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The Katy’s Ladies: Prostitution in Early Denison, Texas, 1872-1880

By: Jennifer Bridges

During the 1870s many towns around the state of Texas experienced growth and population influx due to rapid technological expansion following the Civil War. As railroads moved westward, Denison was established to be a hub for the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, known as “the Katy.” Denison, henceforth referred to as “Katy’s Baby,” was intended to be a principal terminal for the railroad and potentially the greatest transportation gateway into the Southwest. As was the case with many boomtowns that developed along a railroad line, Denison quickly attracted a large transient population and became a center for vice. Prostitution, gambling, saloons, and dance halls abounded in the early days of the town when law enforcement was scarce. Historian Jack Maguire noted, “Ladies of the evening such as Liz, ‘Dirty Legs’ Kitty and others of their ilk did little to improve the quality of the citizenry.” The law came to Denison, Texas eventually, but vice in the forms of prostitution and gambling continued to flourish, even under the watchful eyes of those who favored law and order.

Denison, Texas owed its founding to the ambitions of politicians and the M, K, and T Railroad. When the Katy Railroad began looking for a terminus south of the Red River, Judge Christopher Columbus Binkley of the 12th Texas Judicial District, and a resident of Sherman, recommended creating a new town close enough to Sherman for

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reasonable accessibility while sufficiently removed to shield Sherman from the undesirable elements associated with a railroad terminus. Binkley used his influence with Governor Edmund J. Davis to accelerate the sometimes-slow process of city incorporation, and on February 8, 1873, Davis signed the act officially creating the town of Denison. With Denison incorporated, the population increased to between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants within the span of four months. Subsequently, along with the railroad came business and the promise of future growth and industry, but inordinately large portions of the city’s early citizens had less than stellar backgrounds. As historian Jack Maguire notes, “Denison, four miles as the crow flies from the sluggish river that separated Texas from the territory, became a kind of unofficial headquarters for a variety of criminals. It was a local brag that at least half of the almost 4,000 residents were ‘ruffians’ and the other offscourings of society.” Certainly, upstanding citizens made permanent home in Denison, but proportionally the town in its early days had a large criminal base that used the railroad hub to conduct their often illegal, sometimes violent occupations.¹

The Denison Town Company was organized on September 20, 1872 by Colonel Robert Smith Stevens, the “Agent and Attorney for the purchase of lands” for the Katy Railroad. He made himself president of the company and placed city lots for sale on September 23. Four months into the city’s existence, the Denison Town Company had sold $90,000 worth of building lots due to the arrival of the railroad and thus the town advanced in the words of one historian “more like magic than like the normal growth of a pioneer settlement.” The beginnings of Denison seemed full of promise, although an early *Denison News* article stated that “a great many families in Denison are still residing
in tents. There are no dwelling houses to rent, as they are occupied as fast as the mechanics can finish them.” Accordingly, the town was made up of two groups of people: those who saw the locale as an opportunity for life and success within the realm of a booming frontier and those whose penchant for debauchery and lawlessness thrived in the freedom that a town such as Denison offered.²

Early Denison was a primitive society, hovering on the outskirts of civilization. In the beginning, there was little recreation other than drinking, gambling, fighting and patronizing prostitutes. Many ruffians called the Indian Territory home and they, along with Denison’s already rough and tumble elements, came to town “to drink, carouse, and buy whiskey to bootleg to the Indians.” The business community was dominated by occupations that thrived in a town with such seedy recreational tastes. A census taken by the Weekly News six months after the first town lots were sold showed twenty saloons and ten houses of prostitution, and those numbers continued to grow. Eventually, there were fifty-two saloons, which made “the sale of spirituous liquors the predominant retail business in the new town for several years.” Even with the large number of morally questionable citizens and transients, the townspeople of Denison attempted to control the areas where vice was permitted. Thus, Skiddy Street’s reputation came into existence.³

Skiddy Street in Denison was one street south of Main and it soon became the local red-light district. As Jack Maguire states, “It was populated mostly by saloons, gambling houses and brothels and became the ‘sin center’ of Denison.” Dance halls also permeated Skiddy Street in the 1870s, as the Denison News reported in 1873, “the dance halls continue to flourish.” Skiddy Street was a ravine with the underbrush cleared away and each side of the street was lined with as depraved a collection of tents, shacks, and
cotton cloth and board houses as casehardened railroad construction men had ever seen. Historian V.V. Masterson recalled that “Here, crowding each other into the befouled former watercourse, were the tented gambling halls, the hurdy-gurdy joints, lowest class saloons, cockfighting pits, variety houses, and the deadly ‘doecotes’ that served as houses of prostitution for all races, colors, and creeds.” In Denison’s earliest days, Skiddy Street was home to Millie Hipps and her soiled ‘doves’, who were presumed to have come from Mollie Andrews’ incubator in Sedalia, Missouri. These prostitutes plied their trade to a higher-class customer, presumably from Sherman. Some considered Skiddy to be the ‘rat alley’ of Main Street and quite appropriately named “for the modern Skid Row couldn’t compare with it”.

Figure 2.1
Main Street was not without saloons, but the Denison Town Company attempted to keep only reasonably respectable enterprises on their main thoroughfare and relegated the more questionable businesses to Skiddy Street. The more upstanding citizens of Denison yearned to use zoning to separate the less attractive aspects of society because “This early effort at zoning somehow separated, for the most part, the respectable citizens from the less desirable.” Saloons, such as the Crystal Palace were allowed to remain on Main Street, along with a scattering of other pool halls and dance houses. Masterson remarked, “Razorback hogs and scrawny cattle might wallow in the mud holes of Main Street, but houses of ill repute had to stay in the next block south, on Skiddy, if they wanted to keep their licenses.” This particular arrangement allowed visitors in Denison to be impressed with the orderliness and safety of the town, while at the same time, Denison achieved a reputation “both among lawmen and outlaws as the toughest town on the border.” Places on Skiddy Street, such as the Palace, the Park, and the Sazerac, some of the more notorious dives, helped give Denison its dangerous reputation. Even though many attempts were made to separate the red light district from more genteel society, “houses of amusement outranked religious institutions in numbers if not popularity,” with only one church erected in 1873 as opposed to twenty saloons and ten brothels. As time progressed, many saloons moved back onto Main Street, where they remained until well into the twentieth century. 

The early history of Denison was tied inextricably to its seedier elements. As the *Dallas Morning News* reported, “If one could pick the place in Texas where crime and vice flourished with least restraint, that probably would be the Denison of late 1872 and
early 1873. With railroads building in from north and south, Denison was crowded with thugs, gamblers, and loose women.” This connection between the coming of the railroad and the influx of vice and crime is evident throughout Denison’s early days. Every attempt at controlling vice succeeded only in confining its location, not limiting its prevalence and popularity. Journalist and sometime historian Wayne Gard wrote that “Saloons were wide open, operating sometimes all night; gambling houses were crowded and stayed open until the early morning hours; and houses of ill repute operated in the heart of the city.” It seemed that the citizens in Denison who opposed the more scandalous operations on Skiddy Street were fighting an uphill battle between their desire to clean up their town and the transient frontier individuals who preferred Denison as rough and rowdy as it was.7

Skiddy Street was named after Francis Skiddy, a Katy Railroad official who became the only one to ever have that honor rescinded when the street’s name was changed. After Skiddy became known as the ‘sin center’ of Denison, the area farther west on Skiddy developed into one of the finer residential districts in town. The homeowners were embarrassed to have their street address associated with a red-light district and thus “they prevailed on the city commission to change the name to Chestnut after a favorite tree.” Therefore, beginning in the 1880s, Skiddy Street’s name was changed to Chestnut Street, which it remains to the present day.8

Main Street in Denison had a drastically different appearance to outsiders than Skiddy Street. It emerged as a reasonably quiet and decorous area in comparison to its southern neighbor street. Interestingly, only on Sundays would the undesirables from Skiddy Street make their presence known on Main. On that day “the frail daughters of
Skid Row donned their finest plumage and paraded through the town.” Prostitutes were sometimes referred to as “frail” because they were seen as morally compromised and without decency. They rented rigs from the livery stable, which was across from the notorious Sazerac saloon and drove their matched pairs up and down Main Street, all the while screaming and laughing at passers by. This spectacle was well known to locals and often made the newspapers. One day, “a couple of demimondes, seated behind a span of spirited animals, were taking an airing Sunday afternoon, when the horses took fright, ran away, overturning the buggy and threw the occupants to the ground.” Events like these were a clear reminder that only one street separated such scandalous activity from the rest of Denison citizenry, and that line was often crossed.9

Frequently, the disorderliness of Denison’s criminal community became violent and tragedy occurred. Policeman John Shannon Day on February 5, 1874, attempted to arrest a group of boisterous men outside the Eldorado Saloon on Skiddy Street when he was shot and killed by a member of the gang. About a year later, another police officer, Charles Patman was shot and killed while endeavoring to assist a fellow officer in arresting a man for carrying a pistol. In 1879, Grayson County constable James A. Nelms and Denison policeman Joseph E. Johnson were both shot and killed. Nelms was killed trying to arrest a drunken man in the Bank Exchange Saloon in Denison, and Johnson was killed while attempting to arrest a man for stealing a coat. Interestingly, the Bank Exchange Saloon was located on Main Street, not the infamous Skiddy Street. Marshall Sam Ball was also wounded twice one night when he tried to stop a brawl at the Red Light Saloon. Certainly, Skiddy Street was a dangerous location for lawmen and
citizens alike, although the violence often spilled from Skiddy onto the town’s main thoroughfare that city leaders had strived consistently, but in vain, to keep clean.\textsuperscript{10}

It is amazing that, considering the amount of brutality that occurred in the initial days of Denison, outsiders still could feel safe within the town as a whole. The violence seemed to have been mostly restricted to the red light district and the saloons and dens of iniquity that were prevalent there. In January 1873, Edward King, a \textit{Scribner’s Magazine} reporter, was commissioned to write a story about the newly built Katy Railroad. His travels took him through the south, stopping in Denison, where he stated:

“Our exceedingly remarkable, also, that in a community one-half of which was undoubtedly made up of professional ruffians, ‘terminus’ gamblers, and the offscourings of society, and where there was not yet a regularly organized government, there was not more of terrorism. Every third building in the place was a drinking saloon with gambling appurtenances, filled after nightfall with a depraved, adventurous crowd, whose profanity was appalling, whose aspect was hideous. Men drunk and sober danced to rude music in the poorly lighted saloons, and did not lack female partners. In vulgar bestiality of language, in the pure delight of parading profanity and indecency, the ruffian there had no equal. The gambling houses were frequented by hundreds.\textsuperscript{11}
Among the vice and danger of Skiddy Street, prostitution was a thriving institution. The city of Denison controlled and regulated vice of all types, including houses of ill repute. Not only were the brothels regulated, they were licensed and taxed. From the time that the state of Texas incorporated Denison as a city in 1873, the town’s mayor and city council had the power to regulate, license and tax vice. Section 55 of the
city charter stated that the mayor and council had the power “to license, tax and regulate billiard tables, pin alleys, ball alleys, disorderly houses, tippling shops, bar rooms, dram shops, or other places wherein liquor is sold or dispensed, bawdy houses, houses of prostitution or assignation, gambling and gaming houses, lotteries, and all fraudulent devices and practices, and all kinds of indecencies, and to suppress and restrain the same.” Section 80 allowed them “to prevent and punish the keeping of houses of prostitution within the city, or within such limits therein as may be defined by ordinances, and to adopt summary measures for the removal, or suppression, or regulation and inspection of all such establishments.” Denison eventually chose to have ordinances relegating prostitution to Skiddy Street, but the city still taxed and licensed the occupation in order to profit from the ‘frail demimondes’.13

In addition to the city charter, Denison passed an ordinance concerning disorderly houses on April 30, 1873. This ordinance made prostitution and brothel houses illegal and mandated that such misdemeanor crimes would be punishable by fines. This was no doubt the city leader’s attempt to appease the growing population of citizens who were very uncomfortable with the rough reputation Skiddy Street had gained. Although this law was put in place during the early days of Denison, prostitution and vice in general were not dampened, but remained prevalent and public for the next several decades.14

Denison’s early days were plagued by extreme budget difficulties and financial woes. The new town enacted taxes immediately following incorporation, but leaders soon found that the amount was not enough, and by June the town was more than $2,000 in debt. Section 55 of the city charter made it easy for the city fathers to control and profit substantially from the frailties of the citizenry. Collecting fees from the population of
prostitutes and those who operated the bawdy houses solved a large portion of this problem. Brothel keepers had to pay a $5 fee each week to the city, and their “inmates” were assessed $1. These funds were distributed to members of the local police force, a practice that not only pleased the marshals, but also eradicated most of the bribes this segment of the populace had been paying for police ‘protection’. However, the demimondes and their landlords did not object as much to the fees as they did to the order restricting them to Skiddy Street and ordering them off of Main Street. Only a few higher-class establishments were allowed to remain on Main.  

Denison was in need of law and order to help control and regulate Skiddy Street and its inhabitants. Lee Hall, the City Marshal of Sherman, advanced to Deputy Sheriff of Denison in 1873, where hands “for the heading and cutting out of criminals were as badly needed as in any locality within the state.” Denison’s population could largely be divided into two groups: those to protect and those to watch. Hall’s business was to tone down the recklessness that was so prevalent in the newly developed town. “Bad men in Denison were ‘thick as fiddlers in hell’ and heavy odds gave zest to the struggle to maintain the law.” Hall scoured Denison for wanted men, often having to search the more lurid establishments to find his prey. “Saloons with women in them, dance and gambling halls, were demanded as civic rights, and with tumultuous gusto the demand was supplied.” The three most notorious resorts - the Palace, the Park, and the Sazerac - were often in complete bedlam. During the slightly less than two years that Hall was Deputy Sheriff, 1,060 arrests were made and seven men were killed. He was wounded five times in the line of duty and was considered fearless by the town’s populace. Hall’s
tenure in Denison, before he joined the Texas Rangers, gave a semblance of law and order to the rowdy town, though vice and crime did not lessen.16

The prostitutes of Denison in the 1870s are difficult to document, the women were often transient and rarely left personal records, but information can be pieced together from a combination of newspaper articles, city directory listings, and secondary sources. Much can be inferred from the early Denison newspapers though as to the names and general descriptions of some of the more notorious prostitutes. Where they worked and lived was sometimes listed as well as occasional physical details and personality traits. From its beginning in April 1875, the Denison Daily Cresset reported almost weekly criminal activity and exploits involving prostitutes. Many demimondes were listed multiple times over a period of months and others were mentioned only once. The Recorder’s Court was the most frequent location where the “frail” occupants of Skiddy Street showed up, but occasionally the Cresset saw fit to give a more detailed description of an incident involving a lady of the night. Lizzie, a tightrope walking demimonde attempted to trick a farmer into marrying her until her gambler boyfriend caught wind of the scheme and physically beat her before stealing money from the poor farmer. Amelia and Emma Brown had several mentions in the Cresset. They were described as “two notorious negro prostitutes” and were once charged with “stripping a colored girl, tying her to a bedpost and whipping her with a broom.” Emma was also charged with vagrancy and indecent exposure in the Recorder’s Court. On a separate occasion, Emma and Amelia were called “notorious negro nymph du paves” and brought in for obscene language and then sentenced to twenty days on bread and water in jail. The Old Journal
Building was evidently the house of the African American prostitutes and the location where Amelia and Emma Brown plied their notorious trade.¹⁷

A prostitute named Sallie Miller from the Sazerac was infamous for her ability to get into violent altercations. She was mentioned as having fought with a man named Ed Killian and subsequently plunged a knife into his cheek. Later, Sallie fought with Louise Duvall, apparently with a considerable amount of hair pulling and scratching. Finally, she was brought before the Recorder’s Court for getting into a tussle with a man over a card game at the Sazerac. In all of the occasions, there was no mention of her being imprisoned or fined for her actions.¹⁸

One of the most common reasons for Skiddy Street prostitutes to be brought before the Mayor or Recorder’s Court was disorderly conduct. Other frequent reasons for prostitutes to be arrested were: vagrancy, drunk and disorderly, fighting, carrying deadly weapons, disturbing the peace, and indecent exposure. Vagrancy was such a common reason for arresting prostitutes that women brought before the court on that charge can be safely assumed to be members of the tenderloin. On one day in August 1875, nine people from Skiddy Street were brought before the Mayor’s Court for fighting, which led the Mayor to describe Skiddy as “Dante’s Inferno.”¹⁹

Newspapers in Denison almost always made a point of prostitutes’ race. Articles were extremely clear in noting the color of a prostitute’s skin and typically were descriptive in such metaphors. Besides Amelia and Emma Brown, Jennie Galbraeth and Caroline Potts, both black prostitutes brought in for disorderly conduct were described in the *Cresset* as being “darker in color than the ace of spades.” When lawmen raided a “negro” den on Crawford Street, they arrested not only Emma Brown for vagrancy, but
Mollie Williams and Bellie Ward as well. These women were known to live in the Old 
Journal Building, which the paper dubbed as a “nigger dive” full of prostitutes and 
thieves. Denison certainly had a significant population of African American 
demimondes, but it is also possible that these women were over-represented in arrests due 
to common prejudices of the time.\textsuperscript{20}

Suicide was another significant problem that faced the “soiled doves” of Denison. 
The year 1875 was considered to be “suicide mania by the frail occupants of Skiddy 
Street.” Evidently many attempts at suicide were made, more than a few successful. One 
victim, “Maud,” a demimonde at the Crystal Palace Varieties, committed suicide at 
Langley’s Dance Hall by taking morphine; she was not yet eighteen years old. Examples 
such as this point to the dark and often dangerous side of a prostitutes chosen 
profession.\textsuperscript{21}

Of all the prostitutes listed in the \textit{Denison News} and \textit{The Denison Daily Cresset} 
for the years 1873-1875, only one can be found in the \textit{City Directory of Denison for} 
1876-1877. Whether this means that the names listed in the newspapers were aliases or 
the women had simply moved on by this point, cannot be known. Some of the prostitutes 
mentioned in the newspapers for this time period were: Lizzie, Minnie Lee, Effie Cregier, 
Emma Brown, Mollie Williams, Bellie Ward, Sallie Miller, Amelia Brown, Irene 
Donaldson, Effie Lucas, Pricillia Potts, Amanda Hudson, “Irish Mag”, Mollie Blair, 
“Rowdy Kate”, Lizzie Davenport, Lizzie Woods, Jennie Galbraeth, Caroline Potts, 
Maggie Louise, Sandy Overton, Mary Anderson, Louise Duvall, and “Maud.” Out of this 
group, only Amanda Hudson was listed in the City Directory, in which she was described 
as “colored” and having no occupation.\textsuperscript{22}
One of the more notorious outlaw couples to make a temporary home in Denison were Red Joe or “Rowdy Joe” and “Rowdy Kate”, also known as Joe and Katherine Lowe. They were not actually married as their last name suggests, but rather partners in crime. Their long and illustrious career of debauchery began in Newton and Wichita, Kansas where “the rowdy Lowes managed notorious dives.” These dives were a saloon and dance hall with full “accessories,” most likely a reference to upstairs rooms and prostitutes. Their place in Wichita burned to the ground after Joe killed E.T. “Red” Beard in an infamous gunfight. Beard had owned a dance hall adjacent to Joe’s in Wichita and was attempting to shoot a prostitute named Josephine through the window when he mistakenly hit another “soiled dove.” This incensed Joe, and he followed Beard outside, mortally wounding him with a shotgun. Wanted for murder in Kansas, Joe and Kate made their move to Texas, landing in Denison for a time, followed by San Antonio and Fort Worth. In Denison, they ran the notorious Sazerac saloon, where Joe’s reputation as a gunfighter continued. “He loved a brawl, liked more than anything else to beat a disgruntled patron to the draw by a sledge-hammer blow to the jaw, followed by a scientific disabling kick.” “Rowdy Kate” was also a force to be reckoned with; she was brought before the Mayor’s Court for fighting. “Joe was described as an immaculately dressed man with a big diamond blazing on his shirtfront and smoking a cigar. Kate, in full evening dress wore blazing diamonds and sat in a corner presiding over a faro game.” They showed up in Fort Worth in 1876, where Joe abandoned Kate and married another woman. He would become a cornerstone in Hell’s Half Acre of Fort Worth, and Kate would move on to Weatherford, Texas where “she ran ‘a den of infamy in the business portion’ of that town.” Joe was eventually shot to death in a saloon in Denver, while Kate
continued to move on. In the early 1880’s “Rowdy Kate” appeared in Tombstone, where she and “Big Nose Kate,” Doc Holliday’s mistress, opened the town’s first brothel: “They erected a large tent, ordered barrels of cheap whiskey and hired several ‘working girls.’” The establishment was not fancy but it was successful, although Big Nose Kate’s drinking later became a problem and the ladies parted ways. Where “Rowdy Kate” went from Tombstone is a mystery.  

From the standpoint of the law, prostitution in Denison was technically illegal, but the practice was informally sanctioned by the imposition of taxes on the bawds and bawdyhouse keepers as well as the regulation of the locations where the women could work. Even though the women were occasionally arrested for their misdoings, by and large the community and law enforcement did not interfere in the happenings of Skiddy Street. Certainly there were economic benefits for the city of Denison, and perhaps for a time those outweighed the moral outrage of the more conservative citizenry. Gambling, houses of prostitution, dance halls, and saloons encompassed big business for railroad
towns, and the 1870s represented the height of Denison’s vice-ridden history. As time progressed, the popularity of vice and prostitution decreased and moral reformers fought to eliminate openly operating brothels. However, Denison’s houses of ill repute survived into the twentieth century and saloons thrived on Main Street for decades.

Denison’s early days were marked by colorful characters, violence, vice, and the moderate attempts by the more respectable townspeople to control such elements. By and large, in the 1870s, Denison’s rough and rowdy crowd went uncontrolled, and throughout its history Denison would be home to a large number of criminals. Being on the edge of the Indian Territory, criminals were attracted to the locality and convenience of Denison. It was the perfect location for criminal enterprises, as escape from the law required only a short distance. Thus, Denison’s shady reputation began in the 1870s, and showed little signs of abating for the remainder of the century.25

Arguably the main reason red-light districts were allowed to remain in existence for so long was due primarily to the financial and economic concerns of the city itself. Denison, along with other frontier Texas towns, needed the money that taxing illicit activity could provide. If such actions were simply made illegal, cities would have had more difficulty in regulating and segregating vice districts. Eventually, in the twentieth century, prostitution and gambling would not disappear, but go underground and become unregulated and untaxed elements of criminal society.

In summary, prostitution, and the alcohol and gambling that accompanied it, served as cornerstones of Denison’s economic survival in the town’s early days and their popularity continued until well after civilization came in the forms of schools and churches. Denison’s location on the border of the Indian Territory made it ideal for
criminals needing a convenient base of operation that provided an easy escape route, and
the Katy Railroad brought a diverse and primarily male population to enjoy Denison’s
pleasures. This combination created a wild frontier environment. Denison was created
for the sole purpose of becoming a railroad center, but with the railroad came prostitution
and other forms of vice. The prevalence of prostitution and vice in Denison was as
important to its survival as the Katy Railroad was to its formation and existence, and
although the Denison of today may appear vastly different from the Denison of the
nineteenth century, they share a special history built on the backs of prostitutes and the
tracks of the Katy Railroad.
9 V.V. Masterson, The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1952), 187 (First Quote); The Denison News, April 24, 1873 (Second Quote).
The Denison Daily Cresset, April 13, 1875 (Lizzie’s story), June 17, July 9, and August 19, 1875 (Amelia and Emma Brown).

Ibid, July 5, September 23, and October 11, 1875 (Sallie Miller’s escapades).

The Denison Daily Cresset, August 10, 1875 (Dante’s Inferno). Reasons for arresting prostitutes were taken from a variety of Recorder’s Courts listings throughout The Denison Daily Cresset from 1875-1876.

Ibid, August 21, 1875 (Jennie Galbraeth and Caroline Potts, First Quote), June 17, 1875 (Mollie Williams and Bellie Ward), May 22, 1875 (“nigger dive”).


City Directory of the City of Denison, Grayson County, Texas for 1876 and 1877, Typescript available from Denison Public Library, Dr. Mavis Anne Bryant, September 24, 2010, The Denison Daily Cresset, 1875.


Maguire, Katy’s Baby, 33 (Quote).