrarian labor force; this has meant a definite break with the past. The forces of industrialization, mechanization, and increased efficiency in agriculture combined with the rural-labor migration and improvements in social amenities have resulted in the improved position of the South in today's world.<sup>17</sup>

This process has been accompanied by a change in agricultural products grown in the South. Cotton and other field crops are being replaced in part by cattle, dairy farming, and tree farming.<sup>18</sup> In 1929, 46.0 per cent of the

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<sup>16</sup>Thomas D. Clark, The Emerging South. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 273.

<sup>17</sup>Vance, "Urban Breakthrough in the South," p. 233.

<sup>18</sup>"Why Industry is Moving South," U. S. News and World Report, LVII (December 21, 1964), p. 85.

agricultural income came from cotton. This dropped to 18.0 per cent in 1960 with 42.7 per cent of the income coming from livestock.<sup>19</sup> Today, livestock farming is growing faster in the South than in any other part of the country.<sup>20</sup>

Among the most significant developments in the Southern farm economy have been changes in land use accompanied by a decline in cotton acreage; an increase in forage crops and livestock production; the output of more specialized crops; higher yields; and rapidly advancing mechanization of agricultural operations.<sup>21</sup>

The most significant changes in agriculture which have led to the economic changes in the South have taken place in the area of cotton. The changes in cotton policies have advanced changes in other fields of agriculture and the rate of urbanization.

Cotton controls have constituted a major part of the federal farm programs since 1933; federal cotton acreage programs have tended to result in increased migration from cotton farming, particularly in the old Cotton Belt

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<sup>19</sup>Leiserson, p. 28.

<sup>20</sup>Henry Lesesne, "The South: Giant of Tomorrow," Nation, CLXXV (September 27, 1952), p. 253.

<sup>21</sup>Gilbert C. Fite, "The Revolution in Southern Agriculture," Current History, XXXV (November, 1958), p. 266.

states. Due to acreage taken out of cotton, the land has been put to use in other crops. This has resulted in a much more diversified farming over the last thirty-five years. Most crops do not have as high a labor-land ratio as does cotton, thus resulting in less jobs for farm workers.<sup>22</sup> Rural sociologists stress that the reduction in the need for labor affects non-owners the most; this refers especially to sharecroppers.<sup>23</sup>

It is generally accepted that there is a greater migration during a period of prosperity than during a period of recession, depression, and early recovery.<sup>24</sup> Professor Cauley argues that federal price supports bringing about higher prices have induced farmers to leave the farms, because they can get higher prices for them. Thus farms are consolidated into larger units which permit more effective use of advanced technology and a reduction in farm labor.<sup>25</sup> Relatively static net farm income accompanied by greatly increased non-farm opportunities and greatly reduced farm

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<sup>22</sup>Roger L. Burford, "The Federal Cotton Programs and Farm Labor Force Adjustments," Southern Economic Journal, XXXIII (October, 1966), pp. 224-226.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 223.

labor requirements, have worked together to encourage farm outmigration.<sup>26</sup> This outmigration has especially been induced by the fact that the physical productivity of labor in agriculture has almost doubled as a result of additions of capital investments and improvements in the techniques of production.<sup>27</sup> A good result of outmigration is the fact that when some leave, it generally means a higher income for those who remain.<sup>28</sup>

The mechanization of cotton has brought most of the tremendous changes in southern agriculture. The major obstacle confronting mechanization of cotton production has been the extraordinary amount of hand labor necessary for chopping and picking. So long as cotton had to be weeded and picked by hand, there was little or no reason to adopt bigger plows and other machines. It was not until 1941, following extensive experimentation, that International produced a few one-row high-drum pickers for commercial sale. By 1956, there were 11,645 mechanical cotton pickers in the South; the number of completely mechanized cotton

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>27</sup>E. L. Baum and Earl O. Heady, "Some Effects of Selected Policy Programs on Agricultural Labor Mobility in the South," Southern Economic Journal, XXV (January, 1959), p. 331.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 336.

operations has steadily increased since then.<sup>29</sup>

The increased use of mechanical harvesting equipment and chemical herbicides have decreased the need for large labor forces. Acreage reductions have not generally resulted in like reductions in output, because the farmer withdraws his poorest land and uses more intensive cultivation on that being cultivated, such as investing more capital in insecticides, machinery, and fertilizer instead of labor. Thus, under given conditions of mechanization, labor requirements per acre of land in cotton are fairly well fixed within limits, regardless of the productivity of the land.<sup>30</sup>

Farm workers' earnings have increased substantially since World War II, but compared to earnings in industry, they are way out of line.<sup>31</sup> In 1963, farm labor averaged eighty-four cents an hour, which was less than one-third that of factory workers.<sup>32</sup> Naturally, this has contributed substantially to the migration of farm labor. World War II

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<sup>29</sup>Fite, p. 269.

<sup>30</sup>Burford, pp. 226-227.

<sup>31</sup>Herman Jay Brownhut, "Farm Labor Wage Rates in the South, 1909-1948," Sociology Economic Journal, XVI (October, 1949), p. 190.

<sup>32</sup>E. Higbee, "Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age," Time, LXXXII (July 19, 1963), p. 21.

started the drain off of farm labor. One authority has estimated that 1,600,000 workers left Southern farms between 1940 and 1945.<sup>33</sup> During the 1950-56 period, the South led all other regions in a movement away from the farms. The contributing factors were: a large excess of births over deaths, low farm income, and the lack of employment opportunities within Southern agriculture.<sup>34</sup> Bad farm conditions are not enough to cause migration from farms; this must be coupled with a "pull" exerted by the available jobs outside of agriculture.<sup>35</sup> This "pull" has been provided by rapid new industrialization. Some who are on their way toward leaving agriculture are its 1,300,000 farmers who market commodities worth from \$250 to \$10,000 who earned a net income from farming of only \$1,740 while they earned an average of \$1,816 outside agriculture.<sup>36</sup>

There were several reasons for the necessity of cotton mechanization: (1) because of the imbalance between urban and rural economy growing out of the lack of

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<sup>33</sup>Fite, p. 269.

<sup>34</sup>Baum and Heady, p. 328.

<sup>35</sup>Vernon W. Rutton, "Industrial Progress and Rural Stagnation in the New South," Social Forces, XXXIV (December, 1955), p. 116.

<sup>36</sup>William H. Nicholls, "Research on Agriculture and Economic Development," American Economic Review, Papers and Procedures, L (May, 1960), p. 177.

mechanization on farms; (2) because of the relative decrease in the supply of labor and the rise in farm wages; and (3) because of the shrinking position of cotton--the United States supplied four-fifths of the world's cotton in 1880 compared to only two-fifths in 1939.<sup>37</sup>

When the cotton farms of the Mississippi Delta are completely mechanized, it is estimated that 70.0 per cent of the people on the land will have been displaced.<sup>38</sup> The Negro has left the South in large numbers and been replaced by machines. A mechanical picker can pick 1,400 pounds of cotton an hour. A man can pick only about 200 pounds a day.<sup>39</sup>

The agricultural revolution which got underway during World War II moved even faster after the war when the factories were free to supply machines and chemicals.<sup>40</sup> The demand prices of farm products doubled between 1939 and

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<sup>37</sup>Arthur Rapier, "Role of Agriculture Technology in Southern Social Change," *Social Forces*, XXV (October, 1946), pp. 27-28.

<sup>38</sup>Lawrence T. King, "Our Changing South," Commonweal, LIV (June 15, 1951), p. 231.

<sup>39</sup>"Engines Remake Land of Cotton," Business Week (June 25, 1955), p. 98.

<sup>40</sup>Wayne Rasmussen, "The Impact of Technological Change on American Agriculture, 1862-1962," Journal of Economic History, XXII (December, 1962), p. 588.

1945;<sup>41</sup> the number of persons supplied food by one farm laborer was 9.8 in 1930, 10.7 in 1940, 14.6 in 1950, 22.8 in 1957, and over 27.0 in 1962.<sup>42</sup>

From 1930 to 1957, the man hours required to grow a bale of cotton dropped from 260 to 108. At the same time, the average yield per acre rose from 157 pounds to 409 pounds.<sup>43</sup> Mammoth cotton picking machines that fifteen years ago picked less than one-tenth of the crop now pick three-fourths of it after the plants are defoliated by chemical sprays.<sup>44</sup> One of these machines can gather as much fiber as forty pairs of human hands.<sup>45</sup> Scientists say that two-bales-to-the-acre cotton can become common in much of the South with proper irrigation and fertilization.<sup>46</sup> Due to these recent trends in mechanization and the reductions in allotments for crops, larger farms may seek

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 579.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 588.

<sup>43</sup>"King Cotton: The Royal Nonesuch," Life, XLII (May 20, 1957), p. 46.

<sup>44</sup>"Farm Sees a New Revolution," Business Week (October 24, 1964), p. 170.

<sup>45</sup>Edward Higbee, "Farewell to Small Farms: Excerpt from Farms and Farming in an Urban Age," Reader's Digest, LXXXIV (March 1964), p. 178.

<sup>46</sup>Fite, pp. 266-7.

expansion as a means of using machinery efficiently.<sup>47</sup> At one time, a three-thousand acre farm in the South was a rarity. Today, they are becoming commonplace.<sup>48</sup>

In 1954, 20.0 per cent less cotton was harvested than in 1953 due to restrictions on acreage. In 1955, only 17,000,000 acres were planted in cotton.<sup>49</sup> It cost the government about forty-eight to sixty dollars a year to take cotton acres out of production. There has been a persisting problem of a surplus of cotton; so in 1956, it was decided to sell cotton abroad at a price that would regain the United States world market. Exports soon jumped from two to seven million bales annually.<sup>50</sup> Farmers planted and harvested fewer acres in 1962 than since the Department of Agriculture started keeping records in 1909; but all crops, except food and feed grains, exceeded the 1960 production records. This was largely due to increased use of fertilizer, better seeds, and more mechanization.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Baum and Heady, p. 331.

<sup>48</sup>King, p. 232.

<sup>49</sup>"Cotton Pressure," Economist, CLXXVI (August 6, 1955), p. 474.

<sup>50</sup>J. R. Pearman, "New Approaches to Agricultural Policy," American Journal of Economics, XVII (October, 1957), p. 36.

<sup>51</sup>Burford, p. 4.

Meanwhile, the government continues to cut the production. The Omnibus Farm Bill of 1965 forced cotton farmers to cut back acreage a minimum of 15.0 per cent if they were to receive any support. If they cut back as much as 35.0 per cent, support would be greatly increased.<sup>52</sup> Lamar Fleming, Jr. suggests that the government give up its system of price supports to cotton. He says that due to the continuing expansion of industry in the old Cotton Belt, which is absorbing farmers freed from the hardscrabble, impoverished existence of old-style farming, and the better mechanization enjoyed by American agriculture over foreign growers that cotton growers should have no trouble making their own way.<sup>53</sup>

With millions of acres taken out of cotton production, the acreage of other crops has expanded at a rapid pace in recent years. More soybeans, rice, hay, and forage, and in some areas peanuts, are being grown than ever before. The increase in hay and pasture land reflects greater concern for soil conservation, as well as a larger and more profitable livestock industry. Nearly nine hundred

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<sup>52</sup>"Congress Cuts New Patterns for Cotton: Omnibus Farm Bill," Business Week (August 14, 1965), p. 56.

<sup>53</sup>"Challenge to Cotton," Time, LXIX (June 10, 1957), pp. 89-90.

soil conservation districts have been organized in the South since 1937, and hundreds of thousands of erosion-scarred acres have been healed over by luxuriant stands of kudzu and lespedesa. Peanuts have become a leading cash crop and soybeans have returned to the South as a major field crop; between 1934 and 1954, acreage more than doubled.<sup>54</sup>

The commercial production of fruits and vegetables on a more extensive scale is a sign of agricultural advancement in the modern South. Increasing urbanization in the region, along with improved transportation, is providing wider and more profitable markets to all kinds of specialties. The growth and sale of tomato plants, seeded early in the South and shipped to northern growers for replanting, has recently become an important agricultural industry.<sup>55</sup> Alfalfa, credited with an Asiatic origin, has become one of the great wealth-producing crops of the South; not only because of its high protein and feed value, but also because it checks erosion and produces nitrogen deep in the soil.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Fite, pp. 267-268.

<sup>55</sup>Fite, p. 268.

<sup>56</sup>Louis Bromfield, "The Rebirth of the South," New Republic, CXXVII (April 18, 1952), p. 9.

Irrigation is now becoming important in the South. D. S. Mitchell says that he thinks it incomprehensible that irrigation was not included in the TVA Act,<sup>57</sup> but it is now conferring advantages on the country by creating new economic frontiers in the South.<sup>58</sup>

One of the soundest developments is the gradual disappearance of the absentee landlord. Land has been passing into the hands of men working as owners rather than under the tenant-farmer, sharecropper arrangement which contributed to much of the poverty and low living standards of the South.<sup>59</sup> In his "The Conditions of Economic Progress," Colin Clark found that both economic efficiency and per capita income increased as the proportions of a nation's labor force engaged in agriculture decreased while the proportions in tertiary economy, such as service, distribution, administration, and finance, increased.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>S. Frank, "Irrigation Brightens Dixie's Future," Nation's Business (February, 1955), p. 46.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>59</sup>Bromfield, p. 22.

<sup>60</sup>Vance, "The Urban Breakthrough in the South," p. 230.

## II. RURAL-NONFARM

Figures showing the number of families living in rural areas could be very misleading when interpreting the number of those actually engaged in agriculture. In the rural-urban shift, Southerners move into urban-centered occupations faster than they move into the cities; in 1950, of the South's total 3.6 million labor forces living on farms, only 72 per cent of them worked in agriculture.<sup>61</sup> By 1955, 3.3 million workers lived in rural non-farm areas of the South, but only 12.7 per cent of the group actually worked in agriculture. A lot of this has been brought about by the great advent of suburbia.<sup>62</sup> Often due to the location of plants and industries in rural territory, there occurs a great amount of commuting from rural to urban centers; thus figures on urbanization do not accurately portray the region's shift to industrial and service employment.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Vance, The Urban South, pp. 51-52.

<sup>62</sup>Vance, "Urban Breakthrough in the South," p. 232.

<sup>63</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 53.

## III. SEEDBED OF THE NATION

Southern cities are ideally suited to gain population from urban-rural migration. They are surrounded by the most prolific large group of people in the nation, the Southern farm population. This segment of population is often referred to as the "seed bed" of the nation.<sup>64</sup>

William W. Nicholls said that the prevalence of low-income agriculture has been the fundamental factor in Southern economic deficiencies. Thus, the rural areas and the urban areas have been able to help each other. The rural areas provide the urban centers with a labor supply while industry helps the rural areas both by draining off the excess farm labor and by supplying more urban markets for farm products.<sup>65</sup> Professor Anthony M. Tong and Professor William H. Nicholls found that the most industrial sections of the South in 1950 had had significant advantages agriculturally over those which did not become as industrialized.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>65</sup>George B. Tindall, "The South: Into the Mainstream," Current History (May, 1961), p. 272.

<sup>66</sup>Nicholls, "Research on Agricultural and Economic Development," p. 633.

Most of the excess farm residents go to towns and cities in the South, but a few go to regions outside the South. Between 1920 and 1950, there was a total gain of ten million population in urban Southern centers.<sup>67</sup> In 1960, 57.7 per cent of the Southern population was urban as compared to 74.4 per cent for the non-South. The South's urban population didn't exceed the rural population until the 1950's.<sup>68</sup>

There were only two periods during this time that there was a movement to the farms rather than away from the farms. The first period was in 1932; this was probably caused by the depression preventing the normal movement of youth to the urban centers. The other movement to the farms was a period in 1945-46; it was most likely caused by a reconversion of industry and the demobilization of the armed forces.

The lowest gain in migration from the farms to the urban centers was in 1931 when only 108,000 went to the cities. The greatest annual gain was in 1942 when 1,622,000 people in the South moved from the farms to the cities. The reasons were the armed forces and the great demand in the war-time industries. The average annual migration

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<sup>67</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 56.

<sup>68</sup>Leiserson, p. 27.

between 1930 and 1950 has been from 200,000 to 500,000 persons.<sup>69</sup>

This leads to industrialization which is the greatest drawing power of the cities and which is discussed in the next chapter.

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-58.

## CHAPTER IV

### GROWTH OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Industrialization and urbanization are not identical processes, although industry has had a decisive influence over urbanization. Often industrial development in the South has been a consequence rather than a cause of city growth.<sup>70</sup>

#### I. THE NECESSITY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

The first cities of the South, such as Charleston, South Carolina and New Orleans, Louisiana, developed as commercial centers. When trade routes changed, they were faced with either industrialization or stagnation. New Orleans was one of those which chose industrialization: Charleston did not, and thus, ceased to grow.<sup>71</sup>

Industrialization is the growth of "secondary" industries: the extraction of coal, oil, natural gas, and other minerals; the construction industry; and, most important of all, the manufacturing and mechanical industries. Many industries are either "raw material oriented"

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<sup>70</sup>Rudolph Herbale, "Social Consequences of the Industrialization of Southern Cities," Social Forces, XXVII (October, 1948), p. 30.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

or "labor oriented"; they draw people into the cities and tend to speed up the growth of its urban population.<sup>72</sup>

Raw materials have played an extremely important part in the industrialization of the South, and thus also in its urbanization. In 1938, a Report on Economic Conditions of the South made to President Roosevelt stated:

The paradox of the South is that while it is blessed by natural resources with immense wealth, its people are the poorest in the country. Lacking industries of its own, the South has been forced to trade the richness of its soil, its minerals and forests, and the labor of its people for goods manufactured elsewhere.<sup>73</sup>

Today, all of this is changing, for industry is making use of the South's natural resources. One of the reasons that the South is growing so fast today is that it is rich in the natural resources needed for new industries; such as oil, gas, hydroelectric power, and fiber for synthetic materials.<sup>74</sup>

Where these raw-materials industries are located depends on the types of raw materials, availability of labor, and the transportation facilities. One of the oldest and

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>73</sup>Leroy Collins, "Industrialization of the South, (A Guide for Underdeveloped Nations)," Vital Speeches, XXVI (July 1, 1960), p. 565.

<sup>74</sup>"West and South: New Industrial Empires," U. S. News and World Report, XXXVII (July 30, 1954), p. 66.

most important raw materials industries is the lumber industry which includes the manufacture of paper from wood pulp; this provides a market for the new timber agriculture which has developed.<sup>75</sup> Some petroleum centers have grown up around areas originally established by the lumber industry. Since oil deposits frequently occur in areas covered by forrests (especially on the Gulf Coastal Plains), some petroleum fields have grown up around areas originally established by the lumber industry. In these areas, the lumber industry has already developed a ready-made, non-specialized labor supply.<sup>76</sup>

### III. INDUSTRIAL BOOM SINCE WORLD WAR II

One factor which has been important in delaying urbanization in the South is that industry can only work in an atmosphere where manual workers can be secured; the freeing of the populace from the soil has recently provided that labor supply. Multitudes of the rural populace flocked to the urban centers during World War II.<sup>77</sup>

Most cities were simply further developed and

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<sup>75</sup>Herbale, pp. 33-34.

<sup>76</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 14.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

urbanized after the advent of World War II. Oak Ridge is the only example of a city of purely industrial origin; it emerged as a child of World War II.<sup>78</sup>

The indirect effects of industrialization upon city development were demonstrated during World War II. The increase in manufacturing employment was accompanied by strong increases in employment in trading, transportation, and services; this is demonstrated in cities like New Orleans which had great increases in both manufacturing and tertiary employment during World War II despite the fact that all expansions in non-essential branches of business were discouraged by the government.<sup>79</sup>

During the war period, workers tended to concentrate in the large labor markets, while industries were beginning to move from the markets to rural areas in order to avoid high land prices and high wage levels.<sup>80</sup>

Great moves were made in building industries in the South during World War II. During the war, the United States government built two hundred and ninety-six new plants which cost 13.1 billion dollars in the South.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.

<sup>80</sup>Herbale, p. 234.

<sup>81</sup>"South's Real Gain: Report by the National Planning Association," Business Week (July 30, 1949), p. 26.

The South has been developing cities as needed for a developed economy. This has especially been related to the demands of two world wars, but the 1940-1950 decade appears to have been the most important.<sup>82</sup> The boom of World War II greatly stimulated the growth of population and manufacturing; generally, employment occurred in already established industrial centers.<sup>83</sup>

The importance of the World War II era to Southern employment is indicated by the fact that in the decade from 1930 to 1940, employment declined from 12.7 million to 12.2 million, while in the decade from 1940 to 1950, employment increased by 2.8 million or 22.7 per cent. The number of skilled workers in the South has increased as those unskilled ones have decreased. In 1940, 13.9 per cent of the total labor force were semi-skilled as compared to 17.5 per cent in 1950.<sup>84</sup> Construction of plants has come to the South later than it has to other areas, but the South is now getting its share. In 1947 alone, more than a billion dollars was invested in Southern industry.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 37.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>85</sup>"South's New Look: Factories, Cattle," U. S. News and World Report, XXX(June 1, 1951), p. 21.

In 1950, the South made its "economic breakthrough" in regard to a massive tertiary industry. In 1950, the South had 61.1 per cent of its working force employed in this manner as compared to 62.7 per cent for the rest of the nation. Before 1910, this group had never climbed above 25.0 per cent of the working force. From 1930 to 1950, it increased from 38.2 per cent to 61.1 per cent in 1950; this has been accompanied by an increase in incomes though the average in 1950 was still only 72.0 per cent of the national average.<sup>86</sup>

The proportion of professional and technical workers has also been steadily rising; it increased from 4.5 per cent in 1930 to 5.9 per cent in 1940 to 7.2 per cent in 1950.

Thus, although the South started at lower levels in each category, it has developed at faster rates, so that its difference from the national pattern of occupations is steadily growing smaller.<sup>87</sup> All of this new boom in industrialization in the South has often been referred to as the "breakthrough" in the South.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 45.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Vance, "The Urban Breakthrough in the South," p. 229.

## IV. THE SOUTH WOOS INDUSTRY

New business and civic leaders have come to power in the South's largest urban centers. They are devoted to aggressive expansion of the region's agricultural, industrial, and commercial life. This is being called the "Chamber of Commerce" mentality. The idea behind this is to push the South out of its agrarian stagnancy and into a new, bustling economy; and this is exactly what is happening.<sup>89</sup>

Governor Hugh White began the BAWI (Balance Agriculture with Industry) program in Mississippi in the 1930's. Since then one of the main concerns of the South has been industrialization.<sup>90</sup> In plans such as the BAWI, a group of businessmen will construct a plant which they will lease to an industry. They do this to attract industry into their area, because they realize that this will bring larger returns to them by putting more money into circulation. Sometimes, under this type of plan, a city will give a company a building site if it will build there.<sup>91</sup>

Things like the Southern Research Institute at Birmingham (since 1946) and the Research Triangle in Central

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<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>90</sup>Tindall, p. 270.

<sup>91</sup>MacNabb, pp. 18-19.

North Carolina are geared to scientific research for economic development.<sup>92</sup>

The Southern states are constantly vying with each other to attract industry. Southern leaders have fought vigorously for industry. On one occasion, Strom Thurmond visited the Dupont headquarters in Delaware. As a result, as governor of South Carolina, he got for his state a \$75,000,000 factory which produces \$80,000,000 worth of orlon a year; this is almost as valuable as the nation's cotton crop.<sup>93</sup>

Some Northern industrialists claimed that the South was stealing its industries from the Northern centers because of low wages. This was not true. Southern industry came in the form of branch plants or the expansion of old ones. Wages entered into industry coming South only slightly; the South also had natural resources, power, water, and good transportation.<sup>94</sup> In 1949, the National Planning Association conducted a survey in the South. They found that 75.0 per cent of the industries came South due to the new market and the raw materials.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Tindall, p. 270.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid.

A survey in 1952 showed that the nation's standard of living was rising at 2.5 per cent per year. The South's was rising even faster. In that year, the average per capita income in the South was \$1,121 which was the highest in its history, and it was continuing to rise. This great new buying power attracted industry.<sup>96</sup>

As for raw materials, the South has great fresh water sources, and it produces almost half of the nation's minerals. The South has great quantities of oil which are now being used for power.<sup>97</sup> Now nuclear energy is being developed to take the place of oil when it runs out; nuclear energy is the power of the future.<sup>98</sup>

Another factor in industry moving to the South is the prospect of having less expensive buildings and lower heating costs.<sup>99</sup> Many industrialists say that the lower wages in the South is not as appealing as the fact that Southern laborers believe in an honest day's work. There is also the important fact that the record of strikes is much smaller.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-19.

<sup>97</sup>Collins, p. 565.

<sup>98</sup>Julius Hirsch, "America's Third Migration," Nation's Business, XLI (March, 1953), p. 85.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>100</sup>"Why Industry is Moving South," p. 86.

In Atlanta, in 1958, the publishers of Manufacturer's Record said that it was no longer adequate for an industry to be the best in the South, for it had gone beyond regional limits and had to reach out for a national ranking.<sup>101</sup> This is exactly what the South is trying to do by attracting new industries. In 1960, Florida was spending twice as much for industrial promotion as all of the New England States.<sup>102</sup>

#### V. INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH

More than \$123,000,000 was invested in New Orleans industry in 1952. This raised the total spent from 1945 to 1952 to a standing of \$622,000,000. The unemployed in 1952 was 9,000 as compared to 44,000 in 1940. The amount of goods moved was six times the tonnage which had been moved on the river twenty years earlier.<sup>103</sup>

In 1953, payrolls in Dallas were \$87,000,000 higher than they had been in 1952. W. D. Gentry, First Vice-President of the Eleventh District Federal Reserve Bank, predicted even greater economic advancements in 1954 due to

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<sup>101</sup>Tindall, p. 269.

<sup>102</sup>Collins, p. 565.

<sup>103</sup>News item in the New York Times, January 5, 1953.

the large new manufacturing plants.<sup>104</sup>

In 1954, construction was the fastest growing industry in the nation, and it was mushrooming in the South.<sup>105</sup> From 1950 to 1960, the Gulf Coast of the South constructed six times the value of new industry in the New England states.<sup>106</sup>

In 1965, there were 328,000 fewer factory jobs than there were in 1955 in the traditional Eastern industrial centers due to shifts to the West and to the South. The highest increase in factory jobs was in the South Atlantic region. There were almost 400,000 new factory jobs gained in this region between 1955 and 1965.<sup>107</sup>

Generally, it is the lighter industries rather than the heavy industries which are moving to the South. Some of the most important of those industries which are moving South are involved with chemicals, electronics, textiles, furniture, pulp and paper, printing, and publishing.<sup>108</sup>

Vast new government projects are competing for

<sup>104</sup>News item in the New York Times, January 4, 1954.

<sup>105</sup>"West and South: New Industrial Empires," p. 66.

<sup>106</sup>Tindall, p. 270.

<sup>107</sup>"New Trends for Factories--Go West! Go South!," U. S. News and World Report, LIX (November 1, 1965), pp. 94-95.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

manpower with the growing local industries. Along Florida's East coast, in Northern Alabama and in Eastern Texas, are huge space and missile centers where the United States government pours millions into the South's economy.<sup>109</sup>

Of course, all the new industrialization has had a profound effect on urbanization in the South. An important part of this urbanization concerns migration which is discussed in the next chapter.

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<sup>109</sup>"Why Industry is Moving South," p. 85.

## CHAPTER V

### MIGRATION TRENDS

There is taking place a great migration toward the urban centers in the South today. The census publication "Growth of Metropolitan Areas" found that the current rate of metropolitan development in the South is proceeding at a faster pace than the rate at which the North developed its larger metropolitan areas. From 1930 to 1950, the urban population climbed from one-third to almost one-half of the total population of the South. For every three city dwellers in 1940, there were four in 1950.<sup>110</sup> Meanwhile, the rural population in the South dropped from 65.9 per cent in 1930 to 42.3 per cent in 1960.<sup>111</sup>

Two things are most important in migration to the cities. The first of these is the sources and the magnitude of the migration to Southern cities. The other important factor is the selectivity of the migration.

Urban population in the South is gained most through rural migration to the cities. More males have moved to

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<sup>110</sup>Vance, "The Urban Breakthrough in the South," p. 225.

<sup>111</sup>Leiserson, p. 29.

urban centers than have females; many of these men came in at a youthful age in search of economic opportunities. By doing this, they make the maximum contribution to the urban labor force and also, since they are soon joined by young wives, they contribute to an increase in the urban birth rate.<sup>112</sup>

Migrations to various cities do not come completely from rural areas; a significant number of them originate in urban areas. The 1940 Census showed that of the 8,230,000 urban residents in 1940 who migrated to Southern cities between 1935 and 1940, 5,663,353 of them had lived in other urban centers in 1935. Though this movement does not contribute to the total growth of the urban population, it is an important factor in the redistribution of this population.<sup>113</sup>

The South has attracted some migration from other regions. In 1940, 9.1 per cent (1,350,960) of Southern urban residents had been born outside the South. Three-fifths of these had come from the North Central region, about one-third of them were from the Northeast, and the remainder came from the West.

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<sup>112</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 55.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid.

Despite this, urban centers in the South depend much less on outside migration than do centers in the North and in the West. This is exemplified by the fact that in 1940, the populations of Atlanta and New Orleans were highly homogeneous in origin while those of Los Angeles and Chicago were extremely heterogeneous. In fact, much of their populations had come from the South itself; Los Angeles had about 163,000 native Southerners while Chicago had 183,000 people from the South.<sup>114</sup>

Migrants to the South in 1940 were measured in terms of (1) race, (2) age, (3) sex, (4) education, and (5) occupation.

The 1935-40 Census showed that the median age for the male migrant was 29.1 years as compared to 31.6 years for the existing resident. For the female, the median age for the migrant was 27.6 years as compared to 32 years for the existing resident. It was also found that the older migrants came from urban areas, while the young migrants were those who came from rural areas.

It is interesting to note that the 1940 Census shows migrants to Southern cities to be better educated than non-migrants. Males from ages 25 through 35 had an average

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<sup>114</sup>Ibid., pp. 58-60.

educational level of 12.1 years if they were migrants and only 9.1 years if they were non-migrants. Female migrants had an average educational level of 12.1 years as compared to 9.7 for non-migrants.

The Census also showed that many of the male migrants were concentrated in the service-production occupations; also, many of them concentrated in professional or semi-professional categories. This was truer of urban migrants than of rural migrants.<sup>115</sup>

There is, of course, a large migration which moves from the South. There was an estimated two million net loss, or five per cent, of the population between 1940 and 1950.<sup>116</sup>

Migration to the South from other regions has been called America's Third Trek. This Trek is a movement toward the sun and the South. It is a movement of both young and old. A good example of the trend is St. Petersburg, Florida which had a population of 273 in 1890 and a population of 96,700 in 1950.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid., pp. 64-73.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>117</sup>White, pp. 29-39.

## I. WOMEN AND THE MIGRATION

Women have advanced in employment faster than men.<sup>118</sup> From 1920 to 1950, the per cent of women (fourteen and over) in the nation's labor force had increased from 23.3 per cent to 28.9 per cent. From 1940 to 1950, the employment of males in the South increased by 14.9 per cent as compared to 37.2 per cent for women. Women were 23.5 per cent of the labor force in 1940; in 1950, they were 26.9 per cent of the labor force.<sup>119</sup> Many women moved into white-collar positions in Southern cities.<sup>120</sup>

## II. THE SOUTHERN NEGRO AND MIGRATION

To the Negro, the great shrinkage in agriculture has meant reduced employment and increased movement out of the South.<sup>121</sup> From 1930 to 1960, 3,237,000 Negroes left the South as compared to 1,110,000 whites.<sup>122</sup> This means that

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<sup>118</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 4.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>120</sup>Vance, "The Urban Breakthrough in the South," p. 230.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>122</sup>Leiserson, p. 34.

the instance of Negroes being so many times more numerous than whites in some areas has been greatly reduced. With the disappearance of the Negro has often disappeared the institution of share-cropping.<sup>123</sup> Since 1910, there has been a considerable relative increase of the Negro population in the Northeastern and Eastern North Central States and a sharp relative decrease of this population in the South.<sup>124</sup> In 1930, 26.1 per cent of the Southern population was Negro as compared to 21.0 per cent in 1960. In 1930, the non-South had a Negro population of 3.5 per cent. By 1960, this had risen to 6.6 per cent.<sup>125</sup>

The Census of 1910 records the high tide of the rural Negro in the South. The turbulent decade of 1940-1950 witnessed the greatest Negro redistribution that has ever occurred in the United States. The existing trends were intensified by wartime mobilization and industrialization. By 1950, every major metropolitan area had a sizeable Negro population.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>"The Change in Industrial America (Story of What's Happening in the South)," U. S. News and World Report, XV (January 27, 1956), p. 48.

<sup>124</sup>John Fraser Hart, "The Changing Distribution of the American Negro," Association of American Geographers - Annals, L (September, 1960), pp. 242-243.

<sup>125</sup>Leiserson, p. 35.

<sup>126</sup>Hart, p. 245.

Outside of North Carolina and Florida, the counties which had their maximum Negro population in 1950 are urban; thus redistribution is closely related to the distribution of major urban centers. The largest number of Negro migrants to the urban centers came from the counties which had the densest rural Negro population. Most of these migrants are the younger Negroes which removes much of the reproduction potential of the regions which they leave.<sup>127</sup>

Many of the migrants going outside the region were Negroes. Chicago drew most of its Negroes from regions adjacent to the Mississippi River while New York and Philadelphia drew theirs from the South Atlantic states. Thus, the Negro migration mainly followed the transportation routes.

In contrast, Negroes residing in Southern cities were generally born in that state. The Census of 1940 shows that Mississippi sent few Negroes to New Orleans despite its proximity to the area, but it sent 50,000 Negroes to Chicago.<sup>128</sup> Most of the migration of Negroes from the South has been due to their inability to fit in with the urbanization of the South and the loss of positions which they had

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<sup>127</sup>Ibid., pp. 255-263.

<sup>128</sup>Vance, The Urban South, pp. 59-60.

formerly retained.

In 1930, Negroes comprised about 70.0 per cent of persons employed in personal service. In 1950, this had dropped to 62.0 per cent. In 1930, the Negroes made up 33.1 per cent of the total employed Southern labor force; by 1950, this had dropped to 22.6 per cent.

Generally Negroes who moved from rural areas were not assimilated into other occupations, thus most of them migrated to urban centers in the North.<sup>129</sup> Those who did remain in the South followed whites to regional urban centers in about the same proportions, but in much smaller numbers. In 1950, 47.1 per cent of the white population lived in urban centers as compared to 45.1 per cent for the Negro population; but the greater number of Negroes have left the South.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-49.

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

## CHAPTER VI

### GROWTH IN THE URBAN SOUTH

This chapter is for the purpose of defining what urbanization actually is. It will show how the South has been developing in urban terms as compared with the nation as a whole; it will try to indicate what trends toward urbanization are now developing, and it will demonstrate Atlanta and Houston as Southern urban centers.

#### I. WHAT IS URBANIZATION?

T. Lynn Smith has expressed the belief that there is a ceiling at which the largest urban centers must stop while rural regions may continue urbanization at an ever-increasing rate. He believes that this then lowers the ceilings on growth in the great urban areas.<sup>131</sup>

Urbanization means a redistribution of the population and the peopling of the cities. It also means an increasing shift from agrarian to industrial services.<sup>132</sup>

The redistribution of the region's population involved in the process of urbanization meant an increase in

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<sup>131</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 35.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

the number of urban centers and an increase in the size of these centers.<sup>133</sup> Urbanization as redistribution of the population involves more than a simple movement from country to city; it also involves mass shifts in the occupation of the people.

Urbanization means the transfer of workers from agriculture to manufacturing and to the service and distribution occupations. This brings a rise in income which causes overall economic progress.<sup>134</sup> Urbanization, metropolitan growth, and economic development are inseparable.<sup>135</sup> Urbanization involves also the spread of urban ways of living to the surrounding rural areas. Over a period of time, urbanization tends to lower the birth rates both of those who move and of those who stay at home.<sup>136</sup>

## II. COMPARATIVE GROWTH IN THE URBAN CENTERS

Urbanization in the South has been developing in much the same manner as the nation as a whole except that it has

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<sup>133</sup>Homer L. Hitt, "Population Movements in the Southern United States," Scientific Monthly, LXXXII (May, 1956), p. 241.

<sup>134</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 38.

<sup>135</sup>Hitt, p. 245.

<sup>136</sup>Vance, The Urban South, p. 5.

lagged about fifty years behind. Not until the decade from 1840 to 1850 did the South reach a degree of urbanization comparable with that of the rest of the nation at the time of the first census which was in 1790. By 1900, the South was urbanized to the extent reached by the nation as a whole in 1850. In 1940, the South's urban population equalled that of the rest of the United States in 1890. It was at this time that the rate speeded up, so at the time of the 1950 Census, the South lagged behind only forty years.<sup>137</sup>

In 1900, the South had only six cities listed in the ranking of the nation's fifty largest cities. The Southern cities were: New Orleans, which was in eleventh place; Louisville in eighteenth place; Memphis which held thirty-seventh place; Atlanta which was forty-third; Richmond in forty-sixth place; and Nashville in forty-seventh place.<sup>138</sup>

After 1900, the West entered into competition with the South so that by the 1920 Census, the South still had only seven of the nation's fifty largest cities. New Orleans held twenty-second place; Louisville had thirty-fourth place; Atlanta was in thirty-eighth; Memphis in forty-fifth; San Antonio in forty-sixth; Dallas in forty-seventh; and Houston was in fiftieth place.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-34.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>139</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Urban growth began in earnest in the South between World War I and World War II. About the end of World War I, the whole Gulf Coast area became urbanized. R. D. McKenzie attributes this to the new importance of recreation, retirement, and industrial development in the area.<sup>140</sup>

By 1940, the South's number of the nation's fifty largest cities had doubled since the 1920 Census and the South contained fourteen cities of the fifty largest in the nation. These cities were: Houston in fourteenth place; New Orleans in sixteenth place; Dallas in twenty-second place; San Antonio in twenty-fifth place; Memphis in twenty-sixth place; Louisville in thirtieth place; Atlanta in thirty-third place; Birmingham in thirty-fourth place; Fort Worth in thirty-eighth place; Miami in forty-second place; Oklahoma City in forty-fifth place; Richmond in forty-sixth place; Norfolk in forty-eighth place; and Jacksonville in forty-ninth place.<sup>141</sup>

By 1950, the South was about equally divided between rural and urban. The rural was about equally divided between farm and non-farm.<sup>142</sup> This meant that in 1950, about 18,000,000 Southerners were classified as urban; this

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<sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., pp. 38-40.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid.

was about 42.9 per cent as compared to 59.0 per cent for the rest of the nation.<sup>143</sup>

In 1950, the South contained 25.4 per cent of the nation's urban places. It contained twenty-nine cities with a large population. Houston with a population of 596,163 and New Orleans with a population of 570,445 had joined the half-million club. The South had two such cities out of a total of eighteen in the nation. The South was entering its metropolis stage.<sup>144</sup>

### III. THE METROPOLIS

A city is considered a metropolis if it is able to organize and integrate a hinterland so as to lead its production and trade into national and world channels. In order to do this it must be able to organize its market, especially as concerned with wholesale distribution. It must be able to regulate its industry. It also must develop a good organization of transportation and communication facilities, and it must accomplish the maturation of financial organization.<sup>145</sup> According to Rupert Vance and

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<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-33.

<sup>145</sup>Vance, "The Urban Breakthrough in the South," pp. 230-231.

Lara Smith, all metropolises are large cities, but not all large cities are metropolises. Population size is a concomitant; function is the keynote.<sup>146</sup>

The South is now developing these new metropolitan centers. The South's new centers will not threaten to disrupt the lines of dominance already established in the national economy; but in order for the South to share in the nation's wealth, it must generate regional capitals where economic leaders can operate with assurance.<sup>147</sup>

The emergence of genuine metropolises in the South show that the region has really moved out of its state of colonial economy. Ranking shows that Houston, Atlanta, and Dallas are second-ranking metropolises; they are second only to centers such as New York and Chicago. New Orleans, Memphis, Louisville, and Birmingham are third-ranking metropolises.

Ranking is determined partly by a city's position in the Federal Reserve System and partly by the number of branch offices of major national corporations which are found in that city.

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<sup>146</sup>Leiserson, p. 63.

<sup>147</sup>Vance, "The Urban Breakthrough in the South," p. 232.

In 1950, of the nation's thirty-three metropolitan areas, the South had seven. A metropolitan area is one which has a population of 500,000 or more. In 1960, there were 212 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the continental United States and seventy-eight of these were in the South.<sup>148</sup>

#### IV. HOUSTON AND ATLANTA

A metropolis is important in the services and facilities which it provides to its citizens. In order to grow, an urban center must keep up with the tempo of the times. The two most important Southern metropolises, Houston and Atlanta, have certainly done this. These two centers are representative of the new life that is coming to the South.

Houston is the greatest of the Southern metropolises. It began as a port city, but it now contains three-fourths the population of Harris County, Texas; an annexation in 1956 raised it to 352 square miles. This makes it the second largest city in the United States in land area; Los Angeles is first.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup>Leiserson, p. 63.

<sup>149</sup>L. S. Greene and D. R. Grant, "Metropolis: Texas Style; Report on Houston and Harris County," National Municipal Review, VLI (December, 1957), pp. 572-573.

Despite the fact that Houston is one of the largest and most important metropolitan areas in the South, it is one of the least governed due to the extreme individualism.<sup>150</sup>

Houston's population has increased remarkably since World War II, even outranking the tremendous Los Angeles metropolitan growth.

The location of a new National Aeronautics and Space Administration center has been a big boom to Houston, especially in broadening its economic outlook. The NASA has given a direct boost to the universities, which claim to offer the world's first graduate course in space science.<sup>151</sup> NASA has symbolized a social and economic revolution in Houston. The population of the Clear Lake area has jumped from 7,520 in 1960 to about 30,000 in 1965; 1,500 homes and about 800 new apartment units have been built, and the value of the land has quadrupled. Family income in the area around the space center averages \$9,500 compared to \$6,050 for the rest of Houston.<sup>152</sup>

Since NASA came to Houston in 1961, the population

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<sup>150</sup>Leiserson, p. 78.

<sup>151</sup>"Business in Space," Economist, CCXVII (November 13, 1965), p. 723.

<sup>152</sup>"What Houston Won When NASA Came to Town," Business Week (September 11, 1965), p. 90.

has risen from 1,498,000 to 1,727,000; and employment has risen from 551,530 to 621,400. Bank deposits for this period have risen from 2.8 billion to 3.4 billion.<sup>153</sup> NASA has also brought a boom to manufacturing; there is an industrial park being developed in the Houston area which it is estimated to take fifteen to twenty years to complete. The park is being built by Humble and is called Bayport; it will cost an estimated \$900,000,000. The first plant built in it was for Retzloff Chemical Corporation.<sup>154</sup>

Another popular subdivision of Houston is Nassau Bay. A unique feature of this division is that the town has a plant that supplies year-round metered air conditioning and heating to the commercial buildings and apartments.<sup>155</sup>

Dallas used to be considered cultural and Houston industrial. Now Houston is just as cultural as Dallas. Houston recently opened the Jesse H. Jones Hall for the Performing Arts; this was named for him because he was an early patron of the arts.<sup>156</sup> Houston Music Theatre opened

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<sup>153</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid., pp. 90-94.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>156</sup>"Houston Wins Its Big City Spurs," Business Week, (November 19, 1966), p. 138.

early in 1966. Another example of Houston's cultural offerings is the fact that Sir John Barbirolli is resident conductor of the symphony orchestra.<sup>157</sup>

Houston has provided excellent medical services for its populace, especially with its new Texas Medical Center.<sup>158</sup> Banking is another abundant service which Houston offers. It is said that Houston abounds in banks because it is such a wealthy city.<sup>159</sup> The largest bank in Houston is First City National, and the second largest is the Texas National Bank of Commerce.<sup>160</sup>

One of the major reasons for Houston's phenomenal growth is its unmatched supply of natural resources; the region has two-thirds of the nation's sulphur and bountiful supplies of oil, salt, lime, gas, and water. A lot of Houston's wealth is based on oil and petrochemicals. Houston's thirty refineries, the largest concentration in the world, can process almost two million barrels of crude

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<sup>157</sup>"Business in Space," p. 723.

<sup>158</sup>"Where the Space Race is Bringing a 25 Year Boom," U. S. News and World Report, (September 6, 1965), p. 47.

<sup>159</sup>H. Sutton, "Things are Looking Up in Houston," Saturday Review, VLII (November 14, 1964), p. 42.

<sup>160</sup>S. H. Brown, "Big Deal That Got Away," Fortune, LXXIV (October, 1966), p. 166.

oil per day, or about 25.0 per cent of the nation's capacity. The ninety chemical plants in the area turn out a varied assortment of almost 400 chemicals and materials, including about three-fourths of the nation's petrochemicals and half of its synthetic rubber. Most of these plants have developed since World War II.<sup>161</sup>

Houston has clung to the tradition of land expanding outward more than upward. From 1958 to 1966, about 8,000,000 square feet of offices have been built or put into construction. Sales Management magazine estimates that retail sales in the Houston metropolitan area rose from 1.6 billion dollars in 1956 to 2.6 billion in 1965. Department stores did not really come into Houston until after World War II. Foley Brothers was the first and now has 800,000 square feet of selling space. Like other stores, Foley's has recently expanded into the shopping centers.<sup>162</sup>

Houston offers good transportation facilities. A new Houston International Airport is being built; the site covers over 7,000 acres sixteen miles north of Houston. It will cost 150 million dollars, and it will provide plenty of space for handling passengers and the huge new planes. The

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<sup>161</sup>"Houston: Boomingest Town in the U. S.," Newsweek, LIX (June 11, 1962), p. 80.

<sup>162</sup>"Houston Wins Its Big City Spurs," pp. 136-137.

huge airport is now only partially open, but Director of Aviation Joseph A. Foster says that the entire airport is to be in operation by 1980 and will be capable of handling 6,000,000 passengers annually.<sup>163</sup> While Houston's new airport is being built, the old one handled about 3,000,000 passengers in 1966--approximately triple Houston's population.<sup>164</sup> By 1975, Houston plans to have four city-operated airports; this is necessary due to the tremendous increase in private aircraft.<sup>165</sup>

One service which Houston offers is a system of day care centers headed by the Caroline Green Center and its three affiliates--the Ann Taylor Center, the Myra Stevens Center, and the Pasadena Center. They work with an annual budget of more than \$300,000. They serve seven hundred children, own equipment worth \$25,000, and have assembled a qualified seventy member staff. The director of the Houston day-care centers is Malcolm Host.<sup>166</sup> The system

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<sup>163</sup>"World's First Supersonic Jet Airport: Houston Intercontinental Airport," Popular Science, CLXXXVIII (February, 1966), pp. 90-91.

<sup>164</sup>Erwin J. Bulbon, "Texas Expanding to Meet Air Traffic Growth," Aviation Weekly, LXXXV (December 19, 1966), p. 39.

<sup>165</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>166</sup>J. Robbins, "One City That Cares Enough to Make Every Mother's Day Care Dream Come True," Ladies Home Journal, LXXXVIII (July, 1966), p. 71.

was founded in 1952 by a group working with the Houston Family and Child Welfare Organization. The centers provide meals for the children and keep them while parents work; it charges little or no tuition. So far, 7,000 children have been enrolled at the centers.<sup>167</sup>

Houston has dug a channel to the Gulf of Mexico fifty-three miles away. This ditch has made Houston the third largest port in the United States; New York and New Orleans are larger.

The population of Houston is now 1.7 million people. There are two groups which are coming into Houston in numbers that are affecting it greatly. These are the technocrats and the executives. This has resulted from two upheavals that hit Houston. The first was the world-wide oil glut that demoralized the petroleum industry in the 1950's, and the second was the creation of the Manned Spacecraft Center on a saltgrass ranch thirty miles south of the city.<sup>168</sup>

The average Houstonian is twenty-seven years old compared to the national average of thirty-four. Houston is becoming a very lively city; a great deal of this can be

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<sup>167</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>168</sup>"Houston Wins Its Big City Spurs," p. 130.

attributed to the Astrodome, Houston's air-conditioned, roofed ball field. Originator and Manager Roy Hofheinz says that it has helped make Houston the top tourist attraction in the Southwest. The Astrodome cost \$31,000,000 and has a seating capacity of 50,000.<sup>169</sup>

Atlanta is the other great metropolitan center in the South. Today, Atlanta is a big market; it has changed greatly in the last decade. This is evident in the new vitality in the downtown business district of Five Points. Atlanta's metropolitan area gained 40.0 per cent in population from 1950 to 1960. In 1965, Atlanta had a population of 1.1 million. Retail sales were 1.5 billion dollars in 1964, a jump of 77.0 per cent in ten years.

The people who are coming into Atlanta at an average of one every fifteen minutes are generally under thirty-five. They create markets for a wider variety of goods and services. The Atlanta market today amounts to a uniquely Southern melting pot containing two basic ingredients-- native Atlantans and the thousands of newcomers.<sup>170</sup> From the 1930's to the 1960's, Atlanta has changed from the

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<sup>169</sup>Ibid., pp. 136-138.

<sup>170</sup>"Atlanta Has Its Own Blend," Business Week, (January 7, 1963), pp. 54-55.

tightest kind of provinciality to a splashy, loose cosmopolitanism.<sup>171</sup>

The majority of Atlanta's workers, about 70.0 per cent, are employed in white-collar work such as trade, services, government offices, transportation, and finance. Between 1950 and 1960, Atlanta's median family income rose by 96.0 per cent. The median in 1960 was 5,758 dollars which is slightly above the national average.

Atlanta attracts young people. One reason is that it has branch offices for about 400 of the top 500 national companies. It's also a leading medical center with research facilities such as the Communicable Disease Center of the United States Public Health Service.<sup>172</sup> The headquarters for the Bank of Georgia, a thirty-one story building, in Atlanta is the loftiest skyscraper in the Southeast.<sup>173</sup> The largest store in Atlanta is Rich's; it is also the largest store in the Southeast. In 1964, it sold \$96,000,000 worth of goods.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup>Elizabeth Stevenson, "Personal History of Change in Atlanta," Virginia Quarterly Review, XLI (Autumn, 1965), p. 581.

<sup>172</sup>"Atlanta Has Its Own Blend," p. 59.

<sup>173</sup>"Boom Town," Time, LXXX (August 17, 1962), p. 20.

<sup>174</sup>"Atlanta Has Its Own Blend," p. 55.

Atlanta is highly culture-conscious. This is partly shown in the annual Metropolitan Opera performances. Also, the Atlanta Art Association is undertaking a great culture expansion in memory of Atlanta culture leaders who were killed in a plane crash in Paris in 1962.<sup>175</sup>

Atlanta has been very interested in its traffic problems. In 1947, Atlanta's Chamber's Traffic and Safety Committee, headed by Robert R. Snodgrass, organized the Atlanta Traffic and Safety Council with Robert B. Leopold as executive director. In June of 1949, the Traffic Engineering Department was created. In 1950, the police department transferred four men who handled signs and markings, and the Signs and Markings Division was added. The Traffic Engineering Staff includes ninety-six employees; there are twenty-three members of the Engineering Staff, a thirty-six man Signs and Marking Division, and a thirty-seven man Traffic Signal and Street Lighting Division. The budget in 1966 was \$1,600,000. From 1963 to 1966, travel time out-bound on Peachtree Road alone dropped 50.0 per cent, and the capacity of the street to carry traffic rose by 30.0 per cent. The Department has also renovated the area

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<sup>175</sup>Ibid., pp. 61-62.

around Atlanta Stadium and is now able to clear crowds of 50,000 out of the stadium in less than thirty minutes.<sup>176</sup>

Another service of Atlanta's has been to furnish an abundant supply of water. Atlanta's Department of Water Works is as dynamic in public works as in development. They devised a means of attracting public interests in a water project by landscaping the construction site and then having a huge dedication ceremony. The reservoir project so improved the location that Manager Paul Weir and the Department of Water Works received the Phoenix Beautification Award for it from Atlanta's citizens. Manager Weir said that one purpose of the dedication was to provide a "healthy climate among business and political leaders for future capital-improvement funds."<sup>177</sup>

Thus, Houston and Atlanta have managed to provide the services, facilities, and growth trends which make them true metropolitan centers and which have caused them to have such an influence on the Southern people.

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<sup>176</sup>K. A. Bevins, "A Traffic Engineer Must be an Educator," American City, LXXXI (October, 1966), pp. 116-118.

<sup>177</sup>P. D. Eimon, "Visualizing the Invisible: Atlanta Shows How to Dedicate Water Services," American City, LXXX (November, 1965), pp. 130-132.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

The South has broken out of the shackles of its agrarian state and its colonial economy. The South has entered the race toward urbanization, and it is urbanizing at a faster pace than any of the nation's urban centers.

The further growth of cities in the South depends on three major trends. The first is the rate of increase of the population in the region. The second is that in order to continue its growth in urbanization, the South must also continue its rapid increase in secondary industry; and third, the South must continue to mechanize its agriculture.<sup>178</sup>

Southern leaders are assured that the modernization and ensuing urbanization will continue at its fast pace. They predict that the South will match the urbanization of the rest of the nation in the near future.

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<sup>178</sup>Vance, The Urban South, pp. 22-23.

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