

East Texas Historical Journal

Volume 30 | Issue 2

Article 1

10-1992

ETHJ Vol-30 No-2

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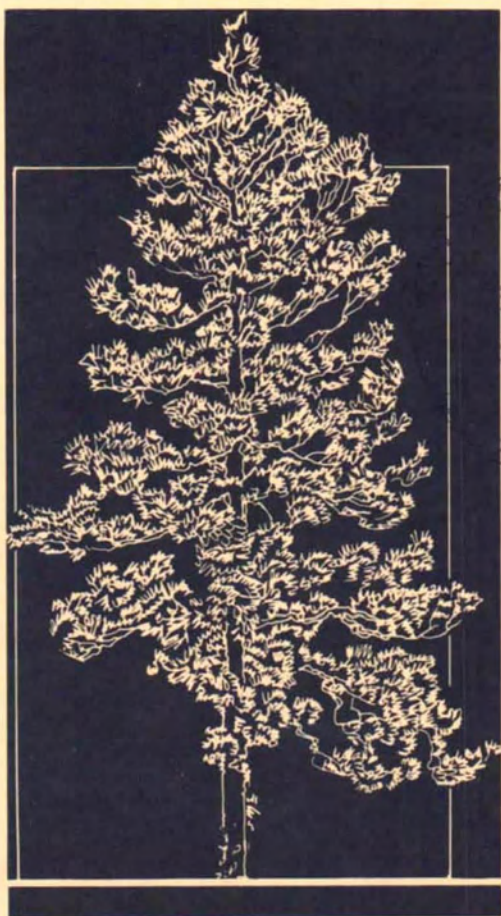
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VOLUME XXX

1992

NUMBER 2

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EAST TEXAS

HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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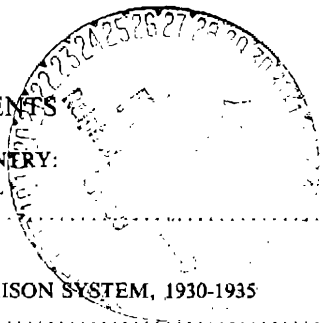
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XXX — East Texas Historical Association

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DEPRESSION TIMES IN RAYBURN COUNTRY: SOME ASPECTS OF THE NEW DEAL

by *Robert S. Weddle*

The Great Depression years of 1929-1932, in the assessment of Congressman Sam Rayburn, constituted "the most serious, far-reaching and dangerous crisis that ever threatened this country... We stood upon the verge of disaster."¹ Grim facts emphasize the truth of this rhetoric when it was uttered prior to World War II. In the years immediately following the market crash of 1929, fourteen million breadwinners, with twice as many dependents, were out of work. The thirty-three million persons engaged in agriculture were selling the fruits of their labor below production cost. Thus, seventy-five million Americans had virtually no buying power.² The nation's business structure, as well as the livelihood of millions of poverty-stricken families, was threatened.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt, in accepting the Democratic Party's nomination for president in 1932, pledged a "new deal for the American people," the country was ready for a reshuffling of the cards. Rayburn's Fourth Congressional District, comprising five North Texas counties wedged between the Cross Timbers and the East Texas Timberlands, was a case in point.³ A predominantly rural area in a state that was approaching an even balance between rural and urban populations, it had a preponderance of poor sharecroppers who had reached the end of their rope. Most lived in unpainted box houses without a telephone or electricity, on dirt roads that turned to quagmires when it rained. In essence, the twentieth century was passing them by.

The principal cash crop in this area was cotton. Nearly everything else that was grown, with the exception of wheat in some areas, went to feed the livestock used to make the crop. Almost ninety-five percent of Rockwall County's farm income, for example, was from cotton. Fannin County, with some seventy percent of its farms operated by tenants, had almost 344,000 acres in cropland, two-thirds of it in cotton.⁴ With an average yield of one-third bale per acre, farmers of this region contributed to the overproduction that lay at the roots of the Great Depression. The nation's economy literally was choked by surpluses of both raw materials and manufactured goods.

In Rayburn's judgment, "Franklin Roosevelt just hit the Presidency about the right time." When he took office on March 4, 1933, he "had a program and he had faith and confidence in the American people." There would never be anything to compare with the first 100 days of the Roosevelt Administration, Rayburn said. Because of the Depression and general panic the country over, "legislation had to be passed and passed quickly."⁵

The measures enacted sought three objectives: relief, recovery, and reform. The primary concern of the hundred-day emergency session of Congress, begun just five days after Roosevelt's inauguration, was relief. A significant means to that end was the restoration of hope. One of the most amazing aspects of the New Deal was the lightning swiftness with which legislation was passed and implemented. Equally amazing was the people's overwhelming and unified response when the president called for their personal involvement.

It would be hard to find an area in which the people rallied with more striking unanimity than in Fannin County, which, as Rayburn's home county, is chosen as the primary focus of this study. Even the bank closing decreed by Roosevelt immediately after taking office was greeted by stoicism, as reflected in a story told by Rayburn. A farm woman in his district, he related, came to the bank to withdraw funds. When told she could not because the president had closed the banks, she replied, "I guess Mr. Roosevelt knows best. He is trying to do something for us."⁶

The "something" that he was doing was far headier than the 3.2 percent beer that became legal on March 22, before repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Right behind the beer bill came creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps, then a measure authorizing half a billion dollars in direct federal grants to the states for relief. Public works were authorized in the National Industrial Recovery Act. On May 12, the Agricultural Adjustment Act became law.⁷

Relief funds from the state's block grant quickly became available in the Fourth Texas District. Luther Crawford, administrator in Fannin County for the Texas Relief Commission, received authorization early in May 1933 to enlist young men from impoverished families to work in government reforestation projects. With a county quota of eighty-four, he had "more than enough" applications by the end of the month. By June 3, thirty-four young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five had been sent to the Forest Service camp at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, for assignment in the Western states. Like those enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps, they were paid \$30 per month, with food, clothing, and medical services provided. All but \$5 of each man's monthly wage was sent home to his family.⁸

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration offered the unemployed two days' work a week on public projects, and for some that evidently was enough. A farmer who came to town looking for cotton choppers found few who wanted to work for the going wage of seventy-five cents or a dollar per day. Some, it appeared, preferred the two days of relief employment to steady work in the cotton patch.⁹ Farmers soon were poking jibes at the men on relief, whom they accused of getting pay for leaning on their shovel handles.

Passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, with vast implications

for the cotton farmer, brought swift action in the Fourth District. Under its authority, early in June Roosevelt's secretary of agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, put together a plan for diverting ten million acres from cotton production to other crops. To accomplish this, with seventy percent of the nation's cotton already planted, farmers must plow up part of their growing crop.¹⁰

Machinery to administer the program in Fannin County was assembled immediately. The Texas Agricultural Extension Service named John R. Spivey, Bonham High School vocational agriculture teacher and Chamber of Commerce secretary, as acting county agricultural agent to head the adjustment committee until the new agent, V.J. Young, arrived in mid-July. Spivey attended a regional school at Mount Pleasant to learn the procedure and called a farmers' meeting to explain the program, and another meeting to organize community committees. Bonham Chamber of Commerce directors, meanwhile, greased the wheels for a countywide campaign to acquaint the farmers with the program. Reid Spivey, Sr. and Dick Saunders were chosen to enlist speakers who would carry the message to the rural communities. The 600-member County Home Demonstration Club Council, endorsing the acreage-reduction plan, volunteered clerical work. Judge S.F. Leslie's office and the Chamber of Commerce were designated information centers.¹¹

As speakers began covering the county, they found most farmers enthusiastic and ready to sign contracts, "with little if any objection." When the sign-up was completed in mid-July, 4,269 Fannin County farmers had contracted to turn under 49,700 acres, for which cash payments totaled \$574,049. The plows started on July 25. On September 18, Sam Friday became the first farmer to receive a check — \$240 for plowing up twelve acres.¹²

The Bonham merchants and professional persons who had worked so diligently to put the program over saw in it the prospect of collecting past-due bills from the county's debt-ridden farmers. While the idea of plowing up a growing crop was anathema to many farmers, most recognized that the banker and the merchant had to be paid; they could not afford to pass up the immediate cash benefits.

To finance production curtailment, Secretary Wallace's plan called for a processing tax, levied on textile mills, amounting to about four cents per pound. For wheat-acreage reduction, the milling companies faced a tax of twenty-eight to thirty cents per bushel on milled grain — a matter of importance in Grayson County, where wheat was grown and milled. It was estimated that "Sherman mills" would be taxed \$1.8 million. While the tax amounted to \$1.36 per barrel of flour, the price of flour to the consumer was raised by \$1.50. In 1936 the United States Supreme Court ruled the tax unconstitutional and ordered \$200 million refunded to the cotton and wheat processors. The processors, however, were less eager

to reduce prices because of the refund than they had been to raise them to pay for the tax.¹³

The surplus-reduction program, meanwhile, had been broadened. First came the slaughter of four million pigs weighing less than 100 pounds and another million sows about to farrow. The meat that was usable was turned over to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for distribution to the needy. Secretary Wallace extended his processing tax to meat packers to cover the cost. During August--October, 1933, hogs moved to market centers from Fort Worth to Chicago. Some of the animals were from Fannin County. As expected, the plan raised hog prices; so much, in fact, that the Bonham daily — somewhat after the fact — declared that it had not worked out very well for the farmer, because “the farmers, along with the rest of us, have to pay dearly if he eats [*sic*] meat.”¹⁴

After the pig slaughter came the cow killing. The FERA allocated half a million dollars to purchase 20,000 or more cutter cows from Texas farmers. The cattle were to be slaughtered in the area where purchased and the meat processed at approved canneries staffed from the unemployment rolls. Such was the plan announced late in 1933. When actually implemented almost a year later, scores of cattle were slaughtered on the spot and left for the farmer to dispose of, while only the young stock were processed into beef. In the Ivanhoe-Telephone area, cattle from neighboring farms were gathered at a ranch owned by Sheriff Pude Chaffin and his deputy Waymond Johnson, where they were corralled and separated. The young stock, about a hundred head in all, was purchased for six cents per pound and driven some twenty miles to the railroad holding pens in Bonham, for eventual slaughter in an approved facility. The rest were shot, dragged to the river bank, and left for the wild animals and buzzards. Salvage of the meat was forbidden, an aspect of the program that even yet provokes sighs from those who recall the widespread poverty and hunger of the time. Such a prohibition, however, was not strictly enforced. After the government men were gone, some family heads who had witnessed the slaughter went to the river bank in the night and cut hindquarters from the dead cows as a buffer against starvation.¹⁵

The programs to reduce farm surpluses bore results, but they kept running into complications, such as the law of supply and demand. Hog prices went up following the killing of pigs and sows in 1933 — good for the farmer who had pigs to sell but bad for those who had to buy pork. Following the plow-up, the price of cotton climbed gradually until 1937, when an unexpectedly large crop tipped the balance. Some bitter lessons were learned: when the price began to rise, foreign cotton growers increased their production; the world surplus became largely the burden of the United States; and the American share of the foreign market dropped from forty percent to fifteen percent.¹⁶

Until the late 1940s, cotton was a way of life in Rayburn country. It is no more. Many factors too complex to be treated adequately here

entered into the agricultural reform that followed. Apart from the declining world market, they included World War II, the rise of synthetics, and population shifts due to multiple causes. The small tenant farmer who raised cotton became a displaced person. It is not so much that he was forced off the farm by his landlord but that the system under which he operated had become economically untenable for both landlord and tenant. Today, a cotton field is a rare sight in Fannin County, with scarcely 1,000 acres grown, where once there was 150,000 to 200,000. There were twenty-five to thirty gins in the county in the 1930s, but in 1990 there was only one.¹⁷ Other crops, notably wheat and grain sorghum, are grown on some of the former cotton land, but much of it has been turned back to grass.

The cotton plow-up campaign was followed closely in the feverish summer and fall of 1933 by an organized effort to win support for the National Industrial Recovery Act. Public solicitation raised expenses for Judge Leslie, a close Rayburn associate, to accompany a Grayson County delegation to a hearing in Washington on the proposed Red River dam — a concern that received Rayburn's staunch support until construction of the Denison dam began in 1939. Other individuals and delegations, attuned to the congressman's sound advice, journeyed to Dallas and Austin in furtherance of various bids for federal assistance. Chamber committees scurried about, altering their petitions and purposes to fit amorphous government priorities. One objective was channel dredging on the North Sulphur River and Bois d'arc Creek to improve drainage and reduce the threat of mosquito-borne malaria.

The promise of a state park on condition that the local people provide a 500-acre site sparked a Bonham city charter-change election to enable transfer of city lake property to the state and the purchase of additional land. The vote in September favored the plan, 307 to twenty-three — testimony to the local newspaper's editorial leadership.¹⁸ With indications that the CCC would build the park, a search had to be made for a site for the camp.

In all such dealings, the Bonham *Daily Favorite*, of which H.A. McDougal and Ashley Evans were publisher and editor, was a strong supporter. McDougal, in fact, was president of the Bonham Chamber of Commerce. The newspaper diligently reported daily happenings on local, state, and national levels and offered interpretation of complicated issues — albeit with a liberal sprinkling of editorial opinion in the news columns.

Project planning to access government aid pressed forward throughout the Fourth District. The East Texas Chamber of Commerce sponsored a conference in Paris on how political subdivisions might carry out public projects under the National Recovery Act. "As the National Recovery Bill now stands," expostulated the *Daily Favorite*, "practically every kind of public project will be eligible."¹⁹ In one manner or another, under one New Deal measure or another, nearly every kind was. On the heels of the Paris meeting, H.A. Glass, Bonham school superintendent and chairman

of the Chamber of Commerce's new projects committee, put his group to work. Subcommittees sought funding from the Public Works Administration for school improvements and extension of the city's water and sewer lines. Out of the effort came remodeling at the high school to provide more classrooms and expanded library facilities and construction of an auditorium-gymnasium, completed in 1938 at a contract figure of \$57,595.²⁰

Across the country, meanwhile, the states were voting on prohibition repeal. With Texas' vote scheduled for August 26, 1933, Nat Lovelace of Bonham circulated a petition for a local-option election the same day. Similar referenda were called in three of Grayson County's four precincts. Near Ivanhoe in north Fannin County, a community noted in the 1980s for its winery, the sheriff's booze-hating deputy seized a still and eight gallons of moonshine whiskey. In mid-July, 3.2 percent beer went on sale in Oklahoma. Texans heading for the nearest watering hole jammed the Red River bridge north of Denison in a manner likened to the Sooner land rush of 1889. Off-premise dispensers north of the river were surrounded by automobiles filled with beer-guzzling Texans, drowning their Depression blues in the suds. When the election was held, Grayson and Kaufman counties voted wet, while Fannin, Hunt, Collin, and Rockwall chose to remain dry. The sale of beer became legal in Texas, on a local-option basis, on September 14.²¹

Things were moving fast now, the Bonham daily observed: "...there are opportunities for the communities that are able to see far enough ahead to get them before the other fellow does." With Texas allotted more than \$24 million in federal highway funds, the Fourth District was ready to claim its share. The new Highway 5 (now U.S. 82), already well underway when Roosevelt took office, would link Bonham and Sherman and enable Bonham motorists to drive all the way to Dallas on paved roads. Committees were formed to work on other projects to link Bonham and Trenton and to connect Telephone and Ravenna in north Fannin County with State Highway 78, soon to extend from Bonham to the Red River. The federal highway program, designed to relieve unemployment, limited each man to thirty hours work per week. The usual road-building machinery gave way to picks and shovels, that more men might be employed.²²

At the suggestion of Dr. Tom Spies, Fannin County native and nationally acclaimed nutritionist, Rayburn put forth a plan for canning projects to benefit both the producer and the needy. Canneries, supervised by Mrs. Nevil Felty and Miss Edith Wasson, were established at Bailey and Bonham to process meats and vegetables from area farms and gardens on shares. The projects' share was distributed to needy families. As a side benefit, "scores" of women were given thirty hours employment per week at forty cents an hour. The RFC funded equipment for the projects, which were taken over by the short-lived Civil Works Administration. The

Chamber of Commerce provided a building for the Bonham project, while gas and electric companies provided utilities free of charge.²³ The projects seem to have ended, however, when Roosevelt terminated the CWA early in 1934.

The government's activism also extended to upgrading sanitary facilities for rural homes. The RFC funded the Texas State Health Department for such a project. Labor to dig pit toilets was provided for property owners willing to spend \$1 to \$3 for materials. A State Health Department representative came to Fannin County to supervise the installation and offer public demonstrations. Some sixty persons witnessed the first event at Windom. Thence, the crew proceeded to Allen's Chapel, Whiteshed, and Savage.²⁴

The extent to which the government was involving itself in the lives and thought processes of the people stands out in the campaign to implement the NRA. Directed by General Hugh Johnson — “a gruff, pugnacious, martinet” — the NRA sought to negotiate codes governing the operation of various industries, affecting hours, wages, prices, working conditions, and competitive practices. Johnson instigated a nationwide campaign, urging each employer and each householder to pledge support. Upon returning the signed pledge card to the local post office, the householder or business proprietor would receive the NRA “membership” insignia — a blue eagle with the legend, “We Do Our Part” — and license to display it in home or business.²⁵

The Bonham newspaper, in communicating the appeal to “every employer,” carried a banner headline on page one proclaiming, “WE ARE ALL BACKING PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S NEW DEAL.” The local Chamber of Commerce endorsed the National Recovery Act; so did the Retail Merchants Association. The Retail Grocers Association not only gave its endorsement but planned to carry the campaign to crossroads country stores throughout the county. Automobile repairmen formed an organization “to formulate a code of fair competition and submit it to the proper authorities for ratification.” “This is the greatest campaign ever put on in the United States since the World War,” the newspaper trumpeted, “and it is equally or even more important that it be carried out in the minutist detail.” Next day, a sketch of Roosevelt surrounded by a cheering throng with a backdrop of the flag — doubtless reproduced from a mat sent out by Johnson's office — centered the front page. The caption: “Everybody is Yelling for President Roosevelt and They Believe His Policy Will Restore Prosperity.” Merchants paid for a full-page signature ad proclaiming their support of the NRA.²⁶

The Blue Eagle NRA insignia suddenly appeared everywhere: in store windows and newspaper ads, on automobile windshields and the narrow glass panes of board shanties at the edge of the cotton fields. It was everyone's badge of respectability in the New Deal effort to restore the country to economic soundness. Failure to display it, General Johnson

implied, would be as onerous as refusing to salute the flag in wartime; for a business to have it removed for failure to comply with the NRA code would mean loss of both clientele and social standing.

Response to the mail campaign notwithstanding, Johnson wanted more. In late August a chamber-sponsored organization was formed "for the purpose of carrying out the NRA code" in Fannin County. Albert Taylor, Bonham postmaster, was named general chairman, with Will Nevill as general and Mrs. Travis Lipscomb as lieutenant general; and so on, down through colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants. Their job was to call on all businesses not already displaying the Blue Eagle and persuade them to mount the NRA bandwagon. Every housewife in the Bonham trade area who had not signed a consumer card would be contacted and urged to do so. The pledge: "I will co-operate in re-employment by supporting and patronizing employers and workers who are members of N.R.A." The campaign workers' job also encompassed the hearing of complaints; if matters could not be adjusted on the spot, "a Federal man" was to be called to make the adjustment. In Bonham, the campaign began with the assignment of block workers. The county home demonstration agent — Miss Minnie Eldridge, a cousin of Congressman Rayburn — was responsible for taking the drive to the rural areas. Workers were assigned for each rural community. More than 300 were involved.²⁷ Their message was reinforced on September 18, when the first-class postage rate went up a penny and the new three-cent, NRA stamp, replete with the eagle, was issued.

Rational judgments are not apt to be made when the house is on fire. Had there been time for solemn reflection, the people might have raised questions as to how such tactics squared with the American tradition. A few, in fact, did. Texas Attorney General James V. Allred warned that the price-fixing feature of NRA was in violation of both state and federal anti-trust laws. Ultimately, the Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision on May 27, 1935, declared the National Recovery Act unconstitutional because it granted legislative powers to the executive branch. Yet the NRA, which had given jobs to two million workers and checked deflation, left a lasting legacy in the minimum wage and the abolishment of child labor.²⁸

In August 1933, it was estimated that FERA had distributed unemployment funds to ten to twenty percent of Fannin County's unemployed. By August 15 the funds were exhausted. In November, the biggest employment program yet came to the county. Luther Crawford was authorized by the new Civil Works Administration to put to work all the able-bodied on the relief rolls, thirty hours per week, thirty cents per hour — three times the going rate for farm labor. On the appointed day, 928 men (of about 1,000 on the roles) reported at the various county towns. They were to work on city streets and water lines, county roads, and school grounds. Each man brought his own hand tools to use instead of the usual machinery to make the work last longer. A warning was

sounded that each was expected to contribute a day's work for a day's pay; contrary to previous practices, supervisors had the authority to terminate shirkers.²⁹

Such admonitions, however, did not end the widespread image of the relief worker as a chronic shirker, which persisted from the earlier FERA and CWA to the later Works Progress Administration. Farmers, resentful that the government had tripled the customary wage for field hands, were especially derisive. They pictured the relief worker as a loafer who was paid out of all proportion to his worth. The farmer made jokes about the relievers, who occasionally turned the tables. There was a story, for example, of a farmer on his way to town in his wagon who gave a ride to a stranger. As the wagon lumbered along, a terrapin was seen crossing the road. "You know what that reminds me of?" the farmer queried. "Nope," replied his passenger. "WPA worker," said the farmer, unaware that he was delivering a personal insult. Silence prevailed until a jackrabbit jumped in front of the wagon and took off at a run across an adjacent field. "Know what that reminds me of?" asked the rider. "Nope," said the farmer. Stranger: "Farmer going after his plow-up check."³⁰

While the CWA put men to work on public projects, a banner headline on October 4, 1933, heralded success of Bonham's state park quest. Another on the thirteenth announced that the CCC camp would be located on East Fourth Street (since renamed Sam Rayburn Drive, for the man who made it all possible) on property owned by Lonnie Fuller. Ten days later, the army awarded a contract for \$10,270 for building nine frame buildings, including a half a dozen 20 x 112-foot barracks to house 200 men, with but thirty days allowed for completion. The army took possession on November 28. Construction contract was let and work begun, meanwhile, for a CCC camp in neighboring Grayson County for building Loy Lake Park. The park facilities in Grayson and Fannin counties, said the Bonham paper, would become a "very attractive" recreation area.³¹

The prophesy was fulfilled, not so much by Bonham State Park and the Grayson County facility as by the Denison dam, completed in 1944 to impound more than five million acre-feet of water in Lake Texoma. The multipurpose project provided flood control and hydroelectric power, as well as recreation, with the side benefit of 11,000 acres set aside in Hagerman National Wildlife Refuge, where migrating waterfowl could feed and rest.³²

CCC camps such as those located at Bonham, Honey Grove, Sherman, and Farmersville, offered dual benefits: employment of young men from needy families plus the projects they carried out. At the Bonham State Park site northeast of town, the 200 men from the local camp constructed the dam to impound a sixty-five-acre lake. They quarried native limestone and cut it into blocks with two-man crosscut saws to build a bathhouse, concession stand, and pavillion. The relief benefits for the participants and their families were attested by Jesse Nowlin, fatherless since

age twelve and at sixteen virtually the only means of support for his mother and two younger children. Nowlin, who died on September 13, 1990, recalled fudging on his age to join the CCC. His previous relief job under CWA, "busting rocks" on the streets of Leonard, was being phased out; the family's situation was desperate. "We were dirt poor, I can tell you," Nowlin said. "The President came to the rescue [with the CCC]. I was so proud of that job!"³³

Nowlin remained with the company through its transfer in November 1936, to Randall County, Texas, where it constructed facilities for Palo Duro Canyon State Park. He, like a great number of other young men, made a swift transition from Depression times to wartime. Enlisting in the Marine Corps, he was among the defenders of Wake Island in the early days of World War II and, after the island fell, spent almost four years in a Japanese prison camp.

The Public Works Administration, which paid for the construction of Denison Dam, supported various other permanent improvements throughout the Fourth District. The City of Sherman affords a good example of how federal funds from the PWA were accessed to provide needed civic improvements. Having purchased the unfinished auditorium of the defunct Kidd-Key College, through Rayburn's auspices the city obtained a \$55,000 PWA grant to finish the building as a city hall and municipal auditorium. An additional \$65,000 was approved in 1937 for waterworks improvements. Grayson County obtained assistance for erecting a new courthouse, including jail, replacing one that had been burned down by a lynch mob.³⁴

More complex and less noticeable in its results was the Resettlement Administration, which sought to move impoverished farmers from sub-marginal land and give them a fresh start on more productive soil. One of its aims also was to help tenant farmers become landowners. A token effort in this regard was made in the Nunnelee Community, located a few miles northwest of Bonham. The government bought the Allen ranch, comprising 1000 acres or so, and divided it into farm tracts of a little more than 100 acres each. On each tract a frame house was built. Through the Farm Security Administration, low-interest, long-term loans were made available for qualifying farmers to purchase them.³⁵

A. W. Jones, a sharecropper who had been moving every two or three years, acquired one of these tracts as the second owner in 1945, through FSA. His widow was still living on the property, in the original house, in 1990. At first, she recalls, it had no bathroom and no closets, and the only water supply was an above-ground cistern tank that caught water off the roof; but for the Joneses it was their first real home. The farm made them a living, and they were able to pay off the note. "There were good years and bad," says Mrs. Jones. "Without it, I guess we'd have gone on moving every two or three years."³⁶

Brought together in the Resettlement Administration in 1937 were a land-utilization program begun in 1934 under the FERA and the USDA land-policy section. Nationwide, more than nine million acres of misused land were purchased by the government at an average cost of \$4.85 per acre. This land was restored to range, forestry, and other conservation uses. Under this program, what became the Caddo National Grasslands was established in 1935 on 17,729 acres in Fannin County, most of it (13,135 acres) in the Bois d'arc unit in the badly eroded northeast sector. With relief labor, two lakes — Coffee Mill and Davy Crockett, 750 acres and 400 acres — were built on the Bois d'arc unit. The lakes were stocked with fish and the area restocked with whitetail deer and permitted for grazing. Administered by the Resettlement Administration for the first two years, the grasslands were put under the Soil Conservation Service in 1938, then transferred to the USDA Forest Service in 1953.³⁷

Additionally, the Lake Fannin unit adjacent to the Red River north of Bonham, contains 2,026 acres and a forty-eight-acre lake; the Ladonia unit contains 2,668 acres in small, scattered tracts along the North Sulphur River in southeastern Fannin County. While Lake Fannin, like lakes Coffee Mill and Crockett, is accessible for fishing, the lodge and cabins built and furnished by the Works Progress Administration are in a poor state of repair and have been sealed off from public use. The grasslands, like the parks built by the CCC and Lake Texoma, enhance the potential of Rayburn country as a recreation area but are not widely used.³⁸

The local Forest Service office overseeing the Caddo National Grasslands occupies a building in Bonham with three agricultural agencies born of the New Deal: the Soil Conservation Service, the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, and the Farmers Home Administration, successors to the Triple A and Farm Security Administration. The SCS, made a permanent agency in 1935, soon was operating in most counties, offering technical assistance and funding for terracing, pond building, and growing of soil-building crops. It changed the face of the land, largely for the better. In two Fannin County watershed programs, dams on small tributaries of Caney and Pilot Grove creeks have tamed the floods that previously were the bane of bottomland farmers. SCS personnel have developed conservation plans with 1600 landowners, encompassing 300,000 of the county's 575,000 acres.³⁹ In sum, the agency has performed a vital role, conserving the nation's basic natural resource, in spite of shifting political winds and government initiatives that tend to dilute its original purpose.

The SCS still provides the engineering work for farm ponds, terraces, and waterways funded on a cost-share basis by ASCS. The ASCS also has charge of the commodity loan program for wheat, grain sorghum, corn, oats, and upland cotton, as well as the subsidy program for those farmers who are willing to curtail acreage when required and abide by other government restrictions. Farmers are not required to participate in

the ASCS program. About thirty percent of those in Fannin County do not. Choosing not to be fettered by the government rules, they reap none of the benefits but enjoy more freedom in the management of their own affairs.⁴⁰ It was loss of this freedom that a *Daily Favorite* editorial warned in 1937 — after the newspaper had changed hands: “If the cotton farmer wants the government to pay him fifteen cents a pound for cotton he should be ready to surrender his right to manage his own farm and let a government bureau manage it for him... .”⁴¹

The Farmers Home Administration’s original purpose was to administer farm operating and farm housing loans. This role has been broadened to include funding rental housing in cities up to 20,000 population, including a project in Bonham. It makes loans for development of community facilities for public use in rural areas, for low-rent housing for domestic farm laborers, and for water and waste disposal in towns up to 10,000 population. And under the “FmHA Wellness Program” it issues leaflets advising farmers to “Take Control of the Stress in Your Life.”⁴²

The New Deal programs that helped the farmer most were those that enabled him to help himself. They were also the work in which Congressman Rayburn, who co-authored five major bills of the New Deal, took the greatest pride: the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 and legislation creating farm-to-market roads.⁴³ Utility companies had been unwilling to assume the financial burden of extending power lines into thinly populated rural areas. Rayburn recognized that farm families, isolated on mud roads without electricity, were the forgotten people of the twentieth century. They washed their clothes on a rubboard, with water drawn from a well or cistern with rope and bucket; milked cows and cut wood by hand, and cooked over a wood fire, with coal-oil lamps and lanterns the only means of illumination.

In all the United States in the mid-1930s, only three percent of farm families were served by electricity. In Rayburn’s district, almost none was. Rayburn at last managed to get Texas Power & Light Company to extend its line one mile to his own farm but found the rate so high it was not feasible to use an electric stove. Rayburn teamed with Senator George Norris of Nebraska, father of the Tennessee Valley Authority, to introduce the REA bill on his fifty-fourth birthday, January 6, 1936. It was simple in its concept: farmers would join in nonprofit cooperatives to build and maintain rural power lines with money lent by the Rural Electrification Administration, which would be repaid from operating proceeds.⁴⁴

The Fannin County Rural Electric Cooperative, organized at the C.B. Reed farm, located half a mile east of Trenton, in October 1937, obtained a loan of \$100,000 to run the first 100 miles of line. In the 1980s, the Coop had 1000 miles of line, serving all parts of the county and small areas of Hunt, Collin, and Grayson counties. Reed, a dairyman and registered Jersey breeder, was a member of the Coop’s first board. He

helped route the lines, then build them. "It was just a religion with us," recalls Kate Reed Estes, his daughter, who still lives on the Reed farm. On his own farm, Reed ran lines to the barn and put light fixtures all around the place. Then came the joyous occasion when the lights were turned on in July 1938, "We turned on every light ... on the farm," says Mrs. Estes, "and got in the car and rode up and down the highway to see how it looked lighted up."⁴⁵

"Mr. Sam," if not the man who hung the moon, was certainly the one who hung the electric lights. The legislation he sponsored or wrote, Mrs. Estes claims, "touched more people for good than any other man in American history outside Thomas Jefferson. When you look at all the legislation that helped everybody, the rural roads, REA, you can't imagine how it is to be out here [in the country with modern conveniences]. It was five degrees above zero the other morning. We'd nearly freeze to death, the water would freeze up. Trying to draw water out of the well and trying to water stock and all like that. I sat here in this house with it nice and warm with electric heat, electric lights and television, all my water running and my sewer working and everything, in that sort of weather. I still never fail to say, 'Thank you, Mr. Sam,' because it's just been wonderful to see the changes that have been made in how you live on a farm ... You know, he was just next to the President and the Lord around here."⁴⁶

Such a glowing appraisal notwithstanding, critics of the New Deal epoch, which lasted from Roosevelt's 1933 inauguration until Hitler's Germany marched into Poland on September 1, 1939, often regard it as a mixed bag of tricks. While the activist government during that time accomplished much, they say, it failed at what it set out to do: put the nation back to work. The New Deal concomitants are often seen as deficit spending, inflation, and proliferation of special-interest groups.⁴⁷ Whether or not such an assessment is just, it must be recognized that the New Deal altered the federal government and its relation to the people. It changed people's expectations of their government and transformed the role of political subdivisions, which began looking to "the Feds" to erect their public buildings and schools, maintain their roads, and improve their water systems.

Any adequate appraisal of the New Deal should consider its objectives of relief, recovery, and reform. Unquestionably, in the Fourth Congressional District as elsewhere, relief provided by New Deal agencies such as FERA, CWA, WPA, and CCC often stood between destitute families and starvation. The Farm Credit Administration, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, and the Federal Housing Administration saved farms and homes from foreclosure. Each of these relief agencies contributed to a broader objective, which may be considered as President Roosevelt's hallmark: the restoration of hope. Recovery, however, did not automatically spring from relief. Critics are wont to claim that it took

World War II to bring the nation out of the Depression.

Certainly the New Deal achieved reform; whether it was good or bad depends on one's political leanings. The issue is still being debated, chiefly between those who espouse government activism and those who hold that the best government governs least. Partisan lines are drawn between Democrats and Republicans and between liberals and conservatives in both parties. In the altered relationship between citizenry and government, the people's raised expectations constituted an invitation for more government involvement in their lives; they came to look to the political process, rather than to themselves, for the solution to their problems.

In truth, nearly everyone, in one way or another, whether to his liking or not, is a beneficiary of New Deal reforms. Depression children who owe their college education to a job provided by the National Youth Administration now find their retirement years made easier by a Social Security check. Their financial stability is safeguarded by banking and security laws that Sam Rayburn, out of concern for the common citizen, helped to steer through Congress.

The New Deal, in any case, compiled an impressive record for implementing an emergency program quickly. The achievement of the first 100 days of the Roosevelt Administration is especially remarkable in the light of the nation's more recent political history. The proliferation of bureaucracy, which attended the New Deal and forms a part of its legacy, may itself militate against such rapid-fire problem-solving in the future.

The face of the area comprising Rayburn's Fourth Congressional District is much changed from both the New Deal's reforms and its various work projects that were designed primarily to relieve unemployment. The landscape itself is altered, though it is often difficult to draw the line between changes resulting from the New Deal and those influenced by other factors. With cotton and the small family farm went much of the population in the rural counties. Where there were 41,000 people in Fannin County in 1940, today there are slightly less than 25,000 — roughly equivalent to the farm population then or the total county population in 1880.⁴⁶ Rural electrification and good roads, if they could have stemmed the outflow in any circumstance, came too late to do so. The small farmer, whose miserable lot the New Deal sought to mitigate, is gone forever. While he has passed unmourned, he may yet be missed, for he and his farmstead were models of self-sufficiency the likes of which may never be seen again.

NOTES

¹Sam Rayburn speech to Congress, May 26, 1936, quoted in H.G. Dulaney and Edward Hake Phillips, compilers and editors, *Speak, Mr. Speaker* (Bonham, Texa, 1978), p. 40.

²Sam Rayburn speech to Milk Dealers Association, Summer, 1937, quoted in *ibid.*, p.48.

⁵Five counties — Collin, Fannin, Grayson, Hunt, and Rains — made up the district until 1934, when Kaufman and Rockwall were added. See Anthony Champagne, *Congressman Sam Rayburn* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1984), p. 3, and map. p. 5.

⁶E.H. Templin, J.W. Huckabee, Jr., and I.C. Mowery, *Soil Survey: Fannin County, Texas* (n.p.: U.S. Department of Agriculture and Texas Agricultural Extension Service, 1946), pp. 12, 14, 15.

⁷Dulaney and Phillips, ed., *Speak, Mr. Speaker*, pp. 48, 50.

⁸Alfred Steinberg, *Sam Rayburn: A Biography* (New York, 1975), p. 109.

⁹William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1963), pp. 51-53.

¹⁰Bonham *Daily Favorite*, May 20, 29; June 3, 1933.

¹¹*Ibid.*, June 5, 1933.

¹²*Ibid.*, May 13, 19, 27; June 3, 6, 1933.

¹³*Ibid.*, June 22, 24, 26, 27, 1933.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, June 28, 29; July 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25; Sept. 18, 1933.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, July 10, 1933; Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, pp. 170-171.

¹⁶Bonham *Daily Favorite*, May 30, June 5, 7, 10, 17, 21; July 14, 19; Aug. 10, 11, 1933.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1933; Ruth Shrivner, "The cattle drive," in *ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1937; Bill Scrivner to R.S.W., interview, Oct. 13, 1989.

¹⁸"United States Cotton Problem," Sept. 10, 1937, typescript in Rayburn papers, Sam Rayburn Library. Origin of this paper is not known, but Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace, in an address entitled "Charting the Course for Cotton," given at a farmers' meeting in Memphis, Tennessee on Oct. 1, 1937 (copy in Rayburn Papers), used rhetoric that is strikingly similar.

¹⁹Jessie Rodriguez, Jr., ASCS, to R.S.W., interview, Bonham, Texas, Sept. 6, 1989.

²⁰Bonham *Daily Favorite*, May 30; June 5, 7, 10, 16, 20; Aug. 10; Sept. 6, 1933.

²¹*Ibid.*, June 10, 1933.

²²*Ibid.*, June 17, 19, 1933; Board Minute Book, Bonham ISD.

²³*Ibid.*, June 29; July 5, 13; Aug. 28, 1933.

²⁴*Ibid.*, June 24, Sept. 10, Oct. 28, 1933. Concerning later efforts for farm-to-market roads, see these 1937 letters, all in Rayburn Papers, Sam Rayburn Library: Sam Rayburn to Gus Thomasson, May 1; Thomasson to Rayburn, May 5; Rayburn to Judge J.E. Spies, May 8; and Spies to Rayburn, May 12.

²⁵MacPhelan Reese to R.W.S., conversation, Bonham, Texas, Aug. 1, 1989. Bonham *Daily Favorite*, Aug. 21; Oct. 11, 17; Nov. 14, 22, 1933.

²⁶*Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1933.

²⁷Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, pp. 64, 65.

²⁸Bonham *Daily Favorite*, July 15, 28, 29, 31; Aug. 23, 1933.

²⁹*Ibid.*, Aug. 25, 26, 29; Sept. 8, 1933.

³⁰For more detailed analysis see Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, pp. 65, 144-145.

³¹Bonham *Daily Favorite*, Aug. 12, 15; Nov. 14, 16, 1933.

³²Story quoted from memory; origin unknown.

³³Bonham *Daily Favorite*, Oct. 4, 13, 23; Nov. 28, 1933.

³⁴For steps leading to approval of the Denison Dam project, and Rayburn's part in it, see Dorothy R. Hudgeons, "His Word, His Bond: Sam Rayburn, Southerner, and Grayson County, Texas" (Master's Thesis, Texas Woman's University, 1985), pp. 61-62.

³⁵Jesse E. Nowlin to R.S.W., interview, Bonham, Texas, Aug. 29, 1989.

³⁴Mayor H.G. Tuck and commissioners to Sam Rayburn, July 14, 1937; G.H. Wilcox to Public Works Administration, Aug. 19, 1937; Tuck to Rayburn, Aug. 25, 1937; E.K. Burtle to Rayburn, Dec. 22, 1937, all in Rayburn Papers, Sam Rayburn Library. See also Hudgeons, "His Word, His Bond," p. 61.

³⁵Anna Mae Dodson to R.S.W., interview, Aug. 23, 1989.

³⁶Mrs. A.W. Jones to R.S.W., interview, Aug. 1 and 2, 1989.

³⁷"The Land Acquisition Program of the Resettlement Administration," "The Land Utilization Program," and "Land Development Program: Agricultural Land Use Adjustment Projects," unsigned typescripts, Rayburn Papers, Sam Rayburn Library; USDA Forest Service, *Final Environmental Statement and Unit Plan: Caddo National Grassland, National Forests in Texas* (1975), pp. 3-4.

³⁸John Andey, USDA Forest Service, to R.S.W., interview, Bonham, Texas, Sept. 6, 1989.

³⁹Michael N. Smith, SCS, to R.S.W., interview, Bonham, Texas, Sept. 6, 1989.

⁴⁰Rodriguez to R.S.W.

⁴¹Bonham *Daily Favorite*, Aug. 12, 1937.

⁴²Leaflets from the literature rack in the Bonham FmHA office.

⁴³D.B. Hardeman and Donald C. Bacon, *Rayburn: A Biography* (Austin, 1987), p. 201.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

⁴⁵Bonham *Daily Favorite*, Rayburn Centennial Edition, Jan. 5, 1982; Kate Reed Estes, interview with Anthony Champagne, undated transcript in Sam Rayburn Library.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷John Gunther, *Roosevelt in Retrospect* (New York, 1950), p. 290.

⁴⁸Templin, *et al.*, *Soil Survey*, p. 11.

COUNTERACTING REFORM
LEE SIMMONS AND THE TEXAS PRISON SYSTEM
1930-1935

by *Paul M. Lucko*

Although prisons in Texas and the United States have endured a troubled past, they are important growth industries. The Texas Department of Criminal Justice has evolved from a single penitentiary in Huntsville that held only three prisoners in 1849 to a multi-unit, statewide operation containing nearly 50,000 inmates in 1991. Most histories of Texas prisons, whether in the form of academic investigations, popular literature, reference works, or textbook summaries, praise the achievements of Marshall Lee Simmons, general manager of the Texas Prison System from 1930 to 1935. Writers usually regard the Simmons administration as an exception to a tradition of poor management which often afflicted the state's penal institution. A closer look at Simmons and his leadership, however, suggests the error of this view and indicates that Simmons merits little of the acclaim he has received. Instead, this paper will argue that in reality Simmons implemented a program designed to counteract many of the ambitious goals held by Texas prison reformers. This study will also maintain that while Simmons' public relations skills convinced his contemporaries as well as later historians, he did not construct a modern, progressive prison system.¹

A successful farmer, businessman, and ex-sheriff from Grayson County, Simmons enjoyed the friendship of several Texas political figures. Governor Pat Morris Neff (1921-1925) appointed him to a special prison investigating committee in 1923; Governor Daniel James Moody (1927-1931) named him to the newly created Texas Prison Board in 1927. Well known throughout Texas, Simmons also counted entertainment figures Will Rogers and Tom Mix among his friends.²

Typically, commentators have characterized Simmons as "reform-minded," "progressive," "enlightened," or "more than a decade ahead of his time." "The first real blast at prison reform came when Simmons ... accepted the challenge to become the general manager of the prison system," writes one admiring scholar. "The most impressive changes in the prison system were observable under the stimulating influence of Lee Simmons," adds another. "After Lee Simmons ... was appointed manager ... the prison system thereafter showed marked improvement," another author observes. "Simmons inherited a sorry situation," a former law officer recalled, "but he was improving it." Simmons guided much of the favorable historiography through a personal interview with one researcher and especially in his autobiography, *Assignment Huntsville*,

published shortly before his death in 1957. He began his story by stating: "There is no magic about getting a big job done." The remainder of his book, sometimes revealing but always self-laudatory, describes his accomplishments and his attitude toward prison reform.³

Texans have witnessed repeated reform movements and debates over prison issues. As in other Southern states following the Civil War, Texas leased prisoners to private contractors. The convict-lease system continued until the end of 1912, while the state expanded its own landholdings. Termination of the profitable convict-lease system following an acrimonious debate left an economic void for the state government as state prison farms incurred annual losses. Despite the demise of convict leasing, a work-ethic philosophy that measured penal success according to agricultural profits persisted in Texas. Fiscal failures, poor treatment of prisoners, and official corruption prompted routine legislative investigations amid seemingly constant turmoil in Texas prisons.⁴

Influenced by a group of women political activists, reformers in the 1920s united in the Texas Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor to demand a modern prison system. Working with national prison reformers, the Texas Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor advocated "progressive penology" which emphasized the importance of science as a tool for prisoner rehabilitation. Progressive penologists believed that psychological treatment, an end to corporal punishment, scientific classification and segregation of criminals according to rehabilitation potential, as well as inmate democracy and recreation, should characterize prison life. The Texas reformers, closely aligned with Governor Dan Moody, urged the centralization and relocation of prison properties in a penal colony near Austin. Although the Texas legislature failed to adopt the relocation proposal, voters amended the state constitution by authorizing legislative creation of a nine-member prison board. The new board, consisting of Moody appointees, first met in 1927 and contained a majority who either belonged to the Texas Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor or supported its agenda. Elizabeth Speer of El Paso, a leading activist, served as secretary to board chairman Robert Homes Baker of Houston and engaged in detailed direction of prison affairs. The reform-oriented board hired a general manager and fired employees guilty of abusing prisoners. Conditioned by progressive penology, the board limited corporal punishment, expanded convict recreational and educational activities, and promoted inmate democracy in the form of a prisoner welfare league.⁵

Among the members of the new board, Lee Simmons espoused a minority viewpoint which questioned the progressive program imposed by the board majority. According to a former prison official, Simmons criticized the involvement of Speer, whom he considered a "political woman;" progressive chairman Baker complained to Moody that Simmons had objected to "every constructive act" considered by the board. Skeptical towards "scientific" penology, Simmons viewed progressive

prison reformers as "theoretical" and "impractical." In a letter to Baker, Simmons advocated a "business approach" to prison administration and described Baker and Speer as "too sympathetic" with prisoners.⁶

Controversy plagued the prison system during the progressive ascendancy. Like Simmons, many veteran employees disdained the reformers, complaining that their management spent unnecessary funds on food and expressed too much concern for "picture shows, ball games, radios, boxing gloves, and music for the convict," while neglecting agricultural operations. The reformers desired financial self-support from prison labor but believed that prisoner rehabilitation should remain the system's key objective. Legislative battles over relocation served as a distraction when board members and the governor proved hesitant to upgrade existing facilities. Moody also contributed to problems by only sparingly exercising gubernatorial clemency, thus causing a massive overpopulation of the prison system.⁷

After the board's first general manager, W.H. Mead, resigned in November 1929, members, with strong encouragement from many Texas legislators and Governor Moody, offered the position to Simmons. Citing his desire to complete important projects associated with his job as manager of the Sherman Chamber of Commerce, Simmons, who initially accepted the offer, subsequently declined. By this time, Baker had resigned from the board and some of the earlier reform sentiment appeared to subside among board members. Moody's supporters may have believed that with the popular Simmons as general manager, a reluctant legislature might more willingly accede to prison relocation. Former board chairman Baker, recalling past differences with Simmons, opposed his appointment. On March 25, 1930, following the legislature's final defeat of the Moody relocation proposal, Simmons, amid widespread public approbation, agreed to assume leadership over 5,000 prisoners housed in the "Walls" penitentiary at Huntsville and at eleven prison farms covering over 73,000 acres in East Texas and the Gulf Coast.⁸

Unlike progressive penologists, Simmons viewed corporal punishment, which most other states had abolished, as a vital prison management tool. Convinced that strict discipline served as a guarantor of convict labor on prison farms, he described himself as a proponent of "corporal punishment-in the home, in the schoolroom, in the reformatory, [and] in the penitentiary," aware that contemporary "psychologists, psychiatrists, and penologists" disagreed. "Right or wrong," he wrote in his memoirs, "in the Texas Prison System we whipped our hardened criminals, when other means of persuasion failed." He regarded whipping as less cruel than solitary confinement, because such treatment did not keep prisoners idle. "In most cases," he asserted, "firm discipline, fair treatment, and plenty of work to keep everybody busy will keep the riotously inclined out of mischief." While he stressed that guards should not use the whip or "bat" routinely, he knew that the "hell-raiser fears nothing

more than he fears the 'bat.' ” “When I was in charge, he got it.” Simmons maintained that the bat effectively deterred convict misbehavior and that guards seldom whipped “non-incorrigible” prisoners.⁹

Prison regulations permitted whipping with a leather strap which was two and one half inches wide, twenty-four inches long, and attached to a wooden handle. The rules further provided that a physician must observe all whippings and that all whippings must receive written approval from the general manager. However, former convicts frequently complained that they had witnessed numerous unsanctioned beatings. Some prisoners described on-sight floggings at prison farms in which guards hit convicts with pistols, wet-knotted ropes, and hoe handles. One former inmate indicated that the most severe whippings occurred on the farms and not at the “Walls,” which frequently hosted visiting dignitaries. Nevertheless, official records reported whippings on all prison properties. Another former prisoner provided a vivid account of whippings: “When men are whipped in the Texas Penitentiary, they are stripped and laid on a blanket. Many convicts will testify to the use of larger bats-such as a trace chain placed within a rubber hose.” Often convicts, especially “trustys,” held other prisoners while guards administered punishment.¹⁰

Allegations unsupported by documentation in official records lack proof, but whipping orders from 1931 indicate beatings in that year occurred more frequently than Simmons admitted. Those orders reveal a wide variety of offenses, some major and some seemingly minor, for which prisoners might receive whippings. Contrary to Simmons’ memoirs, most whipped prisoners received a legal maximum of twenty lashes. A list from a six-month period shows that 128 prisoners received official floggings for such infractions as fighting, cursing employees, disobedience, and sodomy. Many punishments related to labor problems; the list reported whipping for “picking dirty cotton,” crop destruction, acting “stubborn and lazy,” and “assaulting fellow prisoners who were working too fast.” Additionally, several convicts experienced lashings for self-mutilations, “possessing...and selling narcotics in the yard,” “getting drunk,” and for violent acts toward other prisoners. The whippings transcended racial and ethnic distinctions; at least three women prisoners at the Goree Farm near Huntsville received whippings for “refusing to work,” “laziness,” and “impudence.”¹¹

The use of corporal punishment reflected some of the continuing difficulties which prison administrators faced in maintaining control over their wards. Simmons felt that strong measures effectively prevented escapes. However, in most states during the 1930s, officials controlled prisoners by a process of extending and denying privileges. Until 1941, when the prison board ended whipping, Texas had no formal program based upon privileges and relied upon the bat as its principal means for providing order. Simmons reduced the use of solitary confinements during his years as general manager but allowed his warden and farm managers

to utilize the "barrel treatment" by which, in the words of an ex-convict, "a vinegar barrel was inverted and the prisoner was ordered to stand on top of it-three hours on and one off, all night long."¹²

Through an emphasis upon more traditional methods of management and control, Simmons probably improved morale among veteran employees. He fired "Walls" warden E.F. Harrell, whom he regarded as a good man, but "not well qualified either to handle prisoners or to gain the cooperation of the many employees of the prison management." He rehired farm manager B.B. Monzingo, whom the progressive board had terminated in 1929 for his "bad temper." Simmons named Monzingo, who publicly castigated the reformers in letters to the legislature, as manager of the remote Eastham Farm in Houston County. Eastham, sometimes referred to as "Little Alcatraz," held many of the convicts Simmons and his assistants considered most "incurable."¹³

As in previous and future years, rumors concerning mistreatment of convicts by employees emanated from the various prison units. Simmons may have opposed field whipping and illegal conduct toward prisoners, but, as explained to Simmons in a letter from former board member and noted prison reformer Henry Cohen of Galveston: "It may be possible, however, that certain matters are hidden from you-deliberately!" Simmons tended to reject charges of brutality, instinctively defending the capability and integrity of his subordinates. Writing to Cohen, he stressed the problems peculiar to prison management: "We must hold and control these hardened criminals and in doing so there is going to be trouble and frequently when a prisoner of this kind is released, he has all kinds of tales to report... ." He assured Cohen that "prisoners who try to get along have no trouble whatever." Reporter Harry McCormick of the *Houston Press*, however, protested that Simmons typically responded to atrocity charges through a "stereotyped declaration" that "I am going to get to the bottom of this," and then proceeded to suppress the complaints.¹⁴

Indeed, the *Houston Press* appeared to be the only major Texas newspaper to question the Simmons regime. Edited by the well-known Marcellus Elliot "Mefo" Foster, the *Press* maintained a long-standing interest in prison reform matters. Foster, like other state editors, initially hoped that Simmons would solve the problems of the prison system. Unlike the others, though, Foster and his reporter, McCormick, voiced disappointment with Simmons. After the mysterious death of a convict at the Eastham farm in 1932, McCormick berated the general manager: "The present prison program, cast upon a basis of profits under the direction of Lee Simmons, is a disgrace to a civilized people." Prison officials reported that the deceased convict had died following a fall, but McCormick found evidence that guards had allowed "a trusty" to administer punishment to a fellow-convict which included a blow that resulted in a fatal brain concussion.¹⁵

Responding to the *Press's* negative reporting, Simmons cancelled prisoner subscriptions to the publication. Foster wrote: "perhaps it is because we exposed the beating and subsequent death...at Eastham Farm, or it may be that the watchful manager thinks our news articles...will be detrimental to the morals of the prisoners." Simmons defended his actions, contending that the *Press* was "unprincipaled [sic] and that they will not hesitate to misrepresent facts and stab the Prison System in the back for selfish gain." He lamented that Foster "does not understand what we are really doing and does not believe the statement of many folks in regard to the progress in the Prison System."¹⁶

Numerous convicts in the 1930s, as in later years, intentionally injured themselves to avoid working in the fields, slashing their heels, tendons, or wrists; some chopped off their toes or even their feet. Michigan newspapers printed unfavorable articles about the crude manner in which Texas transported prisoners, often across the country, in a four-foot square cage positioned on the rear of a small truck. Escapes declined during the 1930s, possibly attributable to stricter procedures and better conditions, but probably due to liberal clemency policies adopted by Texas governors. Despite their reduced numbers, escapes continued to arouse concern. The infamy of one escape created a veritable panic among prison officials.¹⁷

On January 16, 1934, the notorious outlaw Clyde Barrow, a paroled convict, and his equally famous companion, Bonnie Parker, raided the Eastham Farm, killing a guard and freeing five prisoners. Embarrassed by the Barrow raid and the death of another guard the previous year, Simmons conceived stern tactics to deal with Barrow and two of his co-conspirators released from Eastham, Raymond Hamilton and Joe Palmer. Obsessed with "avenging the murder of my guard," Simmons obtained authorization from Governor Miriam A. Ferguson to retain former Texas Ranger Frank Hamer as "Special Investigator for the Texas Prison System." For over three months, Hamer stalked Barrow and Parker until on May 23, 1934, he and several Texas and Louisiana law officers cornered the pair near Gibsland, Louisiana. According to Simmons, Hamer followed his orders "to put Clyde and Bonnie on the spot and to shoot everyone in sight," ending the careers of two legendary criminals.¹⁸

Authorities later captured Hamilton and Palmer, who received death sentences for the murder of the Eastham guard. While awaiting execution, though, Hamilton, Palmer, and a third prisoner, with the assistance of a guard, escaped from the Huntsville "death house," only to be captured a few months later. On May 10, 1935, Hamilton and Palmer died in the electric chair. The preceding day, a legislative investigating committee had exonerated a farm manager from blame for brutalities to convicts guilty of self-mutilations. A few days after the executions, four prisoners escaped from Eastham again, killing one guard and wounding another. On May 16, 1935, the Huntsville *Item* reported that a prisoner had stabbed another convict fatally at the "Walls." Simmons, like most

prison administrators, had still not completely mastered the task of controlling inmates after over five years as general manager.¹⁹

Simmons, however, used his interpersonal skills to advantage while leading the prison system. Concerned with advancing a favorable image, he and his assistants wrote their annual reports in a positive manner, stressing improvements, obscuring internal problems, and downplaying repeated financial losses by emphasizing "savings" from reduced operating costs attributable to superior management. Although prison records confirm decreased operating expenses and lower food costs during the depression of the 1930s, an administrative study of state agencies by a private consulting firm in 1933 doubted that the system could ever attain self-sufficiency.²⁰

New construction and improvements of existing prison facilities resulted more from legislative appropriations, beginning in March 1930, than from Simmons' managerial methods. Simmons successfully convinced legislative investigators that he had transformed the prison as he led them on tours of the facilities. Members of one such investigating committee reported in 1933: "There has been a vast improvement in our entire penal system ... The old theory that cruel treatment will make prisoners better citizens when returned to civilian [sic] life is vanishing" The *Austin American* reported in 1931 that "the effect of physical changes for order, industry, cleanliness, and softening of the grimness is more marked upon the appearance and conduct of the men than is even the physical transformation." Even Foster acknowledged improvements in prison physical properties, but tempered his praise with the observation: "Mr. Simmons thought more of making crops grow and improvements that would show than he did of aiding convicts who were mistreated."²¹

Prisoner idleness did not present problems for Texas officials as it did for administrators in the industrial states. The large prison farms occupied most convicts who trotted as far as five miles to the fields in the morning and then returned in the same fashion during the evening. Although state regulations prohibited convict labor that exceeded ten hours per day, Simmons worked many prisoners as much as fifteen hours during at least one harvest season. Contending that an emergency required the temporary transfer of prisoners from the "Walls" to Brazos Valley lands, Simmons increased good behavior benefits for work above ten hours. "Picking cotton is not in itself such a terrible and inhuman thing," Simmons explained. "It is fair to the men, for we are doing them a favor when we find them work to do instead of letting them loaf around and be led unwittingly into mischief and trouble by hardened leaders." Simmons boasted of a one-armed African-American convict who picked 362 pounds on a single day and claimed that another prisoner actually picked 1,000 pounds in one day.²²

Although the prison system remained predominantly agricultural, with over sixty percent of the convicts employed directly in farming, the prison

did operate a shoe shop, printing shop, machine and wagon shops, as well as clothing and broom factories, a brick plant, and a variety of food-processing plants. Prisoners not engaged in farming or industrial pursuits worked in construction or in prison kitchens. A few received choice positions as drivers for officials or acted as record keepers and clerks. Some prisoners acted as "building tenders" or "trustys" who supervised other convicts. A number of inmates at the "Walls" and probably at other units, worked in prison hospitals where they served as aides and nurses, even assisting in surgery. Despite concerns relating to drug usage, prisoners helped distribute pharmaceuticals at the prison dispensaries.²³

Like progressive penologists, Simmons did recognize the benefits of inmate recreational activities. As during the 1920s, when not at work, convicts engaged in a variety of organized pastimes such as glee clubs, orchestras, and bands. Prison baseball teams successfully competed against teams from local towns, a radio-speaker system entertained inmates assembled in the dining hall at the "Walls," and prisoners frequently watched movies and attended performances by visiting entertainers. In 1931 Simmons began the Texas Prison Rodeo at Huntsville which attracted thousands of visitors annually until its end in 1987. As mandated by state law, Simmons maintained schools for illiterate prisoners, who often constituted a majority of the convict population. Other prisoners attended classes on a voluntary basis in both academic and a few vocational areas related to their job assignments. Academic classes met in the evening hours and did not interfere with employment; the system hired a single principal to oversee instruction conducted by convict teachers. A report by a Federal agency later in the decade, however, criticized Texas' educational operations for the absence of trained teachers and a dearth of vocational courses.²⁴

The salience of generally nonprogressive practices such as corporal punishment and commercial agriculture overshadowed progressive prisoner welfare and rehabilitation practices in the Texas Prison System from 1930 to 1935. David J. Rothman, a leading historian of American prisons, has observed that most twentieth-century penal institutions contained "more or less progressive features." Clearly, Texas prisons, under the leadership of Lee Simmons, possessed "less" progressive attributes. Only through Rothman's cynical definition of "reform" as "the designation that each generation gives to its favorite programs," can one correctly characterize Simmons as a "reformer." Counteracting the sweeping reform program suggested by the Texas Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor in the previous decade, Simmons, with skillful use of public relations, persuaded Texans that competent administration could conduct the prison system in a "humane" and "business" fashion. His success in promoting a favorable image helped avert more comprehensive reform measures. By continuing an austere tradition, the state would later defend its correctional facilities unsuccessfully in the most lengthy prisoners' lawsuit in the nation's history.²⁵

NOTES

¹See David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston, 1971), pp. xviii-xix, 48-64, 79-88, 238-264; Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Monclair, N.J., 1977), pp. 6-31, 34-62, 95-98, 381-384; Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (New York, 1984) pp. 34-35, 41-59; David J. Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and its Alternatives in Progressive America* (Boston, 1980), pp. 10-12, 32-34, 143, 151, 420-421; Roger T. Pray, "How Did Our Prisons Get That Way?" *American Heritage* (July-August 1987), pp. 92-101; New York Times, May 25, June 9, 1989, *Austin American Statesman*, November 9, 1989; *Biennial Reports of the Directors and Superintendent of the Texas State Penitentiary at Huntsville, Texas, with The Report of the Prison Physician, Commencing December 1, A.D. 1878, and terminating October 31, A.D. 1880*; *Texas Department of Corrections, Annual Overview 1988*, p. 71; *Austin American Statesman*, February 9, 12, 1991.

²Lee Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville: Memoirs of a Texas Prison Official* (Austin, 1957), pp. 11-18, 52-59, 96-98; *Sherman Democrat*, September 19, 1957; *Austin Statesman*, September 29, 1957. Simmons was born on September 9, 1873 and died on October 12, 1957. See *Dallas Morning News*, October 13, 1957; *Huntsville Item*, October 17, 1957.

³Steve J. Martin & Sheldon Eckland-Olson, *Texas Prisons: The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (Austin, 1987), p. 11; Mike Kingston, "Crime and Punishment," in *1988-1989 Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide* (Dallas, 1987), p. 267; James Robertson Nowlin, "A Political History of the Texas Prison System, 1849-1957" (M.A. thesis, Trinity University, 1962), pp. 151-152; Herman Lee Crow, "A Political History of the Texas Penal System, 1829-1951" (Ph.D. diss. University of Texas, 1964), p. 272; Rupert N. Richardson, Ernest Wallace, Adrian Anderson, *Texas: The Lone Star State*, Fifth Edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1988), p. 117; Crow, "A Political History," p. iii; Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, p. vii.

⁴Donald R. Walker, *Penology for Profit: A History of the Texas Prison System 1867-1912* (College Station, 1988), pp. 191-197; Thomas Michael Parrish, "This Species of Slave Labor: The Convict Lease System in Texas, 1871-1914" (M.A. thesis, Baylor University, 1976), pp. 115-121; Crow, "A Political History," pp. 179-182, 299-301; J.E. Pearce, "History of Efforts at Reorganizing and Relocating the Penitentiary System of Texas," unpublished manuscript for the Texas Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, in Prisons Vertical File and Scrapbook (Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas Austin); Nowlin, "Texas Prison System," p. 110.

⁵*General and Special Laws of the State of Texas Passed by the Fortieth Legislature, at the Regular Session* (Austin 1927), pp. 298-307; Texas Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, *Summary of the Texas Prison Survey Vol. I* (Austin, 1924), pp. 1, 8-13, 25-27, 86-87. Elizabeth Speer to Committee Member, February 24, 1925, Henry Cohen Papers (Barker Texas History Center); Elizabeth Speer to members, October 28, 1926, McCallum Family Papers (Austin-Travis County Collection, Austin, Texas); Charlotte Teagle, *History of Welfare Activities of the Texas Prison Board* (Austin, 1940), pp. 11-12, 154-157; *The ECHO* (Huntsville), November, 1928; R.H. Baker to B.B. Monzingo, January 8, 1929, Cohen Papers; List of fired guards in Records Relating to the Penitentiary, Texas State Archives, November 28, 1929, October 28, 1929; Texas Legislature, *Senate Journal of the Forty-First Legislature, of Texas Regular Session* (Austin, 1929), pp. 586-587; Baker to Lee Simmons, November 28, 1927, McCallum Papers; Frank M. Stewart and Joseph L. Clark, *The Constitution and Government of Texas* (Dallas, 1936) 85; Statement from the Executive Office, March 27, 1930, in Dan Moody Governor's Records (Archives Division Texas State Library, Austin). *Annual Report 1928*, p. 10; W.H. Mead to All Members of the Texas Prison Board, May 10, 1929, Cohen Papers; Baker to Moody, March 25, 1929, Cohen Papers.

⁶Baker to Dan Moody, November 14, 1929, Moody Records; Baker to Simmons, November 16, 1929, *Ibid*; Simmons to Baker, November 19, 1929; *Texas Senate Journal Forty-First Regular Legislature*, p. 589; Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, p. 52.

¹*Texas Senate Journal Forty-First Regular Legislature, 1929*, pp. 586-587; Baker to Simmons, November 28, 1927, McCallum Papers; Fort Worth *Star Telegram*, March 4, 11, 1930; Houston *Press*, March 10, 1930; *Annual Report, 1927*, p. 66; 1928, p. 94; 1929, p. 4-E; 1930, p. 2-D.

²Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, pp. 57-59; Sherman *Daily Democrat*, February 25, 1930, March 25, 1930; Houston *Press*, March 26, 1930; Fort Worth *Star Telegram*, March 29, 1930; Baker to Simmons, November 20, 1929, Moody Governor's Records; Anglo-Americans composed approximately fifty percent of the prisoners; African-Americans comprised another forty percent and persons of Mexican descent included ten percent of the population. The female population at the Goree Farm near Huntsville stood at 100, nearly two-thirds of the women were African-Americans. *Annual Report, 1930*, p. 6-D; Griffenhagen and Associates, *Report of the Joint Legislative Committee on Organization and Economy* (Austin, 1933), p. 2.

³Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, p. viii.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. vii-xi; Crow, "A Political History," pp.203-227; C.V. Compton, *Deep Secrets Behind Gray Walls* (n.p., 1940) no page numbers. See interview with ex-convict James Gillespie in the *Detroit Free Press*, (1941) in W. Lee O'Daniel Governor's Records (Texas State Archives); Joe Billings, "I Graduated From a Texas Crime Factory," (published from *True Magazine* n.d., in Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco); Milt Good, *Twelve Years In a Texas Prison* (Amarillo, 1935), p. 68; Compton, *Deep Secrets*; see "Oldest Prison Guard Dies," *Sheriffs Association of Texas Magazine* Vol. 6 (April 1937), p. 9; John Neal Phillips and Ralph Fults, "The Man Who Ran With Bonnie and Clyde," *Dallas Life Magazine*, (Dallas *Morning News*), June 10, 1984, pp. 9, 28.

⁵See "Executed Whipping Orders," 1931, in Ross G. Sterling Governor's Records (Texas State Archives).

⁶Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience*, pp. 126-132; Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, pp. ix-x; Compton, *Deep Secrets*; A.L. Southwick to W. Lee O'Daniel, January 1, 1941, O'Daniel Records; Wm. J. Lawson to Compton, January 7, 1941, *Ibid*; Compton to O'Daniel, January 25, 1941, *Ibid*; Compton to O.J.S. Ellingson, May 7, 1941, *Ibid*; "Prison Board Sees Need For Prison Reforms," *Sheriffs Association of Texas Magazine*, Vol. 8, (February-March 1939), p. 33; Crow, "A Political History," p. 202; Good, *Twelve Years*, p. 46. Billings, "I Graduated;" Bill Mills, *25 Years Behind Prison Bars* (npp., 1951) 80.

⁷Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, pp. 114-178; R.H. Baker to B.B. Monzingo, January 8, 1929, Cohen Papers; *Texas Senate Journal Forty-First Regular Legislature, 1929*, pp. 586-587; *Annual Report, 1930*, "Official Directory;" Simmons to Cohen, June 20, 1933, *Ibid*; Mills, *25 Years*, p. 49; Eugene V. Simons to Cohen, December 28, 1928, March 20, 1929, Cohen Papers.

⁸Cohen to Simmons, June 19, 1933, Cohen Papers; Simmons to Cohen, June 20, 1933, *Ibid*; Cohen to Simmons, June 23, 1933, *Ibid*; Simmons to L.J. Taylor, March 6, 1931, Sterling Records.

⁹Houston *Press*, March 28, 1932; Austin *American*, March 25, 1932; Mary Carey, *How Long Must I Hide* (Austin, 1983), pp. 179-181; B.W. Burress to Sterling, March 25, 1932, Sterling Records; Sterling to Burress, April 1, 1932, *Ibid.*; Foster to Cohen, May 25, 1932, Cohen Papers.

¹⁰Houston *Press*, May 1932, in Sterling Records; Simmons to Cohen, May 8, 1933, Cohen Papers; Cohen to Simmons, May 30, 1932, *Ibid*; Simmons to Cohen, May 31, 1932, *Ibid*.

¹¹C.V. Compton to Emmett Morse, December 1940, O'Daniel Records; C.V. Compton, *Uncle Sam Speaks: Jailers May Be Sent to Jail* (Dallas, 1956), p. 11; Carey, *How Long*, pp. 185-186; Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, pp. x-xi; *Detroit Times*, July 4, 1931; *Detroit Free Press*, July 3, 4, 1931; Ben M. Crouch and James W. Marquart, *An Appeal to Justice: Litigated Reform of Texas Prisons* (Austin, 1989), pp. 11-12. *Annual Report 1927*, p. 66; 1938, p. 94; 1935, p. 115; Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, p. 118; Houston *Post*, January 17, 1934; *Annual Report, 1931*, p. 28; 1932, p. 52; 1933, p. 4; 1934, p. 64; 1935, p. 114.

¹⁸Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, p. 126-135; H. Gordon Frost and John H. Jenkins, *I'm Frank Hamer* (Austin, 1968), pp. 209-212; Hinton, *Ambush*, pp. 117-168.

¹⁹Huntsville *Item*, May 16, 1935; also see the *Semi-Weekly Farm News* (Dallas), June 12, July 23, 24, 1934, August 7, 17, 1934; Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, pp. 148-158.

²⁰For example, see *Annual Report*, 1930, p. 2A; 1931, pp. 5, 39-41; 1932, pp. 13-15; *Annual Report*, 1935, p. 18; Simmons to Cohen, February 24, 1933, Cohen Papers; W.A. Paddock to George Gordon Battle, July 24, 1931, Sterling Records; Paddock to Sterling, March 3, 1931, *Ibid.*; Griffenhagen and Associates, *Report*, p. 30.

²¹*General and Special Laws of the State of Texas Passed by the Forty-First Legislature, Fourth and Fifty Called Session*, (Austin, 1930), pp. 215-219; *An Inspection of the State Prison System of Texas*, 1933, a report in Records Relating to the Penitentiary; *Austin American*, July 1931; Foster to Cohen, May 13, 1933, Cohen Papers.

²²McKelvey, *American Prisons*, pp. 251, 300-307; Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience*, pp. 137-139; Good, *Twelve Years*, p. 26; *Sherman Daily Democrat*, September 8, 9, 1930.

²³Griffenhagen and Associates, *Report*, pp. 2-3, 30-33; Good, *Twelve Years*, pp. 27-28, 47-49, 63-64; See Carey, *How Long*, p. 191; B.W. Burress to Sterling, March 25, 1932, Sterling Records; Crouch and Marquart, *Appeal to Justice*, pp. 85-116.

²⁴Wallace Edwin Lowry, "A Survey of Education in The Texas Prison System," (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1935), pp. 52-95; *Annual Report*, 1930, p. 1-2H; 1931, p. 32; 1932, pp. 56, 96-97; 1933, pp. 90-91; Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, *The Prison Labor Problem in Texas* (Washington D.C. 1937), pp. 86-87; Teagle, *History of Welfare Activities*, p. 164-177; Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, pp. 91-100; *The Echo*, January 1933, March 1930, May 1931, October 1931, January 1933, February 1933, April 1933; *Texas Department of Corrections 1987 Annual Overview*, p. 4.

²⁵Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience*, pp. 4, 138; Simmons resigned the general manager's post on November 1, 1935 to work as Clerk for the Federal District Court of the Eastern District of Texas. Simmons, *Assignment Huntsville*, p. 207; *Annual Report*, 1935, p. 9.

**THE ITALIANS OF BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS:
TRADITION, CHANGE AND INTRAETHNIC DIFFERENCES**

by Valentine J. Belfiglio

*“San Antonio ... the Venice of the Texas
plains.”*

Mason Sutherland¹

This paper will explore tradition, change and intraethnic differences among Italian-American families whose ancestors settled in Bexar County, Texas, before 1920. After a historical overview, it will contrast immigrant and contemporary attitudes towards fertility, child-rearing patterns, sexual behavior, friendships and memberships in clubs, and attitudes towards verbal arts, music, and sculpture. Finally, it will contrast the beliefs, technology, norms, values, and language (including nonverbal communication) of Italian immigrants and contemporary Italian-Americans. It is hoped that this study will lead to a better understanding of the Italian subculture in Bexar County, and the ways in which that subculture has been affected by the dominant, Southern Anglo-American culture.

A Historical Overview

On June 13, 1691, a Spanish expedition commanded by Captain Domingo Teran, stopped at the Indian village known as Yanaguana. They renamed the place San Antonio, in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. A later expedition in 1709 gave the same name to a nearby river. Bexar County, including San Antonio, became part of the United States when the U.S. Congress admitted Texas to the Union on December 29, 1845. Prior to the American Civil War, trade by team trains between San Antonio, Mexico, and New Orleans, was the main source of revenue for Bexar County.²

After the war, freighting and the cattle industry added to the growing prosperity of the area. On February 19, 1877, the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad arrived and capital, building, and tourism increased. By 1883 it was possible for immigrants to reach San Antonio from New Orleans via the Texas and New Orleans Railroad.³ Capitalistic opportunities attracted Americans and Europeans bent upon improving their standards of living, and the population of the country more than doubled between 1880 and 1900.⁴

It is difficult to determine exactly when Italians first settled in Bexar County. Spanish authorities listed an Italian living in San Antonio in a survey of Spanish Towns taken between 1777 and 1793.⁵ Vicente Micheli, a native of Brescia (Lombardy), in northern Italy, moved to San Antonio around 1806. He bought the Rancho de San Francisco and a general mercantile store and became quite prosperous.⁶ Another northern Italian,

Giuseppe Cassini, of San Remo (Liguria), settled in San Antonio in the 1820s after a sojourn in New Orleans. He established a general mercantile store, and bought and sold real estate.⁷ Several other northern Italians sailed to the United States from Genoa, and then moved to San Antonio before the American Civil War. However, the descendants of these people have become assimilated as members of the dominant, Southern Anglo-American culture of Bexar County.⁸

The United States Census for 1880 lists no Italians living in Bexar County. However, the directory of the city of San Antonio for 1877-78 mentions twenty-five persons with Italian surnames. Four examples include Antonio Bruni, Peter Callegari, Louis Colombo, and Michael Russi.⁹ Peter Callegari was "teacher of languages."¹⁰ The evidence for an early Italian presence in Bexar County is strengthened by tombstone inscriptions. Several Italians buried in *Cementerio de San Fernando* (St. Fernando's Cemetery I), which is located on Vera Cruz Avenue near South Colorado Street, include Giuseppe Bertetti, who was born in Rocco Canavese (Turin), Piedmont, in 1843 and who died on February 16, 1929; Salvatrice Carnesi, who was born in Piana dei Greci (Palermo), Sicily, in 1844 and who died on October 12, 1908; and Zavepo Barloco, who was born in Milan (Lombardy), in 1847 and who died in 1914. Some of the tombstone inscriptions are in the Italian language. The one for A. Giovanni Giorda, who was born in Cumiana (Turin), Piedmont, in 1848 and who died May 3, 1908, reads: "*padre ed avolo affezionato amico sincero il figlio Giovanni pose* (father and ancestor devoted loyal friend laid to rest by his son John)."

Certificates of baptism and marriage recorded by priests of San Fernando Cathedral offer additional evidence of Italian settlers in Bexar County. For example, Luciano Bravo was baptized there in 1852, as was Franco Marino in 1856.¹¹ Records on file with the county clerk of Bexar County document the fact that some Italians were purchasing land in the territory before statehood. Vicente Micheli purchased one tract from Mariano Basqnes on March 9, 1804, and another tract from Jose Amador on January 16, 1815.¹²

As Table I demonstrates, the number of foreign-born Italians living in Bexar County nearly tripled between 1890 and 1920. A majority of the new arrivals were born in villages within the provinces of Cosenza (western Calabria), Reggio di Calabria (southwestern Calabria), or Palermo (western Sicily). Examples of these villages include: Spezzano della Sila (Spezzano Grande), Celico, Oppido, San Pietro in Guarano, Piana dei Greci, and Corleone. The immigrants were *pastori* (shepherds) or *contadini* (peasant farmers). Before coming to America they lived in wretched cottages and toiled long hours on farms or tended sheep and goats. Food was scarce, infant mortality was high, and upward social mobility was difficult.¹³

Calabrians sailed to America from the port of Naples. The earliest

migrants journeyed overland to Naples, with mules or donkeys laden with baskets and bundles. Shortly after 1900, Calabrians traveled by railroad from Cosenza to Naples, or from Reggio di Calabria to Naples or Palermo. Ferry-boats crossed the Strait of Messina with through trains on board. Sicilians sailed to America from Palermo, after a stopover at Naples, and commonly, stopovers at Gibraltar or Ponta Delgada (Azores), in a voyage that lasted up to sixteen days in 1908.¹⁴

**TABLE I. FOREIGN-BORN ITALIANS LIVING
IN BEXAR COUNTY
(1870-1920)**

Year	Total Population	Number of Italians
1870	16,043	none listed*
1880	30,470	none listed
1890	49,266	263
1900	69,422	316
1910	119,676	470
1920	202,096	711

*Bexar County was created in 1836, and organized in 1837, from a Spanish municipality named for the Duke de Bexar. The U.S. Census for 1840-1860 also makes no mention of Italians living in the County.

Sources: United States Census Office, Ninth Census of the United States (1870), Population, Volume I, Washington, DC, 1872, p. 372.

United States Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States (1880), Population, Volume I, Washington, DC, 1883, p. 528.

United States Census Office, Eleventh Census of the United States (1890), Population, Volume 1, Part I, Washington, DC, 1895, p. 660.

United States Census Office, Twelfth Census of the United States (1900), Population, Part I, Washington, DC, 1901, p. 784.

United States Census Office, Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910), Population, Volume III, Washington, DC, 1913, p. 814.

United States Census Office, Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Population, Volume III, Washington, DC, 1920, p. 1022.

Calabrian and Sicilian Life-Styles

Calabrian and Sicilian settlers in San Antonio had distinct ideas about fertility, child-rearing patterns, sexual behavior, friendships, and memberships in clubs. They belonged to the lower class, and the average family had six children. Today, their descendants belong to the lower middle class, or upper middle class, and average three or 2.4 children respectively. Several factors account for the decrease in fertility. The higher the social

class, the greater the tendency for women to be career-oriented and thus to want to control family size. Furthermore, modern Italian-Americans marry later than their progenitors. They tend to plan their lives in accord with the dominant value patterns of the day, and having a modest number of children is such a prevailing value pattern.¹⁵

Italian immigrants strove to maintain order and obedience within their families. Children obeyed their parents, or, they often were punished physically by their fathers. Their descendants tend to discipline children in an equalitarian manner. Parents pressure their offspring to internalize acceptable standards and to make them their own. They punish disobedient children by reprimands and disapproval. Immigrant and modern mothers also have used reasoning and emotionally supportive instruction.¹⁶

The villagers of Calabria and Sicily believed in sharply defined roles for men and women. Parents arranged marriages for their sons and daughters with persons of the same class. Church marriages were important to these people. Family units were strong, and divorces or desertions were forbidden. So was premarital sex, adultery, birth control (except abstinence and the rhythm method), and abortions. Marital discords and sexual problems were seldom discussed beyond the immediate family, and husbands and wives generally tolerated no interference with their personal relationships.¹⁷

Italian San Antonians today no longer believe in rigid sex roles, although wives assume a greater responsibility for children and household chores. Husbands are the main providers of the material needs of their families. Parents no longer select spouses for their children, and marriages between Italian-Americans and non-Italian-Americans have become more common. Church marriages are still important to a majority of Italian San Antonians, although the number of marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics is increasing. Family units remain strong, but divorces have become more acceptable. There is a more permissive attitude toward birth control and premarital sex among modern Italian San Antonians; however, they generally do not tolerate abortions or desertions. An increasing number of young couples are willing to consult counselors or therapists for marital or sexual problems.¹⁸

Calabrians and Sicilians who moved to San Antonio preferred to choose their spouses and friends from among people of their *paesi* (villages) or *comuni* (municipalities). They also befriended other Italians born in the *mezzogiorno* (the regions of southern Italy). Benevolent-fraternal organizations facilitated ethnic affiliations. Local Italians founded the *Societa Italiana de Mutuo Soccorso* on April 4, 1884. Its original directors included: Antonio Bruni, Augustine Rubino, Francesco Rubiolo, Jose Cassiano, Luigi Moglia, and Paolo Colombo. The charter of the organization states that "This corporation is formed for the purpose of mutual relief among its members, social intercourse and union of Italian people and their descendants."¹⁹

Cav. Carlo Alberto Solaro and fifteen other Italians founded the Christopher Columbus Italian Society in 1890. This was a benevolent society and fraternal organization. It loaned money to needy Italian families, offered advice and counsel in business matters, taught English to new arrivals, and sponsored festive and social events. Italian was the official language of the society until 1946, when its members authorized a change to English.²⁰

Research by Leonard Moss (1983), demonstrates that there were no equivalent organizations of this kind in most Italian villages at the turn of the century.²¹ Moss' findings indicate that "most Italian immigrants to America came without the experience of 'joining'."²² Benevolent-fraternal organizations such as the *Societa Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso* were founded to facilitate affiliations and social contacts among people of common cultural ties. Members felt a "consciousness of kind" which allowed them to confront the stress associated with moving to a new environment more easily. In Calabria and Sicily, the family was the major unit of social interaction. The *Societa* was an extension and adaptation of an important custom known as *comparaggio*, through which carefully selected outsiders became part of a kind of extended family. Italians had learned the original version of this custom in their native villages.²³

Modern Italian San Antonians choose friends from among their own or adjacent social classes, especially if they are in the most prestigious occupations. They join health spas, professional organizations, and charitable groups, but many also belong to Italian clubs, such as the Christopher Columbus Italian Society, which celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1990. This club continues to promote and propagate Italian culture and traditions, while serving the San Antonio community through several programs.²⁴ UNICO National is another Italian-American organization in San Antonio. This is a service and charitable group.²⁵

Calabrian and Sicilian Art

Art is the creative use of human imagination to interpret, understand, and enjoy life. It is a reflection of the cultural values and concerns of people. Oral traditions denote the unwritten stories, beliefs, and customs of a culture. Tales are fictional, entertaining, non-historical narratives that sometimes teach children moral or practical lessons. Their distribution provides evidence for cultural contacts or isolation.²⁶

Parents and grandparents often told stories by firelight at night in Calabria and Sicily. Calabrian storytelling, influenced by early Greek settlers, exhibits a rich, colorful, complex imagination; but, the logic of the plot is sometimes lost, leaving only the unraveling of the enchantment.²⁷ Some folktales stress the importance of an unswerving faith in God, while others imply that evil behavior ultimately leads to self-destruction. God is depicted as stern, just, and merciful. Many tales feature representatives of the Holy Family, and most teach the eventual triumph of good over evil, often

through miracles. Calabrian immigrants believed in magic, so the folktales of these people abound with dragons, wizards, witches, and spells.²⁸

Typical Sicilian tales also contain magic, fairies, witches, and spells, and they are filled with color and natural objects.²⁹ These stories frequently are based on realism and common sense. Some feature the Holy Family; others find leading characters visiting holy places. Calabrian stories depict a people explicit about boundaries. That is, they characterize a strong sense of identification, loyalty, and the exclusion of non-Calabrians. In contrast, Sicilian folktales, especially those of Palermo, often contain kings, nobles, or knights from other lands such as Naples, Portugal, Greece, Brazil, or Spain. Heroes also visit other places; including Turkey and the Jordan River. In one tale, "Catherine the Wise," the entire royal family of England visited Palermo for a wedding.³⁰

Italian immigrants in San Antonio told their children the same tales they learned in their native villages. Storytelling often took place in the kitchen, and women were the principal narrators.³¹ With the passing of the original immigrants, the process of acculturation, and the advent of radio and television, storytelling virtually has disappeared as a traditional art form among Italian San Antonians.³²

Music is a form of social behavior through which there is a communication of sharing of feelings and life experiences. Like tales, songs may express the concerns of the group, but with greater formalism because of restrictions imposed by closed systems of tonality, rhythm, and musical form.³³ Religious hymns and *tarantelle* (vivacious folk dances in 6/8 time), were popular among villagers in Calabria and Sicily. Hymns are songs of praise, usually sung during religious worship. Italians sang them in their village churches. The Feast of St. Joseph, held every year on March 19 in the homes of Sicilian Texans, began with prayers and a Rosary chanted in Italian. All present sang a hymn, "Evviva la Croce" (Hail to the Cross). Italian-Texans today sing hymns as part of the Catholic Mass on Sundays, and a few Sicilian San Antonians still celebrate the Feast of St. Joseph.³⁴

Ethnic dancing is a cultural expression of the traditions, identities, and values of a community. The patterns, gestures, costumes, and styles of the *tarantelle* in the various regions of southern Italy reflect local attitudes towards sex, love, courtship, and the acceptance or non-acceptance of outsiders. During the height of the Calabrian and Sicilian emigration to San Antonio (1880-1920), differing versions of *tarantelle* evolved in Cosenza and Palermo which were reflective of the differing cultural and geographic realities of villages located within these provinces. The *tarantella* of Cosenza does not have a definite pattern because it is the actions and movements of the body that give it character. The motions of the dance are elastic and robust, in keeping with the people of mountainous Calabria. The *tarantella* of Palermo is full of movement and abandon, expressing the joy of being alive, but the gestures of the dancers are never immodest.³⁵

The *tarantella* of Cosenza contains many closed circular patterns. This is another indication that Calabrians are a people explicit about boundaries to exclude outsiders. The Sicilian *tarantella* contains numerous suggestive gestures. The dancers depict play and joy through broad smiles, sincerity, and openness through open hands, and readiness by placing their hands on their hips. Other gestures and facial expressions, as well as stares and touches, imply acceptance, cooperation, courtship, and flirtatiousness.³⁶ The *tarantelle* danced by members of the Christopher Columbus Italian Society today were taught to them recently by the dance troupe of the Italian Club of Dallas. These dances are common to all parts of Italy.³⁷

Sculpted objects, such as statues, ceremonial knives, or public buildings, represent an imaginative organization of materials in space. Sculpture may be representational — limiting the forms of nature, or abstract — representing only basic patterns of natural forms.³⁸ Sculptured treasures are meager in Calabria. Earthquakes have harassed the region for centuries, and few of its architectural masterpieces have survived.³⁹ However, Calabria hosts Gothic cathedrals and churches, Norman castles, and some fine examples of Byzantine architecture.⁴⁰ Many architectural landmarks attract tourists to Sicily. Carthaginian ruins, Greek temples and theaters, Roman bridges and aqueducts, Byzantine cloisters, Norman churches, and Saracen mosques dot the landscape. The architecture of Palermo reflects each of these periods.⁴¹ However, the hardworking *pastori* and *contadini* living in villages within the provinces of Cosenza and Palermo generally had little time to create or enjoy sculptural or architectural works of art.⁴²

The descendants of Calabrians and Sicilians living in San Antonio today show a marked preference for representational architecture and sculpture. The church of San Francesco de Paola, constructed by the Italian community of San Antonio in 1927, is early Renaissance in style. The entrance to the church is in the form of a Roman triumphal arch, with a Gothic tower of red brick. The Christopher Columbus Society presented a bronze statue of Christopher Columbus to the city of San Antonio in 1957. The monumental sculpture-in-the-round rests upon a large rectangular base. It was cast in Italy, and shipped to Columbus Park where it now stands.⁴³

The artist cast Columbus dressed in a doublet which is waisted and very short with close-fitting sleeves. A houppelande covers his shoulders and upper body, and he is wearing square-toed boots. Columbus' erect stance and determined look give an impression of readiness. He appears to be deep in thought with an intensity of concentration that is common among men of genius. What a face! It seems proud and alert, willful and intelligent.⁴⁴

Calabrian and Sicilian Culture

Culture consists of all human-made products associated with a society. Its components consist of beliefs, technology, values, norms, and language.⁴⁵ Beliefs are statements that people accept as true. The Calabrians and Sicilians who settled in Bexar County were very religious people. Most of them strongly believed in Catholicism, with its emphases on hierarchy, the seven sacraments, and elaborate rituals.⁴⁶

The earliest Italian settlers of San Antonio attended the San Fernando Catholic Church. The church was strongly under the influence of Hispanic traditions and was predominately Hispanic in leadership and membership. The Christopher Columbus Italian Society donated land for an Italian community church and its members financed its construction next to the lodge of the society. San Francesco (St. Francis) was a likely choice for the name of this ethnic church. The saint was born at Paola (Cosenza), Calabria. He and his order erected churches and monasteries in Calabria and Sicily, and he was Sicily's patron saint of fishing.⁴⁷

Many Calabrians and Sicilians believed in magic. To ward off the effects of a person suspected of having the *mal'occhio* (evil eye), some wore amulets, including *cornicelli* (little horns). The worship of objects, such as statues and sacred relics, and the attributing of specific powers and qualities to individual saints, reflected the beliefs of earlier pagan religions. The Italians held other beliefs. They distrusted outsiders and governmental authority, and they regarded the political activities of their region and country as irrelevant.⁴⁸ Before leaving their native lands, they believed that most Americans were wealthy, and that poverty, malnutrition, and hunger did not exist in the United States.⁴⁹

Italian San Antonians today have been affected by the growing secularization of society, but many still believe in the Catholic Church, and they participate in its sacraments. A majority no longer give credence to magic, although some occasionally consult palmists, astrologers, tarot-card readers, and the like. Feelings concerning *campanilismo* (localism), the distrust of outsiders, a negative attitude towards governmental authority, and political apathy largely have disappeared. Italian-Americans generally have realistic attitudes about American society and its class structure.⁵⁰

Technology consists of repeated operations that people use to manipulate the environment in order to achieve practical goals. Most Calabrians and Sicilians who migrated to San Antonio were shepherds or farmers who barely managed to make a living because of poor land and outdated techniques. To make matters worse, most of the land they worked was owned by gentry. Many Italians who entered the United States at the port of New Orleans moved on to Texas after a sojourn in Louisiana where they worked in the sugar cane fields. Then their lifestyles changed, as farming gave way to urban labor.⁵¹

Italians who lived in the eastern part of the United States before coming to Texas found work in mines, railroad construction, the garment industry, and in positions requiring few special skills. Others came to Texas after sailing to Vera Cruz, Mexico, where they worked as farmers or railroaders. Before 1883, Italians arrived at San Antonio aboard stagecoaches and team trains. After that date, most came by railroad. Italians migrated to San Antonio in search of economic opportunity. Many entered urban occupations, especially in small business — grocery, saloon, plumbing, fruits and confectionary, and boot and shoe making.⁵²

The development of commercial technology supported the rise of a middle class in Bexar County, and this provided people with opportunities to obtain economic self-sufficiency. As technology advanced, the Italian community became more affluent. This in turn led Italians to experience a greater satisfaction with a variety of other social and economic issues. Some Italian San Antonians have become successful entrepreneurs, and they have entered the professions in substantial numbers.⁵³

Norms are standards of desirable behavior. They are the rules people are expected to follow in their relations with one another. An important component of Calabrian and Sicilian culture was the belief in the importance of the family. The family was the fundamental and all-important unit of village society in the *mezzogiorno*. It determined social standards, types of labor, and restricted other activities. To be without family was truly non-being. The family included spouses, children, grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, and *compari* (godparents). All placed the welfare of the family above their personal ambitions.⁵⁴ The Italians of San Antonio were especially dependent upon their extended families to provide for their needs because there was no concentrated ethnic community in the city upon which they could rely for support.⁵⁵

A complex set of rules (*l'ordine della famiglia*) governed the relationships of family members. The father was the head of the family, and no one in his household would make a major decision without his permission. The mother was the center of the family. Her authority was also greatly respected. She often took charge of her husband's earnings and those of her unmarried children. Daughters-in-law generally were obedient and submissive to their mother-in-law. In addition, the mother made most of the decisions in the everyday affairs of the family. Family loyalty was a cardinal virtue for the villagers of the *mezzogiorno*. Most Sicilians adhered to *omerta* (code of silence), which forbade telling outsiders about matters concerning the family.⁵⁶

Values are general convictions about what is good or bad, right or wrong, appropriate or inappropriate. Chastity, seriousness, and nurturance were feminine values among the villagers. Patience, strength, and honor were masculine values. The image of the woman as a chaste person finds its expression in the great status accorded to the primary female figure in Italian Catholicism — The Virgin Mary. The cult of the *Madonna* was

especially powerful in Italy. Seriousness included the ability and desire to bear children and household skills. It also included the competence to be the cohesive force which bound a family together and thus made all life possible. Mothers were the principal caretakers of infants and small children. Women commonly tended to domestic duties and other arduous tasks, such as collecting firewood or carrying loads. In addition, they cooked and served meals. The social context in which food was prepared, served, and eaten, was important to the family.⁵⁷

For men, the code of reserve, of patience, of waiting for the right moment, of planning for events, and then of decisive, impassioned action, served life. They provided for the material needs of their families, and were the primary hunters, fishermen, and laborers outside the home. They were also responsible for the physical safety of their clan. Honor meant protecting one's family and advancing its security and influence. Males were expected to be clever, honest, wise, and worldly. Boys began to move away from the dominant influence of their mothers at the age of seven, and they engaged in male work and social life at puberty. Males were taught self-reliance, self-control, and self-denial. When anything or anyone threatened to undermine *l'ordine della famiglia*, they responded forcefully.⁵⁸

Pietro Mascagni's opera, *Cavalleria Rusticana* (Rustic Chivalry), written in 1890, depicts the lengths to which Italian males of the *mezzogiorno* would go to preserve the honor of the family. The plot takes place in a Sicilian village. A villager named Turiddu goes away to war. While he is away, his sweetheart, Lola, marries Alfio, the village carter. When Turiddu returns, the fickle Lola soon wins back his love (an affront to *l'ordine della famiglia* and the teachings of the Catholic Church). Alfio becomes aware of the affair and kills Turiddu in a duel with knives.⁵⁹

Language is a system of symbolic communication that uses words, which are sound patterns that have standardized meanings. Italian immigrants spoke the dialects of their native villages, and language appears to have influenced their perceptions and thoughts. The Italian language is characterized by a distinction between masculine and feminine nouns, and by the use of familiar pronouns with familiar persons. This implies that the general behavioral standards that differentiate males and females were important to them, and that there was a clear distinction between intimates and out-groups.⁶⁰

Italian immigrants continued to communicate with one another in the Italian language, but they gradually became bilingual. J. Fernandi published the bilingual newspaper, *La Voce della Patria* (The Voice of the Fatherland), at 1135 North Laredo Street, between 1927 and 1930.⁶¹ The paper contained local, statewide, national, and international news of interest to Italians and Italo-Americans. Local news items stressed church activities, festivals, information about Italian San Antonians, meetings of benevolent-fraternal organizations, and business advertise-

ments. *La Voce della Patria* was an urban creation designed to transcend some of the limitations on spoken communication among Italians living throughout Bexar County. As time passed, the immigrants spoke Italian at home, among *compatri*, and at meetings of the Christopher Columbus Society, but they used English in most other situations. A majority of Italian San Antonians today do not have a working knowledge of the Italian language; however, they are more familiar than is the general population with Italian terms and phrases.⁶²

Nonverbal communication can also be revealing. Italians have a smaller conception of intimate space than do most Americans, and they also touch one another more often than do most Americans. Italians generally stand at a distance that would be comfortable to the average American only if the other person were an intimate friend or family member. Gestures convey a wide range of feelings. A few gestures common among the villagers of the *mezzogiorno* are:

1. The Hand Purse — insistent query.
2. The Teeth Flick — nothing/anger.
3. The Chin Flick — disinterested/negative.
4. The Eyelid Pull — be alert.
5. The Forearm Jerk — sexual insult.
6. The Ear Touch — affirmative/warning.
7. The Horizontal Horn — sign-cuckold.
8. The Nose Thumb — mockery.
9. The Fingertips Kiss — praise and salutation.⁶³

Some Italian San Antonians today continue to use gestures such as these to communicate with one another.⁶⁴

Conclusion

The number of Italians living in Bexar County between 1880 and 1920 was relatively small, but their significance belies their numbers. Their experiences help to shed light on the process by which a group reacts to a new social environment by adopting the culture prevalent in that environment. The purpose of the oral interviews amassed in this study was to obtain information about the process of transition from the Italian cultural formation to the modern mores found in Bexar County. The main factors in the enculturation process of Sicilians and Calabrians were the family, the Catholic Church, and village mores. Because of these factors, Italians valued cooperation more than competition, family success more than personal ambition, and the careful management of nature more than its conquest and exploitation. People were seen as an integral part of their village, not separate from it. Italian immigrants brought with them to Texas distinctive patterns of behavior and organization which helped them adapt to the broader culture and society.⁶⁵

The values cherished by Italian immigrants came into conflict with

those of the dominant, Southern, Anglo-American culture. The main factors in the enculturation process of Anglo-Americans were the family, Fundamentalist churches, rural schools, and county mores. Their culture stressed individualism, political domination, economic development, and exploitation of the natural environment. Protestant fundamentalism clashed with Italian Catholicism, and this sometimes led to prejudice and discrimination.⁶⁶

Most Italian San Antonians today were born in Texas, and so they talk, dress, and act much like others born there. A major aspect of their assimilation is intermarriage. Studies by the author indicate that by the third generation, sixty percent of San Antonians of Italian ancestry married non-Italians. Yet, an Italian subculture still exists in San Antonio despite substantial assimilation. Italians have become Americans, but they have become Italian-Americans. The transition from Calabrians and Sicilians to Italians, and then to Italian-Americans, is an artifact of immigration to the New World.⁶⁷

Italian San Antonians have become more individualistic, politically oriented, and interested in economic development. They are also more willing to exploit the natural environment. Most Italians have not changed their religion, but this cultural difference does not now generate much conflict. Agreement has been reached within the society of Bexar County that this difference is not important in comparison with the many cultural bonds linking all county residents. Underlying this accommodation is economic equality. Italian San Antonians have managed to achieve economic success and relatively equal status. They have also abandoned several aspects of their cultural traditions as the price of escaping minority status and participating fully in the life of the society of Bexar County.⁶⁸

What has been the impact of the Italian heritage upon the society of San Antonio? Italian-Americans have contributed significantly to the growth and vitality of two Catholic churches, including the San Fernando Catholic Church and the San Francesco de Paola Church. Italians have also contributed to the fine arts in Bexar County. Pompeo Coppini conceived and executed the sculptural part of the Alamo Cenotaph, located in front of the Alamo, in 1939. John C. Filippone was one of the founders, and for a number of years a member of the Board of Directors of the Artists' Guild of San Antonio. His dry-point etchings won him popularity and acclaim.⁶⁹

Other Italians became successful entrepreneurs, and streets, avenues, and lanes in San Antonio were named in their honor. For example, Bruni, Cassiano, and Bertetti streets were named after Antonio Bruni, Jose Cassiano, and Giuseppe Bertetti.⁷⁰ Perhaps the greatest impact of Italians upon the society of Bexar County was the introduction of popular Italian foods and wines. Immigrants brought their food customs with them. Italian families still serve Italian dinners several times a year to the general public through the Christopher Columbus Italian Society. Italian restaurants

abound in San Antonio, imported Italian foods appear on the shelves of major supermarkets, and Italian wines and liquors are on sale at many liquor stores and restaurants.⁷¹ Still, Italian Americans have adopted most of the cultural patterns of the dominant groups. Therefore, they have experienced extensive changes in their internal values and world views.

NOTES

¹Mason Sutherland, "Carnival in San Antonio," *The National Geographic Magazine*, XCII (December 1947), p. 813.

²Pearson Newcomb, *The Alamo City* (San Antonio, 1926), pp. 1-84; Frederick C. Chabot, *San Antonio and its Beginnings* (San Antonio, 1931), pp. 5-111.

³An entire network of roads became part of the Southern Pacific system in 1905.

⁴Boyce House, *City of Flaming Adventure: The Chronicle of San Antonio* (San Antonio, 1949), pp. 6-39; T.R. Fehrenbach, *The San Antonio Story* (Tulsa, OK, 1978), pp. 13-19.

⁵Alicia V. Tjarks, "Comparative Demographic Analysis of Texas, 1777-1793," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXVII (July 1973-1974), p. 325.

⁶The University of Texas at San Antonio, Institute of Texas Cultures, *The Italian Texans*. San Antonio, Texas, 1973, p. 5.

⁷Frederick C. Chabot, *With The Makers of San Antonio* (San Antonio, Artes Graficas, 1937), pp. 223-235; *A Twentieth Century History of Southwest Texas* (Chicago, 1907), pp. 58-61.

⁸Valentine J. Belfiglio, *The Italian Experience in Texas* (Austin, 1983), pp. 25-50.

⁹Directory of the City of San Antonio for 1877-78, compiled by Mooney and Morrison (Galveston: Galveston News, 1877), pp. 77, 79, 85, 168.

¹⁰Directory of the City of San Antonio, p. 79.

¹¹San Fernando Cathedral, Index of Baptisms, I, p. 13; II, p. 144 (1800-1877). These records are stored in the Catholic Archives at San Antonio, Chancery Office, 2718 West Woodlawn, San Antonio, Texas.

¹²Texas, Bexar County, Office of the County Clerk, Direct Index to Deeds, General Index A-C, 1837-1884, pp. 27, 85.

¹³The author obtained this information by interviewing, in a systematic and comprehensive way, scores of San Antonians whose ancestors were born in Calabria and Sicily. The interviews were conducted in 1982 and 1988; Emigration Conditions in Europe: Italy. *Reports of the Immigration Commission*. Vol. 12 (Senate Document No. 748, 61st Cong., 3rd sess., 1911), pp. 50-164.

¹⁴Government of Italy, Department of Foreign Affairs, *Circular in Re-Emigration to the United States*. Circular No. 17 (Commissioner of Emigration, Rome, March 15, 1908), pp. 1-2; Courtesy of the Steamship Historical Society, 1420 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, MD.

¹⁵Christopher B. Doob, *Sociology: An Introduction* (New York, 1985), pp. 218-219; Michele Rizzo, Sam Lucchese (et al.), private interviews held at Christopher Columbus Hall, 201 Morales Street, San Antonio, TX, June 1, 1980.

¹⁶Christopher Columbus Italian Society, private interviews held with several members, 201 Morales Street, San Antonio, Texas, June 1, 1980.

¹⁷Albert L. Panza, Gale S. Granato (et al.), private interviews held at the San Antonio Marriott Inn North, 437 McCarty Road, San Antonio, TX, October 16, 1982.

¹⁸Sammy Scrivano, Joseph A. Monteverdi (et al.), private interviews held at the San Antonio Marriott Inn North, 437 McCarty Road, San Antonio, TX, October 15, 1982.

¹⁹Texas, Office of the Secretary of State, Charter of the Societa Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso di San Antonio, Texas. Charter No. 2354. Austin, TX, April 21, 1884.

²⁰Phillip Rizzo, Michael Venincasa (et al.), private interviews held at the San Antonio Marriott Inn North, 437 McCarty Road, San Antonio, TX, October 16, 1982.

²¹Leonard Moss, "Family and Community: Voluntary Association in South Italy and Detroit," in Richards N. Juliani (ed.), *The Family and Community Life of Italian Americans* (New York, 1983), pp. 11-22.

²²Leonard Moss, "Family and Community," p. 12.

²³For a discussion of the custom known as *comparaggio* or *comparatico*, as it was practiced in Sicily during the nineteenth century, consult Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood* (New York, 1975), pp. 3-41.

²⁴Robert Brischetto, Ph.D., private interview held at 7826 Hawk Trail, San Antonio, TX, October 17, 1982.

²⁵For a list and description of the Italian organizations in Texas, consult Frank D. Stella (et al.), *Directory of Italian American Organizations* (Washington, DC, 1988), pp. 367-376.

²⁶William A. Haviland, *Anthropology* (New York, 1985), pp. 585-602.

²⁷Italo Calvino, *Italian Folktales* (New York, 1980), p. xxvii.

²⁸Italo Calvino, *Italian Folktales*, pp. 482-521.

²⁹Italo Calvino, *Italian Folktales*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

³⁰Italo Calvino, *Italian Folktales*, pp. 521-606; Thomas F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales* (New York, 1885).

³¹Elizabeth Mathias and Richard Raspa, *Italian Folktales in America* (Detroit, 1985), pp. 53-55.

³²Louis Ruffo, Gilda and Marilyn Mazzurana, private interviews held at 122 Sunnycrest Drive, San Antonio, TX, October 17, 1982.

³³Haviland, *Anthropology, op. cit.*, pp. 604, 610.

³⁴Joyce Elaine Germano and Carla Pisarro Sherman, private interviews held at 1122 Birch Hill, San Antonio, TX, October 17, 1982.

³⁵Elba F. Gurzau, *Folk Dances, Costumes and Customs of Italy* (Newark, NJ, 1964), pp. 73-74.

³⁶Allen T. Dittmann (et al.), "Facial and Bodily Expression: A Study of Receptivity of Emotional Cues," *Psychiatry*, XXVIII (August 1965), pp. 239-244; Erich Fromm, *The Forgotten Language* (New York, 1951), pp. 23-54.

³⁷Pete Magaro, J.D., private interview held at 2300 W. Commerce, Suite 203, San Antonio, TX, October 3, 1988.

³⁸Haviland, *Anthropology, op. cit.*, p. 610.

³⁹The author toured Calabria, including Cosenza, during a visit to Italy in May-June, 1985.

⁴⁰The author toured Calabria.

⁴¹The author toured Palermo during a visit to Italy in May-June, 1985.

⁴²Antoinette Carnesi (et al.), private interviews held at the San Antonio Marriott Inn North, 437 McCarty Road, San Antonio, TX, October 15, 1982.

⁴³Henry Guerra (et al.), private interviews held at 1119 St. Mary St., San Antonio, TX, December 27, 1988.

⁴⁴These observations were made by the author during visits to San Antonio in 1982 and 1988.

⁴⁵Doob, *Sociology: An Introduction, op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴⁶For a complete discussion of the role of the Catholic Church in the lives of southern Italians, consult Silvano Tomasi, *The Religious Experience of Italian Americans* (New York, 1973).

⁴⁷Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, II (New York, 1956), pp. 10-13.

⁴⁴Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-351.

Joe Monaco and Joseph Di Muccio, private interviews held at 2802 Marlborough, San Antonio, TX, October 17, 1982.

⁴⁵Peter Parenti and Nick J. Pantuso, private interviews held at the San Antonio Marriott Inn North, 437 McCarty Road, San Antonio, TX, October 15, 1982.

⁴⁶The author obtained this information by interviewing several San Antonians whose ancestors were born in Calabria and Sicily. Private interviews held at the Christopher Columbus Hall, 201 Piazza Italia, San Antonio, TX, November 6, 1988.

⁴⁷Directory of the City of San Antonio for 1920, San Antonio Public Library, 203 S. St. Mary's Street, San Antonio, Texas.

⁴⁸The author obtained this information by interviewing several San Antonians whose ancestors were born in Calabria and Sicily. Private interviews held at the Christopher Columbus Hall, 201 Piazza Italia, San Antonio, TX, November 6, 1988.

⁴⁹For an excellent discussion of family life in Sicilian villages at the turn of the century, consult Giuseppe Pitre, *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane*, XV (Palermo, 1913), pp. 30-88.

⁵⁰The author obtained this information by interviewing several San Antonians whose ancestors were born in Calabria and Sicily. Private interviews held at the Christopher Columbus Hall, 201 Piazza Italia, San Antonio, TX, November 6, 1988.

⁵¹Pitre, *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane*, XV, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-88.

⁵²Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-182.

⁵³Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-159.

⁵⁴Mary Emma S. Macy, *Librettos of the Italian Operas* (New York, 1939), pp. 339-361.

⁵⁵For an excellent analytical study of the Italian language consult Anna Laura and Giulio Lepschy, *The Italian Language Today* (London, 1977).

⁵⁶The San Antonio-based newspaper, *La Voce della Patria* (1930), is available at the Rosenberg Library, 2310 Sealy, Galveston, TX.

⁵⁷Italian language classes offered by the Christopher Columbus Italian Society, reinforces this distinction.

⁵⁸Joseph Giordano, *The Italian-American Catalog* (Garden City, NY, 1986), p. 13.

⁵⁹The author obtained this information by observing and interviewing scores of San Antonians whose ancestors were born in Calabria and Sicily, during several visits to San Antonio in 1982 and 1988.

⁶⁰The author obtained this information by observing and interviewing.

⁶¹The author obtained this information by observing and interviewing.

⁶²The author obtained this information by observing and interviewing.

⁶³The author obtained this information by observing and interviewing.

⁶⁴Harold Schoen (et al.) *Monuments Erected By the State of Texas To Commemorate The Centenary of Texas Independence* (Austin, 1938), pp. 61, 84; Esse Forrester-O'Brien, *Art and Artists of Texas* (Dallas, 1935), p. 307.

⁶⁵The author obtained this information by observing and interviewing scores of San Antonians whose ancestors were born in Calabria and Sicily, during several visits to San Antonio in 1982 and 1988.

⁶⁶The author obtained this information by observing and interviewing.

**AMANDA AND WILLIAM FRANKLIN BURKS:
A NUECES COUNTY PARTNERSHIP**

by Johnye C. Sturcken

Personal letters are an excellent source of early Texas history. The forty-six personal letters written by Amanda and William Franklin Burks from June 10, 1867 to January 9, 1876 provide information about the stock business and life in Nueces County after the close of the Civil War.¹ Thirty-eight letters are from W.F. Burks to his wife Amanda, and eight letters are from her to him. All of the letters were written while he was away on trail drives, buying and selling horses, cattle, and mules.

Before moving to Nueces County, the Burks lived on Shawnee Prairie, fourteen miles from Homer in Angelina County, where they moved after their marriage on October 14, 1858, when he was nineteen and she was seventeen years of age. During the eight years they lived on Shawnee Prairie, Burks was away much of the time serving in the Civil War as a member of the Texas Cavalry.² The young couple had two children, John, who lived about nine months, and Lucy, who lived a little over three years.

After the war, Burks decided to go into the stock business at Banquete in Nueces County. The move began on October 1, 1866. Moving with them were Burks' sister Rhoda, his half-sister Margaret, his half-brothers Mark, Bob, and John, and two black servants, Uncle Ike and Liza. Two wagons held their possessions, which included \$2200 in gold. They also drove thirty-five head of horses. The trip lasted six weeks, taking them by Crockett, Bryan, Cuero, Goliad, and finally to Banquete, where they bought land and built a five-room house.³ Burks soon established his stock business and made a cattle drive to Natchez, Mississippi, during the summer of 1867.

Four letters survive from this drive, all from Burks to his wife. After trading horses for beef cattle, he wrote from Caldwell in Burleson County on June 10, telling Mrs. Burks that he was about ready to leave for Natchez and that "the crops are fine & flourishing, watters are high creeks full and the Brazos up." He described a recent frightening experience:

I will tell you how near you came being a widow — the fact is I came as near drowning in the Creek near Caldwell as ever a man did in this world I started in on my horse and he got half way across and got in to a Suck and went under and as he rose to the top he come up rearing and Splunging in the water and hit me with his foot or head and stunned me and Sunk me and also Strangled me in the water and I was exhausted too and I tried to Swim But was too week also I was right in a whirlpool and after Doing all that I could to get to the land just as I went Down the bottom for the last time I come to the Bottom (the water just to my chin) or I should have been in eternity oh it makes me Shudder to think of that moment.

He was plagued by swollen creeks and rivers on much of the trip but lost few cattle. On August 6, he arrived at Natchez with seventy-nine head of cattle.

Burks next drive occurred in 1868; seven letters survive, three from Burks to his wife and four from him to her. He sold horses for beef cattle, and by the time he reached San Saba County, he had acquired 139 head of cattle. Although some horses remained unsold, Burks decided to start the drive to market in order to get away from the Indians, who were stealing horses in San Saba County. When he reached the Brazos River near Bryan, he left the unsold horses with an employee, intending to return for them after the cattle drive was completed. On October 5, he wrote from Owensville in Robertson County, "If I could have sold all of my horses I would have made \$1,000 clear of all expenses But as it is I cannot tell what I will make if I get a good price for my Beeves I will make a good trip after all." The drive reached Natchez the second week in November. By November 21, Burks had sold all his stock, spent three days in New Orleans, and after a trip across the Gulf of Mexico, wrote to his wife from Houston to say that he made good money on the trip.

While Burks was away, Mrs. Burks took care of their interests at Banquete. Four of the eight letters written by her were written during this drive in 1868. By then the Burks had opened a general store in partnership with Dr. Jefferies, a local physician, who managed the store when Burks was on a cattle drive. The Burks had also acquired a great deal of horse stock. On August 2, she wrote that the store was not doing well because of competition from another store in the area, but her main concern was with their horse stock, which included about sixty colts. On August 15, writing that Jeff, one of the horses, had been stolen, she told her husband that the "crounty has bin full of men running from goliad they have bin killing ever body that had a bad name." She believed one of these men took Jeff. Five days later, she wrote that someone had "traided A large bay horse with our brand on him A bout thirty five miles from hear to a mexican." Mrs. Burks sent a neighbor to investigate, and he brought Jeff home.

During trail drives, the Burks endured long separations. On October 5, she wrote to tell him that she had received her first letter from him in two months. Expecting him home any day, she was disappointed to learn that he would be away longer:

I am so sorry you cant come home ... you have bin gone five months
I dont think the time is as long to you as me I hope not who have
I to care fore no one in this world but you and have to stay away
from you I have not bin with you five months since peace was made.

In a letter dated October 26-28, she told him that her stove was worn out and she was cooking in the fireplace. She wrote of her hardships and loneliness:

I have had a hard time this year more hard work than I ever done in my life I live in hopes you will come home and stay with me I can not stay away from you so long again ... I have put up forty pounds of butter for you to eat this winter I have a turnup growing to you told me you wood be hear to plant turnup do you remeber it I have had a turkey up amounth thinking you wood come ever day.

His last letter on this drive was dated November 21, 1868 from Houston. He had sold out in Natchez and was on his way home but had to go by Bryan to sell the horses left there early in October.

Twenty-one letters were preserved from the drive in 1869, seventeen from Burks to his wife, and four from her to him. On May 12 he wrote from Concrete, located near Cuero in DeWitt County, where he was selling horses. He had had two stampedes but had lost no horses. By May 21 he reached Burnet County and expected to sell his horses for a good profit. Writing to his wife about affairs at Banquete, Burks expressed complete confidence in her judgment and said, "I want you to write to me how my Business is doing at home and if you think it is not doing well I want you to make things different you need not be affraid to act in any way you see proper." He was riding toward Lampasas Springs and told her to write him there in care of a man named Snapp Bean. By May 28 he was selling horses at Lampasas, averaging about \$48 a head. He was not getting cash for them but was taking beef cattle at \$10 a head.

Burks moved on to San Saba and wrote on June 3 that the Indians had stolen most of the horses in the area. Writing again on June 11, his thirtieth birthday, he stated: "I have sold about 65 head of horses have got 275 head of Beeves and am going to start to gathering up the Cattle I will make some money." By July 17 he was ready to start the drive to market with about 330 head of cattle. Worried about the Indians, he expected to be out of danger in two days and wrote "then we can all sleep one night all night for we are all worn out with fatigue and hard work." He was in high spirits and expected to be home in September, stating "if I have good luck I will have a pocket full of rocks and (Money makes the mare go) all Right you can cut wood and make your own fires for a short time but there is a better day coming."

Early in the drive, Burks had trouble with a young man named Johnny, who was the son of Dr. Jefferies at Banquete, Burks' partner in the general store. The young man was on his first cattle drive. Burks, angry and disgusted with him, wrote:

I have a Dutchman driving the wagon for us and cooking Johnney cant eat fat meat cant eat corn Bread cant drink Black Coffee cant eat old Butter cant set up at night cant drink Claber milk in fack he cant do nothing that the Ballance Does grumbles all the time keeps the hands thinking that I ought to Bye more than I do and I bye all that I can I wish he was at home he has Been doing this way all the time since we first come to Lampasas County. (July 22)

Johnny grew up on the drive, for after it reached Natchez on September

8, Burks wrote home, praising Johnny for his hard work. Burks found the cattle market depressed, and instead of returning home in September as he had planned, he was forced to remain in Natchez for several more months.

During his stay in Natchez, Mrs. Burks wrote of affairs at home. Four of her surviving letters were written during this drive, and in two of them, she discussed the serious illness of Liza, the black girl who moved with them from Angelina County. Liza had been bitten by a rattlesnake, and Mrs. Burks described her condition vividly:

lizzar got bit by a rattle snake I cant tell you how much she has suffered I have bin up nearly ever night with her she has not set up anny yet the flesh has come of on the top of her foot ... the Doctor says he think lizar will git well ... I thought twice she was dying. (June 8)

A week later on June 15, Mrs. Burks wrote that Liza was better, but still could not walk. It had been twenty-two days since she was bitten, but she was not expected to walk for several more weeks.

On August 28, Mrs. Burks wrote that "all the men have gone west to stop stealing in the cattle." She said that horse buyers were beginning to come into the area, one from as far away as Mississippi, and she expected more soon. Her last surviving letter is dated November 6. She told her husband that the store was closed and suggested "if you was by your self I think you could do a good business hear this winter."

Ten letters remain from 1870, and all of them are from Burks to his wife. He sold horses and mules near Victoria during late January, moved early in February to Concrete, where he lost eighteen horses in a stampede, and on February 14 wrote from La Grange that he was selling horses for a good price and expected to be home in three or four weeks. Promising to spend more time at home, he said:

Amanda hire all your wood hauled and be sure to do it for I felt like I had not treated you Right and if you will forgive for it and I know you will that I will not do so any more You know that I like to stay at home first Rate and that I deprive my self of all the Comforts and pleasures at home to try to make money for you and me however I will stay with you until you are tired of me when I come home.

Dispirited on this trip, he wrote again on February 19 from Hopkinsville, located in Gonzales County about twenty-five miles from La Grange: "Amanda I am very anxious to come home and I am not going lye to you no more for I sware to you I will stay at home if I do not mak one cent in 12 months Amanda I do not think that I will mak one Dollar on the trip."

Burks' promise to stay home was unrealistic, if he was to remain in the stock business, and they both knew it. By May 28 he was gone again, writing from Rio Grande City, where he was waiting for Mexican fillies to be delivered at Camargo by Don Jose Maria Pena. On July 24, he wrote

Mrs. Burks that he had been 150 miles into Mexico but did not buy many horses.

Few letters remain after 1870. From 1871, no letters survive because Mrs. Burks went up the trail to Kansas with her husband when he drove 1000 steers to market. Her account of this trip appears in *The Trail Drivers of Texas* (1924). After a drive in 1872, Burks wrote from Ellsworth, Kansas, on August 18, saying: "I have tryed to sell ever Since I came here But cant Do it at a fair Price— Damn—this Country any how nothing here But gamblers—Fancy women and Texas Fools—all mixed up together." One letter survives from a drive to Natchez in 1873; the last two letters, written December 21, 1875 and January 9, 1876, were from Louisiana where he was selling horses and mules.

After his return to Banquete, Burks decided to move to a new area where he would have more open range for his horses. In 1876, while traveling with a party of surveyors in La Salle County, he found land he liked and filed a homestead. He and Mrs. Burks, accompanied by his sister Rhoda, moved to La Salle County in the fall, arriving on November 26, 1876. Unfortunately, Burks, who was ill with tuberculosis, died two months later on January 27, 1877 at the age of thirty-seven. He was buried in the family cemetery at La Mota Ranch.

Before he died, Burks advised his wife to sell the horses and establish a sheep ranch. Later, after the brush began to destroy the prairie grass, she switched to cattle. Widowed twelve days before her thirty-sixth birthday, Amanda Burks remained in La Salle County and developed the property that she and her husband had homesteaded. She continued to buy land, and at one time owned 43,000 acres, 33,000 acres in La Salle County called the La Mota Ranch and 10,000 acres in Webb County known as Los Pintos Ranch. She outlived William Franklin Burks more than fifty-four years, but she never remarried. She died on the ranch on September 15, 1931⁴ at age ninety and was buried beside her husband in the cemetery at La Mota Ranch.

The forty-six personal letters written by Amanda and William Franklin Burks between 1867 and 1876 provide information about the stock business in Texas after the Civil War. These letters also reveal the devotion and mutual respect felt by a young couple who built an enduring partnership on the Texas frontier.

NOTES

¹Letters written by Amanda and William Franklin Burks have been made available to me through the courtesy of Amanda Bell Newman and Virginia Bell Sturges of Cotulla, Texas. They have assisted generously in my work.

²Civil War letters from W.F. Burks to his wife indicate that he was a member of the Thirteenth Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment under the command of Colonel John H. Burnett from April 6, 1862 to December 29, 1862. No letters survive from 1863. By July 7, 1864, Burks was on his way to join the Rio Grande expedition under the command of

Colonel John S. Ford and remained with this group until the end of the war.

³Amanda Burks, "East to West: Reminiscences of Mrs. Amanda Burks, Pioneer Woman and One of La Salle's Largest Ranch Owners," *Cotulla Record*, May 3, 1924.

*In my paper "Amanda Nite Burks, Willie Baylor Bell and J. Frank Dobie: A Brush Country Friendship," in *Purview Southwest: Proceedings of the Southwest and Texas Popular Culture Association Meeting for 1989*, edited by Reed Harp (Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1989), pp. 335-45, I cited the death date for Mrs. Burks as September 16, 1931, based on information found in *La Salle County: South Texas Brush Country 1856-1975* (1975) by Annette Martin Ludeman, p. 146. The correct date is September 15, 1931, as cited in this paper.

THE GREAT TEXAS TREASURY ROBBERY, JUNE 11, 1865

by *Patrick Cox*

One of the boldest robberies in Texas history was conducted during the chaotic period immediately after the downfall of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865. The robbery of the state treasury occurred on June 11, 1865, following the evacuation of most Confederate state government officials and prior to the arrival of Union occupation forces. A group of desperadoes were only partially successful in the looting, thanks to a small volunteer company organized by Captain George R. Freeman, a Confederate veteran from Hamilton, who forced the robbers' flight.

As news of the surrender of Confederate forces reached Texas in the late spring of 1865, civil government and law enforcement quickly began to disappear. After failing to convene the Texas legislature to repeal the secession ordinance, Governor Pendleton Murrah and many Confederate officials fled to Mexico. As a result, citizens in the Austin area organized to protect the populace and property from the increasing threat of violence that accompanied the breakdown of civil justice. Captain Freeman organized a small company of thirty volunteers to protect the state capital until the arrival of Union occupation forces.¹

Freeman's company was formed in May 1865, to counter a riotous mob in control of Austin. "I found the public stores sacked and the whole city in turmoil," Freeman wrote.² After a series of unsuccessful attempts by citizens to maintain order, Freeman's volunteers gained control and restored the peace. The group was then disbanded, but subject to call if needed by the remaining local and state authorities.

According to Freeman, on the night of June 11, 1865, he was informed by former Confederate General Joe Shelby that a robbery of the state treasury was imminent. "As we talked, the blows of the robbers upon the safes in the treasury could be distinctly heard," Freeman stated. A prearranged signal was then given to the volunteers by church bell to convene at the Christian Church, located at the southern end of Congress Avenue. A total of nineteen volunteers responded to the alarm, many of whom were attending church services as the alarm sounded.³

The treasury building was located northeast of the Capitol, so by the time the troop arrived, the robbers were in the building breaking into the safes. As Freeman's men approached the building, a brief gunfight erupted in which one of the robbers was wounded mortally by Al Musgrove and Fred Sterzing. Musgrove stated in his account that when they shot the member of the gang, "We ordered him to come out. He came out bent almost double and fell upon the floor. The whiskey oozing from the hole in his body could be plainly smelled."⁴ Freeman was wounded in the arm. Of the estimated thirty to forty desperadoes participating in the

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break-in, all but the one wounded man escaped. The thieves fled west of Austin toward Mount Bonnell, carrying with them about \$17,000 in specie, more than half of the gold and silver in the state treasury at the time.⁵

The wounded man was identified as Elex Campbell, a member of a group headed by a man known only as Captain Rapp. The band had moved into Austin during this turbulent period with the state treasury as its target. Apparently the group timed the robbery to occur the day after General Shelby's Confederate troops left Austin, and hoped the blame would fall on those veterans who were heading south for Mexico. One eyewitness account stated that except for the identification of the actual robbers by the wounded man, "they would have believed Colonel Joe Shelby's men did the job."⁶

Shortly after the robbery and again in later years, a debate arose over Shelby's involvement. A few days after the event, the general came into town after hearing a rumor of his collusion in the robbery. Shelby told an assembled gathering in the middle of Austin that if he heard any more intimations that he or any of his men were connected with the robbery, he would "burn the city to the ground." Musgrove, the volunteer from Freeman's company, remarked, "Shelby was a man of his word, and his threat effectually dispelled the rumor."⁷ Shelby's widow portrayed his role as being much larger in saving the remaining assets of the treasury by actually participating in the attack.⁸ Freeman stated in his report that Shelby's men who returned to Austin after the robbery were instructed to remain outside the public buildings. "I requested them to camp on the capitol grounds till morning, to be called upon if needed, which they did. But they were not called upon," Freeman reported.⁹

According to an audit delivered to Governor A.J. Hamilton in October 1865, a total of \$27,525 in specie and \$800 in Louisiana bank bills were located in the treasury at the time of the robbery. Over \$2 million in United States bonds and coupons and other securities belonging to the state's school fund were also in the vaults at the time.¹⁰ The robbers failed to escape with any of the securities. Freeman reported that \$25,000 in United States coupons clipped from the bonds were found on the floor of the treasury after one of the robbers apparently dropped the package in his attempt to escape.¹¹

Except for robber Elex Campbell, who died in the shootout, none of the other members of Rapp's company were captured and brought to justice. The \$17,000 stolen was never recovered, although some of the money, lost by the robbers between the treasury building and Mount Bonnell just to the west of Austin, was found. Although rumors persisted that some of Rapp's gang were Austin residents, no formal charges were filed "due to the unrest of the times and the generally disorganized state of the law enforcement machinery."¹² Captain Freeman and his company of volunteers were later recognized by the state for their service in defending the public treasury.

NOTES

¹Captain George R. Freeman, "Statement Concerning His Company and the Robbery of the State Treasury," (Austin: Texas State Archives, 1865), pp. 1-2.

²Freeman, "Statement," p. 2.

³Freeman, "Statement," p. 2.

⁴Eugene C. Dealey, "Outlaws Tried to Loot Austin Treasury 56 Years Ago," *Dallas Morning News*, 1921 (Article obtained from Laura Hamner Collection, v. 4, Barker Texas History Center, undated).

⁵Frank Brown, *Annals of Travis County and of the City of Austin* (Austin: Texas State Archives, 1865 Vol., publication undated), p. 23.

⁶Lafayette Rogers, "Memories," (Austin: Texas State Archives, undated). Freeman and Rogers could only identify the gang leader as Captain Rapp; no first name was ever reported.

⁷Dealey, "Outlaws."

⁸Edwin Adams Davis, *Fallen Guidon, The Forgotten Saga of General Joe Shelby's Confederate Command* (Santa Fe, 1962), pp. 41-43.

⁹Brown, *Annals*, p. 21.

¹⁰E.M. Pease and Swante Palm, "The State Finances of Texas During the Civil War," Report to Governor A.J. Hamilton (Austin, Texas State Archives, October 30, 1865), p. 32.

¹¹Brown, *Annals*, p. 21.

¹²Dealey, "Outlaws."

KENNETH L. ANDERSON
LAST VICE PRESIDENT
ALMOST FIRST GOVERNOR OF TEXAS

by Leslie H. Southwick

The number of modern-day Texans who have heard of Kenneth L. Anderson and the number of Texas history books that even mention him are few. This North Carolina native arrived in Texas after the Revolution. His public offices were meager — a few local positions in San Augustine, a term in the House, and finally truncated service as vice president of the Republic. No meaningful collection of personal papers was left behind, nor has a picture been discovered.¹ It is not surprising he has been forgotten. The irony is that he was at the time of his death among the four or five most powerful politicians in Texas. What illness killed Anderson at the age of thirty-nine, at the height of his influence and on the verge of likely election as the state's first governor, is unknown. What is clear is that death thrust into obscurity a man who deserved a far better fate.

Anderson's father and grandfather fought in the same New Jersey militia regiment during the American Revolutionary War. Family tradition holds that the pair finished their service at the Battle of King's Mountain, North Carolina, in 1780, and remained there to live. The younger veteran, named Kenneth, married Nancy Thompson on June 12, 1801. The couple's son, Kenneth Lewis, was born on September 11, 1805, in Hillsborough. Catherine was born in 1807, and another son and daughter completed the family. Kenneth Lewis was said to be "of humble Scotch parents," and had to rise "from the position of shoemaker." It is unclear whether this means it was the father or the son who was a shoemaker. The Reverend William Bingham's school in Orange County, famed in nineteenth century North Carolina, provided the boy his education.²

The youthful Kenneth Lewis Anderson travelled over the Appalachians and settled in Shelbyville, Tennessee, by 1824. By February 1826, he had become a deputy sheriff for the county. He foreclosed on land, sold slaves at execution sales, and otherwise helped enforce the decrees of the local court. In January 1829 he bought a slave woman and her four young children. Later that year Anderson purchased eighty-six acres north of town, on which he may have farmed. The Anderson family included his wife, Patience Burditt. Their first son, Malcolm Gilcrest, was born in August 1826. Kenneth, Jr. arrived around 1830, and died by 1847 shortly after his father's death. Daughter Jane Bell was born in 1833, and their final child, Theophiles, was born in 1834.³

Anderson was a prominent Shelbyville citizen. By 1830 he had become the High Sheriff for Bedford County, and retired by 1832. Anderson was elected a colonel of the militia. He apparently also made some enemies. In

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1835 an arsonist tried to destroy Anderson's house. A fire burned down the kitchen and almost engulfed the main house. The volunteer help of many neighbors controlled the blaze. In 1836 he was active in the local presidential campaign for Hugh L. White, Tennessee senator and recent foe of Andrew Jackson. It had been a rapid rise for the young man. Yet something made him decide to move on.⁴

The Texas Revolution was the subject of long articles in many issues of Tennessee newspapers in 1836. Patience Anderson's relative, Joseph Rowe, may have sent firsthand reports to the family about Texas affairs. In late 1837 any letters from Rowe would have seemed more authoritative, as he was elected speaker of the Texas House. An additional inducement for leaving may have been the severe national financial panic of 1837. Regardless of the reasons, in September 1837 the Andersons sold their house and three adjacent lots in Shelbyville they had owned since 1831. The family left for Texas in a wagon.⁵

The Andersons settled in San Augustine, where Rowe had lived for five years. Anderson was soon drawing on his Tennessee experience. At the opening of Probate Court on May 28, 1838, Anderson attended as deputy sheriff of San Augustine County. By August he was sheriff. He was seeking more significant office, however, and taking steps to achieve it.⁶

In May 1838, Anderson attended a public meeting in San Augustine that nominated Mirabeau Lamar for president and Joseph Rowe for vice president. Later in the year, after Lamar's election on September 3, Anderson sought help from the new president. Some of Lamar's East Texas confidants wrote the president, stating that Anderson would like to be appointed either chief justice or collector of customs for San Augustine. Lamar was informed that the applicant was "well qualified to execute the duties of the office — and a man of steady habits [and] of undoubted integrity."⁷

Anderson did not get an immediate appointment. Rowe gave Lamar a personal endorsement on March 8, 1839, calling Anderson a "gentleman of great moral worth, and good business habits, with whom I have had the pleasure of being intimately acquainted for the last twenty years." The president appointed Anderson as collector of customs for the San Augustine district, beginning on September 5, 1839. The San Augustine newspaper commended Anderson on June 11, 1840, for his large recovery of revenues and his general supervision of his office.⁸

This young Texas politician's identification with Lamar, if it ever existed in the public's mind, was removed by early April 1841. Anderson was listed first among fifty-one San Augustinians named in the local newspaper requesting Sam Houston to attend a public dinner in his honor. They praised the former president's accomplishments and criticized those "venal partisans called into political existence by fortuitous circumstances." That was

a thinly veiled censure of the incumbent administration.⁹

Anderson announced for one of two seats in the House from San Augustine. Addressing his constituents in a circular distributed July 1, 1841, he discussed in detail the issues of the campaign. Somewhat against the common prejudice, the circular supported a national bank. Many political careers had been ended a few years earlier because of the bank issue. Even so, Anderson argued that the sound currency provided by a bank was needed desperately. Anderson won on September 6 with the largest majority so far gained in the county. The *Redlander* described Anderson as "the champion of the constitution and the uncompromising opponent of the executive. ... Col. Anderson has not his superior in point of eloquence in the Republic, and, for the soundness of his views as a statesman, we need only point to his circular... ." ¹⁰

The new president, Sam Houston, wrote one of his advisers that his "particular friend K.L. Anderson" should be consulted on all things. Houston reported that Anderson could be convinced to run for speaker, "although he [Anderson] has manifested no wish on the subject." If he was nominated, Houston said there could be no abler or worthier speaker. The new House of Representatives opened on November 1, 1841. Anderson received eighteen votes to eleven for W.N. Porter of Bowie County and was elected. The victor gave a short address to thank his peers for the honor. Retrenchment, a policy voiced frequently by the incoming president in the campaign, was also the watchword of the speaker's address. ¹¹

On December 6, a week before Houston's inauguration, a committee proposed the impeachment of outgoing President Mirabeau Lamar. The charge concerned alleged misappropriation of funds by Lamar for the disastrous Santa Fe expedition. The report also advised impeachment of Vice President David G. Burnet for related offenses. Anderson, Isaac Van Zandt, and George T. Woods, three powerful congressmen, initiated this attack on Lamar. Without a vote of impeachment being taken, Anderson administered the oath of office to Houston on December 13, in ceremonies at the rear of the capitol under a covered platform. On December 17 the resolution of impeachment was taken up, posthumously as it were. Anderson was one of thirteen voting to impeach, while twenty-five opposed. ¹²

The freshman congressman had won the Speaker's chair, but already there was speculation that he was in line for higher honors. Houston had five Cabinet positions to fill. In a letter written on November 24, 1841, Houston asked Anson Jones to be secretary of state. Jones endorsed on it, meticulously filed away for posterity, that Anderson urged him to accept, and would take the Treasury Department himself if Jones did so. "His persuasions, more than any other man's, induced me to accept" Jones then wrote his wife that Anderson was to fill the Treasury office. The president, however, made no appointment to the Treasury until the congressional session was over. Anson Jones' biographer, Herbert Gam-

brell, theorized without apparent firm evidence that Houston was considering both Anderson and Senator William Henry Daingerfield for the cabinet post. Some important measures were before Congress, and having both men anxious for the promotion probably proved advantageous for Houston. Just before Congress adjourned on February 5, 1842, Houston named Daingerfield to the post.¹³

The crucial foreign policy issue of early 1842 was the appropriate response to a Mexican army raid led by Rafael Vasquez. In March Vasquez captured San Antonio, then retreated to Mexico. When Congress convened in Houston on June 27, 1842, the dominant sentiment was for action. Congress passed a bill giving Houston the power to draft one-third of the military-age men into the army, and to sell ten million acres of land to fund an invasion of Mexico.¹⁴

Despite Houston's reluctance for war, it was assumed he would sign the bill. "Rip" Ford, a Texas Ranger who left lengthy memoirs of the period, gives Anderson credit for Houston's eventual veto:

It is the opinion of gentlemen who had opportunities to know the truth, that a long conference between Gen. Houston and Hon. Kenneth L. Anderson caused him to change his views. Col. Anderson convinced him of the inability of Texas to furnish capital to defray the expenses of an army prosecuting a war upon foreign territory. The danger of the war degenerating into a robbing expedition was placed in bold relief. The disgrace arising from such hostile movement was dwelt upon. Events had not been favorable to Texas, and a false move would damage the reputation of her people for chivalry and high toned sense of honor.¹⁵

Houston's veto subjected him to some of the worst verbal abuse of his career. Even so, the action saved Texas lives, money, and honor, since an inglorious defeat deep in the heart of Mexico was likely. Surprisingly, the following year Anderson advised Houston that war with Mexico was the only, though detestable, alternative to anarchy. Anderson felt that the popular sentiment for war was so powerful in 1843 that to oppose it could bring down the government. Fortunately, Anderson was too pessimistic.¹⁶

Two weeks before Congress adjourned on July 23, 1842, the San Augustine *Redlander* said it was "authorized and requested to announce the Honorable K.L. Anderson as a candidate for reelection... ." Two months earlier the same paper had demonstrated its continued support for Anderson by requesting that he run. Soon after the *Redlander* announced Anderson's candidacy, he decided not to run. On August 27 the Clarksville *Northern Standard* lamented Anderson's withdrawal, saying the "retirement from public life of such a man is a loss to the country." In a letter to President Houston on August 6, Anderson explained his reasons. "Doubtless you will be somewhat surprised when I tell you I have declined being a candidate," Anderson wrote, but the reason is "Poverty, Poverty."¹⁷ Membership in Congress required him too often to be absent from home.

Anderson retired to San Augustine. His home, located about half a mile southeast of town, was said to have been built initially for Sam Houston. Patience Anderson, the three boys and little girl, and several slaves were left behind frequently as Anderson journeyed to the capital or travelled the legal circuit as a practicing attorney. Anderson may have become a lawyer while still in Tennessee, since soon after arriving in San Augustine he was seeking appointment as a judge. By March 1842 he and Vermont native Royal T. Wheeler were tending to all legal business "that may be entrusted to them with promptness and fidelity." Three years later, when Wheeler became a district judge, Anderson established a partnership with J. Pinckney Henderson and Thomas J. Rusk. Anderson's two partners would become governor and a United States senator in 1846.¹⁸

On December 13, 1842, Anderson was appointed prosecuting attorney for his district by Houston. He was unanimously confirmed by the Senate the next day. A lawless rampage was then occurring in East Texas, often referred to as the Regulator—Moderator War. How Anderson could be enticed from political retirement to become embroiled in so demanding and dangerous a task can be explained only by a selfless devotion to his adopted community, and perhaps by the steady salary that could be earned at home. Anderson's predecessor was Royal T. Wheeler, his law partner.¹⁹ The new district attorney owed his position to the friendship of Sam Houston. The correspondence between the two appears intimate and mutually respectful. Houston had instructed him to send news of events whenever he could. Anderson frequently assured his mentor that the local citizens were supportive of Houston's policies. Anderson also handled at least some of Houston's personal business matters in San Augustine.²⁰

Though somewhat removed from the political mainstream in East Texas, Anderson's stock rose in the capital. In early July 1843, Anderson wrote Houston's part-time secretary, Washington D. Miller, in response to Miller's letter suggesting that Anderson run for the presidency. Perhaps Miller had been relaying Houston's wishes. Anderson called himself "greatly flattered by the high estimate you place upon me." He said that he could not be induced to run for president, "however flattering my prospects should be thought to be." If a western or southern man were named for president, Anderson might consider himself a suitable ticket balancer.²¹

Other people thought Anderson would be a suitable running mate for several possible candidates. Future governor and Anderson's law partner, J. Pinckney Anderson, felt that Sam Houston's friends were in disarray. Anson Jones was the logical choice, but many feared he was unelectable. Henderson suggested that Abner Lipscomb be substituted if necessary, with Anderson for vice president. President Houston himself injected order into this confusion. In August 1843, he, Anderson, Henderson, and others met in Crockett for what Houston called "a large assembly of the sovereigns." Apparently this meeting sorted through the political

situation, and resolved upon a choice. On October 1, Henderson reported to Jones that the controversy had been settled. A San Augustine nomination meeting was scheduled for a few days later. That meeting, as did one on October 28, 1843, in Independence, chose Jones for president and Anderson for vice president. Speeches were given praising the candidates, with resolutions memorializing the reasons for the nominations. On May 13, 1844 in Red River County, Jones and Anderson were chosen by a 149-1 vote. The Houston party was organizing for victory.²²

Jones' regard for his runningmate was evident. Jones wrote in his memoirs that he had solicited Henderson, Rusk, and Abner Lipscomb to run for president, but each had refused. Jones also had asked Anderson to run. "In fact," Jones said, "Col. Anderson after General Houston would have been my first choice. But it was decided otherwise," presumably by Houston and other influential men.²³

Edward Burleson was the nominee of those opposed to Jones. Even so, Anderson was also named as his running mate in several newspaper endorsements and public meetings. When a new editor took over the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, he found the Burleson-Anderson ticket already endorsed by his predecessor. Though supporting Burleson and agreeing that Judge Patrick Jack of Galveston was now normally paired with him, the new editor said Anderson was acceptable and would continue to be endorsed.²⁴

All semblance of a contest ended in early August when Jack died of yellow fever. The election on September 2 was close. Jones received 7307 votes, and Burleson 5668. Anderson's victory was anticlimactic. He gained his office with 9941 votes, the most ever garnered by a candidate in the Texas Republic. There were 391 scattered for others.²⁴

For the inaugural ceremonies, a rough wooden platform was constructed in front of the building in which a republic had been declared eight years earlier in Washington-on-the-Brazos. On December 9, Anson Jones and Kenneth Anderson became the fourth president and vice president of Texas. After Jones' address was delivered, Anderson rose and humbly thanked the voters for the honor given San Augustine by his election. He refused to comment on specific issues, as opinions were unbecoming a vice president.²⁶

Opinions Anderson definitely had, however. As early as July 1843, he told the unsympathetic Sam Houston that the capital should be returned to Austin, particularly since an armistice with Mexico had been announced. In February 1844 he told Houston that he warmly endorsed annexation, even if Texas initially was admitted solely as a territory. What was critical was that Texas' public debt be assumed by the United States, and a "reasonable amount" of public land be kept by the state to satisfy soldiers' claims and to fund a system of common schools. Should these events occur, Texans would be "the most fortunate people on the earth." Anderson

told Houston that to acquire the necessary assurances, a "confidential friend in whose good sense and prudence you could rely," should be sent to Washington with secret instructions to act when appropriate.²⁷

Vice President Anderson got an opportunity to assist in negotiations between the governments of Anson Jones and John Tyler. The American minister to Texas, Andrew Jackson Donelson, corresponded with Anderson and advised him of events. Anderson was said to be less willing than Jones to appear coy with England and France in an attempt to coax the United States into annexation. Statehood was Anderson's goal, but without the pretense. The American Congress obliged in February 1845. A special session of the Texas Congress convened in Washington-on-the-Brazos on June 16, 1845, to consider the proposal of annexation. Anderson presided over the Senate and annexation was adopted unanimously by both houses.²⁸

Few contemporary accounts of the early speculation on the candidates for the first governor's race have been discovered. Anson Jones barely had settled into his three-year term when annexation was approved in late June 1845. Thus one chief executive had just been chosen, but now contenders for a new race had to be selected. By the close of the special session, statehood was certain and thoughts were being directed to the governorship. Rip Ford stated it "was understood by many ... that Anderson would be the first governor of the new state." Anderson was said to have "a strong following, especially in east Texas, and was generally known as one of the foremost lawyers of the Republic." The Reverend Homer Thrall, in his *History of Texas* (1889) called the San Augustine statesman "a prominent candidate for Governor in 1845." The eventual winner, J. Pinckney Henderson, was Anderson's law partner. They were from neighboring towns in North Carolina, and settled in the same Texas town. Henderson was less well known than Anderson, and may have been reluctant to run against him. Ford called Anderson "[n]ext to Henderson in point of ability, but his superior in oratory... ." The third law partner was Thomas J. Rusk. "Anderson was, perhaps, the most eloquent of the three, before juries and mixed assemblies... ." There was at least one suggestion that Houston should be governor, and Anderson and Jones be the United States Senators.²⁹

If Anderson's "election to be the first Governor of Texas was generally conceded," fate intervened. Anderson had been ill at Washington-on-the-Brazos. His friends advised him not to travel after the Senate adjourned. Anderson's insistence was too strong, and for that matter his condition was not considered critical. Twenty miles from Washington, at Fanthorp's Inn, the exhausted traveler had to rest. This old tavern, a frequent lodge for early Texans, proved Anderson's last stop. His fever flared and a rapid decline began. He died at 3:15 P.M. on July 3, 1845. He lay in state in the tavern's parlour, and then was buried six days later in the Fanthorp cemetery. Later the city was renamed in his

honor. The service was attended by Masonic and state officials, who gathered from nearby Washington and elsewhere. Henderson eventually announced for governor, and defeated Dr. James Miller.³⁰

Anderson's sudden death stunned Texas. The convention in Houston that was drafting the first state constitution recessed for a day in his honor. The public eulogies were plentiful, sentimental, and sincere. The comments followed enough of a pattern to be accepted as fair estimates. One paper noted his "clearness of intellect and quickness of perception, tempered but not concealed by great modesty of mien, and deference to the views and feelings of others... ." He had integrity, tact, eloquence, and a sharp mind. Another newspaper commended "in the class of public men there are very few who possess so many virtues, allied with capacity, as did our departed friend."³¹

Anderson did not leave wealth behind for his family. His estate was insolvent, and the family home had to be sold to pay debts. Patience remarried soon after her husband's death to Leonard Friend of San Augustine on April 29, 1846.³²

Kenneth Lewis Anderson was "a rather tall, red headed Scotchman of fine appearance, inclined to be a sportsman; not adverse to a game of poker in good company, but a man of good principles, honest and honorable in his dealings, and with a high moral character, a church-goer and supporter of religion."³³

Doubtlessly he was not perfect. Indeed, at least once he was involved in a brawl that resulted in both men having to appear in court. Still, few of what blemishes there must have been were recorded for posterity. That he would have enjoyed a premier public career in the early period of statehood seems beyond doubt. Ill health robbed him of a significant place in Texas history. As Rip Ford phrased it, Anderson "was taken off in the full tide of a successful career, before he had an opportunity to exhibit to the world the full extent of his intellectual powers, his rare gift of eloquence and energy, and his capacity as a statesman."³⁴

NOTES

¹The author would sincerely appreciate contact, in care of the *Journal*, from anyone who does know of a picture of Anderson.

²"Daughters of Revolution Honored at Unveiling..." Dalton, *Georgia Headlight*, August 16, 1928; Obituary, Mrs. Catherine Anderson Hamlin, *Headlight*, November 15, 1879; "Revolutionary Soldier Honored by Societies," Bedford County, Tennessee *Times*, Oct. 15, 1930. Brent H. Holcomb, comp., *Marriages of Orange County, North Carolina* (Baltimore, 1983), p. 8; 1820 Orange County, N.C., Census, household of Kennett Anderson, p. 306, Stephen B. Oates, ed., *Rip Ford's Texas* (Austin, 1963), p. 20. T.C. Richardson, *East Texas, Its History and Its Makers* (4 vols., New York, 1940), II, p. 809.

³Every previous published reference to Anderson's arrival in Shelbyville has dated that event as 1829. However, the grantee in deeds in 1824, 1826, and 1827, and the deputy and sheriff of the county in 1826 and 1828, are all referred to as "Kenneth L. [or Lewis] Anderson of Bedford County." Bedford County Deed Book U, p. 334 (September 10, 1824); Book

Y, p. 389 (February 20, 1826); Book X, p. 37 (August 17, 1826); Book AA, p. 82 (January 17, 1829); Book BB, p. 12 (January 14, 1829); Book AA, p. 469 (December 21, 1829). In addition, an obituary states his oldest son was born in Shelbyville in August, 1826: "Death of Mac Anderson," *San Antonio Daily Light*, May 13, 1901. San Augustine Probate Records, Book B, pp. 86, 181-182 (1847-1849).

¹Book BB, p. 197 (August 12, 1830); Book BB, p. 247 (February 18, 1831). The Shelbyville *Western Freeman*, August 21, 1832, shows W.D. Orr to be sheriff in 1832. *Nashville Republican*, April 9, 1835, and *Western Freeman*, July 10, 1835, detail the Hugh White campaign and the house fire; both refer to "Colonel" Anderson. *Northern Standard*, July 26, 1845.

²Bedford County Deed Books FF, p. 286 (March 1, 1831); GG, p. 217 (June 26, 1831); GG, p. 223 (September 23, 1837). Patience Burditt Anderson and Lavina Burditt Rowe, Joseph's wife, were either sisters or, more likely, cousins.

³San Augustine County (Tex.) Probate Minute Book A, pp. 32, 40, 51, and 64.

⁴*Telegraph and Texas Register*, May 30, 1838. William B. Hicks to John Hansford, November 3, 1838, Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., et al., eds., *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (6 vols., Austin, 1921-27), V, pp. 212-213; John A. Greer to Lamar, December 8, 1838, *Lamar Papers*, V, p. 220.

⁵Rowe to Lamar, March 8, 1839, Lamar Papers, document # 1115, Texas State Archives, Austin; Ernest C. Winkler, ed., *Secret Journals of the Senate, Republic of Texas, 1836-1845* (Austin, 1912), p. 136. *San Augustine Journal and Advertiser*, June 11, 1840.

⁶*San Augustine Journal and Advertiser*, April 8, 1841.

⁷*San Augustine Redlander*, July 1, 1841, in Thomas W. Streeter, comp., *Texas as Province and Republic: 1795-1845*, microfilm collection, document # 431. *San Augustine Redlander*, September 9, 1841.

⁸Houston to Washington D. Miller, October 12, 1841, in Amelia Williams and Eugene C. Barker, eds., *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863* (Austin, 1838-43); Harriet Smither, ed., *Journals of the Sixth Congress of the Republic of Texas* (3 vols., Austin 1940-45) II, pp. 3-5.

⁹Smither, *Sixth Congress Journals*, II, pp. 62, 63, 70, 99-135, 175-176. Herbert Gambrell, Anson Jones, *The Last President of Texas* (Austin, 1964), p. 228.

¹⁰Gambrell, Anson Jones, pp. 215, 218-219. Anson Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence Relating to the Republic of Texas* (Chicago, 1966), pp. 23, 167-168.

¹¹Stanley Siegel, *A Political History of the Texas Republic, 1836-1845* (Austin, 1956), pp. 192-201.

¹²Siegel, *Texas Republic*, pp. 200-201; Joseph Milton Nance, *Attack and Counterattack: the Texas-Mexican Frontier 1842* (Austin, 1964), p. 263.

¹³Anderson to Houston, June 2, 1843, A.J. Houston Collection, Texas State Archives, Austin, Document # 2480.

¹⁴*San Augustine Redlander*, July 9, 1842, May 19, 1842; *Northern Standard*, August 27, 1842. Anderson to Houston, August 6, 1842, A.J. Houston Collection, Texas State Archives, document # 2928; and Anderson to Houston, May 5, 1842, document # 2480.

¹⁵George L. Crockett, *Two Centuries in East Texas* (Dallas, 1962), pp. 115, 238. Gifford White, ed., *The 1840 Census of the Republic of Texas* (Austin, 1966), p. 171. Anderson may instead have first become a lawyer in Texas, as none of the Shelbyville nor any of the San Augustine newspapers prior to 1842 include among the many attorney ads any by Anderson. *San Augustine Redlander*, July 7, 1842; October 26, 1844; May 8, 1845; April 2, 1846.

¹⁶C.L. Sonnichsen, *Ten Texas Feuds* (Albuquerque, 1971), pp. 11-57; William Ransom Hogan, *The Texas Republic, A Social and Economic History* (Austin, 1969), pp. 263-265; Winkler, *Secret Journals of the Senate*, pp. 231, 232; Crockett, *Two Centuries in East Texas*, p. 258.

²⁰There are many Anderson to Houston Letters in the A.J. Houston Collection, Texas State Archives, Austin: October 18, 1841, document # 3497; May 5, 1842, document # 2480; August 6, 1842, document # 2928; August 22, 1842, document # 2818; June 2, 1843, document # 2480; Houston to Anderson, March 29, 1844 in Williams and Barker, *Writings of Sam Houston*, IV, p. 283.

²¹Jones, *Republic of Texas*, pp. 233-236, 241-242, 257-258, 265-267; *Northern Standard*, October 21, 1843; *Telegraph and Texas Register*, November 8, 1843 and June 12, 1844.

²²Jones, *Republic of Texas*, pp. 23, 232, and 353-355. Gambrell, *Anson Jones*, pp. 326-327.

²³*Telegraph and Texas Register*, June 26, 1844.

²⁴*Telegraph and Texas Register*, September 25, 1844; *Texas National Register*, December 7, 1844.

²⁵*Texas National Register*, December 14, 1844.

²⁶Anderson to Houston, July 8, 1843, A.J. Houston Collection, document # 1997; and February 10, 1844, document # 2073.

²⁷Oates, *Rip Ford's Texas*, p. 49; Gambrell, *Anson Jones*, p. 438; *Texas National Register*, July 3, 1845.

²⁸Oates, *Rip Ford's Texas*, p. 20; Homer S. Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas* (New York and St. Louis, 1889), p. 479; Richardson, *East Texas*, II, p. 809; Ralph A. Wooster, "Early Texas Politics: The Henderson Administration," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, (1969), LXXIII, pp. 176-177; Robert Glenn Winchester, *James Pinckney Henderson, Texas' First Governor* (San Antonio, 1971), pp. 69-70; Crockett, *Two Centuries in East Texas*, pp. 236-238; James T. DeShields, *They Sat in High Places, The Presidents and Governors of Texas* (San Antonio, 1940), p. 169; *Clarksville Northern Standard*, August 2, 1845, letter to editor from "H.R.W."

²⁹*Texas National Register*, August 21, 1845; July 10, 1845, July 24, 1845. DeShields, *They Sat in High Places*, p. 169. Julia Rochelle, "A History of Texas," in *Dallas Morning News*, October 25, 1925, Part 7, p. 5; "Famous Inn that Echoed Names," *Navasota Examiner-Review*, May 28, 1931.

³⁰*Clarksville Northern Standard*, July 26, 1845; *Texas National Register*, September 26, 1845.

³¹L.S. Friend to Charles Eppes, June 9, 1847, San Augustine County Deed Book G. p. 120.

³²"Kenneth L. Anderson," typescript in L.W. Kemp papers, Eugene C. Barker History Center, University of Texas, Austin.

³³Hogan, *Texas Republic*, p. 271. Oates, *Rip Ford's Texas*, p. 20.

BOOK NOTES

Elizabeth Crook's *The Raven's Bride* (Doubleday, 666 Fifth Ave., New York 10103) subtitled "A Novel of Eliza, Sam Houston's First Wife," is a good novel with an eye to history. Although one of its principal characters dominated much of Texas history, Crook limits her story to his years in Tennessee. And it offers insight into the ways of that place at that time in its struggles with democracy and propriety. Crook discusses the politics of the era, especially of Andrew Jackson to claim the presidency deprived by John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, with good understanding of the rough-and-tumble nature of the democratic "game" of presidential pursuit at that time, as well as Houston's own quest for political advancement. Through it all is woven the complex character of Eliza Allen, the child-woman who captured the heart of a man twice her age, then lost him — and for many years her own fulfillment — in a web of her own lack of adjustment to a father and family. She loved him, and he her, but neither could bridge the chasm of pride, resentment, and unrealistic expectations of the other. Houston's well-known affiliation with Cherokee ways complicated their search for each other, but as presented here, two prime reasons are advanced for their failure at marriage: her inability to commit to him, and his blind adherence to a double standard in sexual matters. The latter seems less relevant in a later time, but is presented in the context of their time quite accurately. *The Raven's Bride* is recommended for those who would understand Houston's many reasons for leaving Tennessee for life in Texas. Novel or no, it can help that understanding.

Another kind of book, also dealing with Houston, is Jeff Long, *Duel of Eagles: The Mexican and U.S. Fight for the Alamo* (William Morrow & Co., Inc., 105 Madison Ave., New York, NY 10016). This is a whole different can of worms. Long decided that just about everything connected with the "traditional" interpretation of Texas history, at least as far as it had anything to do with Mexico, was wrong. He is not subtle about this either, for he frankly states his case on every page. The Texas revolution, according to Long, was nothing but a land grab by the United States, has not one redeeming feature, and was accomplished by some of the lowest human scum available for the job. No character flaw in one of the Anglo revolutionists is too minor for him to exploit, and unfortunately our founders provided him with many. On the other hand, he views the Mexican officials for the most part as sterling characters, especially the Tejanos, who always were presented as betrayed or cheated and hated by both sides.

My fellow citizens of Nacogdoches will be thrilled to find their town labeled "decadent" (p. 17) and characterized as a "grotesque mongrel of a town" (p. 19). Probably some who have read this book will wonder what the present writer thinks of Long's treatment of William B. Travis as "silly," vain, incompetent, and generally worthless. Reminds me of a line in a Gary Cooper movie, "The Fountainhead." Coop played an architect

who was attacked cruelly by a critic. When they were alone, the critic asked what the architect really thought of him. "But I don't think of you," came the reply.

Al Lowman gave me a line about another book that fits my reaction to this one: "For those who like this sort of thing, this is the sort of thing they will like." I don't.

Robert Leckie's *None Died In Vain: The Saga of the American Civil War* (Harper Collins Publishers, 10 East 53rd St., New York 10022) is an excellent history of our nation's great test of union. In fact, I intend to use it as a text in future offerings of a course on the war. He begins with an excellent review of the causes of conflict, especially in dealing with slavery. There is an admirable balance between military v. other aspects; often books are good on the military phase but slight the other parts, or vice versa. Leckie is especially competent at narrative writing, and provides plenty of anecdotes and humor to enhance his story, including one of the best "lawyer jokes," involving U.S. Grant, ever heard. There are useful maps, but no photographs; whether or not a reader needs them to be reminded of the appearance of his characters, they would have eased the pace of reading over 600 pages. But what is on those pages is some of the best writing on the Civil War ever done. Definitely recommended.

The anniversary of "WWII, the Big One," is upon us, and like other fields of history when anniversaries or social movements intervene, it is "hot." Among the books appearing in honor of the event is *Remembering Pearl Harbor: Eyewitness Accounts By U.S. Military Men And Women*, edited by Robert S. LaForte and Ronald E. Marcello (SR Books, 104 Greenhill Avenue, Wilmington, DE 19805).

Remembering Pearl Harbor is the product of interviews with survivors of the infamous event conducted by Marcello over a period of years. La Forte wrote the text that accompanies and connects the transcripts of the interviews themselves. Both are historians at the University of North Texas, where La Forte chairs the Department of History and Marcello directs the oral history program. And both bring excellent scholarship and a sensitive perspective to their subject. Two things come to mind from the reading: first, each of us is the center of our own universe, and regardless of the importance of an event our reaction to that event is limited; and second, the lack of rancor expressed in these pages. Perhaps fifty years has lessened the anger, and old men and women have mellowed. What each seems to remember most about Pearl Harbor is those with whom they shared the moment, and how they and their companions fared during one of the most important mornings in our nation's history.

One of the most "fun" books around during these days of remembrance of "WWII, the Big One," as Archie Bunker used to say, is *Laugh, Cry and Remember: The Journal of a G.I. Lady*, by Clarice F. Pollard (Journeys Press, Box 32354, Phoenix, AZ 85064). It is the story of the

author's life as a member of the WAAC/WAC. It is a pertinent story, for we are on the lead edge of the fiftieth anniversary of the war, and particularly so far for East Texans, for she experienced part of her training in Nacogdoches on the campus of Stephen F. Austin State Teacher's College. The college survived the war, partly because President Paul Boynton rented facilities to the Army for the WAC's training. But that is another story.

As I said in the Foreword Clarice asked me to write for her book, "Pollard is an excellent example of [a] citizen-soldier. When her country went to war, she became an air-raid warden and USO hostess in Brooklyn, at the time thinking that was all a woman could do. When Congress created the female Armed Forces, she became one of the first enrollees in the Woman's Auxiliary Army Corps, later the Women's Army Corps, and accepted a status that was neither 'in' nor 'out' of the Army. She trained in Georgia and in Nacogdoches, Texas, in Administration school, then served in the Pacific Northwest, New Orleans, Virginia and finally New York state, enthusiastically tackling drafting, office work, recruiting, entertainment, caring for wounded, and above all, boosting everyone's morale."

Pollard's book is a significant contribution to the literature of World War II, especially the "women's war" of the WACs.

Let The Good Times Roll: Life At Home In America During World War II (Paradon House, 90 Fifth Avenue, New York 10011; \$14.95), by Paul D. Casdorff, provides a recent interpretation of home-front activities during America's largest war of the century. Similar to Richard R. Lingeman's "*Don't You Know There's A War On? The American Home Front, 1941-1945* (1976), Casdorff's book contains more narrative of the shooting war contemporary to the events at home. It also contains more personal references to the author's youthful memories of the war. Lingeman may have more details, and his book is arranged topically. Casdorff's technique is a true chronicle that begins with Pearl Harbor and ends with the Japanese surrender in August 1945; each chapter covers several months, which are indicated in the chapter's title.

The title of the book, *Let The Good Times Roll*, pretty much sums the author's thesis that American society took to the war not only in the sense of national purpose — such as fighting for freedom and other similar sentiments — but in the sense of universal participation that created a national feeling of relief from the Depression and release from the depressing aspects of small-town, restricted life. Now Americans were on the move, throughout the world and throughout the country, working, playing, *doing* things, sometimes to excess, that peace-time evolution might never have achieved. Fads, tastes, rationing, all such things you would expect to find here, are here. Sports, entertainment, and literary activities of the war years may be found as well. For some, Casdorff's book will bring on remembrance; for younger readers, information about an era they may think was not quite Camelot, but not quite real, either. Some of it I do remember.

Nazis In The Pineywoods, by Mark Choate (Best of East Texas Publishers, Box 1657, Lufkin, TX 75901) began as an academic thesis at Stephen F. Austin State University, but in a way it began much earlier: Mark's father had been a prisoner of war during World War II, and he wanted to understand more about the experience and how his father's nation dealt with their own prisoners of war. The thesis was exceptional, and is now available to a wider audience in this published form.

Choate found that the U.S. has not had a consistent policy in this matter, so the WWII experience was unlike previous examples. The prisoners of war brought to East Texas, mostly Germans, filled the need for additional labor in the timber industry because so many of our men were in the service. He describes the political efforts of lumberman Ernest Kurth to locate prison camps in Nacogdoches and Angelina counties and the working and living conditions when they arrived. He also examines their minimal attempts to escape. He found that the Germans were willing workers, and that some liked the area sufficiently to repatriate here when the war ended, although they first had to return to Germany.

This is a good book for those interested in the home front during World War II.

Two books of use and interest to Texas writers are available. The first is the *1991-1992 Writers and Publishers Guide To Texas Markets*, edited by Georgia Kemp Caraway (University of North Texas Press, Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-3856). This book contains much of value for those who write and want to publish. There are several articles on publishing, followed by listings of available markets for books, magazine articles, plays for screen and stage, and newspapers — daily, weekly, and minority. Other listings include writer's groups, publisher organizations, graduate writing programs, conferences and seminars, agents and consultants, and literary prizes, awards, fellowships, grants, retreats, etc. What might you find here?

Take the University of North Texas Press, the publisher of this volume, listed on page 49. We have the name and address of the press and its director, Fran Vick; we learn that it publishes folklore, Texana, general interest nonfiction, guide books, history, military, poetry, women's issues, critical biography, etc.; that it issues in hardback, paperback, and reprints; that the press began in 1988 and has published sixteen books; that it is open to first-time writers, prefers a query letter before reviewing the MS, which it says it will do in six weeks, pays "standard industry payment," and uses Texas A&M Press as a distributor. And if that doesn't please you, turn to page 166 and find yourself an agent.

The other useful book is an evergreen; the *1992-93 Texas Almanac*, edited by Mike Kingston for *The Dallas Morning News* and distributed by Gulf Publishing Co., Box 2608, Houston, TX 77252. The *Almanac* has been around for about a century and a half, and is full of data on

Texas. Testimony: when Dr. Ralph W. Steen donated his personal library to his namesake library on the Stephen F. Austin campus, he kept his current *Almanac*; and a colleague going to Korea on a visiting professorship, took along his *Almanac* because he thought he might be asked to make speeches about Texas, and considered it the most compact resource he could fit into his luggage. This edition contains articles on birds of Texas, a history of Central Texas, the Belo Corporation, and sections on Environment, Recreation, Population, Counties, Courageous Texans, Transportation, Constitution, Media, Crime, Symbols of Texas, Politics and Government, Business and Industry, Agriculture, Education, Culture, History of Spain, and Energy, and thank goodness, it is indexed. Maps, photos, ads, and other interesting features included.

Enough with writers; let's be readers in *The American Reader: Words That Moved A Nation* (Harper Collins, 10 East 53rd St., NY 10022), edited by Diane Ravitch. *American Reader* contains selections from the Colonial Days and The Revolution, The New Nation, Antebellum America, Reform and Expansion, Prelude to [Civil] War, The Civil War, After the Civil War, The Progressive Age, WWI and After, Depression and WWII, After WWII, Troubled Times, and Contemporary Times. Want to find a copy of the Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, the words to "Oh How I Hate To Get Up In The Morning" or "Union Maid", or John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address? These and about 200 other interesting groups of "words" that have defined and interpreted America are available. The editor has provided a brief introductory and/or interpretative comment for each.

John Lash's *Cowboy Stories From East Texas* (Hendrick-Long Publishing Co., Dallas, TX 75225), with illustrations by the author, is a book for young readers. The introduction sets the scene for those who are not familiar with the flora, fauna, and folks of Deep East Texas, and some might think the tales about "wampus-cats" and such are an exaggeration if they haven't heard the creature's scream themselves. Then, there are eight stories, each revolving around the daily activities of Bubba, Daddy Bob, Nanny, and various relatives, friends, and animals — domestic and wild. All eight celebrate the rural way of life in southeast Texas, and for a mature reader, would suggest perils and the tenuousness of such a life. For younger readers, the stories are adventurous descriptions of events that also teach much about the folkways of the area.

An interesting new biographical series is *The Confederate General* (National Historical Society, Box 975, Hicksville, NY 11802-0975), edited by William C. Davis with Julie Hoffman as assistant editor. Four of the projected five volumes have appeared. The project eventually will provide a biographical sketch and photograph of each of the men who achieved the rank of general officer in the Confederate army. The biographies are signed, of fairly uniform length, and provide the kind of information expected from such works. Some end with brief bibliographies. Volume

I contains entries from Daniel W. Adams to Howell Cobb; Volume II, Thomas Cobb to James Goggin; Volume III, George W. Gordon to Thomas Jordan; and Volume IV, John Kelly to William H. Payne. Obviously, not many are East Texans, but then we are interested in other places and folks, so for all our Civil War buffs, Confederate variety, this should be a good reference book. Genealogists might find it useful, too.

Deciding how to react to *Survive & Conquer: Texas in the '80s: Power—Money—Tragedy...Hope!* (Taylor Publishing Co., 1550 West Mockingbird Lane, Dallas, TX 75235; \$17.95), by M. Ray Perryman, is difficult. One could call it biography, for Perryman writes here of his life from graduate school at Rice to his intense involvement with the Texas economy as our leading economic prognosticator. One could also call the book a history of Texas, with a heavy slant on economics, for the turbulent 1980s. Perryman begins his story amid the boom late in the 1970s and early in the 1980s, roughly the years of the first administration of Governor William Clements, when oil sold for more than ever before, and as Perryman claimed, the legislature had to look for ways to spend all of its revenue. Apparently they forgot about higher education, at least at regional colleges, for I don't remember such largess. Anyway, Perryman predicted the bust that developed at mid-decade, and as is related in his book, was part of much that worked to turn the state's economy around. He claims that Texas in the 1990s will be more prosperous than the nation as a whole; indeed, the next quarter of a century looks great, he says, because of the changes made and those still in progress. Perryman wrote before the state comptroller forecast a \$5 billion deficit for state government in 1991; I read it and wrote this while the legislature still argued over whether or not to let us gamble our way out of the hole with a lottery (the old paramutal-betting-on-horses trick didn't work out), and eventually our readers will find out the answer to the puzzle. Right now, I don't know; he *did* predict the bust accurately, and he *did* predict the recovery when most everyone else still saw the ball rolling down hill. Let us all hope he is correct. Meanwhile, this is a good read for a review of the 1980s in Texas.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rangers and Pioneers of Texas, by A.J. Sowell (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX 78761) 1991. Illustrations. Index. P. 420. \$29.95-Cloth.

Andrew Jackson Sowell was proud of his ancestry; therefore, he wanted to record their deeds as well as participate in the making of history. His grandfather moved to Texas in 1829, settling at Gonzales on the Guadalupe River. A blacksmith and gunmaker by trade, he constructed a knife for Jim Bowie which he named "in honor of" (p. 127) its owner. Early in 1836 he went to the Alamo and, by luck of an assignment "to secure some beeves, and drive them to San Antonio" (p. 136), escaped the Mexican massacre on March 6, 1836. Sowell's father also served Texas by enlisting in the Rangers under John Coffee "Jack" Hays. And on November 5, 1870, A.J. Sowell continued this tradition by becoming a Ranger private in Captain David Baker's company, and helped defend the northwestern frontier of Texas for the next three years. As a result of family involvement in Texas history, he decided in 1884 to record incidents and events in which friends, relatives, and acquaintances had participated or had knowledge. Or, putting it another way, Sowell hoped that "the names and deeds of these good and brave men may not be forgotten" (Preface).

As a consequence, *Rangers and Pioneers of Texas* is a collection of personal reminiscences, most of which historians have now dealt with in detail. Sowell recounts many stirring events of the Texas Revolution, beginning with the battle at Gonzales (October 2, 1835) and ending with the capture of General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna after San Jacinto. He then reviews a number of frontier events during the Republic, especially in regard to conflicts with Indians. And he concludes by relating his own personal experiences as a Texas Ranger fighting against the Kiowas and Comanches in the northwestern part of the state early in the 1870s.

What sets *Rangers and Pioneers of Texas* apart from most early works on Texas is that Sowell was a literate chronicler. He also vividly recounts, at times, how difficult and dangerous life was in Texas during those early years of colonization and revolution as well as the Republic and statehood. And he reminds Texans, perhaps unwittingly, how much they owe these early pioneers.

Ben Procter
Texas Christian University

They Also Served: Texas Service Records from Headright Certificates, edited by Gifford White (Ericson Books, 1614 Redbud, Nacogdoches, TX 75961) 1991. Maps. Index. P. 185. \$25.00.

Gifford White continues to add to his growing list of beneficial

publications which are and have been a great boon to historians, genealogists, landmen, and all persons who search for kinsmen, missing heirs, and for proving land titles. This latest compilation consists of extractions from headright grant applications processed and reports of land commissioners after 1838 in nineteen of the thirty-two Texas counties existing in 1840.

In addition to the full name of the claimant and the amount of land claimed, the records reveal some or all of the following facts: wife's name if married; children; entry date into Texas; details of participation and identification of fighting unit in the War for Independence; names of two witnesses and their testimony relating to the facts necessary for proving eligibility; name of the administrator if the claimant is deceased; and age, if the claimant volunteered and served before the age of seventeen years.

The detail of information varies from county to county. Apparently the General Land Office's instructions about reporting provided to the county land commissioners was not well defined. Nevertheless, the author has managed to abstract all the important facts from the documents available.

A map of Texas counties in 1840 and an appendix providing a glossary of terms and a citing of the laws authorizing the various types of headrights and grants are most helpful adjuncts to a full understanding of the text.

The "Foreword" by Joe E. Ericson, past president of the Sons of the Republic of Texas, extols the usefulness of this effort by Gifford White to compile and index the mass of data in the land commissioners' reports.

Charles K. Phillips
Nacogdoches, Texas

Without Quarter: The Wichita Expedition and the Fight on Crooked Creek, by William Y. Chalfant (University of Oklahoma Press, P.O. Box 787, Norman, OK 73070-0787) 1991. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 170. \$19.95.

This well-researched and ably written book tells the story of the first major U.S. Army expeditions against the Comanche before the Civil War. It is also the story of the elite Second U.S. Cavalry Regiment, a unit that would produce some sixteen general officers in the Civil War.

The Comanche were the most predatory and intractable of all the Plains Indians. With the annexation of Texas in 1845, they became the problem of the U.S. Army.

It was hardly in a position to intervene. The Army lacked a true cavalry arm and the line of forts built to protect the Texas frontier were garrisoned mostly by infantry. The Comanches simply rode around them.

Jefferson Davis, secretary of war from 1853 to 1857, realized that

a new policy was needed for the Great Plains. He added two new regiments of cavalry to pursue mounted Indians. One of these, the Second U.S. Cavalry, was formed for service on the Texas frontier. It fought approximately forty actions in the Southwest, and two of its major expeditions are the study of this book.

The first occurred in 1858 when Captain Earl Van Dorn led an expedition into Indian Territory in search of hostile Comanches. Van Dorn achieved tactical surprise after a forced march, and won a hard-fought victory that saw some seventy Comanche warriors slain, horrific losses for the Comanche bands that could not be replaced.

A second expedition in 1859 pursued a band of Comanches to southwestern Kansas, where on Crooked Creek the soldiers defeated them in a dismounted, close-quarters fight in a wooded creek-bed. The exertions of the Second Cavalry had put the Southern Plains Indians on the defensive by 1861. These expeditions set the stage for the great cavalry campaigns that followed the Civil War.

This is a detailed yet readable book that gives much information about the pre-Civil War Army; it adequately conveys both the "Big Picture" of events while examining specific incidents in detail. It is an important contribution to the literature of the American Southwest, illuminating two little known but important frontier military actions in a balanced treatment fair to both Red Men and White.

Robert D. Norris, Jr.
Tulsa, Oklahoma

The Mystery of Y'Barbo's Tunnel, by Martha Tannery Jones (Hendrick-Long Publishing Company, P.O. Box 25123, Dallas, TX 75225) 1991. Illustrations. P. 112. \$14.95-Hardcover.

Jesse and Doug, who discovered the jewelry thief in *The Ghost at the Old Stone Fort*, are back at it again. The author uses a mixture of truth and make believe to write an adventure that is hard to put down. This time the mystery is closer to home. The adventure begins with a fishing trip that Jesse and Doug are planning to go on with Doug's dad, Jon Anderson, as soon as he finishes some business at the bank where he works. When Mr. Anderson does not return, the boys go looking for him. They arrive to find the bank locked, and the family car parked out front, but where's Dad? They know something must be wrong so they hurry over to the police station. Since the chief is ill, they have to deal with officer Nave Matthews, who thinks he knows everything. The bank president, Mr. Snodgrass, is summoned and they soon discover that the cash in the vault is missing. He and officer Matthews believe Doug's dad has stolen the money and left town. The boys set out to find Mr. Anderson and prove his innocence. Many clues lead Jesse and Doug to find his dad and the real thief who kidnapped him. I recommend that kids all over the United

States read this book if they like mysteries, because after every paragraph you want to keep reading more.

Barry L. Brown, Age 10
Garrison Elementary School

We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War, by James W. Geary (Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, IL 60115-2854) 1991. Illustrations. Photographs. Notes. Index. \$32.00-Hardcover.

Geary has provided the Civil War student with an excellent study of the first draft conducted by the United States government. Year by year and state by state, the author details all possible aspects of subject that was not only controversial during the Civil War, but today as well. Geary presents an even-handed view of the subject, using private papers and news articles both friendly to the draft and in opposition to it. The book dispells such myths as "rich man's war, poor man's fight" by describing the reasons behind this misunderstood section of the draft law. Although \$300 was about one year's wages for the "blue collar worker" during the Civil War, it certainly was not so great an amount that the worker was unable to get the money. In fact, \$300 amount was included specifically in the law to prevent the burden of the draft from falling overwhelmingly upon the shoulders of the average citizen. This was accomplished by holding down the price of a substitute, as well as borrowing the money and paying it back in the now familiar terms of "easy monthly payment." Added to this fact was the legislation of some towns, such as New York City, which raised taxes a little and provided the \$300 to any citizen who found himself drafted. That person could use the sum to pay the government and escape military service, hire a substitute, or pocket the money and march to the beat of the drum.

The draft law also included a large number of exemptions by which one would be excused from the draft, and the working class also enjoyed these to a large extent. Many working class citizens avoided military service by using the "hardship" exemption, recent immigrants claimed the "alien" exemption, while others used the "medical" exemption. The study concluded that the Union draft during the Civil War was the most fair and most humane of all drafts in American history. The most unfair draft, according to the author, was the draft during the Vietnam War.

Students of the Civil War would receive valuable insight into one subject often mentioned in passing, but now studied in depth, by adding *We Need Men* to their bookshelf.

David Stroud
Kilgore College

From Desert to Bayou, The Civil War Journal and Sketches of Morgan Wolfe Merrick, by Jerry D. Thompson, Editor (Texas Western Press, El Paso, TX 79968-0633) 1991. Sketches. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 135. \$40.00-Hardcover.

This book represents the Civil War journal (with forty-five accompanying sketches) of a young Texas Confederate soldier. Kept from 1861 to 1863, his diary offers a detailed and fascinating picture of the War in the Far West and in the Trans-Mississippi Theatre in Louisiana.

At the outbreak of the war, Merrick was a twenty-one year-old San Antonian and an ardent Southern partisan. He recorded in his well-illustrated journal the surrender of the Department of Texas to secessionist forces. As a Confederate recruit he saw garrison duty at Fort Davis, Texas, in the remote Trans-Pecos region, and later, with Lieutenant-Colonel John Robert Baylor's 2nd Texas Mounted Rifles, he participated in the Confederate invasion of the Mesilla Valley of southern New Mexico. He later saw service in Louisiana, notably against Union General Nathaniel Banks' Bayou Teche Expedition.

Merrick wrote well and in great detail, and his journal offers much meaty primary source material about events in west Texas (including Indian troubles), about the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, and much detail about campaigning and fighting in Louisiana in 1863. His drawings are well-executed, detailed, and revealing, and offer some rare illustrations about Confederate service both in the Far West and in the Trans-Mississippi; there is a positive dearth of pictorial material of all sorts in regard to both theatres and Merrick's drawings are a treasure.

The numerous and well-researched annotations by Jerry D. Thompson are an invaluable aid to fully understanding and appreciating Merrick's uniquely worthwhile writing and drawing, placing his narrative in the "Big Picture," and explaining small details with admirable precision. This is a superb addition to the literature about the war in the West and contains much of interest in regard to the far western frontier of Texas.

Robert D. Norris, Jr.
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Cowboys of the Americas, by Richard W. Slatta (Yale University Press, 92A Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520) 1991. Illustrations. Glossary. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 306.

Slatta's work, a volume in the Yale Western Americana Series, resembles the stereotypical "remaindered" book due in main part to its packaging: coffee table size, and suggestive but gauchely colored dust jacket by Ed. Lindlof—a mosaic of cowboy/gaucha/vaquero portraits surrounding a hollywood horseback silhouette coming over a ridge, the saffron-crimson sunrise or sunset behind him. Tiny globes of North

American and South American Continents are placed below and above the large silhouette—the only hint of the grand scope of Slatta's work.

This is *definitely not* a coffee table book. The author has "focused on the cowboy groups that achieved the status of national or regional types. As Alistair Hennessy has noted, 'Cattle and horse frontiers produce independent herders who are often taken to symbolize the national virtues'" (2). Slatta's focus is wide indeed. He treats in detail the cowboy of Alberta, Canada, and the Western United States; the *vaquero* of Northern Mexico, the Spanish Southwest, and California; the *gaucho* of Argentina; the *huaso* (*guasos*) of Chile; and the *llanero* of Venezuela. And he also touches upon the *llanero* of Colombia; the *vaqueiro* of Northern Brazil; the *gaucho* of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; the *gaucho* of Uruguay; the *charro* of Mexico; and the *paniolo* of Hawaii. Whenever possible, Slatta has used firsthand accounts of the tools, trappings, procedures, work habits, and environment.

The author likens his approach to a movie—beginning with the sights, sounds, tastes, smells, and textures of close-up vignettes; moving to a "sweeping wide angle shot of the cowboy's environment—the great, grassy plains stretching toward an infinite horizon" (4).

Slatta terms his work "social history," his method "comparative analysis." Knowledgeable of the pitfalls of Turner's *Frontier Thesis*, and scrupulous in setting straight Hennessy's *Frontier Thesis in Latin American History*, Slatta professes agreement with Frederick Luebke's thesis that regions "are best conceptualized in terms of the interplay between environment and culture," and that they are best analyzed "through appropriate comparisons in time, space, and culture" (7). Presented are such diverse subjects as "Ostrich Hunting," cowboy "foot races," "Celluloid Cowboys," and cowboy poetry and song.

Among the more interesting sections is "White Cowboy Methodology"; how the movement of the cowboy from "historical to cultural and literary figure" dissolved the hispanic and the black into invisibility (203). Slatta's insightful comments attempt to clarify the "mythical white west." And of course in "The Cowboys as Literary Figure," we not only meet again Owen Wister and Andy Adams, but are introduced to their Latin counterparts. The comparative method also introduces "Religion on the Frontier," and the terror of being "Fenced In." The reader soon becomes aware that our beloved Southwestern United States has no franchise on things "Cowboy."

This is a spectacularly entertaining book, lavishly illustrated with many color plates. It offers a grand sweep of country-by-country perspectives, documented with fine bibliography, readable notes, a bibliographical essay, and bibliographical-historiographical theories. It certainly belies its coffee table appearance. It should be on the shelf of every library and in the collection of every aficionado of the West. Not given to hyperbole,

I'll stop just short of Joe B. Frantz's book jacket blurb that Slatta's work may be "the definitive work on the world of the cowboy."

Much obliged, Yale University Press.

Lee Schultz
Stephen F. Austin State University

Cowboy Cooking: Recipes from the Cowboy Artists of America, compiled by Tom Watson (Northland Publishing, P.O. Box 1389, Flagstaff, AZ 86002) 1991. Illustrations. Index. P. 162. \$14.95.

The second edition of a cookbook put together from recipes provided by the Cowboy Artists of America is more a feast for the eyes than anything else and the comment is not made in criticism. Yes, the recipes are mighty fine and run from the simple to the complex, from foods which might be prepared on the trail to feasts which need a kitchen. Main meals to desserts are included. The illustrations, however, keep the pages turning. Cartoons, drawings, and pictures of sculpture from the membership of CAA depict multi-cultural life at the camp fires of the past. Another pleasing aspect of the book is HOGS; that is Hints, Observations, Guides and Sayings, and each HOG is appropriately marked with a pig drawing and a box which offers a bite of wisdom, a pinch of folklore, a dash of information. In addition to art work, the book is divided by information about the annual trail rides undertaken by the CAA on various important ranches in the West. The cover is striking. "Too Many Biscuits," by James Boren, features a be-whiskered camp cook, pipe between his teeth, who is dressed in a bright red apron over an ample belly. He uses the long iron to move the skillet lids on three dutch ovens. Even without the title, I knew there were biscuits inside.

Joyce Roach
Keller, Texas

Pioneer Jewish Texans, by Natalie Ornish (Texas Heritage Press, P.O. Box 12765, Dallas, TX 75225) 1989. Illustrations. Maps. Appendixes. Notes. Index. Bibliography. P. 323. \$39.95-Hardcover.

Natalie Ornish may inspire a hundred theses and at least a thousand historical papers with her history of the pioneer Jews of Texas. According to Ornish, the first Jew set foot in Texas in 1590; there was a Jewish buccaneer in the Galveston Island camp of pirate Jean Lafitte; a Jew died at the Alamo with Davy Crockett; a Jewish nineteen-year-old died at Goliad; a Jewish Texan helped blaze the Chisholm Trail; the first elected Texas congressman was a Jew; and a West Texas Jew wildcatting on University of Texas land brought in the Santa Rita discovery well, providing billions for the University Fund.

She believes that the earliest Jewish pioneers never were recognized

because they were forced by the Spanish Inquisition to hide their religion.

This history traces the Galveston Movement, which from 1907 to 1914 under the administration of Rabbi Henry Cohen, brought more than 10,000 European Jewish immigrants into the port of Galveston. It follows the descendants of some of those immigrants who became Texas' leading merchants, lawyers, physicians, surgeons, and civic leaders.

Unfortunately, Ornish concentrates on major cities and omits such outstanding East Texas merchants as the Weisman-Hirsch-Kariel family, which owned Joe Weisman & Co. department store in Marshall. Until that store closed recently, it was one of the oldest department stores in the state.

Readers should not miss the notes in this history. One quotes an interview with Minna Susser concerning early Texas: "During this era, it was not uncommon for Jewish men to abandon their families in their inability to cope with a culture that lacked traditions, harshness of the frontier, and unknown futures."

Cissy Stewart Lale
Fort Worth, Texas

Coming To Terms: The German Hill Country of Texas, photographs by Wendy Watriss and Fred Baldwin, essay by Lawrence Goodwyn (Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1991. Photos. Postscript. P. 152.

In *Coming to Terms: The German Hill Country of Texas*, the second book in the Charles and Elizabeth Prothro Texas Photography Series, the history of German settlement on the Edwards Plateau is presented skillfully and artistically, through both photographs and prose. From several collections and through their camera lens, photojournalists Wendy Watriss and Fred Baldwin have masterfully created a pictorial essay about the people who pioneered the Hill Country. On each page are the images of determined, self-reliant German-Americans, their faces and eyes revealing the rigors of Texas frontier life. Interwoven between photographs of the past and the present is the historical essay by Lawrence Goodwyn, professor of history at Duke University. In just a few pages he vividly traces the story of the Germans of the Hill Country from the 1840s to the 1980s and the founding of the earliest communities, such as New Braunfels and Fredericksburg. At the same time he eloquently describes the rich German heritage which is so clearly imprinted on the land and the people of the Hill Country.

Unquestionably, *Coming to Terms* shows why the Hill Country is, as Goodwyn writes, "a special place," (p. 17) and, as Watriss and Baldwin see, "peculiarly compelling" (p. 137). For those intrigued by the history of East Texas and by the visual history from photographs, *Coming to*

Terms: The German Hill Country of Texas will be an enjoyable addition to a Texas history book library.

Janet Schmelzer
Tarleton State University

A Special Kind of Doctor: A History of Veterinary Medicine in Texas, by Henry C. Dethloff and Donald H. Dyall (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1991. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. p. 216.

These two talented writers/researchers have brought the profession of treating animals from out of the dark ages into the modern world with engaging coverage which reflects honor to the pioneers who advanced the profession of veterinary science.

Tracing man's association with animals, first with canines and later other animals, the history brings readers to 1880 when the first classes in veterinarian medicine were taught by Dr. Mark Francis at Texas A&M. Dr. Francis was the first graduate veterinarian to teach in what was to become the School of Veterinary Medicine at A&M. His pioneer studies helped bring under control tick fever in cattle at great savings to the beef industry. Other pioneers who followed in his footsteps have helped bring under control all of the major diseases of animals to date.

During World War I and WWII, these veterinarians worked with the health of animals and became important cogs in the food chain for military personnel by inspecting the food they consumed and other health practices in military camps.

The book is profusely sprinkled with illustrations, photographs, and charts which keep the interest of readers and make the contents more enjoyable. Detailed lists of the names of outstanding veterinarians in Texas are included as well as an appendix, notes, bibliography, and index.

Biggest bonus of all and of special interest to many readers is the list of veterinarians licensed in Texas from 1911 to 1940. This gives the license number, home city, school, date of graduation, and date of each license.

As a non-professional reader, I was amazed at the number of familiar faces we have used in treating either livestock or pets over several decades in Texas.

In the words of the authors, in their preface:

“The story of veterinary medicine in Texas necessarily provides a very warm, sometimes humorous, all fascinating insight into that critical verge between the human world and animal kingdom. The

veterinary medical doctor is, we think you will agree, a special kind of doctor.”

We agree.

Sam Malone
San Augustine, Texas

Lighthouses of Texas, by T. Lindsay Baker (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, Texas 77843-4354) 1991. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 128.

T. Lindsay Baker's *Lighthouses of Texas* certainly looks like a "coffee table book." Although sizeable, the book contains much information and many historic photographs of the ten lighthouses that survive either intact or in part and the two lightships that warned mariners of the hazards along the Texas Gulf Coast from 1852 to the present. Only the light at Port Isabel is accessible to the public as a state historical park.

Baker's lights are not the only ones that blinked in the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth-century Texas, but they represent the many different types of lighthouses that were constructed during the time period. Texas' most unusual light station was the caisson-type lighthouse constructed at Sabine Bank, southeast of Sabine Pass. This caisson light station was the only one of its type located south of Chesapeake Bay. Using Lighthouse Service records in the National Archives, Baker describes the construction process for each one, the diverse architectural styles, and the change from lard-oil lamps to Fresnel lenses to automated electric lights and radio beacons. Today the Lighthouse Service is a part of the Coast Guard under the Department of the Treasury.

The majority of lighthouse keepers and their assistants were white men, although the Lighthouse Service employed a few women. In the nineteenth century, families were able to live at most stations, while in the twentieth century, only employees occupied the outposts. Keepers were responsible for maintaining their lights at night and for the general operation of the stations. Mariners identified their positions by the timed flash of each light along the coast and avoided unseen perils.

Keepers of light stations had to file detailed written reports, keep logs, catch seafood to supplement their diets, and aid sailors in distress. The brick-lined, iron tower at Bolivar Point served as a refuge for residents of Bolivar Peninsula in storms in 1900 and 1915. The Bolivar Point lighthouse was also the only light station to be damaged by friendly fire. In 1917, artillery servicemen at Fort San Jacinto on Galveston Island were practicing firing their mortars, not realizing that the shells occasionally hit the lighthouse. Although privately owned, the Bolivar lighthouse is still viewed by thousands of tourists annually as they ride the free ferry from Galveston to the Bolivar Peninsula.

Harold Phenix' romantic watercolor paintings bring Baker's descriptions to life and remind us of a much simpler time when lighthouse keepers were willing to live an isolated life, often surrounded by stormy seas, for only a few dollars per year. Texas' lighthouses were diverse in style and construction and were important navigational aids for over a century. The work is well researched and written, and is enhanced by photographs and beautiful watercolors.

Patricia G. Kell
Baytown, Texas

Black, Red, and Deadly: Black and Indian Gunfighters of the Indian Territories, 1870-1907, by Arthur T. Burton (Eakin Press, P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1991. Photos. Bibliography. Index. P. 304. \$19.95-Hardcover.

Black, Red, and Deadly: Black and Indian Gunfighters of the Indian Territories, 1870-1907, provides a suitable contribution to the current emphasis upon multi-cultural history. The author is Art Burton, a native of Oklahoma who is the Assistant Dean of Students in the office of Multi-Cultural Affairs at Loyola University. Burton has described the exploits of African American and Native American outlaws and lawmen during Oklahoma's most lawless period. Many of Burton's subjects, such as Ned Christie, Cherokee Bill, Henry Starr, and Rufus Buck and his gang, are familiar to western buffs. Men whose careers are relatively unfamiliar include Sam Sixkiller, Bass Reeves, Grant Johnson, and Zeke Miller. The reader is introduced to "Lighthorsemen" (Indian police) and to other ethnic gunmen whose sanguinary adventures rank alongside those of Caucasian shootists of the old West.

There is an appendix of contemporary African American and Native American law officers, a glossary of appropriate terms, and an excellent collection of photographs. But the author relies heavily upon secondary sources, and a considerable portion of the text is devoted to lengthy quotations from secondary or primary materials. It is the responsibility of the historian to distill his research into artfully crafted prose which restores drama and color to a bygone time. For readers with an interest in western violence or ethnic frontiersmen, *Black, Red, and Deadly* presents a cast of characters whose lives frequently were dramatic and colorful.

Bill O'Neal
Panola Junior College

Edward L. Doheny: Petroleum, Power, and Politics in the United States and Mexico, by Dan La Botz (Praeger Publishers, Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881) 1991. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 244, \$45.00

Edward L. Doheny was certainly one of the swashbuckling capitalists of his age. He was involved heavily in the exploitation of Mexican oil and he was one of the principals in the Teapot Dome scandal. Leonard Bates and Burl Noggle, among others, have explored single facets of his career, but no one has attempted a full biography of Doheny, largely because the necessary papers and records are no longer existent. Dan La Botz has attempted the task, anyway, with little success.

La Botz fills the vast gaps in his story with rhetoric and supposition. The rhetoric is the familiar brand, associated with radical journalists in the tradition that runs from Henry Demarest Lloyd to Anthony Sampson and onward. Thus the author establishes the Western setting for Doheny's career: "It was a world of rapacious corporations, intensive exploration, fierce repression, and the most bitter class struggle" (p. 15). In large measure, such hyperbole is supported by the author's use of non-scholarly sources. On Teapot Dome, for example, he lists but ignores Bates and Noggle; the Harding material comes largely from Francis Russell. Doheny's Mexican activities are reconstructed from the contemporary radical critiques of John Kenneth Turner and Samuel Guy Inman and the more recent work of Gabriel Antonio Mendenez and Gene Z. Hanrahan — part of the Yankee-Capitalist-Devil tradition of Mexican historiography.

Even with its ideological limitations, the book might have been more useful if the author had attempted less. His penchant for speculation in the absence of documentation is both persistent and disturbing. On the connection between Doheny and Albert Alonzo Robinson, we are told: "Doheny certainly would have known Robinson..." (p. 20). The creation of a counter-revolutionary movement in Mexico in 1917, was "probably at his behest" (p. 62). Doheny's influence on counter-revolutionary leader Manuel Pelaez is established by "presumably" (p. 67). The oil companies' attitude toward Felix Diaz is based on "apparently" (p. 67). Finally, presumption is used to blame Doheny for the assassination of Venustiano Carranza: "When Doheny's archenemy Mexican President Carranza stumbled into Doheny's petroleum state, Carranza was assassinated" (p. 184).

It is possible, of course, that Doheny did all of these things and more, but La Botz serves his readers badly by hauling Edward L. Doheny into the court of history without evidence adequate to support the strong indictment.

Roger M. Olien
The University of Texas-Permian Basin

The Tornado, by John Edward Weems (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354), 1991. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. P. 180. \$10.95-Paper.

Because Texas is located at the southwest end of "tornado alley," many Texans learn first-hand the awesome power of a tornado. If you have not had that experience, and wish to find out what it is like, this book is recommended.

First published in 1977, and now reissued with only minor changes, this slim volume was written by a newspaperman who had reported on the tornado which devastated Waco on May 11, 1953. That event provides the framework on which the author hangs observations on the culture and history of Waco and vicinity along with tornado and other weather lore ranging as far as Finland and parts of the Pacific. There are listings of such items as how long tornados have lasted at one spot and outstanding U.S. tornados (in terms of the deaths each produced) since 1925. Cloud photographs, historic photos of tornado funnels from several states, views of damaged Waco buildings, and a map showing the tornado path through downtown add to the book's interest and utility.

Those seeking a thorough explanation of the meteorology of tornado formation will be disappointed. The author readily admits his limited scientific background; and, since the 1970s much has been learned about tornado formation, types, and internal characteristics. The author's skill as a writer is evident throughout, particularly in his description of the reaction of various individuals to the tornado's approach and passage. Here the reader will be enthralled. It is good to have this book again available.

G. Loyd Collier
Stephen F. Austin State University

Fort Worth Outpost on the Trinity, by Oliver Knight, reissued with an essay on the 20th century by Cissy Stewart Lale (Texas Christian University Press, P.O. Box 30776, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 1953/1990 Reissue. Photographs. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$16.95-Paper.

In *Fort Worth Outpost on the Trinity*, which was first published in 1953, Oliver Knight, historian and newspaperman, wrote the classic history of Fort Worth. In colorful detail he described such eras as the founding of the fort, the impact of the cattle industry, the coming of the railroad, the development of industry, and the growth of Fort Worth into a city. He also included maps, photographs, military correspondence, and lists of public officials.

After 1960 this book was out of print and difficult to find — until now. Fortunately, Texas Christian University Press decided to reissue Knight's book with a new chapter on the twentieth century, "Corporations and Culture," written by Cissy Stewart Lale, former editor and daily col-

umnist for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. Lale updated *Fort Worth Outpost on the Trinity* with historical information, maps, and photographs which have enhanced the original book. For instance, she covered the significance of the airline and defense industries, the pivotal roles of Amon G. Carter and Charles D. Tandy, the cultural contributions of local museums, and the restoration of historic sections of the city.

As a result of the reissuing of *Fort Worth Outpost on the Trinity*, many more people will have the opportunity to enjoy the classic Fort Worth history by Knight with the added insights of Lale.

Janet Schmelzer
Tarleton State University

Damming the Colorado, by John A. Adams, Jr. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1990. Photographs. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 161. \$32.50 Hardcover.

For anyone seeking a study of water development in the West, this book is recommended. It is a history of the Lower Colorado River Authority, the Texas state agency that developed the Colorado River for multi-purpose use. As such it is a case study of New Deal activity in one state. Adams keeps the study in national perspective, showing that the development of the river was a cooperative project between state and federal governments. He also shows the politics of water development, and in this case the role of Lyndon Johnson and such as aides Alvin Wirtz in winning approval of federal authorities at various times.

Adams gives the Authority and its promoters high marks, saying the project stimulated the economy of central Texas and ended the flooding of the Colorado River. It also promoted rural electrification. He sees the experience of the Lower Colorado River Authority as a positive force in Texas history.

The author should be commended on his use of research materials. He examined and used primary materials at the Roosevelt Library, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and several personal manuscript collections. His bibliography contains the best known works related to the subject. One flaw is apparent: he overlooked the importance of Sam Rayburn, whose promotion of a hydroelectric dam on the Red River preceded Johnson's work on the Colorado. Rayburn's part has been established in the literature. However, Adams' coverage of the Colorado project is still excellent.

Given the combination of good resource materials, a national perspective, and fine organization, this book will be an excellent addition to the literature of flood control and New Deal history.

D. Clayton Brown
Texas Christian University

Pine Trees and Cotton Fields, Reminiscences of a Childhood, NE Texas-NW Louisiana 1925-1942, by Janie Ray Shofner Koenig (Piney Wood Productions, 26890 Sherwood Forest, San Antonio, TX 78258) 1991. Maps. Photographs. P. 341. \$35.00 Hardcover.

This is the story of a young girl's growing up years in the Piney Woods during the 1920s and 1930s. It is truly a comprehensive account of the self-sufficient living by rural people in that era. Janie Ray Shofner's life was governed by the seasons and was isolated in accordance with our standards.

The stories will stir forgotten memories for those who lived in this setting, and provide their children unique insight into the traditions and customs of those who came before them. The author grew up as the youngest of five children in a one-parent household. She saw much of country living and remembered it all, as seen on the pages of the book. Her memories reflect an encyclopedia of living experiences, including food, work, religion, cotton, and remedies.

The book is a valuable mine of data with good photographs of plows, plowing, and mules. It is an excellent review on planting and working the fields, with a focus on the staples, cotton, and corn. It captures the mood of quiet found on the farm in a simpler age.

The role of the tomato and the tomato sheds as an economic factor is interesting and entertaining. This business was a money maker for all involved—the farmer as the grower, those who worked in the sheds getting the tomato ready to ship, and the buyers for the outside world.

Throughout the book is a sense of community and family which is rarely found today. The book is an insightful primary source of the customs and values of folk of the Piney Woods.

Lincoln King
Gary, Texas

One Day in the Life of Angelina County, A Project of The Angelina Photographic Association (Angelina Photographic Association, P.O. Box 1574, Lufkin, TX 75902) 1990. Colored and Black and White Photographs. P. 144.

This is a wonderful picture book about people — all kinds of people. It is about the young and the old, the black, the white, and the brown. There are photographs of strong men, beautiful women, and those whose plain faces are lined with the experiences of living and working and enduring. A few are elegant in their homeliness and character. It is a touching tribute to the state of Texas, Angelina County style.

The photographs were shot in a single day as a project of the Angelina Photographic Association, and dozens of people were involved in the effort. It was inspired by the epic work, *One Day in the Life of America*.

But this Texas work is, in some respects, more satisfying. The target was more concentrated and many of the photographers knew who or where they wanted to shoot. The occasional scenery pictures give a strong sense of the land and the critters who dwell on it. Yet they fit well with the images of a number of hard working people at gritty or demanding jobs. One catches an abiding sense of Deep East Texas, at work, and play, and at quiet thought.

An outsider can get an insight into Angelina County, urban and rural, and in between. Those who took the pictures and those who selected them had a sophisticated agenda and they achieved it admirably. For example, they effectively portrayed industrial Lufkin at the center of a basically rural county. And always they presented the people, in striking variety. This strength, however, also touches on the volume's only weakness. There are too many photographs for the format and the page limitation. Had the book contained more than 144 pages, there would not be some photo essays that are compressed into too small an area. Some lose their sense of identity by being packed tightly together. On balance, though, it is a glorious presentation of the heart of East Texas.

Allen Richman
Stephen F. Austin State University

The Early Years of Rhythm & Blues: Focus on Houston, by Alan Govenar, photographs by Benny Joseph (Rice University Press, P.O. Box 1892, Houston, TX 77251) 1990. Photographs. Notes. P. 96. \$24.95 Hardcover.

Professional photographer Benny Joseph was the right man at the right time to document the flavor of his African American community that was Houston in the 1950s and 1960s. Among the fifty-eight plates reproduced in the book are formal and informal portraits of such notables in the civil rights movement as Barbara Jordan, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Thurgood Marshall, as well as images from the music world suggested by the title of the book, plus miscellaneous images representative of the general work his 4x5 Speedgraphic camera recorded both in the studio and on location.

Selections in the book were made into 11x14 selenium-toned gelatin silver prints in 1988-89 and exhibited in 1989 and 1990. *The Early Years of Rhythm and Blues: Focus on Houston* is first and foremost a volume of photography. Quality reproduction black-and-white prints (6x8½, and 6x4¾ in size) are presented on 8½x11½ size paper with generous white borders. Fuller data along with the plates would communicate better; it would be especially helpful with plates #12 "Felton Turner [a 1960 victim of racial, not street violence]" and #52 [two men] entitled "Dr. Arthur Riddle."

Again, since the words and pictures are so integrally related yet so

spacially separated — with data given in both essay and end notes — Alan Govenar's essay would be more helpful in documenting the photographs if sub-titles were given within the text to help orient the reader.

Nevertheless, Govenar's scholarship greatly enhances the value of the photography, providing context and analysis of a very significant era. It was a time when the activism and the post-World War II energies were attenuating an entrenched institutional segregation in the city. It was a time when live music and the local disc jockey scene were vital components of the Houston scene. It was a time when one of Benny Joseph's clients, black restaurateur and record publisher Don Robey, was at the peak of his career with over 100 singers and groups signed to his Peacock/Duke and other recording labels. It was a time when the Houston scene was a vital component of the development of American music.

Ouida Whitaker Dean
Nacogdoches, Texas

The LH7 Ranch in Houston's Shadow: The E.H. Marks' Legacy From Longhorns to the Salt Grass Trail, by Deborah Lightfoot Sizemore (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-3856) 1991. Photos. Bibliography. Index. P. 235. \$22.50.

Emil Henry Marks was not only a very successful rancher, he was a preservationist. A cowboy made prosperous by Texas Longhorns, he continued to raise his purebred Longhorns when others had long abandoned the breed, owning at one time the world's largest privately owned herd. A popular speaker and storyteller, he helped to preserve some of the songs and stories he first heard on the open range in the 1890s. A collector of relics of a bygone era, he had a log cabin on his LH7 Ranch filled with museum pieces of the state's agricultural past. Through two world wars, a depression, and an urban explosion called Houston located at the edge of his ranch, he persevered and for the most part prospered.

The LH7 Ranch is his story, told largely through family papers and interviews and often in his or his children's own words. Sizemore has written a book that is a delight to read. There is very little analysis here, and almost no information about the economics of this ranch except when economic realities made real differences in the lives of those living on the ranch. Instead, it is a moving account of life among a rural German community in Harris County in the first decades of the twentieth century, and of one man's remarkable adaptability. The University of North Texas Press has also done a commendable job in producing a handsome book at an affordable price. It should be read and enjoyed by anyone interested in ranching or in the life of rural Texans early in the twentieth century.

Cecil Harper, Jr.
North Harris College
Houston, Texas

Bataan and Beyond: Memories of an American POW, by John S. Coleman, Jr. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1978. Illustrations. Index. P. 210. \$12.95-Paperback. \$16.95-Hardcover.

These days it seems that the United States is again having problems with Japan and so it is fitting that this narrative of an American POW who survived not only the Bataan Death March but over three years of incarceration in Japan itself, serves to remind us of the extreme and uncalled-for brutality displayed by Japanese soldiers toward Allied prisoners during World War II. Army Air Corps Captain John S. Coleman, Jr., from Wellington, Texas, was captured in April 1942 while serving in the Philippines. Along with thousands of other Allied POWs, most of whom were American, Coleman was forced to endure inhumane treatment from his captors virtually on a daily basis. He experienced torture, humiliation, starvation, and psychological damage at the hands of his captors. This well-written account of his and his comrades' long ordeal as POWs offers the reader an humbling personal picture of life as an American prisoner in Japanese-held territory.

Coleman details his time in the Philippines in the brutal Yodogawa Seiko camp in Osaka, Japan. He also includes his experiences in his final camp in Shikoku as well as his liberation and return to the United States. Coleman points out that the prisoners' worst treatment came at the hands of the Japanese troops in the Philippines and he stresses that Japanese civilians often gave assistance to the prisoners. He also details the barbaric treatment given to the POWs and discusses the intense fear held by the Japanese once American bombers began appearing unmolested overhead.

This book offers the reader an opportunity to experience a first-hand account of this terrible ordeal and should serve as a reminder that the Japanese treatment of American prisoners of war was brutal, inhumane, and totally unprovoked. In a time when it has become fashionable to lambast the decision of the Truman Administration to use the atom bomb, this book and others like it signify that what happened at Hiroshima was no more barbaric than what occurred at Bataan.

Mark Choate
Nacogdoches, Texas

The Regiment: Let The Citizens Bear Arms, by Harry M. Kemp (Eaken Press, P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1990. Photos, Appendices. Bibliography. Maps. Index. P. 395. \$24.95-Hardcover.

Harry M. Kemp, a retired army officer who lives in San Antonio, has produced this detailed history of the 109th Infantry Regiment, Pennsylvania National Guard, a major component of the 28th Infantry Division in World War II. The 28th was wholly organized in Pennsylvania.

The 109th became known during World War I as the “Old Gray Mare Regiment” because of their regimental song, but more significant for understanding the title of this book, the regiment’s motto was “Let the Citizens Bear Arms”. Kemp, who enlisted in the regiment in 1937 and rose to command a company by 1944, diligently records the history of the 109th, using as his sources his own knowledge, official military papers, and a few books, but he relies very much on a large number of interviews with former regimental members.

This is military history of World War II. The entire book, with the exception of short chapters on beginnings, stateside training, training in England, and occupation and coming home, follows the regiment from the invasion at Normandy to deep in Germany, as the regiment fought its way across Europe. The closest this book comes to having an East Texas relationship is that the 109th regiment trained at Camp Livingston in Louisiana for a few weeks in 1942, and a few of its replacements during the war were from Texas. As a regimental history written by a retired army officer, one would expect this book to be focused on the trees rather than the forest, and that is the case. Kemp is obviously aware of the bigger picture of the war in western Europe, but his focus remains on the men, or the personnel of his regiment. His appendices include a roster of officers and maps to aid in following the fighting in western Europe.

E. Dale Odom
University of North Texas

The Wars of Peggy Hull, The Life and Times of a War Correspondent, by Wilda M. Smith and Eleanor A. Bogart (Texas Western Press, University of Texas, El Paso, TX 79968-0633) 1991. Photographs. Bibliography. Illustrations. Notes. Index. P. 305. \$30.00 Hardcover.

Who, you might ask, was Peggy Hull? Intrepid war correspondent, vivid writer, resourceful self promoter, adventurer, contradictory woman. Henrietta Eleanor Goodnough was born in Kansas in 1889, covered military action on the U.S. Mexican border with Pershing, World War I in Paris, the Russian Intervention in Siberia, Japanese invasion of China in Shanghai, and World War II in the Pacific, married three times — to George Charles Hull, John Taylor Kinley, Harvey Duell, and died in Carmel Valley, California, on June 19, 1967.

Peggy Hull was resourceful, energetic, enterprising. She wrote for several U.S. newspapers, including the *El Paso Herald and Morning Times*. Although women journalists were not uncommon in the early twentieth century, women war correspondents were decidedly uncommon. The U.S. War Department accredited Peggy Hull by issuing a correspondent’s pass to her in 1918 — the first woman so designated. Had she not possessed abundant energy and *chutzpa*, she could not have traveled so widely nor witnessed so much. The fierce discrimination against women journalists

affected Hull's career; however, she generally found some way to accomplish her goals. She used to good advantage a wide circle of contacts among newspaper publishers and writers.

Peggy Hull was not a particularly profound writer; however, she possessed an uncanny ability to know that her readers enjoyed human interest stories. Late in her career she wrote, that there would be

no scoops, no prize awards, no Purple Hearts or memories of desperate hours well shared with brave Americans. I am a woman and as a woman am not permitted to experience the hazards of real war reporting. After a long and varied experience in the first World War, on the Mexican border, in France, Siberia, and China, these restrictions have laid a heavy hand upon my dreams. But I have found work to do. There [are] the little stories to write — the small, unimportant story which [means] so much to the G.I., but for which no editor [will] use his wire service and which no "spot news" correspondent [has] time to seek out and write (p. 244).

Peggy Hull lived in contradiction. On the one hand, she longed for professional respectability as a journalist; on the other, she longed for the settled life of the housewife. She was equally at home wearing military uniforms and fluffy creations from Paris. While she would not have classified herself as a feminist, she broke barriers for women. Peggy Hull was not a "typical" woman — whatever a "typical" woman was or is — yet her life illustrates the range of possibilities and frustrations for professional women.

Wilda Smith and Eleanor Bogart have produced an able biography, admirably researched, crisply written. Although Peggy Hull's life and career did not reach East Texas, people who seek biographies of intrepid, interesting, truly *alive* characters, will enjoy this one. Students of women's history will find in Peggy Hull a woman whose life was torn by the contradictions so many women face.

Fane Downs
Dallas, Texas

Texfake: An Account of The Theft and Forgery of Early Texas Printed Documents, by W. Thomas Taylor, introduction by Larry McMurry (W. Thomas Taylor Printers, Publishers, & Antiquarian Booksellers, 1906 Miriam, Austin, TX 78722) 1991. Illustrations, Bibliography. Index. P. 158. \$45.00-Cloth.

Before changing the original title of this book to *Texfake*, the author had intended to subtitle it *Plundering the Past*, a more flavorful and equally fitting description of its contents. It is the story of one man, Dorman David, abetted by others in the book trade, who faked Texas history documents and sold them for big bucks to gullible collectors. David says he never intended to deceive anyone, that he merely set out to create a portfolio of facsimile documents to be sold as such to his clientele. But before completing the project his facsimilies landed in the possession of

other dealers, notably William Simpson and the late John H. Jenkins, who if they suspected anything, were not so candid with their buyers. Later, no one wanted to question, much less admit, that these documents might be spurious. Taylor himself was stung, and that led to his writing of this expose.

Taylor also discusses at length the pilfering of authentic historical documents from institutional libraries and infers gross misfeasance on the part of certain library directors. Of course, none of these things would have transpired were it not for the compelling desire that some people have to own a piece of history and the avarice of others who would take advantage of that desire. Tom Taylor has told a sad and infuriating story of human frailty in a well-organized, very readable fashion. He is also the designer and publisher of his own book, and a handsome job it is. Worth the money? Yes.

Al Lowman
Stringtown, Texas

From the Desk of Henry Ralph, by Geraldine Primrose Carson (Eakin Press, P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1990. Illustrations. Photos. Notes. Index. P. 304.

This volume, a treasure to family members, and also very interesting reading for the historian, reveals an eight-year glimpse of local history. Mrs. Carson was fortunate to have access to family letters, dating from 1841 to 1924, which had been kept safely in the desk of Henry Ralph, her great grandfather. Carson, who transcribed and printed those letters, carefully documented each letter and researched the Santa Fe Expedition, Gold Rush, and the exploits of the Thirteenth Texas Cavalry during the Civil War. Historical explanations of events add to the interest of the letters and make this volume a valuable contribution.

The letters span the time of the Mexican War, Civil War, Spanish American War and World War I. By portraying the life and hardships of various family members, they afford the reader an insight into the private lives of early Texas settlers. Several family photos and maps illustrate the book and give the reader a glimpse of the people who wrote the treasured letters.

Brief family genealogies are included for the families of Butler, Farr/Lowe, May, Waller/Pridgeon, Ralph, Dean, Isaacks, Pace, Dubose, Gregory, Rawls and Owens.

Carolyn Ericson
Nacogdoches, Texas

Dawning of The Cold War: The United States' Quest for Order, by Randall B. Woods and Howard Jones (University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA 30602) 1991. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 335. \$14.95 Paper. \$35.00 Hardcover.

The authors bring much expertise to their analysis of the early Cold War years, having done extensive research in primary sources and wide reading in secondary works. The book takes the reader from the Yalta Conference, through the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, to the North Atlantic Treaty. In their preface, the authors make clear that they offer essentially an "orthodox" approach to the origins of the Cold War. Hence, we find such traditional characters as Roosevelt, the ailing appeaser; Truman, the novice pushed rightward by hard-line advisers, congressional Republicans, and shifting public opinion; and Stalin, the ruthless expansionist.

Even so, the authors also draw on the extensive secondary literature of recent years, some of it not so orthodox — such writers as John Gaddis, John Gimbel, Robert Messer, Thomas Paterson, and Michael Hogan. Thus, the book contains echoes of revisionist arguments concerning atomic diplomacy, the global reach of the Truman Doctrine, the corporatist roots of the Marshall Plan, and United States miscalculations during the Berlin crisis.

The authors' main theme is that the Truman Administration pursued through 1945-1949 a policy of "flexibility and restraint" in developing "short-of-war" strategies to limit Soviet expansion. For Woods and Jones, this early Cold War stance clearly was correct and effective, reassuring allies and obstructing the Kremlin. The implicit globalism of the Truman Doctrine did not signify a confusion of ends and means. Rather, say the authors, the confusion began in 1950 with approval of NSC-68, a study which "meshed vital with peripheral interests" (p. 252) and abandoned the notion of limits to American power.

While it is too long and detailed for use with survey courses, this deftly written book should find a home in many upper-level courses of American and global diplomacy.

Scott L. Bills
Stephen F. Austin State University

Best Editorial Cartoons of the Year, 1991 Edition, edited by Charles Brooks (Pelican Publishing Company, P.O. Box 189, Gretna, LA 70053) 1991. Cartoons. Illustrations. Index. P. 176. \$10.95 Paper.

Charles Brooks has screened an elite assortment of political cartoons from American and Canadian print media for the year 1990, dubbing them THE BEST. The work is filtered from the production of 172 artists, arranged in twenty-three topical categories. One to four cartoons for each

artist are placed in an appropriate topical section and indexed by individual artist. Eleven of the topical categories are entitled precisely the same as in the 1990 edition. Cartoons winning six prestigious literary awards lead off the compilation; a list of previous winners of these national/international kudos is placed at the end of the book.

Brooks does not indicate his criteria for choosing the *Best* of the year, letting the cartoons speak for themselves. Imaginative artists who combine artistic talent with keen powers of observation and interpretation make the editing job easier. Brooks prefaces each topical category of cartoons with a brief chronology of events within that particular category during the year.

Cartoons are assembled under the following subject matter titles: Award-Winning Cartoons, Persian Gulf Conflict (called Middle East in 1990), The Bush Administration, The Soviet Union (called Death of Communism in 1990), German Reunification, S&L Scandal, Foreign Affairs, The Economy, U.S. Congress, U.S. Defense, The Supreme Court, Politics, Budget Deficit, Crime and Drugs (called The Drug War in 1990), The Environment, Education, The Census, Space/Air Travel, Pornography, Health, Sports, Canadian Affairs, and Other Issues.

Great political cartoonists perform a graphic chemical synthesis, which condenses and concentrates all the interactions of our society...a kind of "photosynthesis," so to speak. Their work reflects the noble and banal, the amusing and the disgusting, high aspirations and failures, the uplifting and the simply terrifying aspects of modern public life.

Whatever the cartoons Brooks omits from his compendium might have revealed, the ones he includes reflect all the above attributes of the way we were in 1990. My only gripe is that he did not include any cartoons by Texas' Ben Sargent.

James G. Dickson
Stephen F. Austin State University

A Life Among the Texas Flora, Ferdinand Lindheimer's Letters to George Engelmann, by Minetta Altgelt Goyne (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1991. Notes. Index. P. 236. \$44.50 Hardcover.

Lindheimer, born in Germany in 1802, educated at German universities, and known as the "Father of Texas Botany," collected extensively for Engelmann in St. Louis, for Asa Gray at Harvard, and for others through Engelmann and Gray. Lindheimer arrived in the United States in 1834 and joined friends, including Engelmann, who were already living on a farm in Illinois, then moved on from there to New Orleans, Mexico, and Texas. He joined the Army of Texas in 1836, collecting botanical specimens while other soldiers drilled; for several years he

traveled in Southeast and Central Texas, using Houston as a base and searching for new plants; in 1845, he settled permanently in New Braunfels where he helped shape the new community and edited the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* for two decades.

Goyne deciphered, translated, annotated, and published the more than forty letters still existing which Lindheimer wrote to Engelmann between 1841 and 1847. Those letters form a rich primary source for anyone wishing to know more about the natural history of early Texas, the difficulties of travel and collecting in the 1840s, and life and leaders in the early settlements. They include not only specific plant names and descriptions but also Lindheimer's perceptive comments about the people with whom he lived and worked. Goyne also includes part of Lindheimer's account of his experiences in Mexico, much carefully researched, biographical material, and chapter introductions which place the letters in their appropriate historical setting. Thoroughly documented, the book contains more information about Lindheimer than is available in any other single source. The author has provided a valuable service for Texas historians and botanists.

Sylvia W. McGrath
Stephen F. Austin State University

I Wouldn't've Been A Lumberjack (But I Couldn't Hack It!), by Van Craddock (The Best of East Texas Publishers, P.O. Box 1647, Lufkin, TX 75901) 1991. Forward. P. 142. \$20.35.

For more than thirteen years, journalist Van Craddock has been chronicling the goings-on in his neck of the woods in a twice-weekly column for *The Longview News-Journal*. Some of Craddock's best pieces have been collected into a book published by The Best of East Texas Publishers in Lufkin.

Craddock's two favorite subjects are his family and East Texas history, and he brings a gentle touch to both. *News-Journal* readers have had an armchair's vantage point as he tells of the mishaps and special moments of "Better Half, Bozo and Bright Eyes." That's columnese for his wife and two kids.

There's the time Bright Eyes stuffed a Red Hot up her nose, and he and Better Half debated on what to do:

I mean, nowhere in Dr. Spock is there a section on removing soap from the right nostril. You can't look in the yellow pages under "Red Hot Retrieval," either, and calling Roto-Rooter would probably be a bit radical.

Then there are the vignettes from Longview's past, like the time Dizzy Dean came to town to pitch in an exhibition game. It was 1935, and the twenty-four-year-old future Hall of Famer struck out seven semi-pro

ballplayers while 1,500 watched in Fair Park.

Though Craddock tends to favor light-hearted subjects, on occasion his thoughts turn to graver matters, both in his life and before his time. Subjects like the Longview Race Riot of 1919, the death of his father-in-law, and seeing a half-scale model of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial are handled with compassion and feeling.

In one piece, Craddock, who graduated from SFA with a degree in journalism, recalls Francine Hoffman, who taught journalism there for many years:

She didn't expect us to be perfect, of course. She demanded it...

Some of my fondest memories of SFA (other than the obvious fact I met Better Half in journalism class) are of those late night sessions in the old Birdwell Annex, putting together another issue of the paper.

Craddock's first collection of columns is an entertaining way to spend a night in the armchair.

Gary Bordors
Nacogdoches Daily Sentinel

Katherine Anne Porter, Revised Edition, by Joan Givner (University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA 30602) 1991. Photographs. Notes. P. 576. \$19.95 Paper. \$45.00 Hardcover.

Outside of the state, Katherine Anne Porter is Texas' best known and most honored author. But within the state, many scholars and critics relegate her to the status of "minor author," faulting the ethereal, feminine quality of her prose. Her contemporaries, J. Frank Dobie and Walter Prescott Webb, often reportedly referred to her work as "lady bidness." She yearned for acceptance in her home state, but was shunned throughout her long lifetime.

Given the love-hate relationship that Porter evokes, it is not surprising that her biography, *Katherine Anne Porter: A Life*, has become almost as controversial as the author herself. Since its original publication in 1982, two years after Porter's death, biographer Joan Givner has been both excoriated and praised for bringing together so many of the disparate and contradictory threads of Porter's life. Partially in response to some of her critics, we now have this 1991 Revised Edition, published by the University of Georgia Press. The original publisher was Simon and Schuster.

The Revised Edition will, of course, be the definitive version of the biography. Although the text is essentially unchanged, the Revised Edition contains a new Preface and an almost totally rewritten Epilogue which sites Porter squarely in the mainstream of modern American fiction writers. Says Givner, "...Porter's work surprises by its accessibility to new theoretical approaches." (p. 513).

The Preface is perhaps the most valuable feature of this new edition. In it, Givner clarifies and explains her position regarding Porter's alleged betrayal to the F.B.I. of her friend and fellow author, Josephine Herbst, and uses this incident as the basis of a reinterpretation of Porter's enigmatic short story, "Holiday." The Preface also brings to bear new data to help clarify Porter's nightmarish stay in a Texas tuberculosis sanatorium after the collapse of her first marriage. In light of this new evidence (another patient's scrapbook), it appears that Porter's frequent references to the ravages of the flu epidemic of 1918 are really based on her personal suffering from the less socially acceptable disease of TB, or consumption.

Givner also uses the Preface to graciously defend herself against some critics of the original biography by pointing out that "...the practice of having fiction writers review biographies is akin to having fundamentalist preachers review books on the great vineyards of France. The problem is not an untutored palate but a deep-rooted hostility to the whole process. Fiction writers often suffer from acute fear (biographobia) of the skill that is the hallmark of literary biography—the uncovering of repressed motivations in the fiction" (pp.3-4).

Finally, critics, and admirers alike must acknowledge Texas' debt to Givner's unrelenting campaign to have Porter recognized as one of the preeminent figures in Texas letters. With the inclusion of Porter, the term is less an oxymoron. Givner's campaign finally resulted in the unveiling of a state historical marker in the town square of Kyle, Texas, where Porter lived as a child. The Friends of the Library of Texas A&M University heeded Givner's call and provided the necessary support which culminated in the dedication of the marker on a fine Sunday afternoon in July 1991. Porter would have approved of the hand-pieced quilt that draped the bronze marker while the assembled guests, mostly proud local folks, partook of punch and cookies in the air-conditioned City Hall, protected from the sweltering Texas heat of which she spoke and wrote so often.

Sylvia Grider
Texas A&M University

**THE RALPH W. STEEN
AWARD**

Mrs. Lera Thomas
 F. Lee Lawrence
 Robert Cotner
 Mrs. Tommie Jan Lowery
 Mrs. E.H. Lasseter
 Archie P. McDonald
 Robert S. Maxwell
 Max S. Lale
 Mrs. W.S. Terry
 Captain Charles K. Phillips
 Bob Bowman
 William R. Johnson
 James I. Nichols
 Ralph Wooster
 Robert W. Glover
 Seth R. Walton, Jr.
 William J. Brophy
 James V. Reese

**THE FELLOWS
AWARD**

Randolph B. Campbell
 Archie P. McDonald
 Robert S. Maxwell*
 J. Milton Nance
 Ralph Wooster
 Marilyn M. Sibley
 Fred Tarpley
 Margaret S. Henson
 Frank H. Smyrl
 Francis E. Abernethy
 Dorman H. Winfrey
 Mike Kingston
 Bob Bowman
 Max S. Lale
 Bill O'Neal
 Kent Biffle
 Marilyn Rhinehart

**THE C.K. CHAMBERLAIN
AWARD**

W.T. Block
 James Smallwood
 John Denton Carter
 James M. McReynolds
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 Douglas Hale
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 Tommy Stringer
 Donald W. Whisenhunt
 Pamela Lynn Palmer
 George Walker
 George N. Green
 Valentine J. Belfiglio
 Randolph B. Campbell

**THE LUCILLE TERRY
AWARD**

Friends of the Adolphus
 Sterne Home,
 Nacogdoches, Texas

The Howard-Dickinson House
 Henderson, Texas

Museum for East Texas Culture
 Palestine, Texas

The French House
 Beaumont, Texas

The Rol Barret House
 Nacogdoches, Texas

The Gilbert House
 Farmers Branch, Texas

Temple Beth El
 Corsicana, Texas

*Deceased

EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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Bob Bowman Associates, Lufkin
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East Texas Oil Museum, Kilgore
Farmers Branch Historical Park, Farmers Branch
First Bank and Trust, Lufkin
Fredonia State Bank, Nacogdoches
Harrison County Historical Society, Marshall
Kilgore Chamber of Commerce
Lamar University, Beaumont
Lee College Library, Baytown
The Long Trusts, Kilgore
M.S. Wright Foundation, Nacogdoches
Mize Department Store, Nacogdoches
North Harris College, Houston
Panola College, Carthage
Sam Houston State University, Huntsville
San Jacinto College North, Houston
San Jacinto Museum of History, Deer Park
Security National Bank, Nacogdoches
The Squash Blossom Shops, Nacogdoches
Stone Fort National Bank, Nacogdoches
Temple-Inland Forest Products Corporation, Diboll
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