EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1997-1998 OFFICERS

James V. Reese .................................................. President
Patricia Kell .................................................. First Vice President
Donald Willett .................................................. Second Vice President
Portia L. Gordon ................................................ Secretary-Treasurer

DIRECTORS

Ronald C. Ellison ...................................................... Beaumont 1998
William Enger ...................................................... Athens 1998
Carolyn Ericson ...................................................... Nacogdoches 1998
Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr .................................. Wichita Falls 1999
Clayton Brown ...................................................... Fort Worth 2000
Ty Cashion .............................................................. Commerce 2000
JoAnn Stiles ............................................................ Beaumont 2000
Cecil Harper ............................................................. Spring ex-President
Carol Riggs .............................................................. Lufkin ex-President

EDITORIAL BOARD

Valentine J. Belfiglio ................................................... Garland
Bob Bowman ............................................................. Lufkin
Garna L. Christian ..................................................... Houston
Ouida Dean .............................................................. Nacogdoches
Patricia A. Gajda ..................................................... Tyler
Robert L. Glover ....................................................... Flint
Bobby H. Johnson ....................................................... Nacogdoches
Patricia Kell ............................................................. Baytown
Max S. Lale .............................................................. Fort Worth
Irvin M. May, Jr. ......................................................... Bryan
Chuck Parsons .......................................................... Yorktown
Fred Tarpley ............................................................. Commerce

Archie P. McDonald
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND EDITOR

MEMBERSHIP

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS pay $100 annually
LIFE MEMBERS pay $300 or more
BENEFACTOR pays $100, PATRON pays $50 annually
STUDENT MEMBERS pay $12 annually
REGULAR MEMBERS pay $25 annually
Journals $7.50 per copy

P.O. Box 6223
Stephen F. Austin State University
Nacogdoches, TX 75962
409-468-2407

© Copyright 1998

XXXVI – No. 1 – East Texas Historical Association
CONTENTS

"WE'VE GOT TO FIGHT OR DIE: EARLY TEXAS REACTION TO THE CONFEDERATE DRAFT, 1862
by Francelle Pruitt ................................................................. 3

JAMES LEONARD FARMER:
TEXAS' FIRST AFRICAN AMERICAN PH.D.
by Gail K Beil ........................................................................... 18

WILLIAM H. SANDUSKY IN TEXAS:
A POLISH DESCENDANT
by K.F. Neighbours ................................................................... 26

THE EAST TEXAS BASEBALL LEAGUE, 1916-1950
by Bill O'Neal ........................................................................... 35

CANNIBALS AND SPORTS:
THE TEXAS LEAGUE COMES TO LONGVIEW AND TYLER, TEXAS, 1932
by Larry G. Bowman ................................................................. 48

HOUSTON MAYORS: DEVELOPING A CITY
by Priscilla Benham .................................................................. 60

THE OFFICIAL STATE DISH: WHY CHILI?
by Ben Z. Grant ........................................................................ 72

BOOK NOTES ........................................................................... 74

BOOK REVIEWS ........................................................................ 77

Archie P. McDonald, Executive Director and Editor
STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY
P.O. BOX 6223
NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS 75962
409-468-2407
BOOKS REVIEWED

Poyo, *Tejano Journey 1770-1850* by J. Gilberto Quezada

Foster, *Texas & Northeastern Mexico, 1630-1690 Juan Bautista Chapa* by J. Gilberto Quezada

Depalo, *The Mexican National Army, 1822-1852* by Jack Jackson

Jackson, *Alamo Legacy: Alamo Descendants Remember The Alamo* by Bob Bowman

Winders, *Mr. Polk's Army: The American Military Experience in the Mexican War* by Jack Jackson

Wilkins, *The Legend Begins: The Texas Rangers, 1823-1845* by Paul D. Lack

Blackburn/Giles/Dodd, *Terry Texas Ranger Trilogy* by Albert R. Rambo

Cox, *Texas Ranger Tales: Stories That Need Telling* by Ben Procter

Block, *Schooner Sail to Starboard: Confederate Blockade-Running on the Louisiana-Texas Coast Lines* by Marion Holt

Townsend, *Texas Treasure Coast* by Jim Bruseth

Smith, *The Caddos, the Wichitas, and the United States, 1846-1901* by Daniel J. Gelo

Hacker, *Cynthia Ann Parker: The Life and Legend* by Tommy Stringer


Abernethy/Mullen/Govenar, *Juneteenth Texas: Essays in African American Folklore* by Cary D. Wintz

Williams, *Bricks Without Straw: A Comprehensive Study of African Americans in Texas* by Barry A. Crouch

Winegarten, *Black Texas Women: A Sourcebook* by Ouida Whitaker Dean

Winegarten/Hunt, *I Am Annie Mae* by Ouida Whitaker Dean


Miles, *King of the Wildcatters: The Life and Times of Tom Slick* by Linda Cross

Mackintosh, *Just As We Were: A Narrow Slice of Texas Womanhood* by Gail K Beil

Erickson, *Cowboy Fiddler in Bob Wills' Band* by E. Dale Odom


Clark, *The Fall of the Duke of Duvall: A Prosecutor's Journal* by Ben Procter

Nozick/Henry, *The Mystique of Entertaining: Texas Tuxedos to Tacos* by Ernestine Sewell Linck

LaVergne, *A Sniper in the Tower* by James G. Dickson

Farmer, *Southwest Conference Baseball's Greatest Hits* by Bill O'Neal
"WE'VE GOT TO FIGHT OR DIE:"
EARLY TEXAS REACTION TO THE CONFEDERATE DRAFT, 1862

by Francelle Pruitt

In 1862 the Confederacy passed "An Act To Further Provide For the Public Defense." As the first national conscription law in American history, it became one of the most controversial issues of the Civil War. Widespread opposition to the draft brought consequences that ranged from increased volunteering to armed confrontations. Southerners objected to the law because of questions about its constitutionality as well as practical concerns over implementation. Conscription had a major impact on military and social aspects of the war. Considering this, it is surprising that more has not been written on the topic. Even less has dealt with the issue as it pertains to Texas.

The most comprehensive work to date dealing specifically with the Confederate conscription law is Albert B. Moore's *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (1924). Though Moore's book is quite old, it is still a good source, addressing such controversies as constitutionality, the struggle between the states and the Confederacy over control of manpower, and the historiographical question of whether conscription was a failure or a success. Since Moore's primary concern was with the conscription law as it applied to the Confederacy as a whole, he only briefly referred to Texas. Wilfred Buck Yearns dedicated two chapters to the discussion in *The Confederate Congress* (1960). As with Moore, Yearns' work was broadly based, dealing with the Confederate Congress as a whole without specifically addressing attitudes or actions in specific states.1

Recent works addressing the broader topic of dissent within Texas necessarily consider conscription. James Marten offers an excellent overview of the various dissenter groups in *Texas Divided* (1990). Scholarship focusing on individual cases of dissent or objection to conscription include *Frontier Defense in The Civil War: Texas' Rangers and Rebels* by David P. Smith (1992). A major conflict developed between the Confederacy and Texas over the loss of manpower needed to defend the frontier against Indian attacks. Conscription was central to the debate. Richard McCaslin has done extensive work on the mass hanging in Gainesville, an incident resulting, in part, from opposition to the draft. The unpublished theses of Billy Don Ledbetter and Fredricka Ann Meiners provide the best coverage of Texas Governor Francis R. Lubbock's role in raising manpower and his cooperation with the Confederate law. Still, there is no comprehensive work specifically addressing conscription in Texas.2

Existing scholarship shows that most problems with conscription displayed later in the war. War weariness, coupled with dissatisfaction over specific exemptions or unfair enforcement procedures, caused problems as the war dragged on. But the question remains: what was the initial response of Texans to the law? Understanding how Texans reacted to conscription will

Francelle Pruitt lives in Watauga, Texas.
lead to a more complete knowledge of how the draft influenced volunteerism, resistance, and desertion. Motivations of the men who delayed volunteering until prompted by the conscription law, and of those who joined the fight only after being drafted, may be clarified.

In order to examine this question of initial reaction, other questions must be addressed. If Texans opposed the law, on what grounds did they do so? Were objections strong enough to warrant noncompliance? What role did public figures play in acceptance or rejection of the law? Since this paper deals primarily with the first response of Texans, these questions will be addressed within the scope of the year 1862.

Ascertaining when Texans became aware that the law had been passed and when that law was implemented are additional goals of this work. Researchers dealing with the issues of volunteerism and desertion or studying unit histories will find this information useful. The main impact of the draft is believed to have been in its encouragement of volunteerism. A volunteer received better enlistment terms than a conscript, such as the right to vote for officers and join the unit of his choosing. Establishing a working date for researchers allows historians to determine the extent to which this holds true for Texas. Since enthusiasm may have been lacking among these post-law volunteers, this working date will enable researchers to make clearer distinctions between the early volunteers and those who felt compelled to enlist lest they be conscripted.

By the spring of 1862, the South had suffered major setbacks. The fall of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson and the capture of New Orleans had devastating effects. The Confederacy was in dire need of more troops, yet volunteerism waned. In addition, the tour of duty was almost up for the "twelve-month volunteers," a group comprising almost half of the veteran army. These early volunteers had not anticipated a long war, and the realities of war diminished their enthusiasm; chances of voluntary reenlistment were slim. The Confederate force, however, could not afford to lose these trained and experienced troops. Measures were needed to ensure the recruitment of new soldiers and to keep the existing units intact.

On April 16, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed "An Act to provide further for the public defense." This law allowed the president to conscript all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, not otherwise exempt, for a term of three years. Those already serving were required to remain in the military for three more years or the duration of the war. Five days later Congress provided certain occupational exemptions. Still other changes were made throughout the year, such as the addition of the "twenty-slave law."

Texans probably expected this development. Warnings had been coming from Governor Francis R. Lubbock. The problem of raising troops occupied much of Lubbock's time. Upon taking office, he realized that the current system of recruitment was inefficient. He immediately pressed for a new law that would empower the state to meet demands for manpower. Scarcely in office a week, Lubbock delivered an address to Texas legislators beseeching
them to draft a new militia law or amend the existing one. On Christmas Day, 1861, the legislature passed "An Act to perfect the organization of State Troops, and place the same on a war footing."

This law divided the state into thirty-three Brigade Districts, then further subdivided and organized it. Every able-bodied man between the ages of eighteen and fifty was now liable to perform military duty unless specifically exempted. Exemptions are discussed below. Each man was placed on the muster roll in his own district. Should an individual be required to "march out of his county, district or State," he could hire a substitute. All volunteer companies formed under the old system were to be incorporated and subjected to the same regulations as the newly organized State Troops. Companies were to meet for drill every two weeks; regiments, no less than once every two months. Under this law commissioned officers were required to swear to uphold both the Texas constitution and the constitution of the Confederate States.6

This act placed state troops at the governor's disposal to be used whenever he deemed it in the best interest of the state or to answer the call of the president of the Confederate States for troops to prosecute the "present war." At such times the governor was to issue a proclamation calling for volunteers. If volunteering proved insufficient, he could institute a draft. This draft would be conducted within the individual companies that were called up for service. Commanding officers were to copy each name from the muster roll on to a separate piece of paper. Then names of draftees would be, literally, drawn from a hat. No more than three-fourths of the company was to be drafted, and all officers were required to serve.7

The state law gave the governor leverage in dealing with the reticent element of the population. Late in February Lubbock informed the people of a new requisition from the War Department requiring an additional fifteen regiments within thirty days. His proclamation was a passionate appeal to the spirit of patriotism and the love of liberty that lay within the hearts of Texans. Lubbock spoke of the "spirits of those brave and departed heros," and of "mothers, daughters, sisters, wives, and little children" who called upon the men of Texas to drive out "the hireling Hessians of a debased and corrupt Government from the soil they [had] polluted by their unhallowed touch." He backed up this emotional appeal with a blatant, though polite, threat of a draft. The governor insisted that he would not insult Texans by doubting that they would volunteer in sufficient numbers, but "if in thirty days the required number of men be not reported, [he would] proceed under the law to fill up the number by drafting." Lubbock admitted to this coercive maneuver in a letter to the secretary of war in which he questioned whether the need for more troops was really so urgent as to warrant such tactics.

The state never actually resorted to a draft, preferring to use the possibility of one as a persuasion. Lubbock's papers include many requests for exemptions from the "state draft," however. Individuals feared that if a draft were implemented, they would be forced to fight out of the state. In attaining an exemption they ensured that their names would be kept off the muster list,
which was in effect a draft registration. The governor's threat and the preparation for a potential draft were enough to cause a great deal of consternation.  

Section two of the state law enumerated the standard exemptions. They included vocations necessary to the maintenance of the postal and transportation systems, law enforcement personnel, specific positions within the judicial system, and all Confederate officers. A number of men who did not fall into these categories requested special exemptions. Often others made requests on their behalf. Reasons put forth for the exemptions varied and reflected a concern for local and personal interests.

Frontier communities feared being left without enough manpower to defend themselves against the Indians. Chief Justice G. Gay of Bell County appealed to the governor's office on behalf of the citizens of Atascosa County, saying that the region could spare no more men. A petition signed by the citizens of Bandera County, claiming the same problems, stated that a draft would be equivalent to issuing an order for the deliberate breakup of the county and would cast the remaining families on the charity of the state. Communities feared the loss of specific individuals who were crucial to the well-being of the local population. Those individuals usually represented such occupations as physician, druggist, or blacksmith—although several shoe-makers seem to have been valued highly as well.

Individuals offered many personal reasons for being unable to serve, such as dependent family members or physical ailments. As the only male family member still not fighting, some men were needed at home to tend to the family's needs. There seems to have been little objection to the law on such ideological grounds as civil rights or unconstitutionality. Only one letter found in the governor's correspondence on conscription in 1862 discusses refusal to serve based on principle. This letter concerned the fate of two San Antonio Unionists. But in general, the public conceded the right of the state to impose such a law. Concerns remained practical in nature.

Despite the pleas for exemption, the threat-only strategy did not prove as effective as the governor had hoped. On April 17, Lubbock wrote to the commanding general in Texas, P.O. Hébert, that he was aware enlistment was slow despite his call. The governor blamed Confederate recruiters within the state for taking men away from the Texas quota count. They were enlisting men directly into the Confederacy without giving Texas credit for the troops, leaving the state with an increasingly difficult task. He was optimistic, however, that the Confederate government was in the process of correcting this problem. Once this situation was corrected, Texas surely would surpass her quota. Lubbock seemed relieved that he would not have to "force a draft on our people."

The state law may have acted as a softening agent for the Confederate law, allowing the novelty of a draft time to accustom the people to the idea that forced service was a possibility. Whether a draft was imposed by the State of Texas or by the Confederate government, the practical effect was basically the same. Nevertheless, Texans may have been more receptive to a law imposed
by their own state than they would have been to one coming from Richmond. Thus, the state law served as a sort of psychological stepping stone.

Citizens became aware of the possibility of a national draft through public discussion that helped to prepare them for the reality. The *Marshall Texas Republican* indicated that controversy over the topic of conscription had existed for six months prior to its passage. As early as February 1862, Assistant Adjutant-General Samuel Roberts warned that the Confederacy desperately needed more troops and if the Texans hesitated too long, a draft would be inevitable. 

Certainly by March Texans were being informed of the possibility. The *Austin Texas State Gazette* carried an article on March 8 discussing President Jefferson Davis' speech to Congress in which he condemned short enlistments. While the possibility of a state draft still existed, a national law loomed on the horizon. Throughout the month newspapers across the state addressed the topic. The way to prevent the draft, they claimed, was to volunteer. Editors continually printed emotional calls for noble volunteers, stressing the peril of delay. A suggestion on how the draft could be avoided appeared in a Galveston newspaper. Each company should voluntarily administer a self-imposed draft. The suggested procedure was basically that dictated by the state law, that is, a lottery within the company. By doing this the "repugnance" and "odium" that all Southerners felt toward drafts would be avoided and the company would benefit from enlisting as volunteers. On March 29, the *Austin Texas State Gazette* praised Parker County for the patriotic fervor it displayed when 100 men volunteered for the twenty-five positions requested. Seventy-five had to be "drafted out to stay at home." The article was entitled "The Texas Way of Drafting." 

On April 16, the day conscription was made law, the *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph* printed an article on the conscription measure proposed by President Davis two weeks earlier. The editor was concerned that the people would yield too much freedom in the name of necessity and that tyranny would be the eventual result. In addition, conscription was not part of the Southern mindset. Southerners, he claimed, volunteered for the love of the cause. A conscript would make "a doubtfully good soldier at best." 

This same article demonstrated an awareness of the debate being conducted in Congress and of the role of Texas congressmen in the debate. Since legislators from Texas were major participants in the dialogue about conscription, it would be logical to assume that their constituents were cognizant of the issue, at least to some degree.

The *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph* became the first major newspaper to inform the public that the bill had become law when it printed an article on April 25. The San Antonio, Austin, and Marshall papers each carried the story the next day. The *Galveston Weekly News* trailed behind the others a few days, not printing the information until April 29.

Details were delayed until May, and in some cases, until June. A thirty-day grace period was given for those wishing to volunteer, but most men
probably had at least a couple of weeks beyond that before enrolling officers began their work. It was not until June 2 that General Hebert appointed Colonel John Salmon "Rip" Ford as superintendent of conscripts for the Department of Texas. On June 5 Governor Lubbock wrote to General Hebert concerning future enforcement of the law, which gives the impression that implementation had not yet begun. Enrolling officers placed advertisements in local newspapers citing dates when they would arrive in particular localities. The enrolling officer for Red River County began his task on June 9 and continued at least through the end of July. Enrollment began in Houston on or around June 20. The enrolling officer there was responsible for twenty other counties in addition to Harris County. The enormity of such a task indicates that persons in outlying areas probably were not approached for quite some time. Nevertheless, a letter to the governor dated June 13 mentions an already formed company of conscripts. Given the existing evidence, it is safe to say that implementation of the conscription law began sometime between June 5 and June 13.

Meanwhile, newspapers promoted volunteerism by printing appeals from editors and enrolling officers. Evidently, volunteering did increase. In a speech given to the House of Representatives early in 1863, Governor Lubbock discussed the disorganization of state troops that resulted from a great number of men volunteering for the Confederacy, having been prompted to do so by the conscription law.

Once the law was a reality most newspapers gave it their support. The Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph backed away from its earlier anti-conscription position. Taking its social responsibility seriously, the Telegraph urged Texans not to be insulted or to jump to conclusions. Obviously, the paper concluded, the law was made necessary by other, more populous states failing to meet their obligations. The government could maintain impartiality only by placing all states under one law. Surely, the paper contended, enforcement would be less stringent in states such as Texas that deserved leniency. It advocated a wait-and-see approach until more details were known. Meanwhile, the regiments would be filling up quickly as men rushed to volunteer to avoid conscription.

The San Antonio Semi-Weekly News welcomed conscription as a fair way of distributing responsibility. The Texas Republican of Marshall considered conscription to be a more equitable and efficient system than the current one. It would provide the South with an "immediate and vigorous army" whereas the volunteer system had filled the ranks with "old men and boys." The paper urged its readers to put behind them the arguments of the past months and accept the new law as a necessity. The editor went so far as to say that Texans should rejoice over the passage of the law. Galveston editors agreed, saying the law was essential to the survival of the Confederacy. Interestingly, both papers thought that the law was not applicable to Texans, for they had proven their willingness to share the burden. According to R.W. Loughery, editor of the Marshall paper, there would "be no conscripts in Texas because every one between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five [was] volunteering."
Despite such posturing about the noble volunteerism of Texans, newspaper editors printed articles designed to shame those who had refused to volunteer into action. The *Belleville Countryman* seemed to think that a reprinted article from the *Atlanta Confederacy* was appropriate for its readers. The article chastised the public, "... sentiment has not yet viewed with a sufficient stern frown, the able bodied men ... who are taking no part in the public defense."\(^\text{17}\)

Not only did newspapers try to influence public opinion, they were mirrors of popular attitudes. An admonition from the Marshall newspaper that citizens set aside their disagreements suggests a dichotomy of public opinion. The *Houston* article mentioned above implies that Texans were apt to think of conscription as an affront to their honor. The *Galveston Weekly News* elaborated on the ideological objections held by some Texans. Apparently, they considered conscription "derogatory to the character of Americans and inconsistent with the genius of free government" and challenged the constitutionality of the law.\(^\text{18}\)

Readers of J.P. Ousternout's paper in Belleville expressed their resentment of the editor's continual pushed for volunteering. When Ousternout chose to run for district judge, a draft-exempt position, local citizens sent him a petition, stating that since he had "talked longer and louder than anybody else," he should hold some "responsible station in the Confederacy." The fifty-two signatories suggested he volunteer as a private so that his acts might "accord with [his] preaching."\(^\text{19}\)

By late May a poem appeared in the *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph* that serves as another example of the disaffection from conscription. It provides some insight into the effects of conscription on the personal level. "The Lament of A Conscript" was submitted by "an unhappy conscript" and includes the following lines:

```
O groan brothers, groan,
We are called and have to go.
The Conscript man's in town
For a soldier told me so;
He told it with a grin
That made my blood run cold;
The man seemed devilishly glad—
He did upon my soul.\(^\text{20}\)
```

The poet expressed trepidation over the inevitable encounter with an enrolling officer in lines such as: "I felt my face grow pale, And cold sweat down me run" and "... I grew all cold and limp, Like a cat-fish on a hook." He coupled apprehension over the prospects of going to war with dissatisfaction with the government. President Davis, he believed, was a fool; Governor Lubbock and General Hebert were just "pro-Confederate tools." Nor did the writer have any use for ideological rationales such as the preservation of liberty and defense of country. To him, they "weren't even worth talking about."

This conscript adamantly desired to avoid military service, yet he submitted to the law. He gave no indication that he would consider doing more
than complain in his opposition to the draft, as is made clear in the final stanza of the poem:

I see it plain as day—
We've got to fight or die;
I now will split the difference,
and go to bed and cry.
Perhaps I'd rise improved
A stronger, braver man,
And if a woman laughs at me,
I'll whip her if I can.

This anonymous poet seems to convey the attitude embraced by the majority of Texans. Former Confederate officer and Texas Supreme Court Justice O.M. Roberts played down any negative reaction to the law in his account of Texas during the Confederacy in 1899. He admitted that some occasional annoyances and criticisms surfaced in a few localities but denied that it was widespread or of much consequence. The reason for general compliance, according to Roberts, was that “the war spirit at the time was at fever heat, and controlled the action of the mass of the people.” He did concede that many volunteered to avoid being arrested and that an unknown number of conscript camps were maintained throughout the war for the purpose of seeking out draft dodgers and impressing them into the military.21

Although Roberts minimized dissension, his general premise seems to have been correct. His assertion is backed up by a Texas representative to the Confederate Congress, Peter Gray. Gray wrote to President Davis in November that the “act met with very general approbation,” and noted that only the means by which the Jaw was enforced had “created some clamor, which was mistaken for opposition to the law itself.” It appears that most Texans complied with the law, even if they found it disagreeable.22

Swift and severe suppression thwarted the organization of widespread resistance. Resistance was not the norm; it was confined geographically and to specific minority groups. The term “resistance” implies a preservative or defensive stance. Nonetheless, loyal Texans often perceived dissension as a widespread phenomenon, aggressive in nature. This misconception encouraged rash and unnecessary action on the part of official and vigilante forces. In many instances, merely being suspected of objecting to the war or to the draft subjected one to violence at the hands of fellow Texans, a point carefully omitted from an official state publication concerning the Civil War.23

Many German-Texans were disinclined toward the Confederacy, openly espousing Unionism. The Battle of Nueces is the most famous incident regarding German resistance. In May 1862, Confederate troops marched to Fredericksburg in Gillespie County to suppress activities of the “Loyal Union League,” formed by those opposed to the war and conscription. Naturally, these Unionists opposed a law requiring them to fight on the side to which they were opposed. Throughout the summer the troops harassed and arrested citizens, burned crops, and even lynched many of those they suspected of disloyalty. As a result, a group of over sixty men attempted to flee to Mexico.
On August 10, Confederate troops attacked their encampment on the Nueces River, killing over thirty men. Nine more surrendered, only to die before a firing squad. News of the massacre triggered a violent protest in San Antonio. Confederate troops restored order and established martial law. Following these events the German threat was no longer perceived as a serious problem. For several months some fairly large unionist groups continued to engage in anti-conscription activities such as petition signing and harassing enrolling officers, but by the new year overt activity had been squelched and most German men were in compliance with the law.

Five months after the Nueces incident, Texans conducted the largest mass execution in American history. Hysteria and paranoia led to this latter-day witchhunt commonly known as the “Great Hanging in Gainesville.” The tragedy centered on an anti-Confederacy, anti-conscription group called the “Peace Party.” As Richard McCaslin has shown, conscription was one of several things that pushed many Texans to oppose the Confederacy. The unpopular measures of sequestration, impressment, and taxation already had fostered a degree of disaffection. Conscription was the proverbial last straw that brought about the organization of the Peace Party. Thomas Barret, a member of the citizens' jury, penned an account of the events. He emphasized the important role of conscription in the sequence of events when he wrote, "This law was very offensive to many... In riding through the country I called at a steam mill and found about a dozen men;... we had a good chance to talk. Some one [sic] named the conscript-law; its effect was like a spark lighting on powder; all was in a blaze of opposition as deep and as fierce as it was possible for it to exist in the human mind was plainly manifested." The Peace Party was quickly halted from any protest activities it may, or may not, have been considering, when forty-two Texans were hanged for treason.

The Tejano population, concentrated in South Texas, was adamantly opposed to a Confederate draft. Relations between Mexicans and Anglo-Texans were characterized primarily by deep-seated racism and hatred. Jerry Don Thompson's account of Hispanics in the war points out that Tejanos who chose to join the Union Army did so because of their hatred for Texans, not out of love for American ideals. Mexican-Texans had little political influence and were socially segregated. None were present at the secession convention, most felt no affection for the Confederacy, and they did not have a stake in the preservation of slavery. The Hispanic population was the least likely to support a Confederate draft, but that did not stop Confederate enrolling officers from trying to force them into compliance. Thompson believes enforcement was more severely and unfairly pursued with regard to Tejanos than with other Texans. Accordingly, conscript officers were sent to South Texas “without hesitation” to enlist Mexican-Texans. Nonetheless, Tejanos staged an effective passive resistance by means of evasion, often fleeing to Mexico to escape enrollment. Eventually, because of its ineffectiveness, enforcement was virtually discontinued in Hispanic regions.

In addition to local political groupings and draft evasion, Texans attacked conscription through the court system. The Confederacy had no Supreme
Court, a situation that required state courts to rule on the constitutionality of Confederate laws. Prominent citizens throughout the Southern states encouraged cases that would test the validity of conscription. By July the case of *Ex Parte Coupland* had reached the Texas Supreme Court. The defense attorney was George Washington Paschal, an anti-secessionist who was convinced that the Confederacy had exceeded its limits in the prosecution of the war. He believed conscription had hampered the spirit of volunteerism and was symptomatic of a disease that was killing the Confederacy. He lamented that while the Northern armies had been unable to subjugate the South, the South had managed to subjugate its own people.27

The three-member court upheld the law, ruling that the draft was constitutional only as long as a need existed and as soon as the need ceased, the law would become unconstitutional. Texas became the first of several Southern states to uphold Confederate conscription as constitutional. By doing so it shored up the law's legitimacy and prestige. The court's opinion was not unanimous, another example of diversity on the issue. Justice James Bell dissented. Bell was an anti-secessionist who chose to remain in Texas despite his unpopular views. His opinion stated that it "was contrary to reason" to think that necessity could dictate legality. Since the power to draft was not enumerated, the law was unconstitutional.28

No doubt the anti-conscription ideas of prestigious men such as Bell and Paschal had some impact on the opinions of others. But the Texas Supreme Court's decision in favor of the law certainly carried more weight with the general public. Likewise the words and actions of elected officials probably give an even better view of general opinion in Texas. As with newspapers, politicians can be both influential and reflective of popular ideas.

If Louis T. Wigfall, Confederate senator from Texas, is the measuring stick for public opinion, then Texans must have strongly and passionately favored conscription. Wigfall introduced the bill to the Senate, but William S. Oldham, the other Texas senator, vehemently opposed it and was one of only five senators who voted against the bill. Representative of two polar positions, these two men provide an excellent example of the diversity of opinion within the loyal population.

Wigfall was a militarist, concerning himself primarily with the good of the military and the prosecution of the war. He preferred that all civilian institutions be subordinated to the military. Besides conscription, he supported presidential suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the use of martial law, and the "twenty-slave law," all of which were controversial as being oppressive to civil rights. For Wigfall, the necessities of war were paramount; civil rights were of little consideration. Although he had been an avid state's rights proponent, he was flexible on that issue when it helped to further military endeavors. When the law passed, Wigfall was displeased that provisions for hiring substitutes and for electing officers were included. State's rights and civil rights took a subordinate position to strengthening the army.29

Oldham was in many ways the antithesis of Wigfall. He stoutly defended
state's rights and endeavored to keep the military subordinant to civil authority. Oldham believed that the conscription law was unconstitutional in that it interfered with state control over state militia. It violated the rights of individual citizens and would demoralize the citizenry, stifling true patriotism and volunteerism. He believed conscription had a dehumanizing effect on an army, turning men into machines who fought on command rather than because of their love of country or liberty. Herein lay the possibility for a military regime to seize control of the government. Conscripted soldiers, "manacled by the chains of military law and military subordination," were potential tools in the hands of an ambitious military leader who would have them "become destroyers of their own and their country's liberties." 

These two senators engaged in a heated argument on the Senate floor over how to answer President Davis' request for a draft. Oldham stated that he did not believe Congress had such power without the intervention of the states. Besides, he said, there were always more volunteers than the Confederacy could arm. Oldham misread this situation as an overabundance of men, rather than an arms shortage. Wigfall called upon the Congress to "cease [the] child's play [of volunteerism]." He further stated, "No man has any individual rights, which come in conflict with the welfare of the country." After a lengthy oration by Wigfall, Oldham countered his colleague's argument by declaring that only in European despotisms did conscription prevail.

In the House of Representatives, Texan C.C. Herbert opposed conscription. In August, Herbert initiated a discussion on the efficacy of continuing to "press the conscription law too far upon the people." According to Herbert, the majority of Texans held the law to be unconstitutional, even though most people did submit to it. He sought to prevent proposed extensions on the age limit to include persons over thirty-five years of age. The frontier already was depleted of its manpower, he asserted. If Congress considered it necessary to continue this violation of the Constitution, Herbert would advocate "raising in his State the 'lone star' flag that had twice been raised before."

Frank B. Sexton, another Texas representative, denounced this threat of secession. He regretted the necessity of conscription but denied that the people of Texas had displayed any significant degree of dissatisfaction. A third Texan, Malcolm Graham, supported Sexton, claiming that Texans cheerfully supported conscription because they realized it was essential to the cause. He was offended by Herbert's attempt to make Texas an exception - the state was as loyal to the Confederacy as any other state. As for Herbert's concern for local defense, Graham was certain that Texas women and children were capable of defending the state in the absence of the male population.

As mentioned earlier, Representative Peter Gray sided with Graham and Sexton in believing that the law had been well received. He stated that Texans had shown disapproval for those opposing the law in Congress, "some of their sentiments [having] received unqualified condemnation." To a degree this statement is refuted by the Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph, which printed its opinion in favor of Oldham's position.
Within the state, the governor was probably the most observed and well-known public figure. Although comments about the actions and opinions of state legislatures are not found in newspapers, the governor's messages were constantly before the people. Since responsibility for raising troops and coping with dissension fell to the governor, newspapers continually carried his proclamations and speeches.

Governor Lubbock adhered to a policy of cooperation with the Confederacy and worked hard to raise the requested troops. He poked and prodded at the consciences of Texans, hoping to arouse a chivalric spirit that would prompt men to volunteer. He mingled fear-mongering, shame, and republican idealism in both public speeches and official proclamations. According to Lubbock, the vile Yankees were at the doorstep of Texas, ready to destroy all that was sacred. This desperate situation required sacrifice. A speech, given early in March to Galvestonians, is an excellent example of Lubbock's tactics. He dramatized the danger, calling Texans to stand together in the "hour of need, when the dark and lowering clouds of war hover o'er our sunny land, with gloomy forebodings." Appealing to their sense of patriotism and love of liberty, he said the time had come to "strike out for [their] fires and homes." He scorned those who would not share responsibility. The "mere onlookers [sic] in Vienna," as he called them, "... must shoulder their muskets, or leave the country." If appeals to the noble spirit failed, perhaps guilt would be more successful. If neither of these was enough, Lubbock threatened to use the draft.

Lubbock was not compelled to impose a draft, since he was relieved of such responsibility when the national conscription law was enacted. Lubbock immediately lent his support to the new law. Upon receiving a request from General Hébert for permission to use state officers as enrolling officers, Lubbock replied with courtesy and promptness, graciously offering more than was asked. Lubbock believed the law was constitutional and necessary. He was offended by the idea that anyone would have taken the issue before the courts and was pleased by the Supreme Court's decision in its favor.

Lubbock explained his views to the Texas legislature early in 1863. The Confederacy was fighting for the freedom of all of its states. If each state decided the number of troops it wished to supply and whether those troops would be allowed to go beyond the state's borders, then the lack of coordination would result in chaos. Any efforts to defend the South would be futile. Lubbock believed that there should be "one sole head" in military matters, and he recognized that head to be President Jefferson Davis. Lubbock was pleased with his accomplishments over the last year in filling the Confederate quota for troops to serve the Confederacy and managing to keep an adequate number of troops within the state for coastal and frontier defense.

The issue of whether Texas troops should be required to leave the state evidently had been a major debate the previous year. Lubbock defended cooperation in this matter as a means for keeping the enemy from encroaching on Texas' borders. "Each battle fought in Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, or Arkansas is a battle for the freedom of Texas," he explained. He believed
conscripton was necessary and legal, and encouraged compliance as the proper behavior for loyal citizens. He abhorred the idea that some men shirked their responsibility. Were it not for this element, he would have preferred the volunteer system.37

Lubbock’s support for the Confederacy did not forego his concerns for the people of Texas. He understood the need for frontier and coastal protection and was aware of the hardships the war had imposed on citizens. Concerned that the draft would be executed too rigorously, he wrote to General Hébert on June 5, before implementation had begun, requesting lenient enforcement. The reasons he cited for his request were those given to him in letters requesting exemption from the state law. He explained that the cases presented were not “exaggerated, or infrequent, or unusual.” He hoped that the general might consider exempting persons who were necessary to the protection of farms, ranches, or to the support of families. Lubbock also requested the exemption of public millers and blacksmiths since both professions were essential to agricultural areas.

When Lubbock disagreed with certain practices of the enrolling officers or with requirements of the central government, he did not go public with grievances. All of his public statements are in support of the Southern cause and the measures taken by the national government. Desiring to preserve a positive relationship between the Confederacy and the people of Texas, Lubbock used his powers of persuasion carefully.

As with the governor, Texan military officers faithfully discharged their duties as they pertained to conscription. Superintendent Ford prided himself on executing his duty with fairness and honesty. When Ford took the post, he had not received instructions on the particulars of the law. He instituted his own system based on a policy that all men were to be treated equally without regard to wealth. He refused bribes and disdained the “twenty-slave law,” which he believed unjustly favored the wealthy. Though Ford was required to grant this exemption, he did not hesitate to offer his opinion that it was an unfortunate enactment that caused much harm. One day a man inquired of Ford as to whether his slaves and property exempted him from service. Ford told him that it did, then added, “But where a man has so much he ought to fight for it.” Not wishing to make any man act against his conscience, the superintendent did not intentionally force any person into the army who disagreed philosophically with the Confederate cause. These early policies surely helped to shape a favorable public attitude.38

Colonel Elkanah Greer, of the Third Texas Calvary, became the head of the Conscript Bureau for the Trans-Mississippi Department in October 1862. Greer took his duty as a Confederate officer seriously. He agreed with the Confederacy’s objection to the state practice of enlisting men in the militia who were eligible for Confederate conscription. Less information is available on Greer’s work or opinions about conscription than on Ford’s. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that a prominent Texan held this position and faithfully executed his duties of that office.
Whether following the lead of military and political leaders or acting solely on independent thought, most Texans acquiesced to the law. This is not to say that they welcomed it with a loving embrace. Theirs was more of a resolved compliance based on the inevitability and necessity of the law. The vast majority of Texas citizens were willing to make the sacrifice they believed was necessary by submitting to the conscription law.

NOTES

1Albert Burton Moore, Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy (New York, 1924); Wilfred B. Yearns, The Confederate Congress (Athens, 1960).


3Yearns, Confederate Congress, p. 64.


5Lubbock to O.M. Roberts, May 19, 1861, Executive Record Book, Governor Francis R. Lubbock, Archive Division-Texas State Library, Austin, hereinafter cited as TSL; Address to Senate and House of Representatives, November 15, 1861; Laws of Texas, edited by H.P.N. Gammel, Vol. 5 (Austin, 1898), p. 455-465

6Laws of Texas, p. 499-406.


8Correspondence concerning conscription, 1862, Governor Lubbock papers, TSL.

9Lubbock to Hebert, April 17, 1862, August 24, 1861, Executive Record Book, Governor Francis Lubbock, TSL.


11Texas State Gazette, March 8, 1862 and March 29, 1862; Galveston Tri-Weekly March 15, 1862. See also: Belleville Countryman March 29, 1862, Marshall Texas Republican, March 1, 1862.

12W.J. Hughes, Rebellious Ranger Rip Ford and the Old Southwest (Norman, 1964), p. 206; Lubbock to Hebert, Executive Record Book; Clarksville Standard, June 9, 1982 and June 27, 1862; Terry to Lubbock, June 13, 1862, Governor's Correspondences, TSL.


14Houston Tri-Weekly, April 16, 1862 and April 25, 1862.

15San Antonio Semi-Weekly News, April 26, 1862; Galveston Semi-Weekly, April 29, 1862.

16Belleville Countryman, May 3, 1862 and May 10, 1862. See also Marshall Texas Republican, April 26, 1862, May 10, 1862, and May 3, 1862.

17Marshall Texas Republican, May 10, 1862; Galveston Weekly News, April 29, 1862.
23. Claud Elliot, "Union Sentiment in Texas," Blue and Gray: Essays on Texas In the Civil War, ed. Ralph Wooster (Austin, 1995), pp. 8-10; Marten, Texas Divided, pp. 113-121.
24. Thomas Barret, The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Cooke County, Texas (Gainesville, Texas, 1885; Austin, 1961), p. 1; McCaslin, Tainted Breeze.
26. Ex Parte Coupland, 36 Tx. 387; Marten, Texas Divided, p. 72.
27. Moore, Conscription and Conflict, pp. 123, 168-169; The Supreme Court of Texas on the constitutionality of the conscript laws: Opinions of Associate Justices Moore, Bell and of Chief Justice Wheeler (Houston, 1863), Center for American History, Austin, hereinafter cited as CAH.
33. Austin State Gazette, March 2, 1862. The speech was made on March 4, 1862. Subsequent quotes in this paragraph have the same citation.
34. Lubbock to Hebert, June 5, 1862, Governor's Correspondence, TSL; James M. Day, ed., Senate Journal of the Ninth Legislature, First Called Session of the State of Texas (Austin, 1963), pp. 27-30.
37. Ralph A. Wooster, Texas and Texans in the Civil War (Austin, 1995), p. 105; See also Jack Thorndyke Greer, Leaves From a Family Album (Waco, 1975).
James Leonard Farmer, father of civil rights leader James Farmer, was Texas' first African American Ph.D.

He was a strong force in black education from 1919, when he arrived, to 1956, when he left Texas for the last time. His contributions focused on Wiley College in Marshall and Samuel Huston, later Huston-Tillotson, in Austin, both affiliated with the Methodist Church.

Farmer might have been numbered among the black intellectual giants had he remained among his contemporaries in Boston, Chicago, or New York; instead he chose the backwater of rural Texas as the vineyard in which he would toil, and is largely forgotten late in the twentieth century.

James Leonard Farmer, earned his Ph.D. from Boston University in 1918, pastored churches in Texarkana, Marshall, and Galveston, and taught at Wiley College in Marshall from 1919 to 1920 and from 1934 to 1939, and Samuel Huston (later Huston-Tillotson) in Austin from 1925 to 1930 and from 1946 to 1956. He also taught at Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia, from 1930 to 1933, Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi, from 1920 to 1925, and at Washington, D.C.'s Howard University in the School of Religion from 1939 to 1946. Following his retirement, he returned to Washington, D.C., where he reviewed books and wrote articles for Howard University's School of Religion.

Catalogues of Wiley, Rust, and Samuel Huston suggest that Farmer had more than a professorial role, particularly at Rust, where he was academic dean, and at Samuel Huston, where he was registrar during both periods he was on that faculty.

Farmer, who normally used the name "J. Leonard Farmer" on all of his publications, was born in Kingstree, South Carolina, on June 12, 1886. Some sources give his birth date as 1885. His parents, former slaves, were Carolina and Lorena Wilson Farmer. His son, civil rights leader James Leonard Farmer, Jr., founder of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), wrote extensively of his father in his own Lay Bare The Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement, "Daddy's family was poor. He told me that when he was in the first grade he would run home from school and sit on his mother's lap and suck at her breast. In that way food for one would feed two."

The grade school from which he made that daily trip home was in Pearson, Georgia. According to his son, there was no high school for blacks in Georgia, but Farmer was able to continue his education by acquiring a working scholarship from Mary McCloud Bethune to the Cookman Institute, the school she had founded in Daytona Beach, Florida.

A straight-A student, Farmer was accepted into Boston University in

Gail K Beil lives in Marshall, Texas.
Boston, Massachusetts, and began his studies in 1909. He received four $100 scholarships to the university, according to Dr. Matthew Winfred Dogan, Wiley College president from 1896 to 1942, writing for a book, *The New Progress of a Race* in 1925.

"He walked to Boston," Farmer's son said. "There was no money for transportation and nothing to hitch a ride with except an occasional horse and wagon. [He slept] en route in the barns of kind farmers."

While at Boston University, Farmer earned his bachelor's degree in 1913, his Bachelor of Sacred Theology in 1916, and his Ph.D. in 1918. Farmer said his father worked full time as a valet and "carriage boy" for a wealthy white woman, sending money home to support his impoverished parents.

Because Boston University required two years of residency to earn a Ph.D., Farmer, who had completed the course work and written his dissertation in a year, crossed the Charles River to Harvard University in 1918 to do graduate study.

The title of his 300-page dissertation was "The Origin and Development of the Messianic Hope in Israel with Special References to Analogous Beliefs Among Other Peoples." A copy of the dissertation, with its authenticity affirmed by Farmer in 1956, is housed at Boston University. In 1917, he was ordained deacon, the first step toward becoming a Methodist minister, and married Pearl Marion Houston, whom he had met at Cookman Institute. It is possible that Farmer made his first trip to Texas in 1917. Methodist Church Texas Annual Conference Journals contain the following note under Farmer's name; "served at Marshall Ebenezer, from September to Conference session 1917." At that time The Texas Annual Conference met in December. No records at Marshall's Ebenezer United Methodist verify that Farmer was pastor then, but Ebenezer's records are sketchy. The Texas Annual Conference Journal also indicates Farmer joined the Texas Annual Conference in 1917. His son said he has no knowledge as to whether his father was in Marshall prior to 1919, nor does he know the place where his father and mother were married. By 1917, train service from Boston to Marshall or from Florida to Marshall was available and heavily used, so it would have been possible to make the trip with no difficulty.

Farmer was a candidate for a year's study abroad in 1918, and was to have gone to the University of Basel, Switzerland. But the United States' entry into World War I made it impossible for him to travel, and he lost the opportunity.

In 1919, Farmer was ordained an elder in the Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he remained a part of the Texas Conference until his death.

According to the July-August 1930 issue of *The Foundation*, the publication of Gammon Theological Seminary, following Farmer's graduation he joined the Texas Conference and was assigned by Methodist bishops to churches in Texarkana, Texas, where his first child, Helen Louise, was born in 1918, Galveston, and Ebenezer in Marshall.
By 1919, Farmer was assigned to Wiley College in Marshall, Texas, where conference records say he was a professor of philosophy. Wiley College catalogues indicate that he taught Latin, religion, and psychology as well as philosophy. He was head of the department of philosophy.

His son, James Leonard Farmer, Jr., destined to become one of leaders of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, was born in Marshall on January 12, 1920, though no birth certificate was filed in the City of Marshall or the Harrison County Clerk’s office. Older women of Ebenezer (United) Methodist Church, where the Farmers had been members and Farmer may have once been pastor, remembered the birth and attested to the fact in 1986, as did his Aunt Sadie Wilson, so Farmer was able to acquire an amended birth certificate, now on file in Harrison County.

At Wiley in 1920, in addition to his teaching, Farmer also preached regularly in the Wiley College chapel. Elderly people in Marshall who had been students of Farmer agreed with his son’s description of the learned professor. “Students benefited from his extracurricular assistance, too. Several septuagenarians who had studied under dad tell me they would go to him with problems in physics or analytical geometry or calculus. (They thought he knew everything.) He would sit at his desk chair, feet crossed at the ankles, picking hairs from his prematurely balding head, as he always did when deep in thought. Moments later, with a flourish, he would write the correct answer and his method of arriving at it.”

Years later when Farmer returned to Wiley, whites were equally impressed with his mind and preaching eloquence – remarkable for a small Southern town. One of them was Inez Hughes, who taught English in Marshall from the 1920s until 1964, and married East Texas Baptist College religion professor Solon Hughes in the 1930s. Mrs. Hughes met Farmer, Jr. for the first time on June 11, 1987, when he was in Marshall to speak and to autograph his book. She told him, “I know people think you’re a great man, but in my opinion, your father was greater. Solon and I used to go out to Wiley College every Sunday afternoon to hear his sermonettes.”

“He was a great intellectual,” Farmer, Jr. replied.

“He was the most intellectual man I ever met,” Mrs. Hughes said. “If times had been different, I think Solon and he would have been great friends.”

The most contemporary accounts of Farmer’s career are Progress of a Race, (1925) and the much more extensive biographical account in Gammon Theological Seminary’s The Foundation (1930). The theological seminary in Atlanta conferred an honorary doctor of divinity on Farmer in 1929, who taught there from 1930 to 1933. The Foundation article said Farmer entered the Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1917. He left Wiley College to become the academic dean at Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi, at the end of the school year in 1920, and remained there until 1925 when he accepted a position at Samuel Huston College.

The Foundation describes Farmer’s important efforts at Samuel Huston College...
College, which "was preparing to make its final effort for state recognition as a senior college."

This year (1925) President Brooks secured his service as a professor of social sciences in which capacity he has served until the present. In 1928 he was elected registrar, and in 1930 registrar and acting dean of the college. When he took over the [Samuel Huston] registrar's office in 1928 he found it in such a condition as greatly embarrassed and endangered the standing of the college with the state. But, as a result of his self-sacrificing industry, the state inspector declared last winter that the condition of the registrar's office has improved 700 percent, that the records would be a credit to any institution, and they placed Samuel Huston College in the front rank of educational institutions in the state.

Another member of the State Board of Examiners later commended his service by saying, 'You're doing pioneer work.' and during a visit last spring the Educational Director of the Institutions of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Negroes declared that Dr. Farmer has been 'the savior of Samuel Huston this year.'

According to the same source, Farmer was a prolific writer, "having contributed numerous articles on sociological subjects to newspapers and magazines and having written the Sunday School Lessons for the Southwestern Christian Advocate for 11 years [1919-1929]."

Catalogues from Samuel Huston do not list the courses taught by individual professors, but they did list degrees - Farmer had the only Ph.D. - and faculty committees. Among the committees on which Farmer served during his first tenure at Huston were Admissions and Credits, Student Organizations, and Public Worship, where he was chair.

Farmer had been writing Sunday School lessons for the Southwestern Christian Advocate since 1919, when he was in Galveston. In 1925, Dogan wrote that Farmer was the editor of the Sunday School department of the Southwestern Christian Advocate. "My daddy used to write all the time," said Jim Farmer in an interview in April 1996. "He would hide himself in his study and type with two fingers - both index fingers - with his legs crossed at the ankles."

Sometime before 1932 Farmer became the dean and principal teacher of the Gulfside School of Ministerial Training located near Gulfport, Mississippi. This institution, established in 1920 by Methodist Episcopal Bishop Robert E. Jones, trained black ministers who were either seeking continuing education or who could not attend seminary on a full-time basis. Farmer returned every summer until he retired in 1956.

Jones and Dr. Farmer were friends, according to Farmer's son. Methodist Church records show Jones the bishop of the Texas Conference at the time of Farmer's first appointment in 1917, and chairman of the board of trustees at Samuel Huston College from 1924 to 1929.

Farmer returned to Wiley College in 1933. He again served as professor of religion, philosophy, and psychology, teaching multiple courses in all three disciplines. Once again he enthralled both white and black audiences with his
Sunday afternoon preaching at the Wiley College Chapel. He also wrote articles for the college publication, *Wiley Reporter*, and probably continued to write for other journals. Unfortunately, none of his writings, other than his regular lessons in the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, have been found.\(^{21}\)

In 1938, when he was dean of Howard University’s School of Religion, Benjamin Mays made a trip to Texas to recruit Farmer to teach at Howard.\(^{22}\) He accepted the position at the end of the school year and became the second Ph.D. on the faculty of the School of Religion. The other was Mays, who had earned his from the University of Chicago in 1935. Although Farmer was an Old Testament scholar, his son said Mays hired Farmer to teach New Testament.\(^{23}\)

Some of Farmer’s writing and copies of his lectures from this period are preserved at Howard University. In 1943 he wrote *The Coming of Peace and the Prince of Peace*. He also wrote *John and Jesus in Their Day and Ours*, which appears to be a compilation of some of his lectures, and *The Rediscovery of Deutro-Isaiah*, possibly based on his doctoral dissertation. *John and Jesus* is still extant, but no copies of *Rediscovery* are known to exist. In 1939, Farmer also contributed sermons to a book titled *Pulpit Eloquence*, but this book seems to be lost as well.\(^{24}\)

While at Howard University, Farmer wrote regularly for the *A.M.E. Zion Quarterly Review*. Copies of articles from 1943 to 1945 are housed at Howard. Titles of Farmer’s articles and printed sermons include: “Was Jesus Violent in Cleansing the Temple?” and “Idealistic Christians in a Realistic World.”

Farmer lectured at Fisk University at the 17th Annual Session of the Interdenominational Institute, May 22-24, 1944. His four lectures, published later, were titled, “St. Paul’s Gospel of Salvation in the Epistle to the Romans.”

Farmer returned to Samuel Huston in 1946, where he again served as registrar and professor of philosophy. He was also chairman of the social science division. He was the only Ph.D. there until 1949 when a visiting professor of education, Ellsworth Lowery, joined the faculty for a year.\(^{25}\)

In 1956, Farmer retired from teaching and returned to Washington, D.C. There he reviewed books on religious subjects and theology for the *Journal of Religious Thought*, a publication of the School of Religion at Howard University. His reviews can be found in publications in issues for 1953, 1956 and 1958.

Jim Farmer’s description of his father’s death in 1961 is most dramatic. Farmer’s Congress Of Racial Equality was making headlines as thirteen CORE members departed from Washington, D.C., for New Orleans on two buses, one a Trailways and the other a Greyhound. Farmer was on one of the buses. His father lay in a bed in Freedman’s Hospital in Washington D.C., dying from the complications of cancer and diabetes. The younger Farmer had left a copy of his itinerary with his parents. On the night of May 14, the day before the Freedom Riders were to enter Alabama, he got a call that his father had died, and he returned to Washington.

“Mother emphatically stated that daddy had willed the timing of his
death, which he knew to be inevitable, in order to bring me back before the trip through Alabama,” Farmer wrote. “Each day he would unfold the itinerary and squint at it, saying, ‘Well let me see where Junior is today.’”

“Mother said he nodded with satisfaction until the fatal day and hung tenaciously to life and consciousness. When the itinerary told him the next day I would head into Alabama, he said, ‘Oh!’ Then he released his grip on life, she said, and slipped away. She believed until her death that dad had consciously done that in an effort to save me.”

The Greyhound bus was burned outside Anniston, and several of the riders suffered smoke inhalation and other injuries and were hospitalized. The Trailways bus, after the Freedom Riders were beaten badly at the Alabama state line, made it to Birmingham. There, with Police Chief Bull Conner’s approval, the police allowed a mob to attack the Freedom Riders for several minutes before intervening. One man was left for dead, another suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and spent the rest of his life in a wheelchair. Farmer, who had been on the Trailways bus, could have been killed.

James Leonard Farmer, Sr., was buried two days later in Washington, D.C.

Several theories have been advanced to explain why Dr. Farmer, who appears so early in the flowering of Texas black colleges, is almost unknown in the last decade of the twentieth century.

Most, if not all, of Farmer’s writings are in the area of religion. Alwyn Barr, professor of history at Texas Tech University, says that little research has been done on African American religious leaders and not enough on educators in black colleges and universities.

M.J. “Andy” Anderson, who taught history next door to Dr. Farmer’s classroom at Samuel Huston, said that as a scholar and an intellectual, Farmer was “over most everyone’s head” and considered “somewhere out in left field.”

James L. Farmer, Jr., and Dr. Raymond Hall, sociology professor at Dartmouth, also African American, from Marshall and particularly knowledgeable about James Farmer, Jr.’s activities, believe that Farmer was forgotten because the professor was not an activist, as were the African-American intellectuals who made it into the pages of history. Farmer called his father old fashioned. “He believed that equality would be achieved if one simply waited for whites to do the right thing.”

In a paper written in 1943 titled “Plain Talk to the Negro By One of His Kind,” Farmer wrote that there was a good deal of talk about black soldiers coming home after World War II and continuing the fight for freedom on American soil begun in the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific:

Much has been heard about the new Negro after this war. During the First World War much was said and written about the new Negro after that war. But, except for such development as would naturally have taken place. One’s eyes have failed while he as waited and looked for this new Negro to make his debut. The age group that was then to have constituted that new
Negro should now be contributing to the rank and file of Negro leaders. But from the standpoint of what was meant by the “new Negro” except as would naturally accompany a greater intelligence, one cannot discern any very marked change in leadership. If anything, Negro weeklies have become less vitriolic and inflammatory... Meanwhile all sections of the country have been becoming more and more alike in unfriendly attitudes toward the Negro.

Advocating compromise with what he called “the ruling group,” Farmer said to do otherwise in any “conflict of the races with ... this ruling group could force the liquidation of all Negro institutions and businesses; it could rescind every freedom which he now employs; it could expel or annihilate him; while the most he could do would be to curse and pray, but writhe and bear it. Men who make the laws were not made for the laws.”

The only recourse Farmer suggested for equality was to abide by Christian principles. “As a minority group the Negro must learn to get along with the dominant group while maintaining his self respect.”31 “Perhaps the Negro’s progress in salvation would be more rapid if his Christian principles should always be made in the true Christian spirit.”

Farmer never advocated the concept of using non-violent civil disobedience to gain equality, but this writing came a generation before the non-violent approach to civil disobedience propounded and practiced by Mahatma Gandhi, and two generations before his son and Martin Luther King, Jr., adapted Gandhi’s methods to Christian concepts of non-violence.

In his writing, particularly, Farmer stayed firmly in his chosen discipline of religion. Finally, he took the position of compromise instead of confrontation in the struggle for racial equality. These life decisions show his great strength of character, but they may well have cost him the recognition he deserves.

NOTES

1According to statistics in The Negro College Graduate, written by Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, the first African American earned a Ph.D. in 1876. By 1919, when Farmer began his teaching career in Texas, there had been only twenty-five Ph.D.’s granted to African Americans in the entire United States. Dr. Matthew Dogan, Wiley College president from 1895 to 1942, was granted an honorary Ph.D. from Walden University, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1904. Farmer earned his degree from Boston University in 1918. In Private Black Colleges in Texas, pp. 99 and 100, Michael Heintze states that at Wiley College in 1915, “Dogan alone had a doctorate” and “in 1933 the faculty included two doctoral ... degrees” without naming the other, who was Farmer.


3The 1886 date is from Farmer’s son. The New Progress of a Race (Naperville, Illinois, 1925). and the National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York, 1965), list it as 1885.

4Farmer, p. 35.

5July- August 1930. The Foundation. Publication of Gammon Theological Institute, Atlanta, Georgia, p. 2.

6Wiley College Catalogue, 1896 and following.

Farmer, p. 35.

Farmer, p. 35.

Texas Annual Conference Journal, 1961, p. 102. The journal is at Lon Morris College, Jacksonville, in the Texas Conference archives. The 1917 date also appears in entry on Farmer (p. 226) in a book, Who's Who in Methodism, published in 1952. Notes in the text indicate that all entries have been verified for accuracy - presumably in this case by Farmer himself since he was alive and still teaching in 1952 when the book was published.


"The Foundation," p. 35.

The author, who lives in Marshall, was asked by Farmer, Jr. to obtain any documentation available to authenticate his birth for Social Security purposes. Mrs. Aurer Gaines, then in her eighties, a graduate of Wiley and member of Ebenezer, provided the necessary information.

Farmer, p. 36.

Samuel Huston College Catalogues 1923 through 1929. Samuel Huston attained its "Class A" rating in 1928, according to the catalogue.


Nichols, p. 372.

"National Cyclopedia," XLVIII, p. 582.

Huston, p. 2 of each catalogue from 1924 to 1929.

Wiley College catalogues, 1933-1938. As many as six courses in all three subjects are listed as classes taught by Farmer. He shared psychology department duties with Professor E.H. Crump.

One article in the Wiley Reporter (January 1937) and located in the archives of the Moorland-Spingarn Research Library on the campus of Howard University. The article, entitled "The Teacher, The Teaching, The Taught," could have been written in 1996. It concludes, "Do what we will or may, some of us will never be able to achieve that degree of mental ability which is supposed to represent the educated man of college rank. But hardly less pardonable than is the sin against ourselves and our God-given intellectual endowment is wasting our time and talents in folly so that we might become intellectual runts when we might have become intellectual giants."

Farmer, Jr., remembers Mays coming to Marshall late in 1938 or early 1939 on the recruiting trip. James Farmer said his father left Howard to return to Texas to ensure his Methodist church-related retirement. He had to serve so many years in the Texas Conference in order to qualify. Thus he left Howard in 1946 for Samuel Huston, where he stayed ten years, returning to Washington D.C., at age seventy-one.

Howard University archives, various catalogues from 1939 to 1946. Now at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

"National Cyclopedia," XLVIII, p. 582.

"National Cyclopedia," also Huston.

Farmer, p. 201.

Farmer, p. 201.


Interview with M.J. Anderson in Austin, Texas, July 29, 1996.

September-October, 1943. The Foundation. Publication of Gammon Theological Institute, pp. 5, 6, 10.

The emphasis was Farmer's.
WILLIAM H. SANDUSKY IN TEXAS: A POLISH DESCENDANT
by K.F. Neighbours

Early in May 1839, Edwin Walker, commissioner, appointed by President Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar of the Republic of Texas to lay off the new capital city of Austin, departed from Houston for the scene of his duties accompanied by William Harrison Sandusky as surveyor. William H. Sandusky was a descendant of Antoni Sadowski, who came from Poland to the British colonies in North America during the reign of Queen Anne. William H. Sandusky followed in the tradition of his ancestors in Poland in entering public service in Texas.

The Sadowski family seems to have had its seat at Sadowia and used the herbu, or coat of arms, of Nalecz. Thomas Sadowski was assigned to the church at Miechow near Cracow in 1452 by Zbigniew Cardinal Olesnicki. Daniel Sadowski became Archbishop of Gniezno. There is heated controversy whether Stanislaus Sadowski came to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1608. He may have returned to England with Captain John Smith in 1609, and is thought to have been back in Jamestown in 1619.

Marcin Sadowski, Texan William H. Sandusky's direct ancestor, was a chamberlain of Gostyne “in the time of King Wladislaus IV.” Marcin Sadowski was also a member of the Polish Parliament or Sejm in 1643; was inspector of the royal estates in the Ukraine; and was then castellan of Gostyne. In 1650 he erected a church and convent for the Sisters of Saint Clare in Lowiezu. According to Edward Pinkowski, Marcin Sadowski was said to have served three Polish kings. Tradition holds that Marcin Sadowski was with John Sobieski or King John III at the successful defense of Vienna.

Marcin Sadowski's son, Antoni Sadowski, born in 1669, received in 1709 his birthright to Nalecz from Father Jana Kiwinski, Priest at Staresielskigo. Antoni Sadowski is thought to have followed his father in the royal service and is said to have served two Polish kings. According to his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Robert Shanklin, “He was no hand to labour, but was a great scholar. He was said to be able to speak seven different languages, and to have given the name to Sandusky Bay, being the first trader that ever went there to trade, with those Indians.”

Antoni Sadowski came to New York colony during the reign of Queen Anne. He moved to New Jersey before 1709, where he married Marya Bard (anglicized Mary Bird), a native of Long Island. Later Sadowski moved to a farm of 400 acres on the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania above Philadelphia. He purchased the farm on January 21, 1712, and farmed it with slaves and indentured servants while he operated Indian trading posts on the frontier and served on occasion as agent to the Indians for the proprietary government. Antoni Sadowski died on April 22, 1736, and was buried in Saint Gabriel’s churchyard at Douglassville, Amity Township, Pennsylvania.

K.F. Neighbours lives in Bowie, Texas.
Antoni Sadowski's descendants then became a part of the westward movement. His widow and married son, Andrew, moved to the Virginia western frontier and thence to what became West Virginia. By the time I came along three centuries after Antoni, family tradition had become rather dim but my mother remembered the killing and scalping of her ancestor, Andrew Sadowski. The deed was committed by a renegade white man running with the Indians while Andrew was waiting to catch his horses at a salt lick.  

Among Andrew Sadowski's sons were Emanuel, James, Jacob, Samuel, John, Anthony, and Jonathan. James and Jacob were among the first settlers of the Kentucky frontier. James was with James Harrod at the founding of Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Emanuel migrated to the Watauga region of Tennessee. Jonathan died in a British prisoner-of-war camp during the American Revolution. Samuel was the grandfather of the subject of this paper.

Antoni Sadowski's descendants, taking the anglicized form of Sandusky, continued westward with the frontier until some of them arrived in Texas. One of the most interesting of these was young William H. Sandusky, mentioned at the beginning of the paper. Born near Columbus, Ohio, on January 29, 1813, he was the son of John Sandusky and Elizabeth Clarno Sandusky, who was of French descent. John was the son of Samuel, mentioned above. William H. Sandusky came to Texas from Columbus, Ohio. In 1839 he addressed himself as a surveyor and draftsman to surveying and mapping the new capital of Texas, the town of Austin on the Colorado River. Only three years earlier Texas had made good its independence from Mexico on the field of battle at San Jacinto where General Sam Houston defeated and captured President Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, commander of the Mexican Army. Houston became the first elected president of Texas and located the capital of the Republic of Texas at the city named for himself. He was succeeded in office by his arch rival, Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, who could not abide a capital city named for Houston.

President Lamar selected a beautiful but remote site on the frontier where the French minister to the Republic of Texas, Alone de Saligny, was awakened in the night by screams of a man dying under the Indian scalping knife. The selection of the site of Austin and William H. Sandusky's mapping of it was described in a letter to President Lamar from Commissioner Edwin Waller on June 2, 1839. Waller wrote:

I have just received your favour of the 25th ULT[IMO] per Col. Love. Mr. Pilie [one of the surveyors] left on the 31st for Houston for the purpose of making the maps. Mr. Sandusky who was here a few days since offered to make them for two hundred dollars each, Mr. Pilie at first asked four hundred but after I had received Mr. Sandusky's proposition offered to do them at the same price. I think that a less number of maps would answer our purpose, but it is optional with you what number shall be made.

The location that I have selected does not conflict with the town below [Montopolis] as you fear. I had been advised to place it below but chose the present site which gives a distance between our lower line and the upper line of the other town of at least two miles. This selection of mine has been highly approved by all who have seen it and I doubt not will give universal satisfaction.
The public buildings shall be in residence in time for the next Congress. I have two 16 feet square rooms up now and the rest in progress, therefore entertain no fears on that score.\(^ {12} \)

By August of 1839, William H. Sandusky was engaged in surveying and mapping the site of Austin as indicated by a memorandum to President Lamar by H.J. Jewett, newspaper editor who would be Lamar’s private secretary and later a district judge. Jewett wrote:

The annexed description of Austin I have copied and abridged from one handed me by Mr. Sandusky, surveyor and draftsman, who arrived here [at Houston] on Tuesday from that place. There is trouble in the newspaper establishment and there will probably be some issued next week. – I have thought that the latter part of the description, together with what relates to the “laying off” – of the city might be interesting to you – Mr. Sandusky took three pencil sketches from the public square, which he is copying & colouring – If you would like to see them when finished I will send them up to you in haste.\(^ {13} \)

Sandusky’s letter to H.J. Jewett, read as follows:

Mr. Editor

I have just returned from the city of Austin, and being aware of the various reports as to its advantages, I feel it my duty to give to the public a true statement of its location.

Austin is situated on the east bank of the Colorado, 40 miles from Bastrop—and about three miles from the Colorado mountains and on a beautiful rich prairie about 40 feet above the level of the river extending back one half mile to the ‘bluff’, and gradually rising to 60 or 70 feet, where is placed the Public Square (15 acres), with an avenue rising up from the river—of 120 feet wide. Through a narrow valley which appears as if made by nature expressly for this purpose.

[Sandusky was speaking of Congress Avenue.]

The lots are layd, streets & alleys wide, and the several Public Squares, and lots for the Government buildings, selected with good taste, by the agent Judge Waller, who is now engaged in putting up the necessary buildings for Congress — two beautiful streams of limestone water flow through the upper and lower parts of the town, taking their source in the hills from springs which can by little expense be conducted to any part of the city. Stone for building purposes of various [kinds] can be had in and near the city. Timber for building is rather scarce in the immediate vicinity (except on the opposite side of the river), but within six or eight miles there is an abundance. The river averages from 60 to 70 yards wide of a deep but rapid current, and can be made navigable by removing a few shoals, for steam boats of medium size, to the falls five miles above the town.

The Colorado mountains about 3 miles NR. West, from College Hill (in the rear of the town,) are covered with scrubby live oak, cedar and cliffs of rocks, which present a delightful appearance –

Large fields of corn are growing in the vicinity, sufficient for the consumption of emigration this season. The country is settling very fast, and families with their Negroes are daily seen on their way to the “City of Austin,” and the surrounding country –\(^ {14} \)

The City of Austin, Texas, was named for Stephen F. Austin, the colonizer
and Father of Anglo-Saxon Texas.

Professional jealousy and rivalry raises its head in all professions and in all ages. Heinrich Mollhausen, celebrated artist and traveler, styling himself architect and civil engineer, begged to differ with the Texas authorities about engaging Sandusky to draft the maps of Austin. Mollhausen in his letter to President Lamar on February 6, 1840, threw some light on Sandusky’s background. Mollhausen wrote:

Sir

It is with the greatest confidence I approach Your Excellency to pray for an act of justice.

Some time ago the Honorable Jas. H. Starr Secretary of the Treasury informed me that there were to be made three maps representing the vicinity of Austin. During half a year I was in Texas and having met with no other encouragement than the confidence of the Honorable L. P. Cooke I felt very happy to find another opportunity to show my abilities and I expressed to Mr. Starr in writing my great desire to draw these maps, submitting the condition that His Honor alone might fix the price after the work were done, and that I would be entirely satisfied with the payment Mr. Starr would think proper.

But I was then informed to ask a certain price for the maps, to be executed in the best style, on a large scale, and with suitable embellishments; well knowing what I am able to do I asked about 500$ a piece — a price often paid in Texas for very inferior maps at times when the money had double the value than now.

I knew that in order to make these topographical maps in their full perfection and in order to show the terrain for purchase abroad — it is indispensably necessary to go often along with the surveyors and to take carefully all the necessary data; I knew that here was more required than work of a mere draftsman.

But my price — double paid in silver in the United States for such work — was regarded too high and I was by His Honor informed that in consequence of more favorable terms contained in the proposals of another individual my offer were not received.

But this individual I am told is a clerk in the IID Auditor’s Office. (Mr. Sandusky) paid with 2200$ a year and I venture to express my opinion that it is entirely against the principles of the public service to employ & to pay an officer of the Government for two different purposes, each of which it seems, requires so fully all his time & zeal.

No wonder when this young gentleman can ask a lower price for the work in question, drawing besides such an superfluous salary for the time not appointed to rest & restoration but to other quiet different work — Allured with the favorable reports abroad about Texas and the justice & fairness of Her Government I came here with the sanguine hope to establish an academy for mathematics, architecture & military sciences & thus to become useful to the young republic and so I hope still, although at present so sadly disappointed ...

I beg yr leave to express my full conviction that Mr. Starr acted by no means with partiality for Mr. Sandusky, but that the wish to have these maps executed as cheap as possible made him probably forget that this young gentleman was already otherwise engaged for the Government.15
From Mollhausen’s letter we learn that William H. Sandusky was a young man with the position of clerk in the Office of the Second Auditor in the Department of the Treasury of the Republic of Texas. At the time young Sandusky was concluding with Secretary of the Treasury Starr agreements to make topographical and lineal maps of the tract adjoining Austin with inset maps of Central Texas.16

From President Lamar’s correspondence with Congress later in 1840, we learn that young Sandusky was serving as the private secretary of the president of the Republic of Texas.17 Sandusky’s health soon led him to request of the president another assignment. Sandusky wrote Lamar:

My dear General,

It is with deep regret that I find myself compelled to announce to you the absolute necessity of a temporary absence from Austin, for the purpose of restoring my health. I have been advised by my friends of the propriety of this course: — but at the same time, I assure you it is with great reluctance I am forced so to do. Finding myself almost disqualified to transact any business at present, and without the hope of ultimate relief, unless to some other remedy, without farther delay — I am therefore compelled to throw myself upon you liability, and ask the favor of an appointment to some situation by which I can expenses for a few months.

I understand an expedition is to be sent out in a short time for the purpose of surveying the “Harbor’s & C.” on the Texas coast of the Gulf of Mexico. In that event, I should like to accompany it, as Pursur or Secretary—but the matter rests entirely with you. — Consequently, I must beg your serious consideration.

Yours ever truly,

Wm. H. Sandusky18

The notion was obviously still current that traveling was good for the health as was believed in the time of George Washington’s brother Lawrence. If Sandusky’s difficulty was any sort of respiratory problem, leaving Austin would have alleviated it, as physicians in the twentieth century regard the city as the hay fever capital of the world.

By June 4, 1841, Sandusky had progressed as far as Galveston where he wrote President Lamar:

Dear General

I arrived here on the 22d. My being very much fatigued; and have been quite unwell ever since.— My mother endured the journey much better than myself.

The vessel will not start for about two weeks, as Commodore Moore cannot get ready before that time — Lieu’t Seeger tells me that he has been trying for some time to employ a draughtman for the coast survey, but could find none, until I handed him my ‘paper’, which he seemed to be very much pleased with.

Judge Webb started on the Schr Bernard a few days before I arrived — Saligny is in New Orleans I suppose waiting the final decision of his case. [Alfonse de Saligny was the Minister of France to the Republic of Texas. He had an altercation with his landlord Richard Bullock over a pig. This was the pretext for threatened rupture in relations. It is now believed that the
incident did not have any great influence in the loss of a proposed French loan.]

Sandusky continued:

Politics — [Sam] Houston will get a large majority of the votes [in the Texas presidential election — Lamar could not constitutionally succeed himself] in this section of the country — say about 5/6ths — [David G.] Burnet stands no chance to be elected —

I am at present stopping with my friend Gail Borden — [The developer of condensed milk] you have many worse enemies than him — Genl. I find you have a great many friends in this lower country.¹¹

concluded young Sandusky.

The last communication found from Sandusky was from Galveston to President Lamar on October 18, 1841. Sandusky wrote Lamar:

Dear General,

I am not going to trouble you with one of those long letters you Hate so much to read, but just going to ask you the favor of a copy of "The Parting Kiss," or a newspaper that contains it. I admire it so much, that I wish to keep it among the collections of poetry you gave me, which I am copying very neatly in an album for a keepsake. Get Mr. Foutaine (if he is your private sec'y) to copy it if he pleases.

No news here of consequence, — healthy, money scarce — Navy preparing to sail for the "Federal Nation" Com[modore] Moore is about starting to New Orleans for naval supplies — much talk, "Who will be old Sam's Cabinet?"

The money that was stolen from the Custom-House ($3000) have been found, except $50—, and the individual in the brig. (The prison —)

My health is still improving, since I saw you — Write and let me hear how you are. Give my respects to Mr. Fontaine & Jewett.

Yours sincerely

Wm. H. Sandusky²⁰

President Lamar fancied himself something of a poet. It occurred to me to wonder what his poem "The Parting Kiss" would read like to so excite young Sandusky's interest. So I hied myself to the library to find the poem in the Telegraph and Texas Register, where friend John M. Kinney indicated it was. "The Parting Kiss" turned out to be not a poem but a melodramatic short story in which a suitor called on a young lady while waiting for his stage coach. Instead of writing a poem of his own in her album as requested by the fair, young thing, the suitor falls into a romantic reverie in which he recalls some poetry which he ascribed to others. One sentimental verse ran:

Fare thee well since thou must leave me,
But oh! Let not our parting grieve thee,
For I will still be thine believe me.

The suitor was reminded of another message which he ascribed to a Mrs. Hemans requesting rhetorically:
Bring flow'rs, bring flow'rs for the bride to wear.
They were born to blush in her shining hair,
She is leaving the scenes of her childish mirth.
She has bid farewell to her Father's hearth,
Her place is now by another's side.
Bring Flow'rs for the locks of the fair young bride.

The suitor's fantasy took a morbid turn in which he dreamed that his beloved is marrying another. He cocked his pistol to shoot the phantom rival, but:

At this moment the fair Fanny [for that was the damsel's name] caught me by the hand and giving it a gentle and affectionate pressure, she said, 'Come, come, are you not going to write in my album? It has been almost an hour since you sat down for that purpose.' 'Write in your album Fair Creature,' said I, 'Why yes. I will write in your album.' And so saying I aroused me from the reverie into which I had fallen finding that the above dreadful circumstances existed only in a dream of imagination. Again I dipped my pen in the stand, and having nothing poetic about me, I penned the above. The stage horn summoned me as I finished, and I just had time to print on Fanny's lips the parting kiss.

Shades of Goethe's Werther were not far behind.

Lamar did not send young Sandusky a copy of "The Parting Kiss" because it had "become the subject of Texas gossip most unpleasant to" Lamar. Two years later Lamar sent Sandusky twelve poems which "Sandusky beautifully penned in an album." When Philip Graham published *The Life and Poems of Mirabeau B. Lamar*, in 1938, Sandusky's album in the possession of descendants in Waskom, Texas, was the source of part of Lamar's poems.

Apparently after his service in surveying the coast and harbors of Texas, William H. Sandusky announced in the press in 1844 that he was establishing himself permanently in Galveston where he would "execute all kinds of maps, charts, landscapes, plans of cities and towns, also instruments of writing of every description in the neatest style and on the most liberal terms." One of his maps of Galveston was published in 1845 by G. and W. Endicot of New York (for sale for $3,000.00 in 1977 by Walter Reuben, Inc.). Another of his maps of Galveston was published by Wagner and McGuigan of Philadelphia. In 1845 he became Import Inspector in Galveston.

On his work as an artist, we might notice that his sketch of Austin, made in 1839, was published in the newspapers of his day, that reproductions of it still exist giving interesting details of the infant capital city, and that other of his important original drawings, such as Oak Point and Sketch of the Alamo, remained in the possession of his family.

According to the records of the county clerk of Galveston County, Texas, William H. Sandusky, and Jane McKnight, seventeen-year-old native of Pennsylvania, were united in marriage by J. H. Henderson on July 21, 1842. To this union were born three children. According to the United States Census for Galveston in 1850, these children were seven-year-old Elizabeth Sandusky, five-year-old James Sandusky, and three-year-old Ellen Sandusky.
William H. Sandusky died in 1846. Jane Sandusky was granted letters of administration of her husband's estate on March 30, 1847, by John S. Jones, probate judge of Galveston County. Sandusky's widow later married a lawyer, E. Woolridge, a native of Massachusetts, and resided in Galveston.

In his brief thirty-three years, William H. Sandusky had followed in the tradition of public service set by his Polish ancestors. His surveying and mapping under the direction of the Texas Commissioner Edwin Waller of the beautiful capital city of a great state was alone an accomplishment worthy of notice. William H. Sandusky made a contribution to the Polish heritage of America of which we all may be proud.

NOTES

1Dora Dietrich Bonham, Merchant to the Republic (San Antonio, 1958), p. 89.
3Pinkowski, Sadowski p. 3.
5Pinkowski, Sadowski p. 3.
6Draper MSS. 11 CC 217, No. 4, Mrs. Robert Shanklin, Madison, State Historical Society.
9Kentucky Historical Marker, Lebanon; Kathryn Harrod Mason, James Harrod of Kentucky (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 243; County Court, Washington County, Tennessee, November 23, 1778.
12John's father was established by Mrs. David L. Beall to author, December 22, 1972, citing deed records and record of power of attorney of Samuel Sandusky to son John in records of Jessamine County, Kentucky. Also, Samuel's will in Will Book A, pp. 223-227, Jessamine County, Kentucky.
14Gulick The Papers, V. 309. Austin Public Library has William H. Sandusky's painting in Austin.
15________, III. p. 91.
16________, V. p. 405f.
17Seymour V. Connor, Texas Treasury Papers: Letters Received in the Treasury Department of the Republic of Texas, 1836-1846 (Austin) I, Nos. 580 and 617; II, No. 835.
10 "House Journal, Texas Fifth Congress, First Session, 1840-1841, Part I, p 239. According to the Polish Texas, Sandusky also served briefly as artist, draftsman, and later as registrar of the General Land Office.


14 Telegraph and Texas Register, February 17, 1838.


16 Pinckney, Painting in Texas, p. 150f.


18 Marriage Book No. A, p. 34.

19 Seventh United States Census, Galveston, Texas, 1850.

20 Records of the County Clerk's Office, Galveston County, Texas.

21 Paper read in New Orleans at the Polish American Historical Association in 1972.
THE EAST TEXAS BASEBALL LEAGUE, 1916-1950

by Bill O'Neal

The East Texas League was born and nurtured during baseball’s heyday in America. Later, while the Great Depression exerted desperate pressures on most minor leagues, the East Texas League flourished in the midst of the region’s spectacular oil boom. Like most minor leagues, the East Texas League suspended operations for the duration of World War II, then enjoyed renewed popularity in the postwar baseball boom. But a combination of conditions in the 1950s staggered the minor leagues, and the East Texas League was one of many junior circuits which died in that troubled baseball era. During the league’s existence, East Texas baseball fans saw some of the great career minor leaguers, several former major leaguers, and numerous young athletes on their way to the major leagues. For decades the East Texas League provided a valid and interesting version of the National Pastime, and was an important source of recreation and entertainment for East Texans.

Baseball was America’s first team sport, and by the early decades of the twentieth century the American public was captivated by the game. There were town teams in every rural community, semi-pro clubs abounded, almost every small city boasted a team in one of scores of minor leagues, and the sporting public avidly followed the exploits of major leaguers. The first professional league in the Lone Star State was the Texas League, which began play in 1888. Numerous East Texas communities fielded teams in the Texas League, including Paris, Texarkana, Beaumont, Galveston, Houston, Greenville, Corsicana, Longview, and Tyler. Most of these cities joined numerous other East Texas communities in lesser minor leagues; 101 Texas communities have placed teams in professional baseball, more than any other state.

The East Texas League was founded in 1916, during baseball’s dead-ball era. It was a time of Ty Cobb, base stealing, and bunting and playing for one run, and baseball fans in Crockett, Lufkin, Nacogdoches, Palestine, and Rusk witnessed this style of play for part of the 1916 season. All minor league teams then were independently owned, often by local stock companies composed of baseball enthusiasts who never expected a return on their modest investments. In 1916 rosters and salaries in the low minors were limited, but weak attendance in small communities would quickly deplete club coffers. A five-team league did not offer sufficient variety of competition to maintain fan interest over an entire season, and on any given afternoon one East Texas League team was idle. Like many other fledgling minor leagues, the East Texas League ended play on July 19, well before the end of the regular schedule. Each team had played only about two dozen games. Palestine, led by player-manager Pete Hughes, an ex-Texas Leaguer, won eleven of its last fifteen games to take the championship.

The distraction of World War I disastrously curtailed minor league attendance. Twenty minor leagues operated in 1917; just nine began in 1918, and only one completed the season. The East Texas League was dormant for
seven years after its inaugural season. The decade of the 1920s historically has
been termed the Golden Age of Sports. Babe Ruth led baseball into an exciting
era of home-run hitting and high-scoring games, and the sport reached new
heights of popularity. In 1923 six East Texas cities formed a new East Texas
League, although none of the previous communities provided a team.
Greenville, Longview, Marshall, Mount Pleasant, Paris, and Sulphur Springs
formed the league's nucleus for the next three years. Ike Hockwald, a
prominent businessman and resourceful baseball enthusiast in Marshall, was
appointed league president, and William B. Ruggles, Dallas Morning News
reporter and statistician-historian of the Texas League for decades, agreed to
provide official statistics for the East Texas League. The National Association,
parent organization of the minor leagues, designated the East Texas League a
Class D circuit based on the population of its small cities.²

A 129-game schedule was arranged, although each team lost about ten
games to rainouts, and the season was divided into two halves so two winners
could engage in a post-season playoff. But Paris, which had won the cham­
pionships of the now-disbanded Texas-Oklahoma League in 1921 and 1922,
made it three pennants in a row by winning both halves of the season in 1923.
The 1923 Paris club was led by manager-first baseman Paul Trammell, who hit
.323. Paris posted the best team batting average in the league, was second in
fielding, and had two excellent righthanded pitchers named Anderson (19-9)
and Osborne (17-7, including 23 compete games in 24 appearances). Homer
Peel, a twenty-year-old outfield-infielder, began a long and notable career as
a rookie for Marshall, batting .322; in 1946, after playing for the New York
Giants and St. Louis Cardinals, and having established the highest lifetime
batting average in Texas League history, the forty-three-year-old Peel finished
his playing days by hitting .322 for Paris of the East Texas League. Another
important East Texas Leaguer who made his first appearance in the circuit in
1923 was infielder-outfielder Wally Dashiell from Jacksonville, who played
in Marshall and hit .293. Such budding stars were paraded through East Texas main streets
prior to a game; minor league parks usually had no clubhouses – certainly not
for visiting teams – and players dressed at their hotels, were conspicuously
driven through town before each game, then returned to the hotel for post­
game showers. Transportation to away games was usually in automobiles,
although old school busses sometimes were purchased by the clubs.³

The six clubs from 1923 were joined by Tyler and Texarkana for 1924,
and play was scheduled from April 22 through August 24. Newcomer Tyler
took both halves of the schedule, winning the pennant and the team batting
title. Texarkana bought Homer Peel for 1924; he played three positions and hit
.368. Smead Jolley, a magnificent minor-league hitter who accumulated a .366
lifetime average, batted .370 for Texarkana. But the batting champ was Mount
Pleasant infielder-outfielder Tom Osborne, who had been a football player at
SMU. Osborne, who did not play baseball in college, turned to minor league
baseball and “had a cup of coffee” with Houston in the Texas League in 1922.
He was not a good infielder and was tried at several position, but he was too
totent a hitter to keep out of the lineup. In 1923 Osborne hit .287 for Mount
Pleasant, where he operated a business and made his home. Over the next year Osborne ripped East Texas League pitching unmercifully, posting an astounding .432 mark. Beaumont of the Texas League purchased his contract; Mount Pleasant protested the transaction, but Baseball Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis ruled against the East Texas League club, and Osborne finished the year at Beaumont. The star of Marshall’s Orphans – soon renamed Comets – was an infielder-outfielder named Daniels who hit .358 and blasted a league-leading thirty-five home runs.4

The eight clubs from 1924 began the 1925 season, but by June Mount Pleasant and Sulphur Springs had folded. The six surviving clubs reorganized the schedule and carried on. Paris and Texarkana posted identical records in the first half of the season, but Paris won the second half. A post-season playoff series was arranged, and Paris swept three games from Texarkana to claim another pennant. Greenville right infielder Tom Pyle, a native of Alto who had batted .440 in forty-three games in 1924, hit .388 to win the batting crown in 1925. The home run champ was Tyler first baseman-outfielder T.J. Hollway, who hit .353 with forty-three homers in just 116 games.5

The same six teams comprised the East Texas League in 1926. Longview won the pennant because of two Texas League veterans, outfielder Lee King (.372 with twenty-one homers and a league-leading fifty stolen bases) and pitcher Alvah Bowman (20-4). But the outstanding performance of the year came from Tyler outfielder John William “Moose” Clabaugh, a legendary minor leaguer who compiled a .339 lifetime average during a sixteen-year career. He played seventy-six games for Paris in 1925 after spending the early months of the season in two other leagues and hit .385. For Tyler’s Trojans in 1926 he played 121 games and led the East Texas League in batting average (.376) and runs scored (106) – and blasted a record sixty-two home runs, the seventh highest total ever in minor league baseball.6

Club owners met in Tyler late in January 1927 and organized a new eight-team league. The Lone Star League was composed of Longview, Marshall, Paris, Texarkana, and Tyler of the East Texas League, and Corsicana, Mexia, and Palestine of the Texas Association. T. H. Fisher of Paris, president of the East Texas League, was elected president of the Lone Star League. Fisher faced serious problems; last-place Longview had to disband after a month of play, and the league voted to drop next-to-last Marshall to keep the schedule balanced. Tyler won the first half of the season, while Mexia prevailed in the second half, but the Tyler Trojans triumphed in the playoff, four games to two, to claim the pennant. The league’s best player was Carl Reynolds, an East Texan from LaRue, who was the hitting titlist (.376) and stolen-base champ (32) while playing for Palestine. Reynolds finished the season with the Chicago White Sox and accumulated a .302 lifetime average with five major league clubs during a thirteen-year career. Tyler pitcher Willie Underhill (13-6) finished the year with the Cleveland Indians, but he did not remain in the major leagues.7

The six teams that finished the season in 1927 carried on in 1928. First-half winner Palestine defeated Texarkana, victor in the second half, to claim
the pennant. Tyler outfielder Charlie Dorman enjoyed the outstanding performance of the season, hitting .408 with thirty-nine homers and thirty-nine doubles to lead the league in each category. His contract was sold after 114 games to Cleveland, where he hit .364 in twenty-five games, then, curiously, never reappeared in the major leagues.8

Only Palestine, Sherman, Texarkana, and Tyler joined the Lone Star League in 1929. But a four-team league did not interest fans, and play lasted only a few weeks. On May 16 the circuit disbanded, with Tyler and Palestine leading the standings. When clubs folded, the players went on the market. The sale of the contracts of promising players to teams in higher classifications was a primary source of income for independent minor-league owners.9

The Great Depression staggered minor-league baseball, but the East Texas oil boom produced operating capital from newly-wealthy baseball enthusiasts. In 1931 Henderson, Kilgore, and Longview – from the heart of the oil patch – and Tyler – which was becoming a headquarters for East Texas oil men – organized a revived East Texas League. But the lack of competitive variety inherent in four-team leagues doomed the circuit, and the East Texas League disbanded long before the scheduled end of play. The circuit did not operate in 1932, although Tyler and Longview spent most of the summer in the Texas League. In 1933, Longview, Tyler, and Henderson helped found the Dixie League, an eight-team, Class C circuit which included Waco and clubs from Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi.10

The next season East Texas cities organized the Class C West Dixie League, composed of Henderson, Jacksonville, Longview, Palestine, Paris, and Tyler. Although under a different name, the East Texas league was back in operation. J. Alvin Gardner, president of the Texas League, provided expertise as president of the West Dixie League and the East Dixie League. During the season the Paris club disbanded and the franchise was shifted to Lufkin for the second half of the season. Jacksonville, the eventual pennant winner, built a new ball park near the present Lon Morris College gymnasium, with a covered grandstand. The opener for the Jacksonville Jax was celebrated by the high school band, and every home game was announced by a huge banner suspended over a downtown street proclaiming “BASEBALL TODAY.” A lady whose house was just west of the ball park had flower pots in her yard and on the porch. The Jax had to pay for every flower pot broken by a foul ball, and club president Red Anderson later complained that flower pot purchases were among his highest expenditures.11

Wally Dashiell, player-manager at Jacksonville, led the Jax to the 1934 pennant by winning both halves of the season. The Jax featured a splendid pitching staff: Jackie Reid (12-2 with a league-leading 1.98 ERA); Linville Watkins (19-9, the highest victory total of the year); Walter Becker (18-4); and Rufus Meadows (11-5). Lou Frierson of the Paris-Lufkin franchise hit forty homers, while Tyler’s Fern Bell won the batting title with a .373 average and was sold to a higher classification after playing 108 games. Following the playoffs the Jax traveled by train to Mexico City to play the Mexican League
champs in a best-of-nine series. Playing every other day to large crowds, the East Texas leaguers won the necessary five games.\textsuperscript{12}

In 1935 Lufkin’s Foresters dropped out of the league, but the six-team lineup was sustained when Shreveport fielded a team. The Louisiana club folded early in June, and the circuit again became an all-East Texas aggregation when the franchise was moved to Gladewater. Gladewater’s flamboyant and free-spending club owner, Dick Burnett, who had made a fortune in the East Texas Oil Field, purchased the Dallas Texas League franchise as the capstone of his minor league network. Later, when Gladewater entered a crucial East Texas League series, Burnett sent one or another of his Dallas pitchers to the Bears for the five-day “tryout” period permitted by minor league statues. Wally Dashiell, who had moved to Tyler, led the Trojans to the best season record through the heroics of batting champ Tom Pyle (.376) and hurler Grady Bassett (23-8), league leader in almost every pitching category. Pyle, a career minor leaguer, hit .354 lifetime and spent seven seasons in the East Texas League – indeed, many of the circuit’s best players continued to turn up in East Texas cities and became familiar performers to the fans.\textsuperscript{13}

During the second half of 1935, club owners decided to adopt the Shaughnessy Playoff Plan, which was gaining popularity in the minors. Frank Shaughnessy, a longtime International League official, devised the post-season playoff scheme to sustain fan interest during a runaway pennant “race.” The team finishing first would play the fourth-place team in a best-of-seven, semifinals match. The winners played a best-of-seven championship series. As many as twenty-one playoff games might be staged, and winning teams might play fourteen extra games, half at home, since the East Texas League alternated sites for each post-season contest. The additional income frequently proved to be the difference in a team making or losing money for the season, and during the latter stages of a season fans would continue to follow a lower-ranking club battling for fourth place and a playoff berth. When a first-place team lost in the playoffs, customarily there was a double designation for the club that finished first and the playoff winner. The International League instituted the Shaughnessy Playoffs in 1933, and that season the Texas League also tried the system. East Texas League officials decided at mid-season in 1935 to stage the successful new system. The East Texas circuit’s first Shaughnessy playoff saw Tyler defeat fourth-place Longview in the opening round, four games to one, while second-place Palestine fell to Jacksonville in six games. In the finals the defending champion Jax won another title with a four-game sweep over the Trojans.\textsuperscript{14}

Another device utilized by minor league clubs to offset Depression woes was night baseball. Although slipping away from work to view an afternoon game imparts a delicious sense of “hooky,” more fans can attend night games; when minor leagues began to playing under lights in 1930 there was an appreciable jump in attendance. Night games also brought welcome relief from East Texas heat, and even though some cities – Jacksonville, Palestine, and Henderson, for example – did not at first install lights, night baseball soon dominated the East Texas League. Weekend games usually were played in the
afternoon, but doubleheaders often started in the afternoon, followed by the nightcap under the lights.

In a meeting held at Shreveport on October 26-27, 1935, the East Dixie League assumed the name of the old Cotton States League, with which the member clubs historically had been associated, while the West Dixie League changed to its proper label, East Texas League. The circuit increased its player limit from fourteen to fifteen and expanded to eight teams. The league president was J. Walter Morris, an experienced and capable baseball man who had played for the University of Texas and several Texas League teams, and who also had served Texas League clubs as a player-manager, business manager, owner, and for five years, league president. In 1936 and 1937 he was concurrently president of the East Texas, Cotton States, and Evangeline leagues. The Class C East Texas League was composed of the Gladewater Bears, Henderson Oilers, Jacksonville Jax, Kilgore Drillers, Longview Cannibals, Marshall Tigers, Palestine Pals, and Tyler Trojans. East Texas League ball parks during the 1930s and 1940s were spacious, which produced high batting averages and pitchers' ERAs but few home runs. Despite a 154-game schedule, Longview's third baseman, Merv Connors, and Gladewater's center fielder, Clary Hack tied for the home-run title with just twenty-four each – and only one other batter managed more than twenty home runs. Longview player-manager Ernest "Tex" Jeanes won the batting crown with a .362 average, and a total of twenty-seven regulars hit over .300 in 1936. Similar statistical patterns prevailed through the remaining years of the East Texas League. Marshall's Tom Jordan won the home-run title in 1940 with just nineteen and in eight of the league's remaining ten seasons, no team hit as many as 100 home runs. Eddie Hock, a twenty-three-year career minor leaguer, played for Gladewater in 1936 and for Texarkana in 1937; Hock set the all-time record for singles in a career by a minor league player. In the playoffs in 1936 Gladewater and Tyler emerged from the opening round with triumphs over Longview and Jacksonville. Although Tyler's Trojans boasted the best season record in the league, Gladewater won the finals in six games.¹⁵

Dick Burnett decided to move his championship team from Gladewater to Texarkana, a much larger city and a good baseball town. Burnett, beginning to display the promotional gifts that brought more than 53,000 fans to the Cotton Bowl for a Texas League game in 1950, uniformed his Texarkana Liners in red, white, and blue flannels with blue pinstripes, with a blue stripe down the leg; white caps with red bills; and white stockings with red-and-blue rings. Texarkana and the seven holdover clubs that began the season in 1937 made up the East Texas League for four unusually stable seasons. A community-wide ticket drive gave Marshall the opening day Attendance Cup. The College of Marshall band played the National Anthem as a league record 2,039 fans crowded into Matthewson Park near the college.¹⁶

In May Marshall's Tigers were involved in the East Texas League's most spectacular brawl during a game in Tyler. When Trojan first baseman Charley Baron slid into third base flashing his spikes, Marshall third baseman Gene Ater began swinging. The two managers, Wally Dashiell of Tyler and Mar-
shall's J.P. "Alabama" Jones, flailed away until separated. Spectators leaped out of the stands, and Marshall pitcher Tex Nugent took out a fan and Trojan infielder Rudy Laskowski. Marshall won the game, 6-5, Ater went to the hospital with a broken jaw, and afterwards Dashiell scuffled with a Marshall player in a Tyler cafe. Baron, genuinely sorry for breaking Ater's jaw, visited the convalescing player daily.\textsuperscript{17}

There were several remarkable pitching performances during 1937. Tyler southpaw Rufus Meadows led the league in winning percentage (.806) with a gaudy 25-6 record, including six shutouts. Henderson fireballer Walter Schafer went 23-14 and set an all-time league record with 274 strikeouts, while Marshall's Tex Nugent was 21-11. Red Lynn, who pitched doubleheaders, hurled fifty-six games and an all-time record 340 innings in a 140-game season. His won-lost mark was 32-13, and he became the only thirty-game-winner in the history of the East Texas League.\textsuperscript{18}

Power for the Jacksonville lineup was supplied by slugging second baseman Tommy Robello, who led the league with thirty-three homers and 130 RBIs. Although Tyler edged out the Jax for first place, Marshall defeated the Trojans in the playoffs while Jacksonville squeaked past Henderson. Jacksonville beat Marshall, four games to two, for another title.\textsuperscript{19}

The batting crown was won in 1938 by outfielder Gordon Houston of Texarkana, who hit .384 and was promoted to the Texas League. On February 10, 1942, Lieutenant Houston of the Army Air Force was killed during a training flight near Tacoma, Washington— the first professional baseball player to die in World War II. Another Texarkana player, center fielder Gabby Lusk, hit .334 and scored a league-leading 152 runs in just 136 games, while Henderson's Guy Cartwright hit .351 and scored 143 runs in 112 games. Wallie Eaves, a Texarkana fastballer, went 15-4 and struck out 209 batters in only 174 innings before being called up to the Texas League and, eventually, the major leagues. Another future big league pitcher was Ed Lopat, who spent 1938 with Kilgore, 1939 with Longview, 1940 with Marshall, then became a New York Yankee after the war. Marshall finished first but lost the opening round of playoffs to fourth-place Tyler. Texarkana and Henderson battled for seven games before the Oilers finally won. The finals also went the full seven games. Tyler's Big Bill Lanning pitched in three of the last four games to lead the Trojans to the pennant. Tyler, which clicked off a record-setting 155 double plays during the season, had finished with the best overall record the previous three years, but only now enjoyed a playoff title.\textsuperscript{20}

For the 1939 season the legendary Jake Atz was hired to manage the Henderson Oilers. During a long managerial career he led Fort Worth to six consecutive Texas League championships, and in 1939 the sixty-year-old Atz skippered Henderson to first place in the East Texas League. Atz had the league's leading base stealer (60), second baseman Tommy Tatum, and an excellent pitching staff: Steve Rachunok (22-6); Ed Weiland (18-9); and Gene Hinrichs (15-8). Good pitching performances were turned in by Kilgore's Frank Perko (20-4), and Longview's Eddie Lopat (16-9, with a league-leading 2.11 ERA). In
the opening round of playoffs Henderson defeated Marshall, while Kilgore downed Palestine. Kilgore's hitting attack was sparked by center fielder Eddie Knoblauch (.335 with a league-leading 125 runs scored), who had an illustrious minor-league career, by first baseman Ray Sanders (.333) and Steve Perko, who hit well enough (.272) to be placed in right field when not on the mound. Kilgore swept Henderson in four straight games to win the playoff title.21

World War II sharply curtailed the minor leagues. Wartime travel restrictions and the enlistment of millions of young men reduced the minors to just ten leagues by 1944, but the East Texas League was one of the first of the lower classification circuits to experience the distractions caused by the war. In June 1940, last-place Jacksonville and Palestine, which had climbed to third place, disbanded because of poor attendance. The league set up a six-team schedule, and Jake Atz led the Henderson Oilers to first place during the final months of the season. Marshall was managed by shortstop Salty Parker, who led the league in hitting (.349) and the Tigers to a playoff victory over Henderson. At the same time Tyler defeated Longview in the playoff opener. The finals went the full seven games, with the Trojans winning the seventh and decisive contest, but later Tyler was disqualified and the pennant awarded to Marshall. During the season Marshall outfielder Dave Philley hit just .264, but he showed promise to move up to Shreveport in the Texas League, and later the Paris native enjoyed a long major-league career.22

In 1941 only Longview, Marshall, Sherman, Texarkana, and Tyler were willing to place teams in the East Texas League. At a meeting held in Longview on Sunday, March 9, 1941, the East Texas League voted to disband "temporarily," but five years passed before the circuit resumed play. The minor leagues prospered immediately in the postwar years. The East Texas League was one of forty-two junior circuits which operated in 1946, and by 1949 there were fifty-nine minor leagues. East Texans, like other Americans, were war-weary and ready for recreation. In 1946 the East Texas League provided baseball fans with an astounding and courageous performance, while eight East Texas cities competed in a 140-game schedule: Greenville, Henderson, Jacksonville, Lufkin, Paris, Sherman, Texarkana, Tyler. Monty Stratton, a budding Chicago White Sox pitching star before the war, had shot himself with a pistol while hunting on his mother's farm near Greenville following the season in 1938. His right leg was amputated above the knee, but he resumed his pitching career in an exhibition game in Houston in 1942. Sherman signed the thirty-four-year-old amputee in 1946 and Stratton responded magnificently. He still possessed a major league curve, and a gentleman's agreement prevailed not to bunt on him. Stratton completed twenty of twenty-seven starts and posted a sparkling 18-8 record. Only two pitchers in the league won more games, and standing-room only crowds turned out to see him pitch. He played in 1947 for Waco, pitched a few exhibitions in succeeding seasons, and worked with James Stewart on the popular film, "The Stratton Story," in 1949.23

East Texas League fans welcomed back a few pre-war players, such as sluggers Buck Frierson and Merv Connors. Homer Peel was president of the Paris club, and the forty-three-year-old hitting star played first base and outfield
and hit .322. Peel's friend and former teammate in Shreveport, Vernon "George" Washington, played right field for Texarkana and displayed his still-awesome batting talents. Washington, who learned to play on a rough diamond on the family farm near Linden, was an indifferent fielder but a ferocious line-drive hitter. He was a left-handed batter with small hands and a powerful swing; when he missed a pitch his bat often would sail out of his hands into the first-base dugout or grandstand, so some ballparks were rigged with a screen to raise when Washington batted. Washington hit .344 for Texarkana in 1946, then won three straight batting titles. Texarkana was in the Class B, Big State League from 1947 through 1953, and for two years player-manager Washington showed his charges how to annihilate opposition pitching. In 1947 he collected 222 hits in 141 games, walloped thirty-seven homers and 143 RBIs, and hit .404. The next season he led the Big State League with a .384 average. In 1949 he became player-manager at Gladewater and, although now forty-one years old, he hit .387 to pace the East Texas League and struck out just six times in 512 times at bat. Washington played part of 1950 with Dick Burnett's Dallas Eagles of the Texas League, then finished the year — and his career — with Gladewater, ripping East Texas League pitching at a .352 clip in sixty-four games. He retired to his Linden farm with a .347 lifetime average as a minor leaguer.  

Pinky Griffin, second baseman for the Paris Red Peppers in 1946, was married in his uniform at home plate before a standing-room-only crowd. The fans took up a collection and presented $300 to the newlyweds — Griffin made just $100 per month as a Red Pepper. Home-plate weddings were not infrequent around the East Texas league, and the couple usually passed under a line of bats held by the groom’s teammates.  

One of the most outstanding pitching performance in East Texas League history was turned in by Henderson southpaw Elton Davis, who led the league in 1946 in every important category except strikeouts. Incredibly, he completed all thirty-one of his starts, added fourteen relief appearances, batted .283, and posted a 26-6 record. Paced by Davis, the Oilers finished first, then sailed through the Shaughnessy Playoffs to win an outright championship.  

During this period of East Texas professional baseball, most clubs featured daily play-by-play broadcasts of their games. The only exceptions were those cities which had daylight radio stations that could carry only weekend games, which were played in the afternoons. Like the more talented and fortunate players, the best broadcasters moved up. Bill Merrill, for example, called Marshall Browns' games as a young college student, later broadcast Texas League games, then made the big leagues as play-by-play man for the Texas Rangers. Broadcasts had been common since the 1930s, but another form of baseball communication was a Western Union play-by-play wire service: in Marshall during the playoffs in 1937, "a detailed play-by-play account will be given fans over a loud speaker system hook-up on the west side of the courthouse lawn...."  

In 1947 Greenville, Paris, Texarkana, and Sherman as the Sherman-Denison Twins, helped form the new Big State League, forcing the East Texas League to reorganize. For 1947 and 1948 the reorganized Class C circuit called
itself the Lone Star League, before returning to its historic name. Henderson, Jacksonville, Lufkin, and Tyler added three familiar cities—Kilgore, Longview, and Marshall—along with Bryan, and league membership remained stable through the remainder of the decade. A prewar star, Merv Connors, who had led the league in home runs in 1935 and 1936, hit .318 with twenty-six home runs and 106 RBIs for Longview. Connors, who brandished a big black bat, hit .301 for Kilgore in 1949 and 1950 and was the last East Texas League home run champion with twenty-six in 1950. One of five twenty-game winners, Paul Kardow of Marshall, was an imposing six-foot-seven-inch 240-pounder.

Another Marshall righthander moved over to Henderson in 1947. Travis Reeves, who pitched at Carthage High School, was 7-6 when he slipped on wet grass and suffered an injury that ended his minor-league career. He entered radio work in Henderson and eventually became a member of the Country Music Hall of Fame as Gentleman Jim Reeves. Henderson center fielder John Stone won a rare Triple Crown in 1947: he hit .396 with thirty-two homers and an all-time league record 185 RBIs. But Henderson finished seventh in the standings. Kilgore wound up in first place by half a game, then beat Tyler and Marshall in the playoffs to win an outright pennant.28

Kilgore repeated its first-place finish and playoff victory in 1948. Catcher-manager Joe Kracher established an all-time league record with a .433 batting average, including 104 RBIs in 113 games; Jesse Landrum, who played second base and right field for Bryan, hit .411; and Henderson manager-first baseman Melvin Hicks hit .405 in fifty-two games. Henderson's John Stone hit .323, and for the second year in a row led the league in home runs (23) and RBIs (146). Longview righthander Ralph Pate was 23-3, and hit .284.29

The same eight teams played in 1949, but the Lone Star League label was dropped in favor of the more familiar East Texas League. Although Gladewater's George Washington was the batting champ (.387), John Stone of Henderson hit .371 with 115 RBIs and a league-leading forty-four stolen bases. Joe Kracher was still Kilgore's catcher-manager, but his incredible average dropped to .329. Southpaw Otho Nitcholas, a pitching star for Tyler in 1948 (18-7, 1.98 ERA), was 11-1 for Gladewater. Gladewater and Longview dominated regular season play, but in the playoffs first-place Longview was defeated in seven games by Kilgore, while Gladewater had to go to the seventh game to defeat Paris. Fourth-place Kilgore apparently was exhausted by the playoff opener, falling in the finals to George Washington's Gladewater club in four straight games. Playoff attendance totaled 43,328, an average of nearly 2,300 per game.30

League attendance after the war soared annually past 400,000 paid admissions per season, a crowd of 4,268 witnessed the All-Star Game in 1948, and the playoff attendance in 1947 was a circuit record. But in 1950 attendance patterns changed ominously in the East Texas League and in all other minor circuits. The phenomenal impact of television devastated minor league baseball. Another factor in Southern states was the increasingly availability of air conditioning—instead of cooling off at a ball park, East Texans turned on the window unit and plopped down in front of a TV set. Yet another aspect in the decline of the minors was the explosion of youth baseball; parents who spent
several nights per week at little league games and practices were not inclined to turn out for minor league baseball. As attendance declined minor league clubs and entire leagues disappeared: from a high attendance of nearly 42,000,000 in 1949, patronage declined to 9,963,174 in 1963; in 1949 there were fifty-nine minor leagues, but by 1963 there were only eighteen junior circuits still in business.1

In 1950 East Texas League attendance declined by nearly one-third from the previous season to 288,243, while playoff attendance dipped by more than half to 20,914. Although eight teams began the season in 1948, 1949, and 1950, Paris and Bryan, seventh and eighth in the standings, disbanded on July 19, 1950. The league limped on with six teams, and defending titlist Gladewater finished first. Fourth-place Longview, twenty-three and one-half games off the pace in the standings, defeated Gladewater in a seven-game playoff opener. The second-place Marshall Browns beat Longview's Texans, four games to one. Then the Browns, termed the "Whiz Kids" because the team averaged just twenty years of age, defeated Longview in the finals, also in five games. Marshall had finished first in 1938 and had been awarded a playoff title in 1940 by default, but had never won an East Texas League crown.32

Shortly after the season ended, sports observers recognized that a "revamping" of professional baseball in Texas was inevitable: "There were too many leagues and too many clubs last year. Teams were falling out during the season, financial drives had to be put on to keep others in and... you could count on your fingers the clubs that broke even..."33 The Korean War added another negative force to minor league baseball. Another mass callup of able-bodied young men was feared, and that travel restrictions again would prevail, along with disinterest on the part of fans distracted by war. On Sunday, January 28, 1951, East Texas League directors met at the Hotel Longview. President Jimmy Dalrymple, a former ETL pitcher and manager, was told that Tyler and Henderson were ready to play ball. Marshall sent word that the defending champs would field a team if the league operated, but no club representative was present. Gladewater's representative left before the decisive vote was taken, announcing that Gladewater would "await developments." Letters had been sent out to numerous cities inviting backers to place a club in the East Texas League. Only Corsicana responded, but its Chamber of Commerce president admitted that no adequate ball park was available. East Texas League owners discussed operating a four-team circuit, but wisely decided to play with no fewer than six clubs. After four hours, Dalrymple reluctantly announced the decision not to operate the East Texas League in 1951.34

There was hope that the circuit would be revived, but conditions for minor leagues steadily worsened and the East Texas League was just one of dozens of junior circuits that passed out of existence in the 1950s. Yellowing newspaper accounts of long ago games still exist, and numerous former players, fans, and club officials can impart their recollections of one of East Texas' most important recreational institutions. But the most tangible reminders of the East Texas League are old ball parks, scattered here and there across the region. Historians are well aware of the seductive charm of structures from bygone eras. Just as old homes, school buildings, churches,
and commercial structures can evoke the ghosts of decades past, old baseball parks suggest diamond heroes in baggy flannel uniforms and grandstands crowded with East Texans from another era.

In Jacksonville and Corsicana there are vacant lots where the Jax and the Oilers once played. In Greenville only the gateway and sidewalks remain to indicate Majors Field. In Paris the concrete reserved-seat section is all that remains of the grandstand, but the playing field has been maintained, and on a drizzly spring afternoon in 1986 the author watched two area high school teams play a district game on the old diamond. In Henderson youth baseball is played at Oiler Field, where the entire concrete grandstand — built as a bowl on a natural hillside—remains, although the roof has been removed. In Marshall the ball park, built in 1946 to house the Browns, long hosted Maverick high school baseball, but today only the concrete grandstand foundation remains. In Tyler Mike Carter Field, built by the WPA in 1938, was the home of the Trojans until 1955; handsomely refurbished in the early 1990s, it now hosts the Tyler Junior College Apaches and Tyler's professional team in the Texas-Louisiana League. Kilgore's Driller Field, with an outfield fence built of oil field boiler plate, still is the home of KHS Bulldog baseball, and has been splendidly maintained.

If a traveler stops to visit any one of these old ball parks, it is not difficult to remember little boys marching through the grandstand hawking hot dogs and ice buckets full of bottled Cokes, of Moose Clabaugh slamming home runs, of Henry "Sugar" Kane running down fly balls for the Marshall Browns, of a bat flying out of the hands of George Washington, of Red Lynn hurling both ends of a doubleheader for the Jax, of one-legged Monty Stratton breaking his curve ball past the bat of a Class C hitter. Lamar Ford, who grew up in Marshall idolizing the Browns, doubtless spoke for generations of East Texas boys when he reflected on the baseball of his youth: "The attention and friendship given to us by those professional athletes certainly had a bearing on our lives and attitudes during that time and for the rest of our lives. They gave us something to occupy our time, probably keeping us out of a lot of trouble. They also gave us something to look forward to, not only day-to-day, but season-to-season. The games themselves did not stand out — an out was an out, a home run was a home run. Being there was what was important, win or lose. The few of the Browns I was able to keep up with advanced no further than Class AA baseball, but in all our eyes, they were Major Leaguers!"35

NOTES

6The Reach Official American League Base Ball Guide (1926), pp. 283-287; Minor League Baseball Stars, I (Manhattan, Kansas, 1978), pp. 11-12, 35-36; Moose Clabaugh played eleven games for the Brooklyn Dodgers late in 1926, but he hit just .071 and spent the rest of his career in the minors.
In addition to the sources mentioned above, I am indebted to the Library of the National Baseball Hall Of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, for providing photocopies from the statistical guides for each year that the East Texas League operated. Several of my students at Panola College interviewed East Texas Leaguers and dug up other materials; especially industrious and resourceful were David Nugent, Mike Hammonds, and Chris Ogden. I developed this project in conjunction with a centennial history of the Texas Baseball League, and people such as the great hitter, Homer Peel of Shreveport, Mrs. Vernon Washington of Linden, and Mrs. Tony York of Hubbard were gracious and helpful in my research for information. I am deeply grateful to the Otis Lock Endowment and to the East Texas Historical Association for a research grant which greatly facilitated my efforts.
From 1900 until the Great Depression in the 1930s, minor league baseball experienced steady growth in the numbers of leagues and teams in the United States. The only exception to the ongoing prosperity of minor league baseball came as a result of the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914. On the eve of the United States' entry into the war, the minor league establishment in 1916 consisted of 181 teams in twenty-five leagues. When the United States threw its might into the European struggle in 1917 and mobilized manpower on a massive scale, many of the minor leagues suspended operations. By 1919 the number of minor leagues dwindled to only ten, the fewest in the twentieth century except for 1943 when World War II again reduced the number of minor leagues to ten. Once the war ended in 1918, Americans gradually returned to normal pursuits and minor league baseball also recovered. By 1921, twenty-six minor leagues fielded teams.

The Texas League did not curtail play during World War I, but it did not fare well. Many of the prime ball players were in the armed forces, Americans had other preoccupations, and most Texas League teams' attendance ebbed during the short American experience in the bloody conclusion of World War I. As a renaissance in minor league baseball occurred in postwar America, the Texas League also prospered. By 1926, the league drew a record 1,159,905 patrons to its games. Then, rather inexplicably, attendance declined slightly in 1927 and 1928. Experts attributed the losses in attendance to a variety of causes. George White, sports writer for The Dallas Morning News, wrote in his widely read column that some of the Texas League owners were convinced that "... the shrinking attendance of the last few years is directly attributable to the radio's influence." Many Americans undoubtedly preferred to stay home and listen to the novel and inexpensive entertainment radios brought directly into their homes rather than attend ball games. Others argued that the declining attendance at baseball games resulted from American boys losing interest in baseball. American boys, so the argument ran, now were more interested in basketball, track, golf, tennis, and other activities than baseball. Another factor which clearly competed for the fans' entertainment dollars was the growth of family ownership of automobiles and the ever-increasing miles of paved roads in America. Driving trips to visit friends and relatives drew families on weekend outings away from ball parks. In the 1920s municipalities began expensive programs of lighting parks, tennis courts, swimming pools, and other facilities, which also drew potential fans' attention away from the ballparks. In minor league towns, baseball had once been the main form of entertainment in the summer; now all manner of diversions beckoned and attendance at the ball parks declined.

Until 1930, all Texas League games were played in the afternoon sun, and ball parks in Texas or Louisiana (Shreveport was one of the bulwarks of the Larry G. Bowman is a Professor of History at the University of North Texas.
circuit) were hot places to spend an afternoon in the dog days of summer, even for Southerners who were more or less acclimatized to the heat. All Texas League parks had pavilions to shield their patrons from the searing sun, but even so, an August afternoon in a shaded seat was often uncomfortably warm. In 1930, in Shreveport, Louisiana, the Texas League’s Shreveport Sports faced a new competitor for the fans’ weekend entertainment dollars: the Publix Theatre Corporation, which operated the Strand Theatre, announced the installation of a refrigerated air conditioning system. Other of the larger cities in the Texas League also witnessed the advent of air-conditioned movie houses, and on hot afternoons in the depths of summer, many of baseball’s less dedicated patrons elected to view a film in the cool darkness of a theatre rather than swelter at the ball park, especially if the local heroes were not doing well in the league standings. As the 1920s waned, professional baseball faced a myriad of challenges, and the attendance figures showed that Americans were spending their entertainment dollars on new pursuits. Gate receipts to Texas League games, as was the case for minor league games nation-wide, declined alarmingly as the 1920s came to an end.

As the number of customers declined in the years after the record mark in 1926, Texas League entrepreneurs struggled to find ways to entice fans to their parks. Owners improved their facilities, engaged in promotions to attract fans to the games, and waged more aggressive sales campaigns to lure spectators to their parks. In 1927 and 1928, attendance at Texas League games declined by about eight percent each year. In 1928, Texas League President J. Doak Roberts and the franchise owners launched a determined effort to become more competitive, and in 1929 the league’s attendance declined by less than one percent. Many of the owners were relieved by the near reversal of the decline, but the more prescient among them knew that additional innovations were necessary for minor baseball to return to the healthier days of the mid-1920s.

While the full impact of the great crash on Wall Street remained unclear as spring training began in 1930, owners fully understood that 1930 loomed as a critical year in the ongoing battle to improve attendance figures. Four of the Texas League teams installed lights in 1930 and began to play evening baseball to attract more patrons. Each of the teams that turned to night baseball did improve home attendance, but overall the league’s attendance declined dramatically in 1930. The impact of the Great Depression became painfully apparent that season: attendance dropped to 690,874. In 1933 the league attracted only 522,512 fans to games, roughly one-half the total attendance in 1926. In spite of efforts to light parks for night ball, to use a split season format with the first half winner and the second half winner (or runner-up) going into post-season playoffs, and other devices to sustain the fans’ interest, the Depression simply overwhelmed all the measures the owners developed to combat falling gate receipts in some of the league’s more lightly populated locales. Lean times at the box office stalked several of the teams in the Texas League, and dire consequences seemed imminent.

Two Texas League teams, Waco and Wichita Falls, suffered heaviest from
declining attendance. The Waco Cubs had a unique status; they were operated by a corporation owned by the City of Waco, and when the monetary liabilities of operating a team outweighed civic pride, the Cubs dropped out of the league. In 1931, the Cubs were replaced by the Galveston Buccaneers, who immediately drew about fifty percent more attendance than Waco had managed to attract in 1930. Attendance for the entire league in 1931 rose to 768,064, an increase of more than ten percent compared to 1930. It appeared that the eight-team Texas League was in improved condition, but the overall figures for the Texas League were misleading. Total attendance was on the rise in 1931, but some of the franchises located in the league’s smaller cities did not share in the prosperity. The Wichita Falls Spudders faced an alarming decline in gate receipts. In 1927, 1929, and 1930 the Spudders won the league pennant but attendance declined from a club record of 131,385 in 1927 to 74,994 in 1929 and to a dismal 33,560 in 1931, when the team finished fifth in the league standings. Knowledgeable fans realized that in spite of improved aggregate attendance at Texas League parks, the Spudders were close to collapse.

Economic conditions in Wichita Falls were grim. Not only had the Depression had its effect on Wichita Falls, oil production, the linchpin of the area’s economy, drastically declined early in the 1930s. In 1924, for example, total annual oil production in Wichita County reached 15,820,820 barrels; by 1931, annual production dropped to just under 7,000,000 barrels. Nearby Wilbarger County’s oil production had fallen by nearly one half since 1930, and surrounding oil producing areas also reflected similar declines. Wichita Falls, at 43,690 people in the census for 1930, had the smallest population base of all of the cities in the Texas League, and as jobs steadily disappeared, minor league baseball in Wichita Falls faced a crisis.

The management of the Wichita Falls Spudders carefully prepared for the 1932 season. L.C. McEvoy, the club’s president, labored diligently to assemble a competitive team. The Spudders were affiliated with the St. Louis Browns of the American League, and McEvoy and the Browns’ president, Philip Ball, assigned a balanced roster to Wichita Falls which they hoped would restore the team to its competitive level of a few years before. In addition to obtaining carefully selected players for the Spudders’ roster, the Brown’s management inaugurated a publicity campaign to attract a large crowd for the home opener on April 15, 1932, to create an enthusiasm for the team among local fans. The effort of the Spudders’ front office turned out a good crowd of 4,825 fans to Athletic Park to see Wichita Falls demolish the Shreveport Sports by a score of 13-3.

An attendance of nearly 5,000 fans for a game was encouraging, but the Spudders’ management realized that one game did not solve the decline in attendance. By May 8, 1932, the Spudders had played sixteen home dates and had attracted 9,300 admissions. After the opening day success, the home games averaged 298 paid admissions per game. At that rate, the Spudders could expect a season attendance of less than 27,000, a new low for the club. The team was in fourth place, about four and one-half games behind Houston.
and Beaumont which were tied for first place, and as the team floundered on
the field and at the ticket office, rumors circulated that the Spudders planned
to move from Wichita Falls. On May 19, 1932, while the team was in Houston
for a series with the Buffaloes, Al Parker, chief sports writer for the Wichita
Daily News, announced in his column that the team would relocate in Long-
view, Texas, one of the centers of the East Texas oil boom that had just begun.17
According to Parker's account, the Spudders were scheduled to begin play in
Longview on May 25 in a homestand against Fort Worth. The only ray of hope
Parker offered his readers was that the move might be temporary. Parker's
report quoted the club president L.C. McEvoy:

We have no intention or desire to move the club permanently to
Longview and leave our valuable property here to remain idle. Longview is
providing a park without expense to the club, and we believe the novelty of
Texas League baseball in the new oil center will result in better patronage
than could have been expected here for the remainder of the season.18

Whether McEvoy's statement allayed fears in Wichita Falls that the Spudders'
departure was only for the balance of the season is doubtful; Parker clearly
was skeptical. What was obvious was that the struggling franchise was moving
to greener pastures. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which took an interest in the
Browns' minor league affiliates, observed that Longview and Tyler, which was
witnessing the relocation of the Shreveport Sports in Tyler, are "... in the rich
new oil field of East Texas and have recently jumped from populations of
around 10,000 each to fair sized young cities."19 The final collapse of the
Wichita Falls' membership in the Texas League came as no surprise to anyone
who paid attention to the events surrounding the Spudders' faltering
attendance figures. In Shreveport, Louisiana, where another Texas League
team faced serious problems with declining attendance, the Shreveport
Journal observed, "... ever since the edge was ripped off the oil excitement at
Wichita Falls, baseball interest there has been on the decline until now a week-
day crowd there means only 40 or 50 paid admissions."20 Others had seen the
Spudders change of venue in the offing, and viewed the decision to move to
East Texas as necessary and sensible.

East Texas was, indeed, a lively scene early in the 1930s. When the great
oil boom inaugurated by Dad Joiner's stunning discoveries restructured the
economy of East Texas, prosperity seemed everywhere in spite of the Depres-
sion. Gregg County, where Longview was located, had not produced a single
barrel of oil in 1930, but when the great East Texas oil boom got underway the
fields in Gregg County yielded 80,765,000 barrels in 1932.21 Combined with
nearby Rusk County's production, the East Texas oil fields produced
121,944,000 barrels of oil, nearly one-half of Texas' output of 312,256,000
barrels in 1932.22 Money, population, and human energy flowed into East
Texas in enormous volumes early in the 1930s and an enormous quantity of oil
flowed out of East Texas into the nation's economy. It was a heady time for
everyone. Towns and counties grew wildly. Between 1930 and 1940, the Gregg
County population rose from 15,778 to 58,456, an increase of 267 percent.23
During the same period, the city of Longview tripled in size and Tyler nearly
doubled its population. As chaotic as life in East Texas appeared sometimes
to be, opportunity was everywhere, or so it seemed. The East Texas oil fields
also produced the legends of overnight wealth, and McEvoy and the Spudders' 
front office staff and their partners in the St. Louis Browns were seduced by
what they saw in Longview.

Another Texas League franchise, the Shreveport Sports, experienced a
different sort of crisis and also moved to East Texas. Shreveport joined the
Texas League in 1917, and even though it was one of the smaller cities in the
league, it had always been a good baseball town and occasionally drew more
fans than the Houston Buffaloes and the San Antonio Indians who played their
games amidst a larger population base. In the benchmark year of 1926,
Shreveport finished fourth in the league standings and fourth in attendance
when the Sports drew 143,794 patrons to home games. In 1931, the Sports
fell to sixth place in the pennant race and ironically also finished in sixth place
in attendance with a total of 57,572 paid admissions. O.L. Biedenharn, one
of the pioneer bottlers of Coca-Cola and a wealthy man and owner of the
Sports and Biedenharn Park where the team played home games in Shreveport,
became weary of the daily struggle to promote his club and during the winter
of 1931-1932 decided to sell his franchise. He sold his interest in the Sports
to an organization known as the Caddo Baseball Association which was
headed by B.A. Hardy and J. Walter Morris, but retained ownership of the
ball park. Biedenharn Park was a relatively valuable property. In 1930, Bieden­
harn had installed lights for night ball, and in recent years it also had become
a site for evening football games for local high schools and for Centenary
College games, all of which yielded revenue to Biedenharn.

When the 1932 season got underway, the Sports got off to a slow start in
the pennant race and attendance lagged badly. Thirty-nine year old George
Sisler, a fifteen-year veteran of the major leagues and a career .340 hitter, had
been hired to play first base and to serve as the Sports' manager. Even though
he was a hard-driving, hard-nosed baseball man, the Sports played dull and
uninspired baseball. Hardy and Morris and their partners in the Caddo
Baseball Association were disappointed with the Sports' early season perfor­
mance but patiently waited for the team's fortunes to improve and for a surge
at the ticket window. Instead, disaster struck the Sports. On the night of May
4, 1932, after a game with the Galveston Cubs, Biedenharn Park was destroyed
by fire. Night watchman Carl "Bud" Newman was sweeping trash in the west
section of the grandstand when he heard a small explosion and immediately a
blaze erupted and swept through the park. George White of the Dallas
Morning News described the results of the fire in his column: "Everything was
destroyed except the umpires dressing room, the negro bleachers, and the club
office. Included in the equipment that went up in the flames were all those of
the Sport's uniforms, caps, hose, shoes and gloves and the Galveston club's
bats which were in a trunk in the visitors dugout." The floundering Sports
were homeless.

About the only advantage the Shreveport ownership had as they surveyed
the damage was that the Sports were scheduled to return to the road after only
three more home games on May 6, 7, and 8. Rather than give up sorely needed gate receipts, the owners of the Sports sought a temporary site to play the Indians. Then, once the team left Shreveport for nearly two weeks, a more suitable solution to the Sports' plight could be, the Caddo Baseball Association hoped, devised. Nearby Longview, Texas, was in the process of renovating its ball park in anticipation of acquiring a minor league team, and the Sports arranged to play the first of the three games with San Antonio in Longview. On May 6, 1932, the Sports played the Indians in Longview before 2,000 spectators and lost by a score of 7-5.33 Longview's city leadership was negotiating with the Wichita Fall Spudders when the Shreveport team came to town looking for a temporary home. Final settlement of the deal to bring the Spudders to Longview was in the offing, but many of the town's baseball fans wanted the Sports to become their team. With only twenty-four hours notice, 2,000 fans had turned out to see the game, and enthusiasm for the Sports, which had many fans locally, was high.34 While the members of the Caddo Baseball Association did not know the details of the discussions between Longview and the Spudders, they were not unaware that Wichita Falls ownership also sought a new site to finish the season. The Caddo group also knew that Tyler, Texas, wanted a Texas League team, and when the city offered the Sports the use of a field for the remaining games with San Antonio, the Sports readily accepted. The teams moved to Tyler, and on May 7 and 8 played two more games before a total of about 4,000 fans.35 The Sports and the Indians played the second game in a cold, drizzling rain which inhibited attendance, but the overall ticket sales proved satisfying to the harried members of Shreveport's front office staff. San Antonio won the first game and Shreveport the second. Then the Sports went on to San Antonio to begin the road series.

Then the Sports ran into more bad fortune: George Sisler quit as manager.36 He had not been happy with his situation in Shreveport, and the uncertainty of the team's future and the Sports' poor performance prompted his departure, which further demoralized the team as the Sports embarked on a long road trip. Not much more could go wrong for the Sports it seemed, but more bad news was coming. Biedenharn, who owned the Sports' park in Shreveport, received a $35,000 insurance payment for the losses incurred when the fire destroyed his ball park. In the uncertainty and confusion that followed the fire, local baseball fans, newspapers, and members of the Caddo Baseball Association confidently expected Biedenharn, a longtime backer of minor league baseball, to rebuild the ball park.37 But on May 10 Biedenharn announced that he would not do so. He declared that he had already lost $25,000 on baseball in Shreveport and would lose no more.38

Now that the Shreveport team was officially homeless, leaders in Tyler, Texas, eagerly offered a home to the Shreveport team. Only two days after the fire destroyed Biedenharn Park, a group of Tyler businessmen headed by Gus Taylor, president of the Citizens National Bank and of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce, contacted the Texas League office about transferring the Sports to Tyler.39 Longview leaders, who had seen 2,000 enthusiastic fans attend the game on May 6 between the Sports and the Indians in Longview, objected to
Tyler's proposal. Longview also wanted a Texas League team to celebrate its status as a booming, growing town, and many local fans already had an allegiance to the Sports. J. Alvin Gardiner, who was president of the Texas League, took the Tyler petition under advisement and adopted a wait-and-see policy since he knew that the Spudders were also looking for a new home. In the back of his mind, Gardiner realized that neither Longview nor Tyler were good sites for a permanent location of league franchises. The towns were practically adjacent to each other and too many teams in so small an area would lessen the prestige of the league, and small communities, regardless of the level of local prosperity, lacked the population base to support a team through a long season. Larger towns were certainly more desirable for permanent relocation of the Sports and the Spudders, but Gardiner realized that the Texas League had to re-deploy two of its franchises.

On May 14, 1932, Gardiner authorized the Sports to relocate in Tyler for the remainder of the season and declared that the team would henceforth be known as the "Trojans." Workmen in Tyler rushed renovations to the city's ball park so it would be ready for the Trojans when they came home to their new home the following week. Meanwhile, in Wichita Falls and Longview, the final details were negotiated for the Spudders to relocate in Longview. Not to be outdone by Tyler, Longview had begun the construction of a 3,000 seat grandstand in the southwest comer of the Gregg County Fair Grounds which was to be completed by May 25 when the Spudders, now officially committed to relocation in Longview, would open their first homestand. According to The Dallas Morning News, the new field featured a section sixty-feet long behind the catcher, and seats 120 feet down the third and first base lines with a "... section for Negroes in right field." Each town took its entry into the Texas League seriously, and made every effort to impress the league leadership and the management and players of the teams relocating in their new facilities.

Although Gardiner renamed the Sports as the "Trojans," the fans in Tyler did not accept the change. Instead, a local poll was taken and a majority declared that they preferred the team to retain its original name. So, for the balance of the summer of 1932, Tyler's team continued to be known as the "Sports." Longview, on the other hand, renamed the Spudders the "Cannibals." The unusual name had originated forty years earlier when the Texas League's San Antonio club lost an exhibition game to a local semi-pro team during an unscheduled stop in Longview in 1895, and C.B. Cunningham, who covered San Antonio for several state newspapers, wrote, "... Longview Cannibals ate up the San Antonio Missions here this afternoon." Cunningham gave the name "Cannibals" to a nameless semi-professional team, and from that time forward, it became standard practice for Longview teams to style themselves as the Cannibals. Sportswriter A.D. Parker of the Wichita Daily Times was not happy with his beloved Spudders' reincarnation as the Cannibals. He wrote: "There is something distasteful about that name. To us, it brings up the picture of a circle of black savages dancing weirdly around a boiling pot, nothing else." Whatever emotions fans and sportswriters
experienced over the relocation and renaming of Texas League franchises, the ailing Wichita Falls Spudders and the orphaned Shreveport Sports had new homes, and for the first time since 1914 all of the Texas League teams were located in Texas.\footnote{5}

The Tyler Sports opened at home against the Longview Cannibals on Saturday, May 21, 1932.\footnote{46} A crowd of 4,000 came to the game and Governor R.S. Sterling threw out the first ball to Gus Taylor, leader of the group that brought the team to Tyler. Except that the Cannibals defeated Tyler 5 to 3, the whole afternoon was a festive one. The next day drew and estimated 4,500 spectators to the park.\footnote{47} After finishing a series with Tyler, the Longview Cannibals made their first appearance in Longview on May 25 against the Fort Worth Panthers, better remembered as the “Cats”.\footnote{48} The Cannibals were one game under .500 when they opened their first home series, and they pleased the hometown folks with a 4-2 victory over the Cats. J. Alvin Gardiner attended the game, which was accompanied by the usual gala associated with an opening day.

When the Tyler and Longview teams opened their Texas League campaigns in their new homes, their won-lost records stood at 11-24 and 18-21 respectively.\footnote{49} Neither team did well after relocating. The Sports won 46 and lost 69 games while representing Tyler and finished last in the Texas League standings; the Longview Cannibals did a little better and amassed a 47 and 62 record, which overall placed them fifth when the season ended. Neither team did well at the ticket window, either. When the Spudders moved to Longview and became the Cannibals, the team had drawn about 9,300 paid admissions in Wichita Falls. The Cannibals attracted 37,811 in Longview for a combined attendance of 46,211, and the Shreveport/Tyler Sports attracted a total of 45,517 paid admissions.\footnote{50} Overall, the Sports averaged 606 fans per home date, and the Spudders/Cannibals averaged 608. Tyler’s attendance fell so dramatically near the season’s end that the Caddo Baseball Association surrendered the franchise to the league office and the Sports and the Dallas Steers attempted to transfer their last three games in Tyler to Dallas to attract better gate receipts, but the owners in the Texas League disapproved the plan.\footnote{51} President Gardiner’s concern over the small population bases in Tyler and Longview appeared vindicated. Dallas, for example, drew an average of 2,019 per home game, and Houston attracted an average of 1,458 while finishing second and third respectively behind pennant winner Beaumont.\footnote{52} Gardiner knew that Tyler and Longview wanted to retain their teams, but he, and many of the Texas League owners, quietly waited for the season to end. Then, in a atmosphere less charged by crisis and in a site outside East Texas, the league’s owners would decide the futures of the Sports and the Cannibals.

Tyler’s civic leaders made every effort to impress the league’s ownership and management and spared no expense to upgrade the team’s playing facilities. On July 7, 1932, the Sports defeated Longview 6-5 in Tyler under lights the city installed to illuminate the park.\footnote{53} The Tyler-Longview game was the first night game played in East Texas, and helped to popularize the coming era of night sports events, especially high school football, in small-town
America. Night baseball was a novelty in East Texas in 1932, but it did not greatly stimulate ticket sales. Longview continued to play day baseball for the remainder of the season while the Cannibals’ partisans valiantly tried to boost attendance and to promote the impression that the Longview ought to be a permanent member of the Texas league.\(^4\)

Bad luck and misfortune continued to stalk the Texas League. On June 18 the San Antonio ball park was consumed by fire, and another move of a Texas League franchise appeared imminent. When the news of the fire reached Amarillo, city leaders immediately began to lobby the Texas League to relocate the Indians in the Panhandle.\(^5\) Amarillo’s hopes to join the Texas League were dashed when the San Antonio team’s owner, Homer H. Hammond, relocated the Indians in a temporary site in San Antonio. The Longview park was struck by a tornado a few days later and the roof of the grandstand was destroyed; and on August 14 a line of thunderstorms struck Houston and Galveston and damaged Moody Stadium in Galveston and Buffalo Stadium in Houston.\(^6\) In addition to the natural disasters that plagued the Texas League, the Fort Worth Panthers nearly collapsed in 1932. The Panthers’ owners, Sam S. Lard and Ted Robinson, became frustrated by their team’s dismal performance on the field and at the ticket window and offered to turn the team over to the Texas League in mid-July. President Gardiner persuaded Lard to reorganize the team and appoint Clarence “Big Boy” Kraft, a popular Fort Worth player in the past, to replace Robinson as club president.\(^7\) That was done, and the Fort Worth team financially limped through the final weeks of the season and avoided collapse.

When the season ended in September, the Texas League’s leadership faced a difficult question. Should it allow Longview and Tyler to retain league franchises or relocate them? Each wanted to remain in the Texas League, and each failed to convince the lords of baseball that it could supply sufficient numbers of fans to home games.\(^8\) Longview and Tyler soon had potent competitors for the permanent placement of league franchises. J. Alvin Gardiner and some of the informed insiders in the league knew was that a reorganization of the Class A Western League was imminent, and they watched with keen interest. The Western League was one of the better minor leagues, but it also faced a crisis in 1932. Attendance lagged and teams struggled to make ends meet. It was an eight-team league, as was the Texas League, but, unlike the Texas League, whose franchises were located within a radius of about 200 miles of Dallas, its franchises were located in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska, and travel costs weighed heavily upon its members. After the Western League’s season ended and as the league prepared to reorganize, the teams in Colorado went out of business and the teams in Oklahoma City and Tulsa sought homes elsewhere.

As the Western League prepared to restructure itself, informed baseball fans realized that Longview and Tyler were doomed as Texas League sites. On November 3, 1932, \textit{The Sporting News} reported:

According to the plan of reorganization of the Western League, these two Oklahoma teams [Tulsa and Oklahoma City] will be dropped off, which
would afford the Texas League a chance to take in one or both of them. There are several weak sisters in the loop that it might be profitable to eliminate in favor of the two Western League cities. 59

The handwriting was on the wall. Little chance for renewal now seemed likely for the two East Texas towns. The following month the Texas League admitted Oklahoma City and Tulsa to its ranks while the fates of Longview and Tyler remained unresolved. 60 As it stood just after the first of the year, the league faced 1933 with ten teams, but the Texas League traditionally was an eight-team league and the possibility of an enlarged loop never intrigued Gardiner. He was convinced that the status of the Texas League was, in part, dependent upon locating franchises in the principal cities of the southwest, and he never viewed Tyler and Longview as prime candidates for permanent membership. Finally, a simple solution appeared. The San Antonio team had faltered toward the end of the 1932 season, and home attendance at late season games became so sparse that the Indians’ last series of the season with the Dallas Rebels was transferred to Dallas in a quest to sell more tickets. 61 The Indians’ owner, Homer H. Hammond, struggled to get his franchise in order during the winter of 1932-33, but proved unable to do so and it simply collapsed. When that occurred, the league allowed the St. Louis Browns to move their Longview Cannibals to San Antonio, and to name them the Missions. 62 That decision finished one East Texas town’s Texas League affiliation.

Tyler soon lost its membership in the league. The Fort Worth Panthers, who also had finished the 1932 season on the brink of financial disaster, underwent a change in ownership. Norman Perry, a “sportsman” from Indianapolis, Indiana, who owned the Indianapolis team in the American Association, bought Ted Robinson’s interest in the Panthers in December 1932. Perry did not purchase absolute control of the Panthers, but his investment as a minority owner stabilized the ailing Cats and, as a part of the deal he made with the Texas League, Perry was awarded the Tyler Sports’ roster to add to the Fort Worth team. 63 That ended Tyler’s membership in the Texas League.

Longview and Tyler each entered teams in the Class C Dixie League in 1933, and remained in the league when it was renamed the West Dixie League in 1934. 64 Longview and Tyler joined the East Texas League in 1935 and remained there until the outbreak of World War II, when many minor leagues suspended operations. The East Texas League, which was composed of teams located in Tyler, Longview, Marshall, Henderson, Palestine, Texarkana, and Kilgore, Texas, was a Class C league three notches below the Class A1 Texas League. 65 Even though the members of the East Texas League were in the midst of the great furor of the oil boom in East Texas, they were still viewed as small-town venues for baseball.

In 1932, Tyler and Longview played vital roles in assisting the Texas League survive a difficult year. Neither city was fully prepared to meet the needs of the league on a permanent basis, but in its hour of need, the Texas League found succor in two oil-enriched, burgeoning communities, and an interesting footnote to professional baseball occurred in East Texas.
NOTES


5"Is The American Boy Quitting Baseball?" *The Literary Digest*, 106 (July 1930), p. 34.


8*The Shreveport Journal*, May 1, 1930.


21*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 19, 1930, p. 1B.

22*The Shreveport Journal*, May 12, 1932, p. 11.


24*Texas Almanac*, pp. 206-207.


26*Texas Almanac*, 1933, pp. 109, 110.


31*The Shreveport Times*, July 13, and September 25, 1930.


"The Dallas Morning News, May 9, 1932.
"The Dallas Morning News, May 18, 1932.
"Tyler Courier-Times-Telegraph, May 23, 1932, p. 11.
"The Dallas Morning News, September 3 and 4, 1932.
"The Sporting News, September 1, 1932.
"The Sporting News, February 19, 1933, II-2. O'Neal, The Texas League, p. 297. To placate Hammond, he was appointed a vice president of the Texas League which was largely an honorary post, but supposedly salve to his injured ego. The Dallas Morning News, February 19, 1932.
"Johnson and Wolff, Encyclopedia of Minor League Baseball, pp. 81-82.
HOUHON MAYORS: DEVELOPING A CITY
by Priscilla Benham

Towns are developed principally upon the personality and expertise of the leaders of the community. From 1837 to 1857 the mayors of the city of Houston provided excellent leadership. They established roots for the city as they sought to develop a pocket of civilization and a trading center in the new Republic of Texas. What were the social and economic backgrounds of these mayors during Houston’s first twenty years? How did they attempt to improve conditions? Did the community benefit from their efforts? What patterns of actions and attitudes, if any, were developed from their leadership during the early years of Houston?

The mayors came from a variety of backgrounds but all possessed a small businessman’s desire for the furtherance of economic development. They recognized that governmental services which promoted business interests would provide employment and goods and services necessary on the Texas frontier. Like Augustus C. Allen and John K. Allen, the brothers from New York who founded the town of Houston on Buffalo Bayou, the mayors dreamed of transforming their frontier community into a railroad and shipping port. Houston’s location about forty-five miles from the Gulf of Mexico and fifty-five feet above sea level meant it was protected from the worst of the hurricanes and storms which plagued Galveston. With planning and dedicated hard work the struggling new town would become a trading center for the hinterland of Texas.

When the Allens gave the Texas government free lots and allowed credit for rent fees on public buildings, the success of Houston became a reality. Typically, land speculation and the location of the seat of government brought many businessmen to the new community, now advertised as a “city.” Among those was another New Yorker, James S. Holman. With his wife and six children, Holman came to Houston as the agent for the Allens. He witnessed most of their property deed transactions. While serving as Harris County’s clerk, he assisted John Allen in securing incorporation of the city by the Texas Congress, passed on June 5, 1837. After its incorporation, the annual election of mayors began. A candidate had to be a white citizen of Texas, own $100 in real estate for three months, and have lived in Houston for at least six months. From time to time there were amendments to the city charter but these rules provided the basic qualifications for city officials until the twentieth century. Being well-known to Houston’s 1,500 citizens, Holman won election as their first mayor on August 28, 1837, by one vote in a field of three candidates. An ambitious land speculator, he expanded the city’s boundaries to include a tract he owned to improve its market value. Holman was the first of many Houston politicians who combined land speculation with political office. Rather than run for reelection as mayor, Holman ran an unsuccessful campaign for a congressional seat in 1838. For Holman, land speculation both in Houston and other parts of the Republic was more profitable than being privy to govern-

Priscilla Benham lives in Houston, Texas. She is an adjunct instructor at North Harris College - NHMCCD.
ment affairs. He traveled often in search of new buyers and soon had settlers on his town lots. The town, begun as a land speculation project, naturally attracted businessmen eager to distinguish themselves by promoting the city.

The second mayor of Houston was another early arriver in Houston, Francis Moore, Jr., also from New York. In 1836 this twenty-eight year old redhead joined the Buckeye Rangers to help Texans win their independence from Mexico. Despite having only one arm, he also assisted as an army surgeon since he had had training in medicine. Deciding to settle in Houston in 1837, he bought a half interest in the Houston newspaper, *Telegraph and Texas Register*, from Thomas H. and Gail Borden. By 1851 he was the sole owner. Under Moore’s editorship, which lasted seventeen years, the paper became not only the oldest but the most influential paper in Texas. In January 1838, Moore won election as Houston’s mayor. His administrations during 1838-1839, 1843, 1849-1852 demonstrate the power of city government and ordinances in bringing and maintaining civilized behavior on the frontier. During his first term, he appointed a market inspector and approved the construction of a market house. Commerce was the stimulus that kept Houston going. The pattern of trade consisted of merchants who exchanged a variety of goods, including everything from thread to livestock. Though money was scarce, auctioning and even bartering contributed to the brisk trade found in the new market house and the stores and warehouses.

Some visitors to Houston described it as a “hell on earth” where “vice of most every name and grade reigned triumphantly.” Desiring to end the rowdiness and lawlessness such as public drunkenness, gambling, prostitution, thievery, and armed assaults that were a daily occurrence, Mayor Moore established the city’s first police force, which consisted of two constables. Protection was unreliable from these untrained policemen until after the Civil War, as was true for most city police forces. To add to the inconsistency, they rarely worked at night and the public frequently believed them to be lazy louts undeserving of cooperation. Nevertheless, it was a step in the direction of law and order. When criminals were caught and convicted, they were fined and sent to jail, or whipped, or, during the earliest period, branded. Another progressive move in the elimination of crime was a law Moore sponsored which forbade dueling. While both in and out of office, Moore used the editorial page of his *Telegraph and Texas Register* to rail against dueling and carrying weapons in general. “Those carrying weapons insulted a peace-loving community; such ‘blackguards and knaves’ should be ‘frowned down’ by respectable people.” His efforts to put down roots of civilized behavior succeeded. He reported in 1838 that in the preceding three months a dozen challenges were settled without violence. In 1840, as senator in the Fourth Congress, Moore secured the passage of a law not only prohibiting dueling but perpetually disqualifying anyone from holding office who had participated in a duel. By the time of his third term as mayor in 1843, Moore could report that ladies walked down the sidewalks without fear of having to dodge bullets and witnessing brawls.

Politicians frequently led humanitarian movements and Francis Moore was no exception. In line with views of his day, through his newspaper he
called readers' attention to the evils of drunkenness. During his many terms as mayor of Houston he discouraged public and rowdy drunken behavior with fines and time in jail. Moore happily reported in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* that Sam Houston sponsored the formation of the first temperance meeting in the city on February 18, 1839. Local drinking was such a problem that temperance meetings, hosted by itinerant preachers, were organized before a local church of any denomination was established. In addition to curbing violence and lawlessness, mayors had to concern themselves with the city's health. Epidemics such as yellow fever and cholera occurred frequently on the coast. At the beginning of his second term in 1839, Moore organized the Board of Health to prevent the spread of yellow fever in the city.

Since the community was growing steadily, Moore advised the formation of a fire department. He founded Houston's first volunteer fire department to meet the town's requirement for health and safety. Under Moore's direction, the city purchased a town lot for the new department as well as a fire engine and began the construction of a building.

A constant problem of early Houston was to make the Buffalo Bayou a safe waterway to the Gulf of Mexico. The city's empty treasury caused Mayor Moore to call upon businessmen to finance the clearing of the bayou. John D. Andrews, a former Virginian, took on the task of organizing the merchants to remove obstructions between Harrisburg and Houston where navigation was extremely difficult. The group formed the Buffalo Bayou Company and hired L.J. Pilie to clean the channel between Houston and Harrisburg. Buffalo Bayou, located at the head of the tide waters with a constant depth of six feet, allowed steamboat traffic and oceangoing vessels to navigate the five-mile stretch, but below this section the bayou still had obstacles such as tree overhangs and sand bars.

Even though Moore resigned as mayor in mid-1839 to return to New York, the promotion of Houston stayed on his mind. While traveling to New York, he designed the seal of the City of Houston that is still used today. The seal represented the goals of the community: to become a commercial center for agriculture and industry linked together by railroads and steamships. As soon as he arrived in New York, he had a die cast of the seal and presented it to the city council when he returned.

In June 1839, the city elected George W. Lively to complete Moore’s term as mayor. He expanded the Board's authority to regulate the meat market and other health inspection measures. Numerous bayous around Houston prompted Lively to begin the ongoing project of building bridges to move commerce to the docks on Buffalo Bayou. In addition to improving transportation, Lively sought to increase Houston's spiritual well-being by becoming a charter member of Houston's first Methodist-Episcopal Church, founded in 1840. As the churches expanded beyond house meetings into permanent buildings, lawless conduct began to diminish. Public pressure from organized religion and city government helped stem the tide of reckless behavior. While mayor, Lively also owned and edited the *Weekly Times*, but it was not a rival
to the *Telegraph and Texas Register* since it lasted less than a year. When he failed to win reelection as mayor, he closed the newspaper and accepted an appointment as Texas' commissioner of land titles.\(^4\)

The next mayor was Charles Bigelow, who defeated incumbent George Lively by one vote in 1840. Bigelow was from Massachusetts and owned a farm equipment supply store and icehouse in Houston. Bigelow decided to finance the dredging of Buffalo Bayou by persuading the Texas Congress to give the city authority to build and maintain wharves. The new docks improved commerce and wharfage fees helped to pay for cleaning of the channel of snags for five miles. Other large expenses for the city were those for streets, salaries, the city hospital, fire protection, sanitation, and market control. Bigelow's friend, Francis Moore, returned with the new city seal which the city council adopted. Bigelow also secured a supplement to the city charter which allowed the division of the town into four wards with each to be represented by two aldermen. He improved public relations by sponsoring dinners in honor of visiting dignitaries such as J. Pinckney Henderson, a Texas diplomat to the United States.\(^5\) Bigelow remained in Houston as a businessman and served in the Mexican War in 1846. In September 1849, his wife, Cynthia, was lost at sea when the ship on which she was sailing sank. This tragedy caused him to return to Massachusetts with their two daughters. His Unionist sentiments and dislike of slavery were factors in his decision to remain in Massachusetts.

John Andrews' work on behalf of the Houston's commercial welfare contributed to his being elected mayor in 1841 and 1842. An affluent slave owner, Andrews, who was forty-two years old, arrived in Houston from Virginia in 1837 with his wife and daughter. He built Houston's first multiple dwelling unit, a two-story duplex, and purchased seventeen town lots and ten acres in Harris County. He quickly became involved in improvements to the city. When Christ Church (Episcopal) organized on March 16, 1839, Andrews was on the board of vestrymen and helped arrange the location of the church, which remains on the original site.\(^6\)

The firm of League, Andrews and Company headed the list of $100 contributors in the subscription drive to build a fire engine house and in contributions for the dredging of Buffalo Bayou. Andrews used his slaves to do some of the dredging and allowed merchants to hire them as day laborers. To improve the landing, Andrews led the city council to issue a tax for port improvements which met with citizens approval. Although the wharfage was originally for the benefit of the merchants and wagoners, the money was a main source of revenue for the town until competition from the railroads became too great. The city ordinance established a Port of Houston Authority which controlled all wharves, slips, and roads adjacent to Buffalo Bayou and White Oak Bayou. Harrisburg came under the port authority during Andrews' second term. At Andrews' urging, the Texas legislature granted the city the power to fine owners who did not remove sunken vessels within twenty days. He actively enforced this law since the cheapest method of transportation was by water. The removal of sunken boats, snags, tree overhangs, and a few sand bars was certainly worth the effort.
Before Andrews left office he decided to consolidate various city offices into one place rather than renting space all over town. Since the city owned the Fire Department lot, Andrews ordered an expansion of the engine house to include a council room and city offices. The new City Hall opened in 1842. Being an enthusiastic supporter of Sam Houston, Andrews was offered the position of secretary of treasury in Houston’s second administration but he declined.17

Mayors must be aware of the impact of national and international affairs may have on the city. The issue Mayor Moore faced in his third term was the annexation of Texas to the United States. He ardently advocated annexation since he felt the prosperity of the city depended upon being a part of the United States. His persuasive advocacy may have been the reason the City of Houston accepted the proposal in a landslide referendum vote. As Houston’s leading citizen, Moore represented Harris County at the Annexation Convention in 1845.

Official control of Buffalo Bayou and income from the docks helped Mayor Horace Baldwin, elected in 1844, to issue contracts for channel maintenance. As a wealthy merchant and stagecoach line owner, Baldwin recognized that Houston depended upon the Buffalo Bayou as its main connection with the rest of the world. Baldwin had come to Houston from Balwinsville, New York, in 1839, at the urgings of his sister, Charlotte. She had married August C. Allen, founder of Houston. By 1840 Baldwin owned 2618 acres in Harris County and seventeen town lots in Houston. In 1841, President Sam Houston commissioned Baldwin to serve as the Republic’s agent in Houston to preserve the property of the government in the city. That same year Baldwin bought the abandoned capitol building, which he reopened as a hotel. In 1843 Baldwin represented the Fourth Ward and was instrumental in the city’s construction of the first bridge over Buffalo Bayou. Running on a pro-annexation to the United States resolution, Baldwin won the mayor’s race in 1844. He continued to promote improvements in transportation. Shortly after his term, Baldwin died in Galveston following a brief illness. Baldwin’s daughter Elizabeth married William Marsh Rice, importer, railroad entrepreneur, and founder of Rice Institute. Another daughter, Charlotte Marie, married Rice’s brother, Fred Allen Rice. Their son and Baldwin’s grandson, Horace Baldwin Rice, served as mayor of Houston from 1896-1898 and 1905-1913.18

In 1845, the business partner of John D. Andrews, William W. Swain, from North Carolina, won the mayor’s race. He had migrated to Alabama in the 1830s and arrived in Houston with his wife and five children in 1840. Third Ward voters elected Swain their alderman in 1841 while the city hall made its offices temporarily in the League, Andrews and Company building. Swain and Andrews also operated a steamboat, General Houston, which sank in Buffalo Bayou. No doubt this prompted Swain to run for office. The city council under Mayor Swain decided to grant exemption from wharf fees to ship owners who kept the bayou clear and worked at widening the bayou.19 The channel was full of the roots of thousands of great cypress trees and while they made the bayou beautiful, no ship owner wanted snags to rip holes in their steamboats. Buffalo Bayou was a crucial artery until the 1870s when railroads expanded the city’s commercial influence beyond the coast.
At the hub of Houston's Buffalo Bayou commerce was the Allen Warehouse on Allen's Landing. Housed in the warehouse was James Bailey's grocery store. Active in civic affairs since his arrival in 1838 from New Hampshire, Bailey won the mayor's race in 1846 by stressing the need for constant improvement in transportation for the great future of Houston. As a friend of Augustus C. Allen he had invested in Allen's Houston and Brazos Railroad, incorporated in 1840. It ran fifty-three miles upon the ridge of land dividing the waters of Buffalo Bayou and San Jacinto. The Houston citizenry also knew Bailey as a charter member and lifelong Sunday School teacher at the First Presbyterian Church, which he helped to organize shortly after his arrival.

In 1840 Bailey served as alderman from the Fourth Ward and in 1844 as chairman of the board of health. It was the board's responsibility to control contagious diseases, inspect the market, keep the streets clean, and maintain a hospital. Of major concern in the summer of 1844 was a yellow fever epidemic. The board of health could do little because yellow fever struck without warning and the victims always died. Though the cause of the sickness was a mystery, observers noted its connection with poor drainage, lack of sanitation, and contact with the disease. For these conditions, the board worked to improve drainage and imposed quarantines.  

Having a desire for Texas annexation to the United States, Bailey shared the task of drafting the annexation resolution with Francis Moore, Jr., Horace Baldwin, Francis R. Lubbock, and other prominent Houstonians. The city voted overwhelmingly for annexation and the new state constitution. The Mexican government objected to the annexation and the Mexican War broke out in 1846. The United States government chartered most of the steamboats in Texas for use in the war. Bailey, as the new mayor, faced the loss of city revenues from taxes on boats using Buffalo Bayou. Port fees had long been used to finance other city endeavors. Consequently, municipal funds could not be stretched to include Houston's public schools. Yet, the city did hold a convention for school teachers, the first in the state. Bailey served on the school committee which urged the state legislature to adopt uniform textbooks and state support for public schools. Though not immediately successful, meetings such as this paved the way for state support of public schools. After leaving office Bailey returned to merchandising but moved his store closer to the railroad center.

Guarding the home front during the Mexican War, Benjamin P. Buckner became mayor for two terms, 1847-1848. He had served as chief justice of Harris County from 1839 to 1847. As county judge many of his duties included the same kinds of construction and supervision of roads as that of the mayoral position. He also rendered aid to the indigent and handled all probate business, such as inventories of estates, slave lists, and appointing guardians of orphaned children. The Texas legislature commissioned him, as county judge, to call city elections and swear in elected city officials.

When Texas became a state, Mayor Buckner conducted the census of the city. The population in 1845 numbered 4,737 with 607 qualified voters and 622 slaves. As in the nature of the economy — plantations, slaves, and agricultural products —
so the society had a Southern orientation. Nearly fifty percent of the free inhabitants were born in the South with a large German element from Europe.21

During Francis Moore's next stint as mayor (1849-1852), he epitomized a characteristic of the early mayors: vast energy for promoting the city. He continued improvements in transportation to the city by organizing a committee of Houston businessmen to raise $150,000 for the Houston Plank Road Company, a proposed toll road. The company secured a right of way along the Brazos River and had raised a third of the money by 1850. Despite these efforts, growing interest in railroads apparently killed the idea. Houston had long had railroad fever but little money to initiate construction. The small amount raised allowed "Dr. Moore's mud road" to become the route for Houston's first railroad, the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railway.22 Muddy roads, or dusty ones in the dry season, continued to plague Houstonians well into the twentieth century.

With investments from Boston capitalists in 1850-1851, the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railway was begun toward the cotton fields of the Brazos River Valley. Since enthusiasts for railroads argued that railways provided cheap, fast, dependable service and avoided the entrapments of muddy roads, the new mayor, Colonel Nathan Fuller, a Mexican War veteran, won the 1853-1854 elections by advocating city participation in railroads. He believed that Houston should promote the Houston and Texas Central Railroad as a rival to the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railway, thought to be reviving the town of Harrisburg at the expense of Houston. While the Houston and Texas Central Railroad moved successfully toward Cypress, Fuller persuaded the state legislature to appropriate $4000 to dredge Clopper's and Red Fish bars, major obstructions in the Buffalo Bayou route to Galveston Bay. Since commerce was vital to the livelihood of Houston, it was natural that Fuller and other city officials be interested in improving all forms of transportation facilities to the business district of Houston.23 All the paved roads in the city would count for nothing if Houston did not reach to the interior farms and push for faster navigation to the world markets.

The work on the docks and building of various railroads such as Houston and Texas Central Railroad attracted immigrants from all over the world and by the 1850s Houston had a cosmopolitan atmosphere. During Fuller's second term, the German immigrants founded the Houston Turnverein to display their talents at gymnastics and music. Circuses also provided Houstonians with "capital entertainment."24

Just as the spectator amusements demonstrated the development of urbanization, so also did attempts to curb violence. When Fuller and his family moved from North Carolina to Houston in 1841, this Baptist family immediately organized the First Baptist Church. As might be expected from a staunch member of the church, Fuller secured the passage of the city ordinance prohibiting the use of pistols and rifles within the nine-mile city limits.25

Discussion and passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 prompted great interest in the building of the transcontinental railroad by the federal
government. Houstonians wanted to build railroads to Houston to be able to tap into the proposed southern route of a possible transcontinental railroad. In 1855 railroad advocates selected a "Railroad" or "Democratic and Anti-Know-Nothing" ticket which included James Stevens as mayor and aldermen nominees William M. Rice and T.W. House. These three energetic merchants and investors won easily.26

James Stevens migrated from Kentucky to Texas in 1845 shortly after the annexation of Texas to the Union. This vigorous twenty-two year old quickly became involved in city politics, serving as representative for the Second Ward from 1847 to 1850. He saved enough money from his $25-a-month wages as a clerk to open his own merchandise store and by the age of thirty was worth $12,000, not an easy accomplishment in a frontier town. When General Sidney Sherman started the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railroad (B.B.B.&C), Stevens was one of the investors. Interested in any movement that would improve transportation to Houston, Stevens also invested in the Brazos Plank Road Company organized by Francis Moore, Jr. and other elite Houston businessmen. Houston gradually became the center of five radiating rail lines. The B.B.B.&C. had completed thirty-two miles of track by 1852 and reached the Brazos River by 1856. Stevens decided to devote all his time to railroading and sold his grocery and general merchandise store in 1853 to his friend and fellow merchant T.W. House, for a sizable profit.27

As mayor for two terms (1855-1856), Stevens obtained permission from the Texas legislature to tap the B.B.B.&C. so that the lucrative cotton trade would flow through Houston instead of Harrisburg. At a cost of $130,000 for seven miles of track, the city-owned Tap Road joined the B.B.B.&C. to form one line at Pierce Junction in October 1856. On July 21, 1856, while still mayor, Stevens died from tuberculosis. The Weekly Telegraph praised him as being "a valuable citizen" and "an able and efficient mayor," and the Tap Road named their locomotive "James H. Stevens" in his honor. Stevens' estate was worth over $300,000. He bequeathed $5,000 for the building of an academy whenever Houstonians contributed an additional $10,000 for that purpose. The citizens of Houston met the challenge with $20,000 and the Houston Academy, a small monument to an enterprising leader of Houston, opened in 1858 with Ashbel Smith as superintendent over 140 students.28

After Mayor Stevens died in July 1856, Houstonians elected Cornelius Ennis, merchant and railroad entrepreneur, to finish the term and elected him to a full term in 1857. Ennis had heard about the opportunities in Texas, so he left a wandering life in the Old Northwest and returned to his home in New Jersey to save his money for a move to Texas. He bought a large stock of pharmaceuticals and arrived in Houston in 1839. This twenty-six year old immediately set up a warehouse and store in partnership with George W. Kimball. They branched out into brokering cotton the following year. His cotton-export business suffered pitfalls common to the frontier. Getting the cotton to the Houston market and exporting it was a slow process since there were few bridges and no paved roads. For better transportation, Ennis invested in plank roads and railroads. His plank road went to Hempstead, and he con-
structed the Houston and Texas Central Railroad in 1853 parallel to the old plank route. The Houston and Texas Central reached Cypress in 1856 and Hempstead two years later. With Paul Bremond, William M. Rice, T.W. House, William Baker, and W.J. Hutchins, Ennis served on the railway board of directors for many years. He became the Houston Texas Central's general superintendent and comptroller, and he convinced New York bankers to finance the completion of the railroad. The terminus of the railroad in north Texas was named Ennis in his honor. 29

Ennis served as mayor without pay. He supervised the completion of the city-owned Tap Road begun under James Stevens. This tap into the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railroad preserved the Brazos River Valley cotton trade with Houston. He convinced the city to privatize the Tap Road in 1858 and the new owners, including Ennis, renamed the road the Houston Tap and Brazoria. This railway encouraged the growth of the sugar industry by bringing the first carload of sugar and molasses to Houston in 1859. Though the railway went bankrupt during the Civil War, Ennis recouped when it was sold to the International and Great Northern Railroad. His last act in office was the arrest and imprisonment of a band of outlaws that had preyed for years upon shippers and teamsters going to Houston. 30 By the end of the 1850s, at least, the lawlessness was on the outskirts of Houston.

Situated in the southwest, Houston exhibited frontier characteristics as little respect for law-and-order, fast growth, and leadership by merchants who concentrated their efforts on moving Texas cotton and other agricultural products through their city to world markets. In the decade before the Civil War, Houston exhibited urbanization characteristics, too. The mayors passed laws curbing violence, establishing sanitation codes, building a hospital and public school, and led in establishing Protestant churches in Houston.

Of the social background of this elected group of Houston's founders, the majority of mayors were Episcopalian. In terms of numerical strength, the Protestant Episcopal Church was the smallest of the church groups. Of course, that was not a prerequisite for running for office since there was one Methodist, one Presbyterian, and one Baptist. Judging from the business ties as well as the religious affiliations, they were friends and encouraged one another to run for office. Their interest in Christianity was sincere because ten of the twelve mayors were founders of their particular church. This religious commitment also demonstrated their leadership since fewer than one-eighth of the white population of Texas by 1845 were members of any church. 31

Unlike the majority of the population of Texas who were from the South Atlantic and Old Southwest states, eight of the twelve mayors were from the Northeast. None of the mayors had scratched G.T.T. (Gone to Texas) on their cabin door. They had lived in houses in well-established New England cities and traveled to Houston by steamboat or made the overland trip in well-maintained Conestoga wagons pulled by healthy oxen, a condition for which most immigrants could only wish. Contrary to most immigrants, they brought money to invest in land and businesses. The exception to this rule was James
Stevens, who came from Kentucky with nothing but the determination to make a successful business.

Like the rest of settlers, these future mayors were attracted to offers of large quantities of land for a small fee as compared to land prices in the United States. If they had a satisfying life, why did they come to Texas? With the exception of James Holman, these early mayors were rather restless twenty-and thirty-year-olds, either married with young children or still single. All had business experience and had heard of the opportunities on the Texas frontier from relatives or news accounts. They arrived eager to provide cotton farmers and ranchers with supplies and brokering services, and they had an interest in land speculation. Land titles from the Allen brothers and adjacent Harris County land were secure, contrary to the morass of conflicting claims in the rest of Texas. The establishment of Houston as the capital of the Texas Republic on the navigable Buffalo Bayou made settlement there for these young entrepreneurs a logical choice. Houston was built at the head of navigation where goods had to be transferred from steamboat or wagons. Warehouses and market places were needed for these exchanges. This “commercial break was most important as a foundation for manufacturing and political development.”

It was inevitable that transportation improvements were first on the agenda of these early mayors since commerce was the principle reason they had come to Texas. The dredging, widening, and removal of obstructions from Buffalo Bayou to Galveston Bay was a duty the mayors had to perform at all times. After receiving permission for imposing taxes for dredging purposes and later a port authority for all of Buffalo Bayou, building stable and wide bridges over Buffalo and White Oak bayous were the next priority. This was followed by the construction of public wharves for general commerce. In an effort to prevent sickness as well as promote trade, the mayors built a market center with a board of health to supervise and maintain sanitation. Although there were a few manufacturers, all the newspapers, journals, and actions of the city council demonstrate that trade was obviously the most important activity in the period from 1836-1857.

Difficulties with Texas roads also shaped Houston’s economy. Slow trips to Houston on dusty trails in the dry season and hazardous muddy ones in the winter caused the mayors to give support to efforts to build plank roads into the city. The mayors could do little about roads at first since the revenues they had were focused on bayou improvements; however, after annexation, Houston began a graded road to northern counties. Loss of the Austin trade due to impossible road connections to Houston prompted the city to act.

Despite early interest in a railroad from Houston to the cotton lands, the capital simply was not available in Houston until 1840. After Allen’s Houston and Brazos Railroad completed fifty-three miles of railroad track, future mayoral candidates had to support the advancement of railroads in order to win election. Mayors of the 1850s, Fuller, Stevens, and Ennis, were railroad entrepreneurs and merchants who chartered and operated a city-owned tap road which connected all the five railroads coming into Houston.
The dream of Houston being a railroad center became a reality by 1860. The Houston and Brazos spread out fifty miles to the southwest, the Houston and Texas Central eighty miles to the northwest, the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado, seventy-five miles to the west, and two others to the east and southeast. Stevens and Ennis were on the board of directors of most of these railroads. Houston succeeded because it had a favorable location and was developed by energetic capitalists who were also mayors of the city. Their political and business connections allowed them to obtain special considerations for their sites and tax revenues from the government.

While most of the future mayors were laying foundations for potential fortunes, Mayor Francis Moore, Jr. endeavored to bring civilization and moral behavior to the frontier community. Using his position as newspaper editor he crusaded against crime and vice. As mayor, he actively suppressed gambling, dueling, brawls, drunkenness, brothels, stabbing, and the carrying of weapons in the city. Not only did he create the first police force, he organized and equipped the first fire department. Always interested in medicine and public health, he established a meat market inspector and board of health which kept the city clean and labored to hold down the ravages of frequent cholera and yellow fever.

Moore's vision for the city was expressed in the city seal which he designed. The seal has a plow, a ship, and a locomotive, indicating that Houston would be the commercial and industrial center for Texas trade. His attention included promotion of dredging of the bayou, building the first bridge over Buffalo Bayou, encouraging road improvements such as grading of roads and plank roads, and investing in railways. More than any other mayor, Moore possessed a broader view of the role of mayor and recognized the necessity of law and order if there was to be a community that could grow financially.

By the eve of the Civil War, Houston has progressed from reckless violence and stump-filled streets to a well-established commercial city due to the energetic leadership of the mayors backed by businessmen and church leaders. It had a useful bayou, a network of railroads, and a growing population. The mayors established the pattern of leadership from respected successful men of character who set the basic qualifications for holding political office. These men took the frontier town of Houston on edge of the South and directed it toward a diversified, leading city of the Southwest.

NOTES

7. *Telegraph and Texas Register*, (Houston), June 18, 24, 1840; February 9, 1842.
S.W. Geiser, "Note on Dr. Francis Moore (1808-1864)." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 47 (April 1944), pp. 419-425.


Galveston Daily News, May 26, 1865, June 1, 3, 1865.


THE OFFICIAL STATE DISH: WHY CHILI?

by Ben Z. Grant

Chili was "born" in San Antonio, but the idea to make it the official state dish of Texas came from East Texas. It is on my soul that twenty years ago I authored House Resolution 13 of the 65th Session of the Texas Legislature, which officially declared this to be so. This is the way I remember it happening.

Prior to the legislative session, Albert Agnor, known affectionately as "The ole Aggie," contacted me about making the farkleberry the official state berry of Texas. Albert had just won the world championship in chili cooking, and his magic ingredient was the farkleberry. With a little research, I soon determined that farkleberry was just a fancy word for what I grew up calling a winter huckleberry.

In respect for Albert's position as champion of the world, which most people never achieve in any field, I ran the idea by several of my fellow legislative colleagues. By the time they finished laughing, I fully understood that the Texas Legislature was not likely to take the farkleberry seriously.

I had tilted windmills before, plus an attic fan or two, but I decided that I did not wish to glory in defeat even with the farkleberry on my side. I could not help but think of former Vice President John Nance Garner. When he was in the Texas Legislature he took on the official state flower, the bluebonnet, and tried to replace it with the flower of the prickly pear cactus. He not only failed, he also acquired the nickname "Cactus Jack" for his effort. I knew in my heart that I did not want to be remembered as "Farkleberry" Ben.

Don't get me wrong. I have nothing personal against the berry. The taste of it beckons boyhood memories of the many times that I enjoyed the berries straight from the bush as my dessert or in-between meals snack. But in my humble opinion, it just was not destined to be anything official.

But chili as a prospective candidate -- that was another matter. I used to have a friend named Charles Ramsdale, who lived just a stein's throw from the ancient Scholtz Beer Garten in Austin. In Charlie's book on San Antonio, he declared that chili con carne was truly a Texas dish, having its origin in San Antonio in the 1880s. Chili is the Aztec Indian word for the pepper that we use as the spicy ingredient of chili. According to Charles, the first recorded reference to the use of the chili pepper was when the Aztecs sprinkled it on the meat from some unfortunate conquistadors. With history on my side, I resolved to make chili the official state dish of Texas.

Albert agreed with this change and came to Austin to cook a giant pot of chili that would open the sinuses of the entire Legislature. A delegation from the Marshall Chamber of Commerce came, and Lady Bird Johnson, Harrison County's favorite daughter, joined us for the occasion. It was a successful bit of lobbying, and the resolution sailed through committee and was set for floor debate by the calendar committee. I asked Rep. Ron Bird to co-author the

Ben Z. Grant resides in Marshall, Texas, and is currently serving on the Sixth Court of Appeals in Texarkana.
resolution because he was from San Antonio, the true birthplace of chili, and because we had been a successful team on several pieces of legislation.

The night before the House vote, the chili-heads of Texas, wearing T-shirts saying, "Legalize chili," converged on Austin. They made a ton pot of chili down on the Colorado River, using rakes to stir it and water hoses to liquefy it. It was not accepted as a world record by Guinness, who said that they lacked data on such endeavors, and in truth the taste suggested a lack of quality control in the cooking. But it was a great celebration.

By the time the resolution reached the floor, there was a stack of proposed amendments. Some of the house members from the Beaumont-Port Arthur area offered an amendment to change the dish to shrimp gumbo; some of the Hispanic members offered menudo as a substitute; some of the black delegation offered chitterlings; and a Republican proposed chateaubriand. Most of these were ethnic or regional, but none had the universality of chili. Some members pulled down their amendments and the rest were defeated. But then came the challenge by the very popular dish of barbecue, which had received national attention when LBJ was president.

I told the House how chili had begun as a poor man's solution for preparing tough beef, how Kit Carson's dying words were to ask for just one more bowl of chili, how Lyndon Johnson had said anything outside of Texas pretending to be chili was just a poor substitute for the real thing, and how chili had been truly born in Texas, in contrast to barbecue, a word the dictionary said came from the Greater Antilles word barbacoa. We won a narrow victory over barbecue.

In his forty-eight years in the Texas Legislature, Senator A.M. Aiken never had a House member run against him. One of the reasons was that he was ready to help his House members' bills through the Senate, often without being asked. He, being by far the senator with the most seniority, shuffled his feet and interrupted the debate of some major legislation. For some reason, he believed that our resolution, of questionable urgency, needed to be passed as soon as it reached the Senate. This may have been because Albert Agnor was in the gallery or because we needed to get it passed before the opposition could get mobilized; whatever the reason, it passed out of the Senate faster than a Texan could cool a bowl of chili and open a box of saltine crackers.

Francis X. Tolbert, noted author and writer for the Dallas Morning News, invited me to Dallas to celebrate the passage of this legislation and the opening of his new chili parlor. Always ready to say a few words on behalf of chili and a free meal, I approached the opportunity with an open mouth. I drove to Dallas, where they did let me say a few words, but Tolbert, being a frugal business person, charged me for the bowl of chili.

So there you have it. With a little hyperbole, generally allowed for reminiscing elderly politicians, that is the story of how chili became the official dish of Texas.
BOOK NOTES

The following items were of interest to the editor, who now passes along these musings:

A echo from the past – that is how I characterize Ronnie Pugh's *Ernest Tubb: The Texas Troubadour* (Duke University Press, Box 90660, Durham, North Carolina, 27708-0660). Among my earliest memories is of my father, who died in 1944 of the same malady that felled Jimmie Rodgers, picking a guitar and trying to sound like his favorite singer. Unbeknownst to us, Ernest Tubb was doing the same earlier, and with a lot of luck and business sense, turned his worship into a half-century career. Ronnie completed a master’s thesis on Tubb at SFA in the 1970s and I was privileged to sit on the examining committee. From there he moved to Nashville to work in the archives of the Country Music Hall of Fame, met Tubb, and after two decades published this biography of his favorite country singer. The author lets the chips fall where they may regarding failed marriages and alcoholism or something close to it, and other humanities, but all the while it is the music, the songs that express the feelings of Tubb and the folk for whom he sang, that are featured. Reading it, I can hear “Walking The Floor Over You” again as I did fifty years ago, tuned in like many Southerners to WSM and the Grand Ole Opry.

*Jake: Beginnings On My On, The Washington Years, The Campaign Trail, A Lifetime Of Friends*, by Jake Pickle and Peggy Pickle, Foreword by Ann Richards (University of Texas Press: Austin, 1997, Box 7819, 78713-7819). The Tenth Congressional District had only three representatives from the 1930s until 1995 – Lyndon B. Johnson, Homer Thornberry, and Jake Pickle. Pickle served from 1963 until 1995, capping a career than began as student body president at The University, continued in various appointed positions under Governor Price Daniel, and concluded as a distinguished congressman. Pickle was a protégé of LBJ and a close friend of John B. Connally, and so was aligned with the “conservative” wing of the Democratic Party during the intra-party wars before the Republican assertion gave all Democrats a common opponent. Peggy Pickle, Jake’s daughter, described their team effort in an introduction: Jake dictated while she word processed, then he checked over the product. The combination worked well, because Jake’s story telling comes through splendidly, producing several laughs – especially at Old Friend Ed Clark’s toast at a party in the Supreme Court Building – and a tear when he described his eulogy of LBJ. Great book by and about one of our old-time pols.

*Ron Stone’s The Book of Texas Days* (Eakin Press: P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159, $27.95), published first in 1985, has been reissued in an End of Millennium Edition. Format: starting with January 1 and continuing through December 31, events in Texas history occurring on specific days are discussed. A Time Line that begins in 1528 reverses the process, more or less. Illustrations break the columns and contribute significantly – such as a billboard from the presidential campaign in 1952 that shows a smiling Dwight Eisenhower wearing a Stetson, and the words, “Be a Texan (not a Trumanite) Vote IKE!” Truman wasn’t a candidate but he was the issue in the race, as far as many Texans were concerned.
Frank E. Vandiver’s *Shadows of Vietnam: Lyndon Johnson’s Wars* (Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX 77843-4354), is, and I knew it would be, the best written, best styled book on “that bitch of a war” in “that damn little pissant country.” LBJ’s personality, right down to these observations, on multiple wars against communist aggression in Southeast Asia and against poverty there and at home, is the theme. He never wanted “real” war; he wanted instead to make the world better, especially the lot of the ignorant, ill, and impoverished. Vandiver presents a warm LBJ who anguished over the loss of American and Vietnamese life and property. He does an excellent job of presenting the cast of advisors, aides, and others involved in the decision making that produces a greater appreciation of, among others, Jack Valenti. Through it all the observations of Lyndon’s closest advisor and friend, Lady Bird herself, provides poignancy to his problems.

The most anticipated book on the Civil War in years, James I. Robertson’s *Stonewall Jackson: The Man, The Soldier, The Legend* (Macmillian: 1633 Broadway, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10019. Maps, Illustrations, Index, Bibliography, Pp. 940, $40), appeared in 1997, and the product justified the anticipation. General Jackson has attracted a good many biographers, and all have featured his religious nature, secretiveness, and warrior spirit. Robertson eclipses all previous writing on this subject for depth of research and serious thought. I strongly recommend this book, but also issue this warning: there are 760 pages of little-bitty print. It is a commitment.

Hendrick-Long Publishing Company (Box 25123, Dallas, TX 75225) produces interesting juvenile books. *I Know An Old Texan Who Swallowed A Fly*, by Donna Cooner and illustrated by Ann Hillis Rife, and *One of Fannin’s Men: A Survivor At Goliad*, by Isabel R. Marvin, are good examples. Cooner’s book is just right for a four-year old grandchild, who shared a copy with Papa during last summer’s vacation. And not only did The Old Texan swallow the fly – he consumed just about every other animal one could find in Texas. The rhyming is reminiscent of Suess and the illustrations complement well, which is what they are supposed to do. I’m here to testify that this one met the back-seat test. *One of Fannin’s Men* is for the older child, especially one who claims to dislike history, as does Benny, until he met some face to face. Couldn’t hurt anyone to read more Texas history, no matter why they do it.

*The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Volume 9, January-September 1863*, edited by Lynda Lasswell Crist, Mary Seaton Dix, and Kenneth H. Williams (Louisiana State University Press, P.O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053), continues a work begun four decades ago at The Rice Institute, now University, with Haskell Monroe as its first editor. James McIntosh and for some years now Lynda Crist have continued the standards of excellence established by Monroe. An excellent introduction by Judith Fenner Gentry sets the stage for the nine months covered in this volume, which includes full documents and a calendar of many others.

Texans never tire of the Alamo story, so comes now William R. Chermerka’s *Alamo Almanac & Book of Lists* (Eakin Press, Box 90159, Austin,
Texas 78709, $16.95), which contains a review of the Texas Revolution and the "Alamo: From A to Z," plus lists of everything imaginable associated with the subject. For example, "Texas Governors Who Had Brothers In Alamo Movies – there were two, believe it or not – and "Texas Bob's List of the Tackiest Alamo Collectibles."

Law enforcement fans, and maybe some genealogists (we all have horse thieves in our background), likely will be the audience for Fugitives from Justice: The Notebook of Texas Ranger Sergeant James B. Gillett (State House Press, Box 15274, Austin, TX 78761), with an introduction by Michael D. Morrison. This is a list of the bad guys the good guys wanted to find. I couldn't resist looking for some McDonalds on the lam, but fortunately found none I know to have helped produce me.

Charla Jones' The Cradle of Texas: A Pictorial History of San Augustine County (Eakin Press, Box 90159, Austin, Texas 78709), is a product of a search for a family history that grew into a pictorial record of a significant East Texas city. San Augustinians will like to see the pictures of their town.

Best Editorial Cartoons Of The Year, 1997 edition, edited by Charles Brooks (Pelican Publishing Company, 1101 Monroe St., Gretna, LA 70053), continues a series begun in 1972. As usual, it is a collection of the art work on the nation's editorial pages that bites and snarls political commentary daily. This, according to Jones, is the best of the crop for 1997.
Both books are well written, carefully researched and documented, and complement each other not only in their chronological sequence but also in the information about Tejano history. \textit{Texas & Northeastern Mexico, 1630-1690}, edited by William C. Foster, sets the historical background during the seventeenth century for Gerald E. Poyo’s \textit{Tejano Journey, 1770-1850}. Foster did an excellent job editing several major translations into an interesting scholarly work. The centerpiece of his book is Ned F. Brierley’s English translation of Juan Bautista Chapa’s \textit{"Histori del Nuevo Reino de León","} and is divided into forty-five, one-to-two page chapters. Chapa, a secretary employed by several governors of Nuevo León, gained first-hand experience traveling to the province of the Tejas.

Chapters 43 through 45 (pp. 143-154) include Chapa’s detailed observations of Governor Alonso De León’s last two expeditions into the East Texas region in 1689 and 1690. Along the way, De León named many geographic features – “party reached a very pleasant valley, which he named the Valley of Galve in honor of the Viceroy of New Spain, Count of Galve. A very large river passes near it, which they named Río de la Santísima Trinidad (the Trinity River)” (p. 148). In exploring the land of the Tejas Indians, he noted “many fields of corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelon. They named this settlement San Francisco Javier” (p. 149).

Appendix A contains the English translation of Governor Alonso de León’s revised diary of his expedition from the province of Coahuila to the Bay of Espíritu Santo and to the province of the Tejas in 1690. The diary describes in readable fashion the number of leagues traveled each day, the flora, and the fauna. Appendix B lists in alphabetical order eighty-six Indian tribes and includes a brief geographical description of their location.

Poyo’s \textit{Tejano Journey} contains seven essays that were presented by leading historians at a symposium held at St. Mary’s University in 1993. Each essay is illustrated by Jack Jackson and follows a topical historical sequence pertaining to the identity, accommodation, and change among the Tejano community. Even though \textit{Tejano} history began with the Spanish colonial settlements of San Antonio de Bexar, La Bahía (Goliad), and Los Adaes, Texas’ eastern frontier played a pivotal role throughout the different historical periods.

During the Mexican War of Independence, the Republican Army of the North led by Gutiérrez de Lara and Augustus Magee captured Nacogdoches. Seven years later, in 1819, Texas Governor Antonio Martínez, “sent a force of
550 men under Colonel Ignacio Pérez to drive James Long’s men out of Nacogdoches” (p. 29). At the end of the military phase of the Texas Revolution, racial tensions ran high between the new Anglo government and the Tejano population of Nacogdoches. Newly arrived Anglo immigrants viewed Mexicans and Indians as the enemy for not taking an active role in the Texas Revolution. The relationship between the two ethnic groups deteriorated, jeopardizing the Tejanos’ political, social, and economic well-being. Their Spanish and Mexican land grants were taken away through fraudulent means and “bogus lawsuits” (p. 95). These confrontations led to a rebellion in Nacogdoches, which historian Paul D. Lack fully discusses in chapter six – “The Córdova Revolt.”

Foster’s book is important for those interested in the colonial period and who want to read an eye-witness account of De León’s journey and Chapa’s “Historia.” Moreover, De León’s expedition in 1690 verified the location of the trade route from Mexico “across Texas to the Caddoan Indian village on the Red River” (pp. 23-24). Poyo’s Tejano Journey is equally as important, and is written from the Tejano perspective. The seven historical essays offer an explanation for the adaptations Tejanos faced as they developed their own identity, within the context of the political, social, and economic changes, as citizens of Spain, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, and the United States.

J. Gilberto Quezada
San Antonio, Texas


Recognizing the need for an English study of the Mexican army during the first half of the nineteenth century (a number of Spanish language studies exist), DePalo has written one of considerable value. He approaches his subject on an institutional level and focuses on the army’s senior leadership, “because they were directly responsible for the army’s institutional progress or lack thereof throughout the interval under consideration” (p.x). This approach is fruitful, especially considering that so much of Mexico’s history has been determined by men in uniform and their passion for self-aggrandizement.

In DePalo’s narrative we meet almost every general who altered the course of events in Mexico during this thirty-year period, 1822-1852. He gives important background information on them but also ties their activities to the larger political scene, allowing us to follow the rapid rise and fall and rise again of these dominant personalities from the era of Mexican independence through the war with the United States.

Starting with a solid chapter on the military as it had evolved in Mexico during the eighteenth century, DePalo moves into the struggle for independence and the first major test for the new republic’s military establishment: the
revolt in Texas. Between his coverage of the Texas campaign and the Mexican War, DePalo treats the “Decade of Centralism, 1834-1845” – concluding that the army was as ill-prepared for this second test of its effectiveness as for the first. Among the reasons were “ideological rivalry, regional segregation, national penury, domestic instability and external crises” (p. 90). Through the author’s recounting of these events, it becomes easier to understand why Mexico was unable to regain Texas after the setback at San Jacinto in 1836. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the Mexican War, the first considering the northern campaign and the second addressing that in “eastern” (central) Mexico. Then comes a chapter on the army’s reorganization and reform in the postwar period, capped off by a brief conclusion noting how the “liberal reform program was derailed by chronic indebtedness and economic deterioration” (p. 161).

DePalo has drawn his account from a wide variety of archival and printed primary sources, the bulk of them in Spanish and not generally available. In spite of his impressive research, some bloopers and omissions occur. Colonel Jose Juan Sanchez, upon whose account of the Texas war DePalo often relies, is called Carlos (the editor-kinsman who later placed the colonel’s memoirs into print). General Manuel de Mier y Terán receives almost no attention, even though he was the most prominent military figure concerning Texas from 1828 until his death in 1832. Specialists will take issue with the way DePalo handles Mexican troop movements during the Texas campaign and his description of it in general, which is taken mostly from secondary sources and contains errors, e.g., Bowie was not the “newly elected commander” of the Alamo, Ramírez y Sesma did not shell the Alamo prior to Santa Anna’s arrival, etc. (pp. 56-59).

One wonders, of course, how any authoritative history of the Mexican army could be pulled together without the writer spending years in the Archive of the Mexican War Department (or Defensa Nacional), access to which is extremely difficult. Still William DePalo has made a notable attempt, and he does cite a number of documents from this vital collection. His book will be useful to readers seeking a broad overview of Mexican military affairs between 1822-1852.

Jack Jackson
Austin, Texas


Since 1836, hundreds of books have been published about the Alamo and the 189 or more men who fell in the old mission by the San Antonio River.

Most of the books have focused on a handful of defenders, principally William Barret Travis, Davy Crockett, and Jim Bowie. Unfortunately, few of the defenders left behind enough correspondence and family records to document their lives before the Alamo siege.
While it only scratches the surface with forty-nine defender profiles and family stories, Ron Jackson’s *Alamo Legacy* is a good start at telling us more about the other men who died with Travis, Crockett, and Bowie.

In recent years, several researchers and would-be historians have created genealogical trauma by trying to prove that some of the Alamo defenders on the traditional lists were there by error. However, early Texas records are so incomplete, illegible, and inconclusive that history may never know exactly who died at the Alamo.

To his credit, Jackson doesn’t dip into the controversy. In the style of the newspaperman he is, he tells each soldier’s story in a clear, enjoyable, and objective fashion without casting doubt on the legitimacy of a family’s link to the Alamo.

“The history of people should not be confined merely to documents, eyewitness accounts, court records, land grants and death certificates,” observes Jackson. “If that’s our definition of history, we as a people need to look in the mirror.”

Ron Jackson has provided a valuable contribution to the Alamo story. We hope he will continue his search for additional remembrances by Alamo descendants.

Bob Bowman
Lufkin, Texas


This book, a welcome addition to Mexican War literature, may be grouped in the category of “new” military history. It attempts to link the army to the society that produced it and consequently is more of a social history than a history of the war. The book is topical in arrangement and subject matter, as opposed to being a blow-by-blow account of the various military campaigns. Thus we find chapters on the organization of the U.S. Army, the weapons used by American troops complete with a loading procedure for the flintlock musket, daily life and cuisine of the typical “grunt,” the many ways that death overtook unsuspecting recruits – described in gory detail – and the soldiers’ impressions of Mexico, the exotic “Land of the Montezumas.”

If the author has a central thesis, it is that President James K. Polk took a “hands on” approach to the war to circumvent the resistance and incompetence of the Army establishment as it existed in 1846. Winders tells how Polk used the patronage system whenever possible to bolster the officer corps with faithful and zealous Democrats. Yet, for him the war became a “paradox” because American victories on the battlefield were being won by Whig generals even though the conflict was “largely perceived as a Democratic endeavor” (p. 32).
Polk disliked both of his top generals, Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor, and their popularity as war heroes bode ill for the Jacksonians who had led the nation into its first foreign war. Not even the immense territory wrested from Mexico by "Mr. Polk's Army" was sufficient to guarantee the ascendancy of the Democratic Party. It went down in defeat in the presidential election in 1848 to none other than "Old Rough and Ready," Zachary Taylor, the general whom Polk had been anxious to rid himself of as early as autumn of 1846.

Politics figure prominently in Winders' book, but we also learn about the significant role volunteer units played in winning the war and how their outlook differed from the regulars. The staggering cost in lives is another theme well developed: one in every ten men failed to survive their military service, and a man was seven times more likely to succumb to disease than fall in combat. The shock that idealistic recruits experienced on the bloody battlefields and in make-shift hospitals stayed with them long after the war. Lastly, Winders explores the still-popular notion that the conflict was an "unjust" war and suggests how the victorious Whig/Republicans in later years saddled Polk and the Southern Democrats with the blame for starting it—even though the war accomplished the ideals of Manifest Destiny held by most Americans of the era regardless of their political leanings.

_Mr. Polk's Army_ is a highly readable account, based on an impressive array of primary sources.

Jack Jackson
Austin, Texas


Undertaking a new study of a legendary topic, as the author of this volume is clearly aware, is full of potential pitfalls. He has skirted many of the more obvious dangers. Nowhere does the book succumb to the blinding effects of hero worship. His documentation is made clear; clashes in source materials are noted; the uneven and slow development of the ranger tradition is a major if underdeveloped theme. Wilkins has dug deeply into muster rolls, pay vouchers, claims records, and similar government records to authenticate and often correct memoirs flavored by legend-embellished hindsight. Many of those traditionally omitted from Texas Ranger lore—Tejano members in particular—are included to a degree that supersedes previous accounts. In this way and also in his fair-minded treatment of Mexican soldiers at war in Texas, Wilkins avoids repeating the egregious bias of Walter Prescott Webb.

These strengths notwithstanding, the book has several weaknesses of organization, structure, and style. The story of the rangers is often eroded by lengthy descriptions of basic Texas military history, an understandable narrative problem but one that simply has not been managed deftly by the author. The result is that the rangers themselves are often absent from center
stage and that the compelling nature of the story has been compromised. While he uses multiple sources, Wilkins has trouble weaving them together in a clear manner. His tendency is to give the account as seen by first one source, then another, and if possible by a third, and then move ahead. There is something to be said for allowing the reader to draw conclusions, but the narrative does not really flow as it should. Another distracting tendency is the author’s decision to cover many episodes in a brief manner rather than to choose the most illustrative and significant events for fuller development.

The basic thesis of the book is sound and traditional. Wilkins emphasizes the importance of ranger captains in accounting for successes and demonstrates that it was not until near the end of the Texas Republic that the rangers gained the experience, weapons, confidence, and continuity to achieve anything like “professional” stature. This volume also makes it clear that Texas continued to suffer from many weaknesses of defense as well as military disorganization and impoverishment.

Readers interested in East Texas subjects will find some greater coverage of the region, but Wilkins has little to add and is confused on some aspects of the story. There are a few mentions of the role of mounted volunteers in the Cordova and Cherokee struggles of the late 1830s. Otherwise, the traditional focus on the western and Comanche frontier is continued here. The origins of those who served in ranger units, a difficult research issue, remains unclear. In sum, this book demonstrates significant effort and presents some good information without filling the need for a fresh study of Texas Ranger origins.

Paul D. Lack
McMurry University


*Terry Texas Ranger Trilogy* offers outstanding historical and personal accounts of this southern cavalry unit during the Civil War. These recollections by Giles and Blackburn, and the diary of Dodd, allow the reader special insight into the daily life and tribulations of the most famous Southern volunteer cavalry force of the war. With carefully written text, the excitement, passion, and pain of war reaches the reader with the same conviction that the soldiers experienced.

Giles, Blackburn, and Dodd allow the audience to venture along in their service and defense of their homeland. From battle life to poor weather, and being hanged as a spy, readers view war at the human level of volunteers and their recollections.

Through these individual writers, we gain a deep understanding into the attitude, dedication, and code of service of Texans at war. With an impressive historical overview of the *Terry Texas Ranger Trilogy* by Thomas W. Cutrer, the three experiences become a coherent whole.
Giles, Blackburn, and Dodd deliver a penetrating insight into the courageous character of Texans. *Terry Texas Ranger Trilogy* is a must-read for anyone interested in the Civil War and Texas.

Albert R. Rambo  
Blinn College Brazos County Campus


In a readable, journalistic style, Mike Cox, who was a freelance writer before joining the Texas Department of Public Safety as its media relations chief, has focused on little-known tales about the Texas Rangers. While inserting such previously published articles as “Zane Grey and the Texas Rangers” and “Rx For Keeping the Peace: Laxatives and a .45,” Cox has included a number of interesting Ranger tales “that need telling.” Readers will appreciate such nineteenth-century Ranger escapades as “Samuel Walker’s Last Fight” and “The Killing of ‘Caige’ Grimes” as well as later tales titled “Tom Mix: Famous Ranger Who Wasn’t,” “I [Frank Hamer] Asked for B. M. Gault,” and “Lone Wolf [Gonzauillas] Versus the Phantom Killer.”

Cox has added to Ranger history and folklore with this collection of essays. Those who appreciate information about this world-famous law enforcement organization and its recruits will delight in this work, especially since Cox has added authenticity to his stories by interviewing a number of onlookers and participants.

Ben Procter  
Texas Christian University


Over a number of years W.T. Block collected research material upon which “Schooner Sail to Starboard:” *Confederate Blockade-Running on the Louisiana-Texas Coast Lines* is based. Civil War buffs and anyone interested in activities along the coasts of Texas and Louisiana west of the Atchafalaya Bay during the Civil War will enjoy this book. East Texans in particular will note the importance of blockade-running at such familiar places as Galveston and Sabine Pass in Texas and Lake Charles in Louisiana. There are other works on Confederate blockade-running but none of them concentrates solely on the Louisiana-Texas coastal areas as does “Schooner Sail to Starboard.”

W.T. Block is well-known for his Southeast Texas historical publications, including a wealth of articles and ten books. This new publication on block-
ade-running increases Block's tremendous contribution to preserving the history of the region he calls home with sound research and meticulous attention to detail.

The ingenuity, skill, and bravery of Confederate captains and crewmen in eluding capture, and devotion to duty and bravery on the part of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron's officers and crewmen, are related in many fascinating stories. One account describes how the famous Confederate raider Alabama was able to sink the blockader U.S.S. Hatteras under cover of night twenty miles from Galveston. Another incident involved Bill Johnson, captain of the schooner Soledad Cos, which was caught by the South Carolina, a Galveston blockader. Hoping to save his schooner, Johnson pretended to be dying of yellow fever so a prize crew would not be sent aboard. Captain James Alden of the blockading vessel examined Johnson personally and saw through the ruse.

"Schooner to Starboard" is not merely a collection of interesting narratives. The importance of cotton in blockade-running because proceeds from its sale could be used to buy arms and munitions and other items in short supply in the Confederacy, kinds of vessels used by blockade-runners and blockaders, problems of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron owing to the geographic features of the coast lines, and diplomatic troubles of the United States with other nations arising from its attempt to enforce its blockade also are covered. Moreover, the author clearly and concisely evaluates the significance of blockade-running along the Louisiana-Texas coast lines. He concludes that blockade-running in these areas probably never had much impact on the supplying of Confederate armies east of the Mississippi River, but it was vital in providing arms and munitions and other goods needed to field Confederate armies west of the Mississippi River.

Marion Holt
Beaumont, Texas


This book is a collection of thirty-seven chapters, or more aptly termed brief synopses, of shipwrecks and lost treasure mostly along the Texas coast. The volume was first published in 1979, and has been revised slightly for the current edition. Most of the chapters represent short articles that have appeared in various magazines prior to 1979. The only changes to the current edition are minor notations made by the author at the ends of some chapters on the current condition of a wreck site.

The chapters of the book are grouped into six categories: Spanish and pirate treasure, buried on land and contained in sunken ships; shipwrecks from the Texas Republic and Civil war periods; and more recent wrecks largely used for private commerce in World War II. Each chapter describes what is known about a lost treasure or a sunken ship from various sources, many of which are
EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

unreferenced documents, and unnamed individuals.

While the book provides interesting information about a topic that the public often finds fascinating – i.e., sunken treasure – it inappropriately encourages the exploitation of our historical heritage for private gain. The “Introduction” chapter of the volume devotes considerable space to inaccuracy by decrying the ineptness and unfairness of government bureaucrats that interfere with individual recovery of sunken treasure. What the author fails to convey is that state law protects our state’s rich off-shore heritage for all citizens. A good recent example is the excavation of the La Salle shipwreck, La Belle, by the Texas Historical Commission. Over 700,000 artifacts, including the remains of the ship’s hull, were recovered and are being preserved for display in museums across the state. When a shipwreck is excavated with proper scientific method and properly preserved, the artifacts and hull remains can benefit all Texans.

Jim Bruseth
Texas Historical Commission


A sequel to the well-regarded The Caddo Indians, Smith’s new work follows the fate of the Caddos (Nadacos, Hainais, and Kadohadachos/Whitebeads) and their linguistic relatives the Wichitas (Taooyayas, Tawakonis, Wacos, and Kichais) from Texas annexation to the dissolution of the Oklahoma reservations. In the face of Anglo advance these sedentary agriculturists were particularly vulnerable; they suffered government neglect and indecision, compounded by intertribal conflict, vigilantism, and natural disasters.

Through the 1840s Texan and U.S. policy wavered while the Indians occupied sites on both sides of the Red River. A reserve was founded for them on the Brazos in 1854, where they demonstrated industry and compliancy, but it could not protect them from the squeeze of white settlers and Northern Comanches, so they were removed to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1859. Efforts to establish a reservation there were disrupted by the Civil War and the Caddos and Wichitas sought refuge for five brutal years in Kansas. Upon returning they met competition from other tribes and more government ineffectiveness, but still managed to develop a balanced reservation community, consolidating politically, modifying their housing and land use practices, attending school, and participating in Christian sects, the Ghost Dance, and peyotism. Nevertheless, under the Dawes Act tribal lands were allotted in severalty and the “surplus” opened to white boomers.

Many of the key episodes and personalities in this story are already familiar through diverse, often more richly textured, secondary sources. The story is complicated, however, and Smith’s work is beneficial as a concise,
linear exposition. As such, it is central to a maturing contemporary literature on these still-vital tribes.

Daniel J. Gelo
University of Texas at San Antonio


Of the dozens of white women and children taken captive by Comanches on the western frontier, Cynthia Ann Parker remains the most celebrated. Taken in 1836 from Fort Parker near present-day Groesbeck, nine-year-old Cynthia Ann assimilated into Comanche society, married a war chief, and bore three children, all of whom were reared as Comanches. Unable to believe that anyone would choose to remain with the Indians, the Parker family was relentless in their efforts to rescue her. A force of Texas Rangers led by future governor Sul Ross "recaptured" her in an encounter with the Comanches on the Pease River in 1860. Unable to make the transition back to her Anglo beginnings, Parker spent the last years before her death in 1870 mourning for her husband who was presumed killed by the Rangers during her capture and her daughter who died after they returned to white society.

Fort Worth archivist Margaret Hacker retells this tragic story in *Cynthia Ann Parker: The Life and Legend*, No. 92 in the Southwestern Studies series. Since Parker never told her own story, her experiences with the Comanches are based on speculation. Uncovering no new sources, Hacker relies on secondary materials and the account written by Rachel Plummer, an adult kidnapped at the same time as Cynthia Ann. The author's thesis that Cynthia Ann Parker was a captive of two societies is well supported in this concise volume, but readers will find no new information regarding the Parker story.

Tommy Stringer
Navarro College


What was it like to be a slave? Only those who experienced slavery could answer this question, and until the late 1930s little effort was made to collect their testimony. Then, in 1937-1938, the Federal Writers' Project, a part of the Works Progress Administration, conducted interviews with more than 2,000 former bondsmen. Manuscript transcripts of these interviews, generally called the Slave Narratives, were placed in the Library of Congress and remained largely unused until the 1970s when Greenwood Press began publication of
the entire collection under the title, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*. The series eventually grew to forty-one volumes organized according to the state in which an interview was conducted.

*Till Freedom Cried Out* provides the narratives of thirty-two ex-slaves who experienced the Peculiar Institution in Texas and later moved to Oklahoma. Their interviews are available in the Greenwood Press collection, but since they were conducted in Oklahoma are likely to be overlooked by those interested in slavery in Texas. Moreover, this book presents these Oklahoma narratives in a highly readable format with an informative preface and introduction.

Historians have questioned the reliability of the Slave Narratives on several grounds, including the fact that most of the interviewers were white. Critics suggest that, given the state of race relations in the 1930s, blacks would have been far less than candid in discussing how they felt about their masters, the circumstances of their lives as slaves, etc. The editors show their awareness of this issue by providing a commentary on each narrative that identifies the interviewer by race and when possible gives pertinent data on the owner from the Census of 1860. This is information worth knowing, but readers should not assume—and the editors are not suggesting that they should—that the race of the interviewer or the circumstances of a slave’s life determine the reliability of any narrative. Indeed, this book’s title is a good case in point. L.B. Barner’s words to his first interviewer, a white—“I was 9 years old when freedom cried out,”—demonstrate anything but an effort to hide his feelings about slavery. The Slave Narratives are just as reliable as most other historical sources and should be used with the same caution and care. The Bakers and Texas A&M University Press deserve praise in Texas for making these likely-to-be-overlooked narratives from Oklahoma available in such a useful and attractive edition.

Randolph B. Campbell
University of North Texas


*Juneteenth Texas* is a deceptive book. It is not actually about Juneteenth, although one essay explores the history of this Texas emancipation day celebration. I am not even sure that it is, strictly speaking, a collection of folklore. It is, however, an intriguing collection of essays on a wide ranging set of topics about African American life in Texas. The variety of material and scholarly approach present in this volume is evident in the selection of contributors. While the three editors and seven of the eighteen contributors are folklorists, the others include poets, writers, a historian, an art historian, a jurist, a literary scholar, and a musical archivist. This range of talent and interests produce an impressive array of essays.
In all collections of essays there is the question of focus and unevenness of quality. For the most part this volume avoids these pitfalls. The focus is clear – each essay addresses the topic of African American life in Texas. And, while some essays are stronger than others, each adds significantly to the quality of the volume. The editors do a good job in establishing a context for the essays included in the volume. While their overview of black history in Texas adds little to the field, their discussion of the history of the study of black folklore is very interesting, as are the brief but informative descriptions of African-American Museum of Dallas and the Texas African-American Photography Collection and Archive that are included in the appendix.

Half of the essays in this book examine some aspect of black music; there are also several biographical sketches and several memoirs. Of the latter, the most compelling are Jesse Truvillion’s poignant memories of his father’s music and his discovery of that music, and James Thomas Jackson’s brief but rich glimpse into his youth in Houston’s Fourth Ward in the 1930s. Of the more scholarly selections, Houston poet Lorenzo Thomas’ two essays are among the best. His first piece describes the development of Zydeco music and the culture that surrounds it in Houston’s Fifth ward; the second is an informative account of the work of Texas’ pioneering black folklorist J. Mason Brewer which relates Brewer’s work to that of others who have studied black folklore. Linked to Thomas’ second essay is Alvia J. Wardlaw’s study which connects the work of Texas’ preeminent African American artist, John Biggers, to Brewer and black folklore. Each selection in this volume is strengthened by the addition of a fine set of photographs that relate well to the topic of the essay.

The weakest aspect of Juneteenth Texas is the unevenness of the documentation and bibliographical material. Some essays are well documented and provide a valuable bibliography of both printed and non-printed sources; others provide few footnotes and little information about sources. Reflecting this unevenness, the list or resource institutions in the appendix omits obvious collections such as the Heartman Collection and the African American Art collection at Texas Southern University. On the whole, though, the editors have put together a valuable volume which will be treasured by all of those who are interested in the rich fabric of African American life in Texas.

Cary D. Wintz
Texas Southern University

Bricks Without Straw: A Comprehensive Study of African Americans in Texas,

Still one of the most neglected aspects of Texas history is the role played by African Americans. Required is a solid, deeply-researched, and wide-ranging account of the cultural heritage of black Texans. Unfortunately, Bricks Without Straw fails to fulfill that eminent need. It is a throwback and similar
to older versions of black history wherein the biographical and factual approach is emphasized and a narrative thread is often ignored that would tie the story together. What makes this effort so disappointing is that much of the work done on Texas African Americans in the past two decades is largely ignored. In fact, major studies on black politicians, Reconstruction, and the Freedmen’s Bureau are entirely missing.

Only one other book compares to the current one under review and that is Alwyn Barr’s *Black Texans*, recently reissued in an updated and paperback version by the University of Oklahoma Press. Barr, a professional historian, has written a pithy account of how blacks interacted with Texas history. *Bricks Without Straw* invites comparison because it attempts a more detailed and lengthy discussion of the Texas black experience. Although it demonstrates a great deal of work, some research, and numerous “folksy” presentations, it is difficult to glean a clear picture of the precise contributions, achievements, and role of Texas African Americans in the long history of the Lone Star State.

In spite of these limitations, this book has certain attributes that should find a wide popular audience. Although the overall history of Texas blacks is somewhat slighted, there are numerous biographical and personal essays that many will find appealing. *Bricks Without Straw* is divided into three sections; first is a chronological account of African Americans in Texas from 1528 to the present; next, a series of disparate essays on various topics; and, finally, a section on legislators and short biographical sketches of prominent members of the Texas black community. Of minimal use to professional scholars because much of the information is known, for those who want a handy reference unencumbered by notes, *Bricks Without Straw* should be ideal.

Barry A. Crouch
Gallaudet University


*Black Texas Women: A Sourcebook; Documents, Biography, Timeline* grew out of Ruthe Winegarten’s work on the exhibit *Texas Women – A Celebration of History*, which was developed by the Foundation for Women’s Resources. Winegarten had served as director of research and curator for this exhibit. It toured the state for two years early in the 1980s and is now on permanent exhibit at Texas Woman’s University, which also houses the archives created by this Texas Women’s History Project.

This volume complements Winegarten’s publication in 1995 of *Black Texas Women: 150 Years of Trial and Triumph*, making available in print much of the source material she continued to amass on black women following
The Black Texas Women books represent for her "fifteen years of trial and triumph," she writes in the preface to the current volume. "My soul became obsessed with collecting and organizing this rare information," documenting everything from a "tiny fact" in a book or an article to a "major treasure" like a whole book by Josie Hall.


Also published in 1996 is the first University of Texas Press edition of I Am Annie Mae Hunt: An Extraordinary Woman in Her Own Words by Hunt and Winegarten. It is profusely illustrated. Originally published in 1983, it was heralded nationwide and showcased in dramatic and musical productions in the 1980s.

Ouida Whitaker Dean
Nacogdoches, TX

Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction,

The feminist dialectic made ponderous reading at times, but Edwards adds another perspective to studies of Reconstruction by use of official and private correspondence and newspapers. She claimed that "gender, in combination with race and class, shaped the political terrain not just in Granville County [NC] but across the South during Reconstruction" (p. i). The author chose the area because its tobacco industry offered a contrast to the cotton culture. She began with an incident in 1864 in which the wife of a conscripted white overseer forced into prostitution accused two slaves of rape when they refused to pay her. While one slave was hanged, another escaped, but was returned to Granville County in 1866. The Freedmen's Bureau intervened but the accused rapist perished when the jail burned. Democratic officials publicized the case and gained the support of poor whites.

Additional chapters cover marriage, labor, gender in elite and poor African-American and common white households, civil rights, and the Knights of Labor. Marriage replaced slavery as the cornerstone of society, made black men responsible for their children, and led to property ownership and political power. Wages made workers dependent and elites feared an
uprising because of the poverty. Trophy homes were symbols for elite women while poor and common black and white women were victims of inequality. The Knights of Labor threatened the political power of Democrats by uniting poor blacks and whites, but Democrats used another rape case to discredit the Knights and retain political power.

This book should create interest for local historians to investigate how gender issues shaped the politics of Reconstruction in other areas.

Linda S. Hudson
University of North Texas


"King of the Wildcatters" is an extraordinary book on the life of Tom Slick and his uncanny ability to find oil. Some people in this business are successful because they are knowledgeable, some because they have intuition or "hunches," some because they are lucky. Tom Slick was all of these, and discovered, explored, drilled, and sold his holdings in many oil fields, acquiring wealth and a reputation. He worked alone, or with very few people. He was willing to give a local farmer a fair price, and was honest and fair. A feeling of his personality emerges as the reader realizes he was extremely quiet and private, which probably helped him considerably in this kind of business. His reputation preceded him and if he was seen in an area, the word spread quickly and oil people flocked in.

Beginning in 1912 and through the end of Slick's life in August 1930, he was instrumental in finding the large fields in Oklahoma (especially the Cushing, Siminole, and Oklahoma City fields), Kansas, and Texas, and had towns, oil pools, and oil sand named for him. He was the first to become interested in and practice self-regulation to prevent glutting the market and was able to convince others to do likewise. He accepted proration, standardization of larger lease sizes, and well spacing as conservation and reduction of waste became more important to all involved in the industry.

One of the most interesting things about this book was the discussion of his will and the argument between Oklahoma and Pennsylvania over his residency. On one calculation, Oklahoma could have paid off its state debt if they could establish Oklahoma as Slick's official residency. Probably more insight into his personal life comes from this chapter.

The author is not only able to bring Tom Slick to life, but to interest the reader in the development of the early oil fields. This book was exciting to read!

Linda Cross
Tyler Junior College
**Just As We Were: A Narrow Slice of Texas Womanhood**, Prudence Mackintosh (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1996. Contents. Acknowledgments. P.160. $19.95. Hardcover.

As many readers of *Texas Monthly* are aware, Prudence Mackintosh has a way of capturing on the printed page events that are long past but most satisfying to remember. It is a little dissembling for essayist Mackintosh to describe herself as a mother, housewife, and part-time writer. She does it, I suspect, to better identify with that "narrow slice of Texas womanhood" to whom she introduces her readers in *Just As We Were*, "The Soul of East Texas."

In it she says, in a nutshell, that the diverse experiences she faced while growing up in Texarkana and finishing high there provided her with the emotional tools to make her question the homogenized lifestyle shared by too many women in the 1960s and 1970s.

Mackintosh made all the sorority, Junior League, marriage-and-children stops, but either she saw at the time or realized soon thereafter that each of those forays down life’s road provided its own potholes.

If there is a problem with the book, it is that many of the early essays, particularly the one about Dallas’ exclusive girls school - “Why Hockaday Girls Are Different” (1978) - and the National Woman’s Conference - “The Good Old Girls” (1978) needed some type of epilogue. Is Hockaday still as important nineteen years later? What happened not only to that Travis County Commissioner Ann Richards but to the other women Mackintosh writes of who made a difference in Houston in 1978?

That lack of follow-up, in fact, makes the last two essays, apparently written for *Just As We Were* among the most memorable. When Mackintosh writes of grown boys made slightly uncomfortable to learn their mother still finds laughter with her college girlfriends, she is at her best. Who cannot relate to the sorrow of an adult child as parents grow old - and the role of parent and child is reversed.

Any middle class woman from forty to sixty, or any man seeking to understand one, will find in Prudence Mackintosh a soul mate. I think even those who do not fit her narrow slice will find enjoyment in these pages.

Gail K Beil
Marshall, Texas


Erickson, creator of Hank the Cowdog, has taken dozens of stories told to him by McWhorter, a fiddling cowboy and horseman from the Panhandle, and woven them into a two-part book. The first part consists of stories about McWhorter’s fiddling career, but primarily about his time with Bob Wills’ band during the latter days of Wills’ career during the late 1950s and early
1960s. The second part is entirely about horses and cowboying on the JA Ranch and others less well-known.

This is a revised and augmented version of *Cowboy Fiddler*, a book published in 1992 by Texas Tech Press but now out of print. The author made a conscious decision to simply stay out of the way of the story teller as much as possible. Therefore, mainly all he did was to group the stories within the two parts of the volume, then further group them under subjects that became chapter titles. This has advantages but it certainly leaves the reader wishing for more details, more context, and more transitions. This publication will be most attractive to those who love to read about cowboy life or to those who collect Bob Wills memorabilia. The book is enhanced by a good index and several black-and-white photographs, mostly of McWhorter.

E. Dale Odom
University of North Texas


Call them back houses, service buildings, servants quarters, secondary or support structures – they are alley houses, says Ellen Beasley, and they give Galveston its distinctive and sometimes disreputable character.

Beasley has an eye for neglected architecture and an ear for good stories. Domestic and social history come alive with first-hand accounts scattered throughout the book of resourceful people who by necessity or choice have made their homes along the alleys. An address that says "rear," we learn from these accounts, often results in both social stigma and rich community life.

One alley house looks much like another, and even this beautiful book cannot disguise the sameness. Beasley shows us how these structures evolve from slave quarters, to servant quarters, to marginal businesses, to inexpensive rental property. She is at her best recounting anecdotes about specific places, such as the notorious brothels in Fat Alley and Tin Can Alley. The book is a visual treat full of black-and-white photographs featuring people as well as structures, bird’s eye drawings, and block plans. Meticulously researched, it complements the *Galveston Architecture Guidebook*, which she co-authored.

Stephen Curley
Texas A&M University, Galveston


On April 1, 1975, George Parr, the “second duke of Duval County,” killed
himself rather than go to prison. After being dominated for almost a century by boss rule, by blatant thievery and political corruption, the South Texas county of Duval was free from a vicious system that had robbed its citizens of their basic rights and economic freedom. The Duke was dead.

Author John E. Clark, who was "second banana" to U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Texas William S. Sessions in prosecuting Parr, has related to the reader a fascinating story of political domination which rested upon payoffs, threats, and corruption. He explains, step by step, how the evidence appeared before a grand jury in San Antonio, how federal government officials focused upon Parr and his cohorts for income tax evasion, and how federal attorneys forced, or persuaded, witnesses to cooperate. They then uncovered a "Special Fund" and a "Reserve Fund" that supplied the Parr machine with "ready cash" and thousands of dollars upon request. They also discovered a "phantom store" in Benavides that had no goods and supplies but that sent bills to the Duval County government for payment. And after several years of intensive investigation Sessions and Clark successfully prosecuted George Parr, his nephew Archie, and the major culprits involved in the Duval County duchy.

The Fall of the Duke of Duval is a worthwhile addition to Texana. Clark tells a good story; he explains the legal aspects of the case to the reader with clarity and he details a fascinating tale of how George Parr, as well as his father, had perpetuated a corrupt hold in Duval County. Despite the lack of endnotes, which would aid anyone interested in further investigation of this subject, Clark has written an exciting story of justice long overdue.

Ben Procter
Texas Christian University


Former Texas Governor Ann Richards, in the foreword to The Mystique of Entertaining: Texas Tuxedos to Tacos, writes that the uninitiated may never understand Texas mystique, the elusive state of mind fostered by "our remarkable individualism." Though primarily a cookbook, Texas Tuxedos and Tacos celebrates individualism, along with ingenuity and derring-do. It affords, therefore, beyond the culinary arts, insight into Texas culture. What people eat, how they prepare their food, and how it is served are significant keys to understanding a culture — and, by extension, Texas mystique.

Austin's Gourmet Gals & Guys collected their menus, recipes, and stories of catering for presidents, potentates, politicians, university dignitaries, ranchers, women of distinction, debutantes, brides, and grooms for this volume. Their extravaganzas — which Texas weather often turned into escapades — are gathered into such chapters as "Political Feats and Feasts," "Austin's White House," "Cows, Cowboys, & Cowpies," "The Russians Are Coming," "Our Royal Touch," etc. The chapters are prefaced with behind-the-scene stories, giving a
twenty-year anecdotal history of Austin culture. When the Prince of Wales came to Austin for a benefit hosted by Lady Bird Johnson, the caterers attempted to equal the sumptuous meals the Prince may have enjoyed in exotic places. At the last moment, they added cheese and spinach enchiladas. Imagine their consternation when the Prince merely glanced at their delectables and chose one enchilada. As the party readied to leave for a Willie Nelson concert, the Prince surprised guests and caterers alike when he requested another enchilada.

You don't have to be a food aficionado to enjoy this book. The format appears an exercise in originality, appropriate to the creativity of the authors. Another plus is that they write engagingly. When the last page is turned, even a novice hostess is likely to be stimulated to prepare and serve a dinner for some VIP coming down the pike. Texas hospitality is the essence of the Texas mystique.

Ernestine Sewell Linck
Commerce, Texas


He was a psychiatrist's worst nightmare. On August 1, 1966, he became a minister of death and a harbinger of a new era in public safety. From the observation platform atop the Tower Building at the University of Texas at Austin, Charles J. Whitman introduced America to mass murder, to domestic terrorism without a cause, and to a declining sense of safety in public open spaces. Whitman was a unique mass murderer, willing to sacrifice himself and as many others as possible.

After killing his mother and his wife, Whitman took a footlocker full of guns to the Tower, secured his fortress by killing and wounding several persons inside the reception area, and for ninety-six minutes roamed the compass points around the Tower's deck, shooting randomly.

A Sniper in the Tower is a case study of Whitman's assault, in which dozens of persons were bludgeoned, stabbed, and shot to death and dozens more wounded. LaVergne sketches the disparate experiences of the major participants in the massacre with the skills of an imaginative fiction writer, a perceptive journalist, and an objective historian. The reader senses the bizarre implausibility of the events, with a composite perspective of every major actor, including Charles Whitman. This was not fiction.

The book scrolls through issues of: What He Did, How He Did It, and Why He Did It: troubled childhood, unhealthy obsessions, self-loathing, and even physiological factors. LaVergne suggests that Whitman might have just decided he wanted to do it.

The book is a balanced, worthwhile analysis of a seminal event with occasional lapses into hokey hyperbole which do not lessen the substance of
the author's contribution. LaVergne penned an effective appraisal of each piece of what remains an incomplete jigsaw puzzle of horror and heroism.

The massacre is part of America’s psychological growth, as we relinquished our societal naivété. Whitman proved the mass murderer can have the face of the All American Boy. The book is a valuable, well-documented account; it won’t induce peaceful sleep or urban serenity.

James G. Dickson
Stephen F. Austin State University


The rich traditions of Southwest Conference athletics ended with the final out of the baseball season in 1996. Many Texas sports fans lament the passing of SWC football, but the Southwest Conference also has long been one of the most powerful baseball leagues in the nation. Indeed, a large number of SWC footballers also played baseball for their respective schools: Bobby Layne hurled two no-hitters in 1946 and was a four-time All-Southwest Conference pitcher for the University of Texas. Quarterback James Street, who also was destined to twirl a pair of no-hitters for the Longhorns, chose to play football at UT because Darrell Royal agreed to let him don a baseball uniform as well.

The University of Texas, boasting one of the strongest programs in the history of college baseball, claimed four national titles and, in eighty-one years of Southwest Conference play, won or shared sixty-four SWC championships. Perennial Longhorn success generated hard-fought rivalries on SWC diamonds as well as in the grandstands - the 1955 brawl at Austin’s Clark Field between several thousand 'Horns and Aggies remains the most notorious melee. Texas A&M’s program also has begun to achieve national prominence, and through the years other SWC schools enjoyed great teams and players.

In Southwest Conference Baseball’s Greatest Hits, journalist Neal Farmer has chronicled eight decades of SWC diamond history. Farmer interviewed many former players and coaches and has preserved hundreds of anecdotes and a wealth of statistics. Farmer’s format includes a lengthy chapter on each SWC school’s program, special chapters on the most memorable ballparks and individuals (and “The Wild Bunch,” the Longhorn’s incomparably rowdy rooters), and a statistical section. The book offers a keen sense of nostalgia, game stories, hilarious anecdotes, prodigious statistics - no baseball fan could want more for his bookshelf.

Bill O’Neal
Carthage, Texas
Angelina College, Lufkin
Bob Bowman & Associates, Lufkin
Cherokee County Historical Commission, Rusk
Commercial Bank of Texas, N.A., Nacogdoches
East Texas Oil Museum, Kilgore
Farmers Branch Historical Park, Farmers Branch
Fredonia State Bank, Nacogdoches
Harrison County Historical Commission, Marshall
Kilgore Chamber of Commerce, Kilgore
Lamar University, Beaumont
Lee College Library, Baytown
The Long Trusts, Kilgore
M.S. Wright Foundation, Nacogdoches
North Harris Montgomery Community College, Houston
Panola College, Carthage
San Jacinto College North, Houston
San Jacinto Museum of History, La Porte
Stone Fort National Bank, Nacogdoches
Temple-Inland Forest Products Corporation, Diboll
Texas Forestry Association, Lufkin
Texas Forestry Museum, Lufkin
Texas Historical Commission, Austin
Trinity Valley Community College, Athens
Tyler Junior College, Tyler
University of Texas at Tyler Library, Tyler
Vinson & Elkins, L.L.P., Houston

and sponsored by

Stephen F. Austin State University