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STEVEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY
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NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS 75962
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STEAMBOAT HOUSE: SAM HOUSTON'S LAST HOME

by John W. Payne

The old house has had several names — Buena Vista, Bailey Place, Old Sam Houston Home, Squatters's Place, and Steamboat House, the colorful name that most Texans no doubt prefer.

The story begins with Dr. Rufus Bailey, a brilliant and somewhat eccentric New England clergyman who arrived in Texas in 1854. The next year he accepted a position as language professor at Austin College, a Presbyterian school in Huntsville. Dr. Bailey was well known as a prolific writer of sermons and newspaper articles, a number of which were collected in book form. People in Huntsville seem to have had mixed feelings about the professor. They admired his scholarly achievements but not his frugal habits. One acquaintance, Pleasant W. Kittrell, a physician who kept a journal for recording his business transactions and his private opinions, apparently liked Dr. Bailey but found him a close man with his pocketbook. "It is like squeezing sugar out of a crabapple to get money out of the old Doctor," Kittrell wrote in March 1861.

In September 1855 Dr. Bailey, with the consent of the Board of Trustees and President Daniel Baker, paid $100 to Austin College for five acres located northeast of town and described in the deed records of Walker County as part of a league of land originally granted to Pleasant Gray, one of the founders of Huntsville. The next year Bailey bought an adjoining three acres from George W. Grant for $45. The tracts were combined to form the grounds on which Bailey built the famous house in about 1858, planning, apparently, to offer it as a gift to his son Frank and his bride.

For a meticulous man such as Dr. Bailey, planning a house was no casual undertaking. He had a poor opinion of most Texas houses he had seen and wanted to show that he could design something better. "There is such a deficiency in architectural taste that I thought [it] proper to exhibit real skill in that line," he said. Whether he succeeded is still a subject of debate. For descriptions of the original structure we must rely on old-timers who told about the house as they remembered it from childhood. Their memories, however, are in remarkable agreement, Will Kittrell, Pleasant Kittrell's son, for example, lived in the house in the 1860s — and almost died there of yellow fever. Some sixty years later, in 1926, Will Kittrell wrote to The Huntsville Item:

As built by [Dr. Bailey] there were three rooms 14 X 14 on the ground floor, with three above the same size. ... A four foot gallery on either side, up and down stairs, with bannister rails two feet high. Two 4 X 4 closets [ran] from the lower floors, both sides, extending to above the roof. Front steps covering the front of the lower rooms

John W. Payne is Professor of History at Sam Houston State University, Huntsville.
were from the ground to the [upstairs] front room, [obscuring] all view from the lower front room. ... It had somewhat the appearance of a steamboat, double decked, and some one [gave] it the name of the Steamboat House. 8

Whether "Steamboat House" was the name used at this time is uncertain. It is possible that Will Kittrell simply adopted the popular twentieth-century designation. In any case, the name does not appear in the deeds or in any other records of the time. 9 Nor is there any available evidence for the story that young Frank Bailey and his wife, thinking Rufus Bailey's house a monstrosity, declined to live there, but the story is not hard to believe. 10

Disappointed though he must have been, Dr. Bailey apparently remained proud of his new house. Inspired by the unobstructed view from the small promontory where the house and grounds were located, he gave the place the happy name "Buena Vista," a surprising choice coming from a somber man. 11 He may also have decided to move into the house himself. That is suggested by some of the sketchy information available to us. Bailey became president of Austin College in December 1858 and, according to George L. Landolt's history of the school, the house became Bailey's "Austin College home." 12 This does not seem likely, since the house was far removed from the campus. Just how long Bailey lived there, if at all, cannot be determined. Bailey remained president of the school until sometime in 1862, when he resigned because of poor health. 13 Late that year or early the next the house got a new occupant of even greater fame.

In 1861 Sam Houston had been removed from the governor's office because he refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. He believed the Confederacy would bring anarchy and ruin to his beloved Texas. For a time Houston and his family lived at his farm, Cedar Point, in Chambers County. But Houston wanted to return to Huntsville, which he had long thought of as his home. In the autumn of 1862 he registered at Captain Sims's Hotel, a well-known establishment where Dr. Pleasant Kittrell and other Huntsville citizens sometimes took their meals. 14 Meanwhile, according to an account given many years later by Jeff Hamilton, the general's personal servant, workmen were repairing the Bailey house, which Houston had rented. As Jeff remembered, Houston tried to buy the house but Dr. Bailey refused to sell. 15 According to one biography, Margaret Houston arrived by coach on a chilly day in December. The family moved in and began to make themselves as comfortable as possible in a poorly-arranged house. The presence of servants and the four younger children made it a noisy place. Houston chose the dark front room behind the wide, outside stairs as his bedroom, perhaps because it afforded him some privacy. 16

These last months of Houston's life were darkened by ill health and by his sadness over the tragic war. Huntsville's male population was mostly composed of old men and young boys, few of whom Houston knew or
cared to associate with. Many of them, after all, considered him a Unionist — or worse. But these months were brightened somewhat by visits with old friends and even with some former political adversaries. There was, for example, Dr. Pleasant Kittrell, who had opposed Old Sam in the bitter Houston-Runnels race for governor in 1857, but who was not inclined to hold grudges. Kittrell and Houston would meet occasionally for long talks, their earlier differences apparently forgiven. On one occasion Kittrell drove fourteen miles from his farm to spend the night with the Houston family. Houston graciously accompanied Kittrell to the room upstairs where his guest was to sleep, but the two men began a conversation that lasted until midnight. When Houston finally told Kittrell good night and left the room, he had trouble finding his way to the stairs in the dark. Dr. Kittrell then heard Houston shout to Mrs. Houston, who had long since retired: “Margaret, Margaret, come and show me out of this cursed house.”

Houston’s health declined during the early months of 1863. In the summer he made a trip to Sour Lake, in Hardin County, hoping that the mineral baths would bring some improvement. It was here that he heard the disturbing news that Vicksburg had fallen to the Union on July 4. He returned to Huntsville in a weakened condition. One afternoon he came back to the house from a walk suffering from chills and fever. His condition grew worse and developed into pneumonia. Dr. Markham, a friend and former associate of Dr. Kittrell’s, was called in. Markham had Houston’s bed placed in the center of the room so that it caught what little air was stirring in the hot and humid weather. Jeff Hamilton slept on a pallet near the bed, ready to attend to Houston’s every need. Mrs. Houston was nearly always close by.

One day Houston’s old acquaintance, Dr. Kittrell, accompanied by Kittrell’s nine-year-old daughter, Lilla, arrived by carriage at the Steamboat House. Whether it was a professional visit or merely a friendly call, or both, is not certain. Many years later Lilla Kittrell (Mrs. John Durst) remembered the visit clearly. General Houston, she said, held out his hand and said, “My old friend, Dr. Kittrell, I’m glad to see you. It will be our last meeting in this life.” Then he turned to Lilla and said, “Come, daughter, and kiss the Old General. This is the last time you will ever see him.” A forbidding growth of whiskers on the old man’s face caused Lilla to hesitate, but at her father’s urging she dutifully complied. Houston’s gloomy prediction was all too accurate. Three days later, at dusk on July 26, 1863, while Margaret was reading to him from her Bible, Sam Houston died.

Almost exactly three months earlier, on April 25, Rufus Bailey, at age seventy, had died. He, too, was a victim of pneumonia. Six months before this, on October 20, 1862, while visiting in Grimes County at the home of a friend, Daniel D. Atchison, Dr. Bailey had asked Atchison to draw up his will. In the document, witnessed by Atchison and Atchison’s
wife Lucy, Bailey had willed all his property, "real, personal, and mixed," to his son Francis B. (Frank) Bailey. Frank Bailey was now the owner of the house he had rejected some five years earlier.

Bailey did not keep the house long. In November 1863 he sold to A.C. McKeen "ten acres ... comprising the residence and ground on the East side of Huntsville known as 'Buena Vista,' or the 'Bailey Place,' " for $4000. It is worth noting that this description, taken from the record in the clerk’s office of Walker County, does not contain the name "Steamboat House." Later that same month, Margaret Houston gave up the place and moved to Independence, where she lived until her death in 1867.

Three years later, Dr. Pleasant Kittrell decided to leave his farm and move back into what he once described as the "noise and bustle & confusion of a village & political life." The residence he purchased was one he already knew, Steamboat House, though in his journal he did not use this name. In his journal entry of New Year’s Day 1867, he wrote that he had bought on December 25, 1866, "the house and lot situated ... just out of the corporate limits, near or on the eastern verge of Huntsville." It was the place that had been "improved by Dr. [Rufus] Bailey and called by the euphonious and very appropriate Spanish name, Buena Vista or 'beautiful view.' " The terms of the purchase, like so many of the doctor’s business transactions, were somewhat inexact: "I promised by notes to pay $1500 for the property, $750 of which I obligated myself ... to pay on the 25th Jan’ry 1867. The remainder ... on or before Jan’ry or March (I forget which) 1868."

Kittrell’s journal reveals very little about the short time he lived at Steamboat House. There is an entry, in April, in which he complains of the carelessness of one "Madison," a freedman, who left down the garden fence and let in a gang of hogs that rooted up the doctor’s potatoes, but this is about all. It is unfortunate, from the historian’s viewpoint, that Kittrell does not describe the onset of the yellow fever epidemic that struck Huntsville in the fall of 1867 and carried off 130 victims, including eventually Dr. Kittrell himself. The disease, in the words of one writer, "spread through the community like a forest fire out of control." Kittrell and other doctors, aided by volunteer nurses, worked night and day. Only with the coming of cooler weather in mid-October did the fever subside.

Both the doctor and his son Will became sick in September. On September 22 Eliza Thomas Nolley, a young woman who had volunteered to work as a nurse, wrote a note to Captain Thomas J. Goree, the doctor’s nephew whom she would soon marry: "Dr. Kittrell and Willie are both sick at one time ... the doctor alarmingly so. But I am pleased to say that he is now better. Willie is doing well and with good nursing, we trust, will soon be entirely restored...." But three days later, Martha Ann Otey, Miss Nolley’s sister — a widow with two children who also had volunteered as a nurse — wrote a note to Captain Goree informing him that his uncle was slowly dying and would not last until nightfall.
Apparently Dr. Kittrell died that afternoon, since September 25 is the date carved on his tombstone in Oakwood Cemetery. Years later, his son Will — the “Willie” mentioned in Miss Nolley’s letter — recalled that the doctor died “in the east room upstairs” in Steamboat House — the same house, but not the same room, where Sam Houston had died four years earlier.

Mary Frances Kittrell, Dr. Kittrell’s wife, decided to stay on at Steamboat House after the doctor’s death. On September 22, when the doctor was on his deathbed, he had made out a will directing that his estate be divided equally among his wife and five children. However, Dr. Kittrell had put the house in the name of his oldest son Norman, aged eighteen, and it was Norman who received title to the property in December. In 1873, when Norman was twenty-four years of age, he deeded the house to his mother so she might have a homestead in case of his death. If her death preceded his, the property would revert to him. It was agreed that Mrs. Kittrell would live in the house and take care of the younger children.

Lilla Kittrell Durst recalled that her mother did not find Steamboat House an easy place to manage. “Who on earth ever thought of planning such a house,” she would often say. It is easy to understand her frustration. Lilla remembered, even after sixty years, the weird arrangement of the building:

There wasn’t a window in the house except [that] the top of each door had a window sash built in that would neither be raised [nor] lowered ... In the summer we could open both doors to get air, but in winter if the wind was from the north we’d open the south door; if [the wind was] from the south we’d open the north door.

Still, Lilla looked back on her time there as “some of the happiest days of my life.” One such happy day probably was June 25, 1868, when a wedding supper and reception were held at Steamboat House. Miss Eliza T. Nolley, the young woman who volunteered as a nurse during the fever epidemic, was married to Major Thomas J. Goree, Dr. Kittrell’s nephew. Major Goree, now thirty-three years of age, had been practicing law for about ten years and during the Civil War was a member of General James Longstreet’s staff. The wedding took place at the Methodist Church in Huntsville. The reception at the house was attended by all the bridal party, including twenty bridesmaids and groomsmen and many friends.

Five years later, in 1873, Major Goree and Mrs. Kittrell agreed to an unusual real estate transaction. They simply exchanged places, Mrs. Kittrell going to the major’s house at Midway, in Madison County, and the major taking over Steamboat House. Major Goree had formed a law partnership with Colonel L.A. Abercrombie in Huntsville and also planned to go into business as a merchant.

It was during Major Goree’s ownership that important alterations were made on the house. Lillian R. Otey McGary remembered that her uncle remodeled the house, “tearing the front away, extending [the] room with a bay window, then [adding] a porch and a room out towards [the]
East...." Major Goree, who was by this time superintendent of the state prison, used convict labor to do the work. According to one source, "The distinctive facade was destroyed ... and all that [now] remained of the unique house was the two-story six-room body and [the] exterior galleries." In fact, the house had now taken on a "Victorian style." In fact, the house had now taken on a "Victorian style."7

Of even greater interest to the historian is a famous meeting that took place in the house on October 10, 1879, the day that Sam Houston State Normal Institute officially opened. The opening-day ceremony had gone well, highlighted by an admirable speech by Bernard Mallon, president of the new school. Even Governor Oran Robert's misfortune in accidentally knocking over a glass of water on the speaker's stand did not spoil the proceedings. After the ceremony a dinner was given by Major Goree and his wife at Steamboat House. The dinner turned out to be an important one, as Oscar H. Cooper, a member of the normal school faculty, remembered vividly fifty years later. In a letter to Eliza T. Goree on February 9, 1929, Professor Cooper wrote:

I recall pretty definitely the first day at the Sam Houston Normal Institute.... After the opening exercises you had a dinner, and at the dinner the following were present.... Governor Roberts, Mr. [Roger Q.] Mills, Mr. Mallon, Captain Goree, and myself. One incident of that dinner I remember with extraordinary interest. I was seated with Governor Roberts on my left, Mr. Mills on my right, and Mr. Mallon across the table. Everybody felt good about the fine opening. I said something like this: 'The next thing we ought to do in Texas is to organize the University of Texas,' and [Mr.] Mills [a U.S. Congressman] commented, 'I don't see why that hasn't been done already.' Governor Roberts said, 'I'm in favor of it, too.'

After the dinner we went out on the verandah.... I attached myself to Governor Roberts out there.... I asked him if he would find out from the Comptroller of Public Accounts when he went back to Austin about the condition of the resources of the University of Texas ... and he promised at once that he would have the Comptroller look up the University funds and let me know. It was there that my connection with Governor Roberts' activities in bringing about the organization of the University of Texas began.40

It would take four years and much hard planning, especially by dedicated men such as Dr. Ashbel Smith, to complete work on the Austin branch of the University, but there is no doubt that Oscar Cooper's suggestion marked the revival of a project that had met with repeated delays since the time of the Republic of Texas.

In April 1891, Thomas J. Goree, having served with distinction as prison superintendent for fourteen years, resigned to take a job as general manager of the New Birmingham Company, which had been organized to develop iron-ore deposits in Cherokee County.41 Goree sold the Steamboat House and grounds to I.N. Smith for $2250.42 I.N. Smith and C.H. Smith, apparently a relative, sold the property to a Huntsville hardware and real estate firm, Lamkin Brothers, in August 1917.43 Eight years later, in March 1925, the firm sold it to Oakwood Cemetery Association for
$3500." On January 15, 1928, The Dallas Morning News reported that the building known as "Old Steamboat House" had been moved and now stood "on North Main Street near the public school." The newspaper gave few details, but other sources reveal that the house had been sold to J.H. Johnson by Mrs. C.A. Randolph, secretary of Oakwood Cemetery, for $250. Johnson's son, J.G. Johnson, recalled that the Johnson family had paid $350 or $400' to have it moved from the cemetery to the new location, a distance of half a mile. In 1933, J.E. Josey, a former Huntsville resident who was then publisher of The Houston Post, bought the house from the Johnsons for $500. Undoubtedly Josey already was developing plans for restoring the building, but these would not be worked out in detail until 1936, the year of the Texas Centennial.

Meanwhile, in its location near the public school, the Steamboat House had fallen on hard times. A newspaper reporter who saw the house in February 1936 wrote:

For two years it has been known as 'Squatters's Place' and that is what it is today — a squatters's place. A rickety, patched, draughty haunt of families who come to it and if there are rooms vacant, walk in and camp as best they may.

There were four families living in it when the [reporter] visited it, not to mention one aged bachelor who had a room in what is now the east gable upstairs. One of its 10 rooms was vacant — a family had just moved out.

J.G. Johnson, the former owner and now the caretaker, was one of the "squatters," having moved into the front room with several of his children after he had been "burned out" at another house two months earlier. On the north side of the house there was still a gallery, one of the few remaining traces of the original "steamboat" appearance. There "a child with her doll sat at a small, rough-made table and played with the doll and occasionally tossed a scrap of food to a waiting dog. In the rooms above, shouting and running could be heard." The house had been painted yellow. Its porch floor had rotted and some of the panes of the bay window near the entrance were missing. At the windows, dirty sheets had been hung in the place of curtains. "The old place isn't what it used to be," J.G. Johnson remarked. "[It's] just a place to camp in now."

For the past three years J.E. Josey had been proceeding with plans to restore the house. Josey and Mrs. I.B. McFarland, president of the Harris County Historical Society, had conducted an extensive search for information on the original appearance of the building. Interviews with oldtimers produced much helpful material. Colonel Andrew Jackson Houston, son of Sam Houston, relying on memories from early childhood, said that the house "faced west, with a long gallery along each side and across one end, like the decks of an old Mississippi River steamer." He also remembered that the building was set in a large grove of trees. Mrs. John W. Thomason, Major Goree's daughter, described the house as it was when she was a girl. Will Kittrell and Lilla Durst, as noted,
remembered clearly what the house looked like when they lived there with their mother, Mrs. Pleasant Kittrell. So did their sister, Mrs. Sallie Sterrett. The most notable features, all seemed to agree, were the twin turrets at the front. Mrs. Sterrett recalled, "The ... turrets were about four feet above the roof, and we crazy children used to climb up there and play." Mrs. Durst remembered that there were two fireplaces, one in the parlor and one in the room above, and brick flues for heaters. There were several outbuildings at the back: a well house, a chicken house, and a stable.

J.E. Josey considered several plans drawn up by architects for restoration of Steamboat House. On June 16, 1935, The Houston Post carried a photograph of a diorama of the house and grounds executed by Edward Wilkinson, a Houston architect and artist. This was the plan Josey preferred, and the firm of Wilkinson and Nutter was given supervision of the restoration. On February 1, 1936, Josey announced that the house would be presented formally to the state on March 2, Texas Independence Day and also Sam Houston's birthday. A celebration would be held in Huntsville. Governor James V. Allred would attend the celebration ceremony. Josey also received a telegram from Governor Hill McAlister of Tennessee accepting an invitation to the celebration as a representative of the state where Sam Houston spent his early years.

The year 1936 was an important one for many towns in Texas, and Huntsville would be honored doubly, since it was there on March 2 that the Sam Houston birthday observance and the local Texas Centennial celebration would be held. These were certain to draw a large crowd — as many as 15,000 people from throughout the Southwest, according to one estimate. An article in The Dallas Morning News on February 26 conveyed something of the pleasurable expectation of the event:

[Huntsville] will soon become a showplace of color and pomp. Flowers and flags will form the central part of the decoration scheme. The remainder is supplied by the city's natural beauty, it being set in the midst of tall pines and rolling hills.

Steamboat House had been dismantled to facilitate its transfer to Sam Houston Park, where it would be placed near Houston's other Huntsville home and his old law office. The Dallas paper reported that "scores of workmen were on the job" and that it was hoped that they would have the house ready for the celebration. Joseph Weldon Bailey, Jr., son of the famous Senator Joe Bailey, would present the house to the state in behalf of J.E. Josey. Governor Allred would accept it in behalf of the state. In addition to Governors Allred and McAlister, Governor Philip La Follette of Wisconsin, who would be in Texas on a lecture tour, had promised to be present.

March 2 arrived with clouds and a threat of showers. In the morning there was a ceremony at Houston's grave in Oakwood Cemetery. During the afternoon the presentation of Steamboat House took place in Sam Houston Park. A crowd of 10,000 people had gathered despite the overcast
sky and occasional drops of rain. Persons in charge of the program decided to disregard the unpromising weather rather than disappoint the crowd. Dr. Harry Estill, president of Sam Houston State Teachers College, introduced Henry Paulus, chairman of the board of regents of the college, and Paulus, in turn, introduced former Governor W.P. Hobby, master of ceremonies. Governor Hobby spoke briefly, making special mention of the contribution that former Huntsville residents had made to the city of Houston, where he lived.

Governor McAlister of Tennessee, who delivered the main address, spoke from a rostrum located near a pecan tree that Sam Houston was said to have planted. In a photograph taken that day, Governor McAlister presented an impressive figure, wearing a dark suit and an old-fashioned wing collar and tie. Standing bareheaded in the rain, he eulogized Houston, the hero of both Texas and Tennessee. "For it was there in Tennessee," the governor said, "that Texas' great liberator began, under the friendly and approving eye of Andrew Jackson, the career that [already had] marked him as one of America's immortals."

Following Governor McAlister's Speech, Joseph W. Bailey, Jr., in behalf of J.E. Josey, presented the Steamboat House to the State of Texas, with the hope that it "will become a shrine to which all lovers of freedom may turn for inspiration." Governor Allred, in accepting the shrine, expressed "the heartfelt gratitude of the entire citizenship of the state" to Josey for making the gift. Both the main address and the presentation were broadcast statewide over the Texas Quality Network.

It should be noted that the ceremony took place not before the restored Steamboat House we see today but in front of the two-story remnant of the original house that had been moved to the park only a week earlier. Construction began soon after the ceremony, however, and on June 8 it was reported to J.E. Josey that "the towers are up and are now being weather-boarded." Work was completed in the autumn, and photographs taken in early 1937 show the house much as it appears now. By this time another dedication was being planned. A reporter for The Houston Post wrote facetiously, "It looks as though Texas cannot stop 'Centennializing.' " This "second baptism" of Steamboat House would take place on March 2, 1937, which would also be the date for the dedication of still another shrine, the new Sam Houston Memorial Museum. The museum, a handsome octagonal building of pink brick and Texas limestone, was erected with funds supplied by the state through the Centennial Board of Control. It had cost $35,000 — a considerable sum in those Depression years.

Invitations were sent out in late January. While the ceremonies would certainly draw a sizeable crowd, it was expected to be smaller than the Centennial gathering. Fortunately, the weather on March 2, 1937, seems to have been more pleasant than that of the previous year. At least there was no mention of rain in the newspaper accounts. Attendance reached
only 2000 people — a fair-sized crowd but only a fraction of the size of that a year earlier. The two-hour program was highlighted by an address by William McCraw, the portly attorney general of Texas, who, not surprisingly, emphasized Houston's career as a lawyer: "[Sam Houston] was at his greatest as a citizen here in your midst as he practiced the law he loved," the attorney general said. Other speakers were Dr. Estill, Dr. J.L. Clark, chairman of the Walker County Centennial Board, and Representative A.T. McKinney. One honored guest, who made no speech but was given a round of applause, was a ninety-seven-year-old black man, Jeff Hamilton, the faithful slave who had kept vigil over Houston's deathbed in Steamboat House. Somewhat deaf but still sprightly, Jeff was then living in Belton, where he was being cared for by his daughter.

For almost forty years following the Centennial celebrations, Steamboat House remained unchanged except for minor repairs and repainting. In October 1975, Austin architects Bell, Klein, and Hoffman prepared a lengthy preservation and development plan for Sam Houston Memorial Museum. One section of the plan contained a narrative history of Steamboat House, with recommendations for its repair and maintenance. In the opinion of the architects, prompt attention should be given to "inadequate roofing and flashing, deteriorated wood and weakened foundations."

Apparently these recommendations were followed and the house was put in better condition. Over the next dozen years, however, it began once more to show the results of weather and increasing age. Sam Angulo, director of the museum, became convinced that Steamboat House was unsafe and should be closed until repairs could be made. Three construction engineers inspected the house and came to the same conclusion. They found, among other problems, unstable piers, insufficient bracing of the walls, and settling chimneys that caused the roof rafters to sag. There could be no doubt that the house was unsafe. In September 1988 Sam Angulo placed a sign near the front stairway: "Closed for Repairs."

In a conversation with the writer on February 14, 1989, Angulo was hopeful that work could begin soon. The house was being emptied of its furniture, pictures, and other historical objects to make ready for the workmen. Sam Houston State University chose David Hoffman, Inc., an Austin architectural firm, as supervisor of an extensive repair project that would put the proud old house in sound condition.

NOTES

1George L. Landolt, Search for the Summit, Austin College through XII Decades, 1849-1970 (Austin, 1970), pp. 113-116. Landolt's information on Bailey differs slightly from that in the article in the Dictionary of American Biography, I, p. 501. According to the DAB, Bailey was ordained as a minister in the Congregational Church, although usually he is referred to as a Presbyterian. Perhaps he changed denominations after his appointment to a professorship at Austin College.


Book D of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, pp. 322-323.

The belief that Frank Bailey and his wife rejected the house that his father built for him may or may not be true, but it has been repeated so often that it is accepted as fact.

Will Kittrell, son of Pleasant Kittrell, quotes Bailey's boast some fifty years after it was made. W.H. Kittrell, Sr., to The Huntsville Item, November 30, 1926.

Kittrell to The Huntsville Item, November 30, 1926.

There is much speculation about the origin of the name "Steamboat House." In addition to the theory that Dr. Bailey designed it to resemble a steamboat, it has been said that the house actually was built by a retired steamboat captain, and — perhaps the ultimate absurdity — it was built from lumber salvaged from a wrecked steamboat!

The story, like others concerning the house, may or may not be true, but the weird appearance of the building makes it easy to believe.

Bailey apparently was a gloomy man. His interest in Spanish may explain the choice of the name. Too, memories of the Mexican-American War and Zachary Taylor's great victory were still fresh in the 1850s.

Landolt, *Search for the Summit*, p. 53.


Some biographies are vague about the date Houston returned to Huntsville, but most agree that it was in the fall of 1862. See Llerena Friend, *Sam Houston. The Great Designer* (Austin, 1954), p. 351, and William Seale, *Sam Houston's Wife. A Biography of Margaret Lea Houston* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1970), pp. 222-223. Captain James Sims's hotel and dining room apparently were well known in Huntsville. Dr. Pleasant Kittrell recorded that he once "ate out" part of a medical bill that Captain Sims owed him for treatment of the captain's daughter, Ellen. *The Kittrell Journal*, II, p. 72.

Jeff Hamilton, as told to Lenoir Hunt, *My Master. The Inside Story of Sam Houston and His Times*. (Dallas, 1940), p. 84. Jeff Hamilton's story is convincing except for the dates. He says, for example, that Houston moved to Huntsville in 1861. The date must have been 1862.


Will Kittrell, Sr., to The Huntsville Item, November 30, 1926.

M.K. Wisehart, *Sam Houston. American Giant* (Washington, 1962), pp. 646-647. There is a puzzling statement in Wisehart's account. He writes that Dr. Markham "had Houston's bed moved downstairs...." Houston's bed was already "downstairs."

Kittrell's visit to Steamboat House during Houston's last illness is described by several of the doctor's descendants in such detail as to be convincing. Kittrell's granddaughter, Miss Lucy Kittrell, told the story to the writer in a delightful letter in 1971. Lucy McGary Kittrell to John Payne, January 9, 1971.

Probate Minutes D, Walker County, Texas, p. 608.

Book F of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, p. 291. Note that the grounds of the estate now include ten acres, since Bailey had bought two additional acres in May 1861. Book F of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, p. 123.


Will H. Kittrell, Sr., to The Huntsville Item, November 30, 1926.

The original will is on file in the Walker County, Texas, court house.

Book F of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, p. 678.


Clipping sent by Miss Austin Durst to writer, October 23, 1971.


Newspaper story written by Mrs. Sue Goree Thomason for the Huntsville Item, March 6, 1941; Herman Crow, "Thomas Jewett Goree," *Handbook of Texas, A Supplement*, III, p. 345.

Preservation and Development Plan for the Sam Houston Memorial Museum (Austin, 1975), p. 71. This plan contains excellent architectural descriptions of the buildings in the Sam Houston Memorial Museum complex.


Book 5 of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, pp. 520-522.

Book 40 of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, p. 505.

Book 54 of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, pp. 479-480.

The Dallas Morning News, January 15, 1928.

Special to The Houston Chronicle, February 26, 1936.

Special to The Houston Chronicle, February 26, 1936.

Book 74 of Deeds, Walker County, Texas, pp. 4-5.

Special to The Houston Chronicle, February 26, 1936. Essentially the same story appeared in *The Dallas Morning News*, February 9, 1936.

The Houston Post, Sunday, June 16, 1935.

The Houston Post, January 25, 1935. The colonel's memory is somewhat faulty. The galleries ran on both sides of the house but not "across one end."

The Houston Post, January 25, 1935.

The Houston Post, June 16, 1935.

The Houston Post, February 1, 1936.

The Houston Post, Sunday, June 16, 1935.

Preservation and Development Plan, p. 77.

The Houston Post, February 1, 1936.

The Dallas Morning News, February 26, 1936.

The Dallas Morning News, February 26, 1936.

The Houston Post, March 3, 1936.

The Houston Post, March 3, 1936.

The Houston Post, March 3, 1936.

J.L. Clark to J.E. Josey, June 8, 1936, quoted in *Preservation and Development Plan*, p. 77.
An invitation letter to the public was sent from the office of H.F. Estill, president of Sam Houston State Teachers College, on January 27, 1937. In the letter $35,000 is given as the cost of the building. This figure is amazingly low, but it should be remembered that this is the period of the Depression.

**The Houston Post, February 21, 1937.**

**The Houston Post, March 3, 1937.**

**The Houston Post, March 13, 1938.**

**Preservation and Development Plan, p. 103.**

**True Cousins to Sam A. Angulo, September 6, 1988.**

**Conversation with Sam Angulo, February 14, 1989.**

**News Bureau, Sam Houston State University, November 18, 1988.**
THE SYNAGOGUE IN CORSICANA, TEXAS

by Jane Manaster

The cultural landscape of Texas continually yields examples of architectural form elements derived directly from Europe. Distinctive German, Polish, Alsatian, Russian, and Irish vernacular structures have been documented, reflecting the diverse human settlement of the state. Added to the well-known introduction of folk styles from the Southern United States and Mexico, these exotic buildings help lend regional character to different parts of Texas. Previous research has focused largely upon dwellings, and the potential contributions of many ethnic groups have not been examined. Attention in the present study is turned toward vernacular ecclesiastical architecture and to the small-town Jewish population of East Texas.

Folk architecture has been identified in churches standing in those rural towns, especially in the central part of the state, that look like nineteenth-century time warps overlaid with a modern American veneer of pick-up trucks, franchised fast-food stops, and gas stations. Corsicana, in East Texas, has a remarkable ecclesiastical heirloom, a synagogue with a near-identical counterpart that served a congregation in Poland. Both synagogues, though the Polish one is no longer standing, were two-story wooden buildings fronted by a gabled roof and squat twin towers, each exotically topped by an onion-shaped cupola or dome. (Fig. 1) In Corsicana, the mercantile potential of the area was recognized soon after the Civil War. This brought the railroad through from Houston, and also several Jewish families eager to set up in business. These families built the synagogue in 1990. The date of the Gabin counterpart in Poland is less certain. It is unlikely that the two near-identical and distinctive looking buildings could have appeared spontaneously. There was surely a path leading not only to its appearance in Texas, but also to its origins in Poland.

To find an answer, research lay in two fields: architecture and the migration of Jews. Before the study was long under way, it emerged that neither the synagogue in Corsicana nor the one in Gabin was unique, but fitted a pattern seen in other small cities in both countries. This raised more questions. Were the Gabin and Corsicana synagogues actually "related" or was their similarity linked to an unknown prototype? Did the other American synagogues, one built shortly before the one in Corsicana, owe their origins to Poland or some other European original?

HISTORY OF SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE

The principal structural center of Jewish worship was the Temple in Jerusalem. Harassment and persecution of the Jews existed well before the Common Era, and communities were forced to leave their homes on

Jane Manaster lives in Austin, Texas.
several occasions. Archeological vestiges of synagogues, which served locally as houses of worship and gathering places, have been found in numerous Middle Eastern locations. Building styles included a Graeco-Roman
basilica floorplan and a Greek cross. Later, a double nave design was borrowed and modified by Jews and Christians alike from the buildings of the medieval mendicant orders. Jews adapted each of the three styles to accommodate their few religious stipulations: separate seating for men and women; an alcove or cupboard representing the Ark of the Lord; and a bimah, or reading platform in view of the whole congregation.

The diaspora, the Jewish population outside the Holy Land, spread to the east and west. This paper is concerned with the eastern segment, though in the nineteenth century a period of Moorish revival architecture impinged, introducing exotic design concepts to Europe and this may be a clue to the Corsicana/Gabin design. As well as the traditional styles being scattered over the landscape, synagogues conformed with the architectural pattern of the churches and secular buildings in the region. Sometimes countries would stipulate rules, for example, on the permissible height of buildings. To explain the often unobtrusive appearance of synagogues, Rachel Wischnitzer suggested that "as a minority group with vivid memories of persecution, the Jewish community shunned ostentation and display." George Loukomski wrote less equivocally that prior to modern times the synagogue was "singularly unimpressive externally. The reason for this was not lack of aesthetic appreciation, but sheer necessity. Canon law forbade Jews to build new synagogues or embellish the old ... and it was inadvisable to a degree for the synagogue to seem impressive or even dignified from the outside."

Fundamental architectural changes occurred in the early nineteenth century as the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars heralded an era of experimentation in ecclesiastical and secular design. Where financial restrictions prevented razing and replacing buildings, modifications led to an assortment of creative styles. One of these, which became known as Moorish revival, rapidly achieved popularity. The Moors had invaded the Iberian peninsula in the eighth century, bringing from the Middle East bloodshed and an insatiable need for victory, but also cultural and artistic ideas including exotic architectural styles. While offering a wide range of detail to the schooled eye, Moorish architecture supplied an overall impression of fluidity and visual extravagance, where curves and bulbous domes replaced the more familiar angularity. As an architectural revival movement in the nineteenth century, four centuries after the Moors were ousted from Europe, it provided a link between the Jews of East and West, a chance to recapture the glory of the Jewish civilization that preceded the Inquisition in Spain, as well as introducing a surprising feeling of well-being towards the world of Islam. In Dresden, Gottfried Semper designed a Moorish-inspired synagogue in 1839, and his student Otto Simonson captured the spirit of the Orient shortly afterward with the new synagogue at Leipzig in Germany. This building may well have served as a springboard for the spread of Moorish influence to other countries, for the annual fair in the city attracted visitors, including Jews, from Austria, Poland,
Denmark, France, Italy, England, Turkey, and even America.

Seemingly a link existed between synagogues in the large cities and small towns. Professional and vernacular architecture blended, and stylistic features which first appeared in the cities made their way over time to the provinces. This may explain in part the distinctive appearance of the Gabin synagogue, but other factors, such as church design, Polish vernacular architecture, and the history of Jews in Poland must be considered also.

THE SYNAGOGUE AT GABIN

This study set out to determine why a synagogue in Gabin, Poland, should be replicated in Corsicana, Texas, but before linking the synagogues on the East and West of the Atlantic Ocean, the origins of the Gabin synagogue needs to be established. Lying west of the Vistula River in the district of Warsaw, and the seat of Gostynin County, Gabin was distinguishable from similar small Polish cities despite its remarkable synagogue. According to a census taken in 1564, Jews owned seven houses there. By 1765 eastward migrations had brought the Jewish population to 365, and at the end of the nineteenth century, when the synagogue had been modified to its familiar appearance, almost half the population was Jewish. Though not on a railroad, the city supported itself by manufacturing sugar, lamps, and liquor.

A weathervane on top of the right hand tower, and a wooden plaque inside the building, are both dated 1710. Probably over two centuries modifications were made, and 1893, which is also given as the construction date, probably refers to major refurbishment. Apparently no floorplan or drawing of the Gabin synagogue interior survives, except a photograph of the bimah, or raised reading platform. Photographs of the exterior show several notable features. The two-story wooden structure is flanked by towers that reach to the roof and are topped with onion domes. A circular window is inset above the front entrance, below the gabled roof. Outside staircases lead to the towers to the second floor, strongly implying eighteenth — rather than nineteenth — century work. The photograph of the southwest elevation shows a curiously rounded roof, unlike those on other wooden synagogues. According to Piechotka, the treatment of detail reflects an imitation of masonry synagogues.

The twin towers at the front of the synagogue, rising to the height of the roof, may be explained as elongated versions of the pavilions fronting wooden synagogues in the Grodno-Bialystock region of northeastern Poland, or adaptations of the Moorish revival towers first seen in western European cities in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The gabled roof and rose windows add to the synagogue’s aesthetic appearance, but answer no religious or regional cultural demands. A synagogue in Sierpc, to the North of Gabin, was built in the late nineteenth century. Here the towers were integral rather than semi-attached,
and they, too, were crowded with onion-shaped cupolas. Sierpc had a gabled roof but no round window, and no outside staircase leading to the women's gallery. The windows were arched, unlike the simple square ones at Gabin, which suggests a more deliberate attempt was made here to emulate Moorish revival architecture. In Poland the wooden synagogues at Gabin and Sierpc seem to be the only ones with domed towers, though others may have existed, leaving no record.

At Gabin the most likely structural alteration in the nineteenth century was the sheet-iron roof which resembled a Victorian British railway station. Would the Gabin synagogue, prior to this modification, have looked like one of the intricately carved synagogues of northeastern Poland? Or was it closer in style to the rectangular structures common in the South-Central part of the country? In Malacky, near Bratislava, the synagogue designed by Wilhelm Stiassny, an early Jewish architect, had neither gabled roof nor circular window, but boasted two stories and twin domed towers which showed an affinity rather than a definite similarity to the Gabin synagogue. Though many pictures of nineteenth-century European synagogues exist, two links are missing: first, the prototype of the design that led to the synagogue at Gabin, and second, the path of diffusion which took the design across eastern and central Europe, then to the New World, to a handful of small synagogues in the United States.

SYNAGOGUE ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

While the path of synagogue architecture in Poland absorbed multiple styles and ideas over several centuries, in America time was foreshortened. On both sides of the Atlantic Jews respected the demands of Rabbinic law, and also on both continents a difference between the synagogues of large and small cities could be seen. In Europe, hundreds of small-town synagogues blended inconspicuously with the landscape because of the constant fear of persecution that would thrive on a visible target. The styles changed and diffused only gradually. In contrast to this necessarily low profile, American Jews could choose to worship in whatever surroundings they chose. But they confronted another kind of problem. Nineteenth-century Jews, especially in the small American communities, were uncertain. They had come from several countries and with no consensus of what a synagogue should look like. To make it even more confusing, for several generations there was no central body to which they could go for guidance." In effect, "It was by no means unusual to find, in the same synagogue building, forms and details drawn from half a dozen historical styles of architecture and mixed together with a remarkable lack of taste and consistency."

This situation, this hesitancy to establish a blueprint or pattern for synagogue design, did not arise until the mass migrations of the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Jewish Americans forged on according to tradition and to a belief in the appropriateness
of their chosen style. Certain fundamental rules crossed the Atlantic: the Aren Kodesh, the Ark of the Lord, belonged against the East wall; men and women needed separate seating; also, a bimah had to be placed in view of all. Besides these few demands the options were predicated more on the availability of funds than anything else.

In 1824, the Jewish Reform movement reached America from Germany, and in the 1840s a surge of German Jews arrived who soon out-numbered the earlier Sephardic Jews. The population became increasingly heterogeneous, and it grew harder to accommodate the wishes of those who wanted to build reminders of their homeland. Moorish revival architecture took hold in the larger cities in the 1850s as the urban Jewish communities, no longer seeing themselves as immigrants, found a niche in American society. Congregations as far apart as Cincinnati and San Francisco, or New York and Salt Lake City, chose Moorish synagogues, and while the style was most evident in the interior of the buildings, the exterior appearance made a notable mark on the urban landscape. Though more a small town characteristic, even in the large cities an occasional synagogue was built by a group who came from a single European village or region. For example, a group of Bohemians organized the Ahavat Chesid congregation in New York, considered the last of the Moorish revival synagogues.

THE CORISCANA SYNAGOGUE

Although the synagogue in Corsicana, Texas, provoked this study because of its likeness to the one in Gabin, Poland, preliminary research to link the two revealed that the design of the Corsicana structure was not unique in America. There was a synagogue in Charleston, West Virginia, that was virtually identical to the one in Corsicana, and another, slightly modified, existed in Butte, Montana. All these three towns share a remoteness from the principal cities of nineteenth-century America, but such a view denies the mercantile importance small towns offered Jews — and others — as the population moved West. Many of today's backwaters went through a period of promise when it looked as though they might become important urban centers.

Corsicana, situated in East Texas between Houston and Dallas, currently has a population of about approximately 20,000, but with Anglo settlement dating back to the 1840s, it has known a lengthy optimism. The first prospect of growth occurred when the Houston & Texas Central Railroad reached Corsicana from Groesbeck in 1871. A handful of Jews, coming North from Houston and setting up shop at one railhead after another, came then to Corsicana. The population in the town rose from eighty in 1870 to 3,373 ten years later. It had reached 6,285 by 1890, by which date there were enough Jews to hold regular weekly worship services. Many more came in 1894 when oil was discovered a few blocks from downtown when an artesian well was being dug to supplement the
city water supply. This was the first major oil discovery in the area, and the following year several producing wells were drilled. Corsicana became the first city in Texas to use natural gas for fuel and lighting and crude oil as fuel for locomotives and road building material. This led to the state's first well-equipped refinery. These happenings all suggested future prosperity.

Soon the Jewish community divided. One group included those of German origin who were mostly progressive Reform Jews. The others, more recently arrived East European immigrants, were more traditional. Congregation Beth El was organized in 1898, mainly by the Germans, and work began on the temple that so closely resembled the wooden synagogue near Warsaw. Early congregational records have disappeared, and city newspapers published before 1909 were destroyed in a fire. Because of this, although it is known that the building was dedicated in September 1900, it has not been possible to learn who designed the building. While Corsicana's Jewish Cemetery Association records are intact, the Jewish tendency to keep moving from one town to another limits the details of available birthplaces and family names.

Other sources which might provide information about Corsicana Jews had to be found. The United States Census of 1900 does not enumerate Jews specifically, but it can be used to build up a picture of Corsicana's Jewish community through familiarity with Jewish names and with probable European source areas. Migration to the United States from Europe was at a peak towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the pogroms in western Russia and eastern Europe led to the hurried departure of Jews. In Corsicana at the turn of the century, twenty-two heads of household listed their own or their father's birthplace as Germany, and sixteen listed Russian Poland. Six came from Russia, five more broadly stated "Europe," four came from Alsace (born before 1870 when it was still identified as France rather than Germany), and a scattering from elsewhere. The census did not separate the members of the two congregations, but showed that the Germans predominated numerically. This is unsurprising as most East Europeans settled on the Atlantic seaboard or the Midwest cities first, and only slowly left the security provided by a surrounding Jewish community. The Spanish name of the first president of Congregation Beth El, a Mr. Costa, suggests he was or was descended from a Sephardic family. The other officers had German names, and there were two leaders of the choral society with Alsatian backgrounds.

The average age of the heads of household was thirty-nine, and of the sixty families identified as Jewish, twenty-two were in the dry goods business, either as wholesalers or retailers, and eleven were liquor dealers. There were two hardware merchants, pawnbrokers, cigar makers, tailors, and furniture salesman, and the remainder included a shoemaker, gambler, landlord, bookstore owner, jeweler, commercial adjustor, and a rabbi.

With substantial information available about early days in Corsicana,
it is surprising and regrettable that no record survives about how the design for the synagogue was chosen, or even the names of influential members in the Jewish community who led in the choices being made. Eighty years later, in 1981, a group of local citizens applied to the Texas Historical Commission for community restoration funds. The application required an appraisal of the building, which included a sketch of the floorplan. This showed two floors, and an upstairs gallery to seat the choir rather than segregate the sexes. These stipulations indicate a Reform Jewish attitude, a rejection of absolute Orthodoxy. The single nave, the positioning of the Ark on the southeast wall, and the office and educational space suggest a functional rather than traditionally determined structure. Despite the conventional interior, the exterior is as extraordinary as the synagogue in Gabin. One resident, born in the town, says that as a child it reminded him of Baghdadian fairytales.¹⁶

Even more remarkable than finding a domed, Oriental looking synagogue in Corsicana, was finding a similar one, though not so gilded and glowing, in Charleston, West Virginia. Charleston, the capital of West Virginia, attracted the same type of Jewish mercantile settler, often of German background, as did Corsicana. Served by the Ohio and Chesapeake Railroad, Charleston transported coal from the surrounding mines after the rail lines reached the city in 1873, the year Congregation B'nai Israel was organized.

In Butte, Montana, the design reappeared, though over a distance of hundreds of miles it became almost a caricature of the other two. Instead of twin towers and cupolas there is only a single one. The gabled roof is more accenturated, and broader, and the circular window dominates the front of the building. Despite the exaggeration of features that distinguished the other buildings, the comparison is too striking to be serendipitous.

In attempting to sift through possible explanations for the distinctive architectural feature on the East Texas landscape, a series of choices may be considered. First, there is the unlikely possibility that the resemblance between the Orthodox synagogue in Gabin and the Reform one in Corsicana is coincidental, and similarly the resemblance between the Polish and West Virginian one. Second, both the European and American versions may have been influenced by an unidentified, intermediary prototype, that would likely have stood in Germany, the core of Jewish migration to America in the nineteenth century. A blueprint of the design may have been passed around the smaller Jewish communities during the 1890s. The transferral from an Orthodox congregation in Gabin to a Reform one in Corsicana is difficult to interpret. The range of permutations can be multiplied, but with the information presently available, the reason for the likenesses between the synagogue in Gabin, Poland, and the one in Corsicana, Texas, and those resembling them, remains hidden.
NOTES


8Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka Wooden Synagogues (Warsaw, 1959), p. 197.


15Interview with Corsicana merchant, Irvin Samuels, March 1984. Mr. Samuels recalled his childhood belief that the buildings was from a Baghdadian fairytale.
STANFIELD LODGE LOSES ITS BUILDING: A STORY OF DENTON DURING THE DEPRESSION

by William Preston Vaughn

In 1925 the Masons of Stanfield Lodge No. 217, in Denton, Texas, built a magnificent three-story Temple on East Hickory Street, near the courthouse square. This was a building which the members thought would serve the lodge for at least a century and be a credit to Masonry throughout the state. Instead of meeting the needs of Stanfield Lodge for 100 years, however, the building's Masonic usage lasted little more than a decade, ending in a complete financial loss in March 1937.¹

Stanfield Lodge had possessed several "homes" in Denton by the time it constructed the Temple in 1925. Chartered in 1857, the Lodge initially met in the county clerk's office of the new courthouse until warned by the Grand Lodge (state organization) in 1859 that a more suitable location must be found. The members constructed a two-story frame building on South Elm Street, about a quarter mile from the square, and this served their needs until 1880. Desiring a more central location, in that year the brethren rented the second floor of the Piner Building on the square for $300 a year and remained there until 1886, when financial distress occasioned by the state-wide drought forced them to return to the old Temple. In 1894 they purchased the second floor of the Ponder Building at 9 East Hickory Street for $1,750. This proved so satisfactory that in 1905 they bought the lower floor, containing rental space, for $8,300, paying $1,300 in cash and signing ten promissory notes of $700, each bearing eight percent interest. The "easy-payment" theory of installment plan purchasing was already well-established with the Lodge by that time.²

Both the city of Denton and Stanfield Lodge experienced phenomenal growth between 1900 and 1920. Whereas the city increased from 4,187 to 7,626 inhabitants in that period, the Lodge mushroomed from seventy-eight to 277 members by 1920. By 1916 the Ponder Building property was worth almost $20,000 and yielded an annual rental income of more than a thousand dollars. This amount, plus the $3 per member annual dues, gave the Lodge a yearly income of $1,800. Larger quarters were needed, and Stanfield's Masons were in an expansionistic mood.¹

The movement toward a new Temple began in July 1920, when J.J. Maclachlan, a local insurance agent and chairman of a committee to investigate "the present lodge room," reported in favor of purchasing another lot and selling the Ponder Building. During the next four years the brethren considered several new locations but could agree on none. Then, at a summoned meeting on June 26, 1924, the building committee suggested two alternatives: tear down the present building and construct a new Temple on the site; or, build a separate structure at the rear of the

¹ William Preston Vaughn is Professor of History at The University of North Texas, Denton.
existing one. "... in either case your committee recommends a three story building but prefers to leave the decision between the two plans to a vote of the membership of the lodge." The 153 members present adopted the first proposal. The brethren later decided to cash in $40,000 in U.S. Government bonds and invest the money in the building. This sizable down payment "tided things over" until the Lodge negotiated a $30,000 loan from a Dallas bank early in 1926.

On March 9, 1925, the Denton Record-Chronicle reported that the work of razing the old Masonic Temple had begun, and all materials possible were being salvaged for use in the new structure. It would have a steel and concrete frame, be faced with brick and trimmed with stone, be fireproof, "And when it is completed, it will be an edifice of which not only the Masonic Lodge, but the entire town will be proud." The destruction of the old building was finished by March 21. While the work was proceeding, Stanfield Lodge held its meetings over the nearby Olympia Confectionary. Although heavy rains delayed construction, on May 30 the Record-Chronicle noted that the foundation was "virtually complete." By mid-August, construction had advanced sufficiently that Grand Master Guinn Williams of Decatur, also a member of the United States House of Representatives (1922-33), had arrived for the cornerstone ceremony in 103 degree heat on August 12. Of Stanfield's 386 members, sixty-two attended along with 103 visiting brethren. Following the ceremony, Brother J.W. "Dad" Pender, Sr., a government instructor at North Texas Teachers College ("T.C."), delivered an oration in which he observed: "Satisfaction is the death of progress, and dissatisfaction is the key to success. We were dissatisfied with our old quarters. And with this dissatisfaction came a determination to raise a new Masonic Temple. The construction of this building has been well started and many of us have put into it much time, effort and money."

On December 22, 1925, the Stanfield brethren held a meeting in the dining hall of their new Temple at 116 East Hickory Street — they would first meet in the Lodge Room on December 31 — and authorized the officers to borrow $30,000 at seven percent interest from the Dallas Trust and Savings Bank. If, as indicated, the Lodge had invested $40,000 in cash in this building, which was to cost an estimated $60,000, and then borrowed $30,000, the cost overrun now equaled $10,000. To help meet the nine annual payments of $3,600 (principal plus interest), and a final payment of $16,500 (excluding interest), the Lodge was able to rent the ground floor to a number of businesses, including a grocery store, dry goods store, and a Railway Express Office. The Lodge Room, dining room, and kitchen were on the second floor, while the third floor contained meeting rooms for York Rite Masonic bodies. Stanfield's Masons were elated. Their officers had negotiated successfully the $30,000 loan with Dallas Trust and Savings, rental properties were producing several
thousand dollars of income yearly, and dues for 1926 had been increased from $3 to $5 for 410 members.⁶

By June 1926, these same members were weighing various alternatives of paying for the elaborate furniture and equipment of the new Temple, furnishings which cost approximately $20,000. They approved a $5 special assessment on June 29, only to have this overturned by the grand master the following month. An attempt to raise the annual dues to $10 also failed, with the result that most of the money was borrowed from members through promissory notes ranging from $50 to $200. In November 1926, the Lodge borrowed $1,393.17 from the Denton County National Bank to pay the balance on the furniture owed to the Lilly Company of Columbus, Ohio; in February 1927, officers negotiated an additional $1,800 loan from the Exchange National Bank of Dallas to meet the February loan payment owed to the Dallas Trust and Savings. The vicious cycle of borrowing to meet payments due on earlier contracts was thus well underway before the boom era of the 1920s reached its climax in 1929. Perhaps the financial problems of Stanfield Lodge, even during these halcyon years, were taking their toll, for the number of members dropped to 387 in 1927 and to 350 in 1928. On June 23, 1928, Stanfield suspended thirty-seven men for non-payment of dues.⁷

In February 1929, Stanfield’s membership authorized the trustees to refinance the loan on the Temple through The Praetorian Insurance Company of Dallas. A sum of $29,617.61 (including interest) was still owed to Dallas Trust and Savings, and there were other debts as well. Consequently, on February 16, Stanfield borrowed $40,000 from “The Praetorians.” This indebtedness consisted of nine notes of $1,000 each, the first due on August 15, 1930 and each year thereafter, with the tenth note for $31,000 (plus interest) due on February 16, 1939. There was also the six percent annual interest of $2,000, payable in semi-annual installments. From 1930-39, Stanfield was obligated to pay The Praetorians $3,400 a year, or about $283 a month. The Lodge ended the Masonic year (June 24 through June 23) of 1928-29 with a slight increase in membership, and on June 24, 1929 the members congratulated Past Master B.E. Looney, an English professor at “T.C.,” and the trustees for refinancing the Temple’s indebtedness and placing “it in a good financial condition.”

Three months later the decline in stock prices began, culminating in the crash of “Black Tuesday” on October 29. By the spring of 1930 all general business activity began a serious downward spiral which would continue, with a brief reversal in 1937, until 1939-40. The Great Depression, a worldwide phenomenon, was underway with profound consequences for all mankind, including the now heavily-indebted membership of Stanfield Lodge.⁸

The city of Denton entered the decade of the 1930s with 9,587 inhabitants, and Stanfield Lodge recorded 357 members on June 23, 1930, a decrease of only two from the previous year. In addition, the Lodge
was able to pay its Grand Lodge dues of $828.50. By mid-year, 1931, however, Denton was entering the depths of the Depression, and 131 Masons attended a summoned meeting on April 7 to deal with the crisis. Although the brethren defeated a motion to reduce the secretary's annual stipend from $150 to $100, they did agree to raise the yearly dues, effective June 24, 1931, from $5 to $10. The latter amount would strike few today as excessive, but during those bleak days of 1931, a substantial house in Denton rented for $20 a month. Laborers in the area received from $.50 to $1 a day, if they could find work. Not surprisingly, on June 23, 1931, thirty members were suspended for nonpayment of dues. The Lodge did, however, pay its assessment of $740.25 to Grand Lodge, an obligation which could not be ignored.9

Writing in 1960, local historian Clarence A. Bridges observed, "Denton people were not as badly hurt as those of some other communities, but the depression and its attempted remedies were much in evidence here." The available statistics, usually compiled for the entire county, generally support Bridges's statement. The number of Denton County farms and value of land and buildings declined from 4,255 and $37,056,118 in 1925 to 3,796 and $17,170,796 a decade later. County-wide manufacturing that involved forty-two establishments and 233 wage earners producing $3,146,795 worth of goods in 1920 dropped to twenty-two establishments, 125 employees, and $1,205,934 worth of products by 1930. County property evaluations declined from $21,160,560 in 1928 to $17,954,455 by 1935. Assets of Denton's banks plummeted from $12,041,804 in 1928 to a nadir $1,136,381 in 1932. Unemployment statistics are difficult to obtain, but a census report shows only 783 county-wide unemployed for 1930 out of a total population of almost 33,000. Works Progress Administration figures indicate 1,612 persons in the county were on relief in 1935. All of these economic woes were reflected, of course, in the rapidly increasing financial problems of Stanfield Lodge.10

Although from 1931 to 1932 Stanfield's membership declined by only four, the $716.45 owed to Grand Lodge for 1932 remained unpaid. Fraternal organizations throughout the nation, as well as churches, museums, theatres, colleges, and charitable organizations, collectively felt the effects of the Depression through declining revenues, lower memberships, and uncollectable dues or bills. In August 1932, Stanfield Lodge abolished the stipend altogether for Secretary Percy L. Cardwell but did exempt him from paying dues. By this time numerous members had donated their promissory notes to the Lodge. This action relieved the Lodge of payments when they came due, mainly in 1935-36, but brought in no additional revenue. Many notes retained by the membership, however, eventually fell in default, and, as one past master observed, "that caused a lot of friction, and some of the substantial members never returned to the Lodge."11

Ninety-nine Stanfield Masons appeared at a summoned meeting on
February 16, 1933, to settle the financial difficulties. Cardwell reported that although all dues "above the actual running expenses" had been turned over to the trustees for payment on the Praetorian note, "dues to the amount of $3,456.25 were outstanding in all the bodies [Lodge and York Rite] which were uncollectable by all means tried." After an "open discussion," the brethren decided to appeal to The Praetorians with two alternatives: turn the building over to them in return for the outstanding notes and lease the upper two floors for five years; or, ask for a moratorium on the principal and seek a reduction in interest for five years. Officials of that company rejected the Lodge's offers, instead demanding payment of the $100 a month they insisted the Lodge was receiving from its tenants. The Praetorians would defer other payments until "times got better." The tenants, however, had vacated the premises, and there was no longer any rental income. The brethren, perhaps realizing the error of their ways, in March 1933 reduced annual dues from $10 to $7.50 and ended the Masonic year of 1932-33 with 300 members. On a more somber note, the Grand Lodge dues of $672 for 1933, like those of 1932, remained unpaid.  

By November 1933, the Lodge's financial situation was so desperate that Brother J.W.C. Hicks was appointed as collector of unpaid dues "at a commission of 10%." On December 18 Worshipful Master "Charlie" Woods informed a less than average attendance of twenty-seven that they would "discuss the condition of the lodge and ... ascertain if it was the will of the lodge to carry on." Although a unanimous vote indicated they wished to do so, this did nothing to alleviate the immediate fiscal problems. The Praetorians, through their president, Tom L. McCulloch, desired to renegotiate their loan on the basis of no payments on the principal until January 1, 1939, but with $1,000 in interest being paid every six months. Reductions of $1,000 on the principal had to be made every year after January 1, 1939. This new contract amounted to monthly (interest) installments of approximately $166.66 for the next five years. 

Woods, along with the heads of the York Rite bodies and two building trustees, signed a deed of trust embodying this agreement on January 1, 1934. Over fifty years later, past master and retired banker J.E. "Ed" Savage commented on this renegotiated loan, saying that it "was about all they could do or lose the building. They thought that maybe to refinance it, maybe something would happen that we could still own the building." 

The Masonic year of 1934-35 primarily was concerned with collection of local dues and payment of the current and past-due Grand Lodge assessments. On June 5, 1934 the brethren voted to suspend all members in arrears two years or more, "except those who have loaned the Temple money on the building and those who will pay the Grand Lodge dues outstanding including the current year before June 24th." Even with this accommodation, the Lodge suspended sixty-one members, leaving a total of 233. To exacerbate the crisis, there was no money to pay the Grand
Lodge dues for 1934 of $520.60, which, when combined with the unpaid assessments of 1932 and 1933, gave Stanfield Lodge a negative balance of $1,909.05. 14

Serving a second but non-consecutive term as Stanfield’s master in 1934-35 was Looney. This unusual situation was the result of general agreement among the other officers because of Looney’s alleged influence with The Praetorians. Looney issued a summons for a meeting on August 7, 1934 to consider “ways and means to collect enough money to satisfy Grand Lodge so that the charter would not be arrested.” Although 110 members arrived at no concrete solutions, a “large number” did pay their dues during a long recess. By January 1935, Looney, a staunch advocate of paying Grand Lodge assessments over paying on the Praetorian note, announced that the dues for 1932 and 1933 were paid in full. Strongly disagreeing with the worshipful master was a faction led by Maclachlan, who favored “paying the interest on the loan and saving the building.” 15

In March 1935, Looney appointed a committee consisting of himself and four others to “work out a just division of funds between The Praetorians and Grand Lodge.” The committee reported in June that there were no funds with which to pay $388 in past-due state, county, and city taxes. The semi-annual interest of $1,000 owed to The Praetorians was past-due, and no monies existed to meet this obligation; and the Grand Lodge assessment of $520 for 1934 was as yet unpaid. In addition approximately $14,000 in notes held by lodge members were becoming due without funds for reimbursement. The Lodge minutes noted that because of “these facts our equity in the Masonic Temple amounting to some $45,000 is in jeopardy ... [and] the very life of Masonry in Denton is threatened.” Those brethren present voted to ask the members who held the notes to cancel them. A united effort would be made to raise $2,000 in cash “to pay off the enumerated past due indebtedness to the Grand Lodge of Texas, the Praetorians and the 1934 taxes.” The method of accumulating the $2,000 was never specified nor undertaken. Stanfield Lodge ended the 1934-35 year with only 227 members, but by August 6, 1935, Looney, now serving as secretary under Worshipful Master Lee Preston, reported that Grand Lodge dues for 1934 were “paid-in-full.” 16

By late 1935 and early 1936, Stanfield’s Masons realized that retention of their Temple was a lost cause. The Praetorians demanded the “real estate securing their loan,” or their money, and the latter was not available. Lodge members wearied of the on-going financial crisis: “It was just continuous about the Praetorian loan — and letters from them that we hadn’t paid the interest on last month’s interest due the month before.” Some brethren demitted “to get away from all of it.” Stanfield concluded the 1935-36 year with only 195 members. At the July meeting, nevertheless, the brethren thanked Preston and Looney “for the untiring labor in their efforts to make the Masonic year so great a success.” The Lodge was able to pay its Grand Lodge assessment of $484.20 for 1936. 17
For Stanfield Lodge, 1937 was the year of disaster, although the days of reckoning had come as early as 1933-34. On New Year's Day, 1937, Stanfield Lodge No. 217, Denton Chapter No. 80, and Denton Commandery No. 45 "executed a certain Deed of Trust conveying to T.W. Davidson, Trustee, the real estate therein described to secure the Praetorians in payment of the indebtedness therein described ..." In other words, the Lodge, Chapter, and Commandery defaulted on the note they signed in 1934. Ironically, this default occurred at a time when economic indicators and business activity in general were making their best showing since 1930. The upturn, however, was short-lived. Stanfield Lodge reached the nadir of its depression on March 2, 1937, when its beautiful eleven-year old Temple was sold "at public auction, at the Court House door ..." to a substitute trustee of The Praetorians for $33,000. Witnessing this sad event were Lodge Secretary Preston and Senior Deacon Savage, as well as "Colonel" M.T. Cole, Sr., a member of Tannehill Lodge No. 52 in Dallas. Cole, who lived outside of Denton and had considerable oil income, had several sons who were members of Stanfield Lodge. 18

Prior to the foreclosure sale, Preston and Savage had visited Cole at his home to see if he might be willing to purchase the Temple. Cole, as Savage later recalled, was willing to bid $25,000 at the sale: "He was going to let us have it back. He would rent it back to us for $75 a month at 4 percent interest. If the Lodge got to where we could buy the building back, the $75 a month would apply to the purchase price." When bids were called for, Cole offered $25,000, but a representative of The Praetorians bid the exact amount owed to the company — $33,000. The following day, Praetorian employees returned to Denton and contacted Preston to see who had bid the $25,000. Cole later told Savage that he had the money and "could have paid them off ...," but he no longer wished to get involved if they were going to insist on more than $25,000 for the building. On March 17, 1937, The Praetorians sold the Masonic Temple to F.H. Skingle of Dallas for $27,500, taking a paper loss of $5,500. 19

At their meeting on March 2, 1937, Lodge members requested that the master appoint a committee to consider "renting the present lodge room from the new owner, or the securing of some other building should it become necessary for the Lodge to move." These negotiations failed, and on March 26 the Lodge voted to lease for ten years the long, narrow, second floor of the Denton County National Bank (now Stewart Title of Denton County) for a rental fee of $35.00 a month, including utilities. In April Grand Master Galloway Calhoun permitted Stanfield to move to its new quarters. Also in April, those furnishings that could not be utilized in the new location were sold, including linoleum, fourteen radiators, two small space heaters, one table, 118 solid oak chairs, and two china cabinets — all for $208.55. The chairs virtually were given away at a total price of $99. The Lodge moved during April 1937, and was in its new location in time for the May business meeting. 20
Stanfield Lodge was devasted by traumatic events during January-May 1937. By June 23 of that year, the Lodge’s membership had declined to 175, the lowest point in twenty years. During 1937-38, however, a program of rebuilding began through an intense campaign of personal contact with former members by Lodge officers and past masters, and by 1940 the membership had climbed to 277. Stanfield Lodge then received an award from Grand Master Leo S. Hart for the most reinstatements of any Texas Lodge in its category by size.

Although the lodge was able, at least in part, to restore its membership, replacement of the Temple was not realized until September 27, 1961, when Grand Master William G. Proctor of McKinney dedicated a modest, one-story red brick structure at 316 Highland Street. The $20,000 owed on the $45,000 building was paid in three years as a result of a fund-raising drive headed by Savage. Twenty-two years later, on June 23, 1986, Stanfield had 478 Masons on its rolls and maintained a dominant leadership role among the six lodges of Denton County. The lodge survived the difficult years of 1930-37 but at considerable cost. It dropped from a peak of 410 members in 1925-26 to a low of 175 for 1936-37, a decrease of over fifty-seven percent. In terms of the money invested in the Temple and its furnishings, about $65,000, Stanfield Lodge lost approximately $700,000 in the money values of the late 1980s. In addition there remained for many years a legacy of great bitterness and frustration among members and former members at the way the crisis had been handled or mishandled, according to each individual’s viewpoint.

Writing fifty years after the “splendid edifice” was sold at the courthouse door following the default to The Praetorians, it would be easy to use the advantages of hindsight and historical perspective and make accusations against numerous individuals and financial institutions. Probably the Stanfield debacle of 1925-37 was a result of many complex factors — over-optimism, over-borrowing, over-building, mismanagement of resources, and perhaps, most of all, of that cataclysmic series of events which the brethren of Stanfield Lodge could not predict, control, or even influence — the Great Depression.

NOTES

1 Interview with C.C. Hall, July 29, 1985, Denton, Texas (typescript in possession of author). Hall was for many years a United States postal worker and served as worshipful master of Stanfield Lodge in 1946-47.


3 Bradley, Stanfield Lodge, pp. 6-7, 11; Bridges, Denton, pp. 275, 327; Denton City Directory, 1913, pp. 105-162; Membership Ledger, Stanfield Lodge No. 217, Dues Record of G. Holland Neely; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, A.F. & A.M., 1900, pp. 70-71;
ibid., 1920, pp. 129-30. All Lodge records are stored in the Lodge's office at 316 Highland Street, Denton.

Minutes of Stanfield Lodge No. 217, July 24, 1920, February 26, 1921, December 9 and 24, 1921, June 13, 1924, June 26, 1924; Copy of Summons and Report of Building Committee dated June 21, 1924, attached to minutes of June 26, 1924; Mechanic's Lien Records, County Clerk's Office, Denton County, Texas, vols. 4-8 and General Indexes 1-2; Interview with J.E. Savage, July 24, 1985, Denton, Texas (typescript in possession of author).

Denton Record-Chronicle, February 27, March 9, 14, 17, 20, 21, May 12 and 30, June 12 and 26, July 29, August 13 and 13, 1925; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1925, pp. 159-61, 342-43; Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, August 12, 1925; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971, p. 1927.

Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, December 22 and 31, 1925, January 23, 1926; Savage Interview; Hall Interview; Deeds of Trust, County Clerk's Office, Denton, Tx., 89, pp. 474-81; Stanfield Membership Ledger, Neely Record; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1926, pp. 162-63.

Savage Interview; Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, June 29, July 9, November 12, 1926, February 11, May 13, 1927, June 5 and July 23, 1928; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1927, pp. 160-61, 380-81; ibid., 1928, pp. 308-09, 381.


Bridges, History of Denton, pp. 367; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1930, pp. 165-66, 342-43; ibid., 1931, pp. 165-66, 360-61; Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, July 1, August 5, 1930, February 3, March 3, April 7, May 5, 1931; Savage Interview.


Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1932, pp. 466-67; Frederick Lewis Allen, Since Yesterday: The Nineteen Thirties in America, September 3, 1929 — September 3, 1939 (New York: Harper's, 1940), p. 66; Minutes, Stanfield Hope, August 2, and September 6, 1932, October 3, 1933; Hall Interview.

Minutes Stanfield Lodge, February 16 and March 7, 1933; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1933, pp. 161-62, 384-85.

Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, November 7, December 5 (with copy of McCulloch Letter dated November 29, 1933 attached), December 18, 1933; Deeds of Trust, Denton County, Tx., 115, pp. 549-51; Savage Interview.

Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, June 5 and July 3, 1934; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1934, pp. 153-54, 420-21.

Savage Interview; Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, August 7, 1934, January 4, 1935; Hall Interview.
"Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, March 5, June 24 and August 6, 1935; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1935, pp. 572-73; Savage Interview.

"Savage Interview; Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, July 7, 1936; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1936, pp. 149-50, 494-95.

"Deeds of Record, Denton County, 261, p. 597; ibid., 264: pp. 145-46; Denton Record-Chronicle, January 27, 1937; Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, January 29, 1937. Unfortunately, the correspondence files of what is now the Praetorian Mutual Life Insurance Company do not go back to 1937; see William Preston Vaughn to Praetorian Mutual Life Insurance Company, July 18, 1985; and, Company to Vaughn, July 29, 1985, letters in possession of author.

"Savage Interview; Deeds of Record, Denton County, 260: p. 519; ibid., 261: pp. 596-97.

"Minutes, Stanfield Lodge, March 2 and 26, April 6, May 4 and June 1, 1937; see Lee Preston's report on the furnishings' sale and moving expenses, attached to Minutes of June 1, 1937; Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Texas, 1937, pp. 39; Savage Interview.


"Savage Interview; Hall Interview; Interview with Stanfield Lodge Secretary George A. Wood, January 11, 1987, Denton, Texas.
THE APPOINTMENT OF BISHOP DUBUIS: 
A CRUX FOR CASTANEDA

by Franklin C. Williams, Jr.

In Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, Carlos E. Castaneda stated concerning the Right Reverend Claude Marie Dubuis, CM, the second Bishop of Galveston: “There has been much confusion over the date of his formal appointment, when he left Texas, and how he happened to be in France at that time” (VII, p. 123, n. 34). He cites the following authorities in support:


2) L’Abbe J.P., Vie de Monseigneur Dubuis, pages 142-146; and


The difficulties of Castaneda and the others in this matter resolve themselves into three questions. The first of these in the present order of discussion about Bishop Dubuis should be “when he left Texas.” In answering this question we come to the second, which is “how he happened to be in France at this time.” We may then proceed to the most puzzling of the three, “the date of his formal appointment.”

Claude Dubuis, a Vincentian priest for two years, came from France to Texas at the invitation of his fellow countryman, Bishop John M. Odin, CM, the Vicar Apostolic of Texas, in December 1846. In 1850 Bishop Odin, now bishop of Galveston, sent Father Dubuis to France to recuperate from his missionary labors in Castroville and to recruit other missionaries for Texas. Dubuis returned aboard The Queen of the Sea in 1851 and became vicar general of the Diocese of Galveston and pastor of San Fernando Cathedral in San Antonio.2

After ten years in this position Dubuis went to New Orleans in June 1861 to revive his health. He planned to return to France at a future date to recruit missionaries for the Texas missions. About this time Odin was promoted to archbishop of New Orleans. This position made the bishop of Galveston, the office he had just vacated, one of his suffragans. On the previous May 14 he put the Reverend Louis Chambadut in temporary charge of the Galveston diocese. As archbishop he recommended Fathers Chambadut, Dubuis, and Peter Parisot, OMI, as candidates for bishop of Galveston. He based his judgement on the ability of these priests to speak English and Spanish and to know the privation and hardships of the area.3

Franklin C. Williams, Jr. lives in Palestine, Texas.
Father Dubuis and Archbishop Odin were from the Lyons area in France and members of the Congregation of the Mission, or Vincentian order. Dubuis had come to Texas at the invitation of Odin and now, as a candidate for bishop, would continue to have Odin as his superior as long as he remained there. It was crucial for Dubuis to discuss his future in Texas with Odin, for as vicar general, or administrative deputy, he would be promoted or work under one of the other two candidates for bishop. As his mentor and superior, the advice and counsel of Odin would be vital for Dubuis.

Thus the answer to the question of when Dubuis left Texas is very much tied to the decision of Pope Pius IX regarding who would be bishop of Galveston. Pius sent no reply as archbishop and candidate waited in New Orleans. The pope, in filling the vacancy, would take into consideration the recommendation of the archbishop concerning his suffragan. But the date of the decision was unknown at the time.

Odin had not yet made a final choice. His own career as vice prefect apostolic of Texas (1840-1841), as vicar apostolic of Texas (1841-1847), and as bishop of Galveston (1847-1861) made the selection process more difficult. Two circumstances pressed the suit of Dubuis and delayed his departure for France. The first was the letter of the Reverend J.A. Faure, the acting pastor left by Father Dubuis in San Antonio. Father Faure wrote Odin in August 1861 that he personally preferred Dubuis, but some Irish-Americans showed a preference for Father Chambadut. This letter may have influenced the archbishop, together with the continuing presence of Dubuis. The second circumstance was the outbreak of the Civil War and the federal blockade of New Orleans.

Action was now imperative. Both Odin and Dubuis remained French citizens and war conditions made ecclesiastical administration more difficult. Odin decided to leave for Europe. Still in New Orleans in early 1862, Dubuis wrote his Texas colleagues he would leave for France, probably on April 15. He would run the blockade while he still could. The evidence of the Dubuis letter comes as close as possible to answering Castaneda’s first question of when Dubuis left Texas.

Attempting to answer the first question, we come to the second, how Dubuis happened to be in France at this time. It seems probable that Odin and Dubuis left New Orleans for France together. The Lyons area was home, Ambierle for Odin and Coutouvre for Dubuis. Here the decision on the Galveston appointment would come.

After the attempt to answer the first two questions, we now come to the third, the date of Bishop Dubuis’s formal appointment. Castaneda accepts October 22, 1862, for the issuance of the bull of appointment by Pope Pius IX. His basis is a copy of the register of the Grand Seminary of Lyons showing the act of consecration of Bishop Dubuis taking place on November 23, 1862. This copy with the supposed date of October 22
is in the Catholic Archives of Texas.\textsuperscript{7}

Although Castaneda saw the register copy that gave October 22, 1862, as the date of Dubuis's bull of appointment, he does not state or indicate he saw the original document. He does state that Odin informed Dubuis at Lyons of Dubuis's formal appointment as bishop of Galveston.\textsuperscript{8}

Monsignor Alexander C. Wangler, in Archdiocese of San Antonio 1874-1974, fixes the "date of the notification" as October 15, 1862.\textsuperscript{9} Robert C. Giles, in Changing Times: The Story of the Diocese of Galveston in Commemoration of its Founding, says: "While in France he [Dubuis] received the news that he had been chosen second bishop of Galveston to succeed Bishop Odin, who had been promoted to the archbishopric of New Orleans. This was October 21, 1862."\textsuperscript{10}

We can now resolve the third question. Even if the bull of appointment was dated October 22, its existence was known as early as October 15, 1862, and Dubuis received notification on October 21. The Grand Seminary of Lyons register entry probably was recorded later than the actual appointment, as it shows Bishop Dubuis's act of consecration on November 23, 1862. It would not be the first entry concerning the date of another document subject to the memory of its registrar. Further, the Vatican often allows the candidate's notification to precede the formal announcement. It seems most likely that the actual date of Bishop Dubuis's appointment was October 15, 1862, with his notification coming six days later.

In a chapel of the Grand Seminary at Lyons, where Bishop Dubuis studied and heard the call to Texas, he was consecrated by Archbishop Odin of New Orleans on November 23, 1862. His co-consecrators were Archbishop Armand Francois Marie, Count de Charbonnel, the former bishop of Toronto, Canada, and Bishop Jean Paul Lyonnet of Valence. The new bishop's mother was present, as were twelve seminarians who agreed to journey to Texas. One of them, subdeacon John Anthony Forest, became third bishop of San Antonio, and another seminarian, Thomas Heslin, became fifth bishop of Natchez (now Jackson), Mississippi.\textsuperscript{11}

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\textsuperscript{9} \textit{OCHIT}, VII, pp. 122-123.

\textsuperscript{10} "J. A. Faure, letter to John M. Odin, CM, August 6, 1861, Catholic Archives of Texas, Austin, quoted in \textit{OCHIT}, VII, p. 123.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{OCHIT}, VII, p. 123.
7 OCHIT, VII, p. 123, n. 34.
8 OCHIT, VII, p. 123.
10 Giles, p. 25.
The city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, located over 450 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, is considered one of the leading ports in the Southwest. Ships loaded with produce and other manufactured goods regularly travel up the Mississippi River to the Arkansas River and then up the Arkansas past Little Rock and Fort Smith to the port of Tulsa. The federal government spent billions of dollars between 1957 and 1971 to turn the Arkansas River into a navigable channel of commerce. Dallas, Texas, is similar to Tulsa in that it is also located inland upon a major river, the Trinity. But unlike Tulsa, Dallas does not enjoy a water outlet to the Gulf of Mexico, even though the citizens of Dallas dreamed of such a water route and the federal government attempted to do with the Trinity what it later did with the Arkansas.

The Trinity River had been navigated to Dallas as early as 1836, and several attempts to launch commercial navigation were made by the 1850s. Interest in navigation on the Trinity eventually extended past the boundaries of Texas to Washington. For several years citizens of Dallas tried to obtain federal assistance to clear the Trinity of submerged snags and other hazards. Their efforts were rewarded when the River and Harbor Act of August 3, 1852 appropriated $3,000 "for the survey of the Trinity River, including the bar at the mouth." Lieutenant William H.C. Whiting of the Army Corps of Engineers surveyed the Trinity River from its mouth northward in 1852. He reported that transportation up and down the river could be attained without great expense and would be of benefit to the country along the river. Whiting called the Trinity "the deepest and least obstructed river in the State of Texas" and estimated that the river and its bar could be improved for $31,800. Despite Whiting's favorable recommendation, the government did not act.

Navigation of the Trinity River continued to increase in the period following the first survey of the stream. About fifty boats, including steamboats and many smaller vessels of shallow draft, regularly operated between Porter's Bluff in Navarro County and Trinidad in Henderson County to Galveston between 1852 and 1874. Partly in response to this, Congress appropriated $3,500 for a survey of the Trinity River from its mouth to the town of Magnolia in Anderson County on June 10, 1872. Captain C.W. Howell of the Army Corps of Engineers directed this particular survey during the fall of 1872. Howell stated that he did not think the Trinity was worthy of improvement between Liberty and Magnolia because of the difficulty which ships experienced in making upstream trips. Low water navigation could be accomplished only with a system of locks.
and dams. The only improvement which Howell recommended was the dredging and removal of snags in the section between the river's mouth and Liberty. Howell estimated that this work would cost around $22,600. As with the previous survey of the river, the government took no action.

The federal government conducted several other surveys of the Trinity River between 1875 and 1900. In 1879, Lieutenant Colonel S.M. Mansfield of the Army Corps of Engineers surveyed that part of the Trinity from its mouth to the bridge of the International and Great Northern Railroad near Long Lake in Anderson County. He reported that it was not practical to try to improve the river above Liberty because of the numerous bends and submerged snags which were not carried away until the Trinity flooded. However, the river became wider and deeper below Liberty and Mansfield believed that the depth of the Trinity could be increased for around $1,750. Congress had appropriated $10,000 for such a purpose in 1878, and over the next four years it supplemented those funds with appropriations of $2,500 in 1879, $4,000 in 1880, $10,000 in 1881, and $8,000 in 1882.

Another survey of the Trinity was made in 1890 between the mouth of the river and the city of Dallas by Major Charles Allen of the Army Corps of Engineers. Allen also recommended that the Trinity was not worthy of the federal government's attention because the section of the river between Dallas and Magnolia contained numerous obstructions. He was unable to determine if any commercial attempts had been planned to use the Trinity that would justify any improvement or any further examination with respect to making the river navigable.

The government evidently was not convinced by the arguments of Mansfield or Allen because it authorized another survey of the Trinity between the cities of Magnolia and Dallas in late 1894 under the direction of Major A.M. Miller of the Army Corps of Engineers. In recommending that the Trinity should not be improved by the federal government, Miller echoed many of the arguments made by Allen. He made his examination of the river during a period of low water, which hindered his progress downstream. He commented on the rafts and shoals in the river which further impeded his headway. Miller also noted the manmade obstructions to navigation. The Trinity River Navigation Company, an organization created in 1891 to promote the cause of navigation on the Trinity, had constructed a temporary dam thirteen miles south of Dallas at McCommas Bluff. Miller declared that this structure was "a complete obstruction to navigation at low water." He stated that fourteen bridges crossed the Trinity between Dallas and Magnolia and, unless altered, were so near the river that only small boats could safely navigate. Miller estimated that it would cost $125,000 to clear the Trinity of snags and debris. He maintained that sixteen locks and dams would be needed between Dallas and Magnolia at a cost of $1.6 million to make the Trinity navigable. Miller concurred with Allen that the amount of commercial
traffic on the Trinity did not merit such expenditures by the federal government.\textsuperscript{11}

Despite the fact that the federal government had not taken any action to improve the upper portion of the Trinity, the situation at the other end of the river was another matter. The River and Harbor Act of June 18, 1878 appropriated $10,000 to deepen the channel of the river five feet from its mouth to the town of Liberty and remove all obstructions in the river. This section of the Trinity covered forty-one miles and was considered the most navigable portion of the river.\textsuperscript{12}

On April 28, 1892, Representative Joseph Abbott of Dallas introduced a bill which would have allowed the Trinity River Navigation Company to undertake the necessary work to open the river to commerce from Dallas to Liberty. The company would be given the authority to collect tolls to offset its expenses, but the federal government could assume control of the project at any time. The House of Representatives passed the bill on July 20, 1892, but the Senate did not act on the measure.\textsuperscript{13}

Representative Robert E. Burke of Dallas, a staunch supporter of the Trinity River project introduced a bill on December 21, 1898 which called for an appropriation for a survey of the river from the Gulf of Mexico to Dallas.\textsuperscript{14} The River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1899 provided $7,000 for a survey of the Trinity, which was made near the end of that year under the direction of Captain C.S. Riche of the Army Corps of Engineers. Unlike Mansfield, Allen, and Miller, Riche strongly recommended that the Trinity be converted into a navigable river. Riche claimed that this improvement was "urgently necessary" because of what he considered excessive railroad freight rates. He believed that rates could be controlled or reduced significantly by water transportation which would bring a substantial savings to the people of north Texas.\textsuperscript{15}

Riche believed that a system of locks and dams would be necessary to canalize the Trinity, along with an artificial water supply in the upper part of the river basin which would make possible year-round navigation on the Trinity. He called the Trinity "a natural canal" with high, steep, and stable banks and a narrow channel. Riche maintained that the cost of locks and dams would be less than on other rivers which lacked such favorable conditions.\textsuperscript{16}

Riche divided the Trinity into five sections in preparing his estimates for improvement. He stated that a total of thirty-seven locks and dams would be required to secure navigation at a depth of four feet from Dallas to the mouth of the river. Riche estimated the total cost of the locks and dams, cleaning and dredging, and an artificial water supply at $4 million.\textsuperscript{17}

Shortly after he completed his examination of the Trinity, Riche traveled west to begin a survey of the Brazos River in 1900. He recommended that the Brazos be made into a navigable river, using the same arguments which he had made for the Trinity. Riche declared that it was
“urgently necessary” that the federal government should attempt to improve at least one of these rivers.14

Later that year Riche completed a survey of the Trinity between the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth. He speculated that at least ten locks and dams at a cost of $1 million would be needed to render this section of the river fit for navigation. However, because the federal government had taken no action to improve the Trinity from Dallas to the mouth of the river, Riche maintained that this particular section should not be improved. He declared that if the government would consider improvement of the Trinity from Dallas downstream, then he would change his opinion.19

In January 1901, the Trinity River Navigation Company sent a delegation to Washington to persuade Congress that improvement of the Trinity into a navigable stream was a worthwhile project.20 Their efforts were rewarded when the River and Harbor Act of June 13, 1902 appropriated $125,000 for the construction of locks and dams and for the removal of obstructions between the mouth of the Trinity and section one.21 The original project called for the construction of a six-foot channel from Dallas to the mouth of the river, a distance of 511 miles, to be accomplished by open-channel work and a system of locks and dams. The estimated cost of the project was $4,555,000.22

Work on improving the Trinity River by the federal government began in earnest in October 1902. The annual report of the Chief of Engineers for the United States Army for 1903 stated that trees had been cleared from banks along forty-seven miles of the river and snags had been removed from sixteen miles of the river, but operations had been hindered by heavy rains and flooding. In addition, a preliminary design for the first lock and dam to be constructed south of Dallas had been submitted by the Army Corps of Engineers and was awaiting approval.23

Congress passed a second appropriation of $125,000 for continued work on improvement of the Trinity on March 3, 1903.24 This was supplemented in May 1904 by a donation of $66,000 by the citizens of Dallas. This money was to be used for the construction of a dam at Parsons Slough, located twenty-six miles south of the city.25 By this time, the Chief of Engineers reported that the depth of the Trinity had not yet been increased but the removal of snags had made the river much safer to navigate during its medium and high stages.26

On March 16, 1904, Senator Charles Culberson and Representative Jack Beall introduced bills to amend the original appropriation of $125,000 and authorize the secretary of war to expend as many funds as necessary for the construction of the first lock and dam.27 The measure also permitted the secretary to modify the plans of any lock and dam to be constructed on the Trinity. This would give the locks and dams a greater capacity and allow the passage of more vessels through them at one time. President Theodore Roosevelt signed this legislation on April 28, 1904.28
Congress continued to appropriate funds for the improvement of the Trinity; $111,000 was set aside in 1906, $75,000 in 1907, $90,000 in 1908, and $75,000 in 1909. On March 1, 1909, the first lock and dam was completed at McCommas Bluff where the Trinity River Navigation Company had built a temporary dam in 1893. The dam at Parsons Slough was completed in September 1909. The River and Harbor Act of March 3, 1905 had provided for the construction of three locks and dams in section one of the river. Work already had begun or was in the process of beginning on six other locks and dams at various places along the Trinity River.

By the time that the United States entered World War I in 1917, a total of eight locks and dams had been completed on the Trinity River. In addition to the first lock and dam at McCommas Bluff and the one at Parsons Slough, Lock and Dam Number Two, located four miles from Wilmer, was finished in August 1914. Lock and Dam Number Four, located eight miles from Ferris, was finished on June 1, 1913. Lock and Dam Number Seven, located two miles from Rosser, was finished on November 30, 1916. The lock and dam at Hurricane Shoals (Number 20) was finished on June 30, 1917 and was located fourteen miles from Crockett. The lock and dam at White Rock Shoals (Number 25) was finished on January 31, 1917 and was located seven miles from Trinity. Work was to begin on locks and dams at two other sites along the Trinity when a $50,000 contribution was made by the citizens of Dallas. The Chief of Engineers estimated in 1917 that in order to canalize the Trinity completely, a total of twenty-seven locks and dams in addition to those already finished would have to be built.

Construction on locks and dams along the Trinity almost came to a standstill during World War I. Between 1918 and 1921, less than $13,000 was spent on the project. Many believed that the federal government was losing interest in the canalization of the Trinity River. A report issued by the chief of engineers in early 1921 confirmed this fear. It recommended that the project to canalize the Trinity from Dallas to Liberty be discontinued and that the locks and dams that had been completed be abandoned. This decision was made because of the increasing cost of the project and the unlikelihood that a continuance of work would result in an increase of commerce in and along the river. The report also concluded that the Trinity lacked enough water to render the river fit for navigation. By the end of June 1921, the federal government had spent a total of $2,218,090.35 to make the river navigable. The project was ended officially by the River and Harbor Act of September 22, 1922. Work continued on improving the Trinity from Liberty to its mouth until that particular project was completed in 1925. It is interesting to note that the river and harbor act that killed the Trinity River project also finished a similar program to channelize the Brazos River.

Despite the fact that the federal government had decreed that the
Trinity could not be converted into a navigable channel, the argument over the Trinity River project was far from finished. The debate over a proposed channelization of the river continued until 1973, when a bond proposal that would turn the Trinity into a barge canal connecting Dallas with the Gulf of Mexico was defeated by voters in the counties along the river. Yet after 1921, not one dollar of federal funds was spent on any project solely designed to canalize the Trinity. Millions were spent on the river, but these projects were designed primarily for flood control, with navigation of secondary importance. Even today, navigation of the Trinity is still discussed, but over 150 years after the first steamboat made the trip upstream to Dallas, the Trinity is very much the same river today as it was then.

NOTES

1Floyd Durham, The Trinity River Paradox: Flood and Famine (Wichita Falls, Texas), pp. 60-70.
2Edgar H. Brown, Trinity River Canalization (Dallas, 1930), p. 34.
3Trinity Improvement Association, "Historical Background on the Trinity River Project" (Irving, Texas, 1972), p. 2.
4House of Executive Documents, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, December 1, 1853, pp. 573-576.
5"Historical Background on the Trinity River Project," p. 2.
6House Executive Documents, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, October 20, 1873, p. 691.
7House Executive Documents, 93rd Congress, 1st Session, October 20, 1873, p. 686.
8Senate Executive Documents, 46th Congress, 1st Session, April 2, 1880, p. 2.
9House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 3rd Session, October 19, 1852, p. 1458.
11House Documents, 54th Congress, 1st Session, December 27, 1895, pp. 2-3.
12House Executive Documents, 45th Congress, 3rd Session, October 19, 1878, p. 84.
13Congressional Record, 52nd Congress, 1st Session, July 20, 1892, pp. 6470-6471.
14Congressional Record, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, December 21, 1898, p. 380.
15House Documents, 56th Congress, 1st Session, February 9, 1900, pp. 1, 7.
16House Documents, 56th Congress, 1st Session, February 9, 1900, pp. 4-5.
17House Documents, 56th Congress, 1st Session, February 9, 1900, pp. 6-7.
18House Documents, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, January 7, 1901, p. 5.
19House Documents, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, December 5, 1900, pp. 2-3.
20Brown, Trinity River Canalization, p. 45.
22Report of the Chief of Engineers (Washington, 1907), pp. 454-455.
25Brown, Trinity River Canalization, p. 46.
27Congressional Record, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, March 16, 1904, pp. 3338, 3371.
31Report of the Chief of Engineers (Washington, 1908), p. 482.
37House Documents, 66th Congress, 3rd Session, January 20, 1921, pp. 3-4.
39The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from April, 1921 to March, 1923, Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, and Recent Treaties, Conventions and Executive Proclamations (Washington, 1923), Volume XLII, p. 1042.
41The Statutes at Large of the United States of America from April, 1921 to March, 1923, Concurrent Resolutions of the Two Houses of Congress, and Recent Treaties, Conventions and Executive Proclamations (Washington, 1923), Volume XLII, p. 1042.
A LETTER FROM EAST HAMILTON, TEXAS

edited by Leon Sanders

The writer of this letter, Robert Sanders, settled in East Texas in 1834 at East Hamilton in what is now Shelby County, with his wife, Sarah D. Woodson Sanders, and three sons and one daughter. Sanders was born in Rowan County, North Carolina, on April 25, 1790, and moved with his family to Buckingham County Virginia, while still a young man. There he met and married Sarah Woodson, and their first child, Spottswood Henry Sanders, was born there in 1814. In 1815, the Sanders family moved to Christian County, Kentucky, accompanied by Sarah’s sister, Nancy, and her husband, Thomas West. Three more children were born to Robert and Sarah Sanders in Kentucky, John in 1816, Robert Junior in 1818, and Matilda in 1824. The family moved to Haywood County Tennessee, in 1825 and lived there until they moved to Texas in 1834, where Sanders listed his occupation as a school teacher.

The recipient of the letter, John Sanders, son of the writer, enlisted in the Republic of Texas army in Captain Teel’s Company when the war to gain independence from Mexico began. John was with Sam Houston in the Battle of San Jacinto, and was entitled to an additional land grant for his military service in the war. But instead of claiming his land immediately, John returned to Brownsville, Tennessee, to marry Rachel Boyd Willingham. In the letter, Sanders tried to persuade John to return to Texas, which he eventually did, but John and Rachel remained in Tennessee long enough for the first three of six of their children to be born there. Their fourth child, John, was born in Texas on November 17, 1844. Robert and Sarah, John and Rachel, Robert Junior and his wife, Martha Squyres Sanders, lived the rest of their lives at East Hamilton and were buried at East Hamilton Cemetery. About 1921, Mrs. Edith Sanders Jones had the bodies of her grandparents and great-grandparents, Robert, Sarah, John and Rachel, moved to Fairview Cemetery in Center, Texas.

The letter, dated November 25, 1841, is in the possession of Mrs. Shirley Smith Reynolds of Center, Texas, a great-great-grand-daughter of Robert Sanders.

(East Hamilton, Texas)
November 25, 1841

Dear Son,

Although I perceive I have been greatly slighted by you in writing to me, yet it does not destroy that parental regard which I have for you and family. Therefore I once more take the trouble of giving you a short sketch of the time here. In the first place, we are blessed with good health at this time. I wrote to you sometime last summer, stating to you that your land was located in Nacogdoches County. It was a mistake (by) Ragsdale, the man whom Crawford got to locate it. I was at Crawford’s last week and saw Ragsdale, who has lately returned from Austin. He informed me he was mistaken in the number

Leon Sanders, a descendant of Robert Sanders, teaches at Mississippi State University.
of your certificate when I saw him last spring. Your land is located in Gonzales County, about twelve (12) miles from the town of Gonzales on the Warloop (Guadalupe) about 45 miles from the city of Austin, and about the same distance from the coast or Gulf. It is no doubt very fine land and will be in a few years the most desirable part of Texas. There is some danger in living there at present on account of the Indians. Ragsdale says he will give you Patented Land in this county, Sabine, or on Trinity. I would advise you not to trade it yet; the land unquestionably will be valuable in a few years. I think from the prolific start you have made in the family way, and the undoubted quantity of land you would obtain by coming to this Republic would be sufficient inducement for you or any other man to move.

You would be entitled to 2121 1/2 acres besides what is already located, which is 853 1/2 acres, making in all 2974 1/2 acres. Now my son you must do as you please about moving. I shall never attempt to persuade you to move again.

I expect you have heard much said about the Regulators and Moderators in this county; they have been in actual rebellion. Both parties about two months since, had taken the field for Battle, and the marshal of the state had to come forward to suppress them which he has only partially done.

The cause was this: a man by the name of Jackson, last summer was a year ago, headed a party of some 40 or 50 men calling themselves Regulators, to ferret out horse thieves and counterfeiters. H.H. Jackson shot one man (said to be a horse thief) dead in Shelbyville, burnt two other men's houses, and the party's injured, way laid and shot Jackson and several of his men. The Regulators then pursued every suspicious man, shot and hung, by order of a committee (as they termed it) 7 men. The two parties have lost eleven or twelve this summer past; they bid defiance to the civil authority.

John D. Moore I am anxious should be regulated, and will try to have him a benefit given and Matilda taken from him. He lied so very bad, and conducted himself so badly in this country. He ran away and carried all he had to Potter's, 150 miles from here. I seldom hear from Matilda, she had a very severe spell of sickness last summer which caused an abortion. She was very near dying and was in bad health the last account I had from her; poor woman. When Moore carried her away he pretended he was going to take her to see Spottswood; Moore has never been divorced, and his first wife is living in Houston.

We have rented a place for the ensuing year. I do not know whether I shall teach school or not another year; if I do I shall have to walk 3 1/2 miles or board with the scholars. My last school has enabled me to make a little rise. I feel as independant as T. Bond, and hope I shall not be compelled to eat green corn and Irish potatoes again without Meat or Bread; We have 23 head of hogs, Cow & Calf and I have bought Pork enough to do us next Year. I have 30 Dollars which I intend to send by Robt. to Natchitoches to buy us some necessaries.

Robert keeps us plentifully in Venison; he kills them mostly by fire hunting, that is, he carries what is called a fire pan, with a large torch and shines in their eyes.

I hope you will not be as neglectful as you have been in writing. I have rec. but one letter from you since I have been in Texas, and that was dated 29th August, informing us, to our great astonishment
you had another heir. \(^9\) Tell Rachel\(^{16}\) for the Lord’s sake, to hurry on now to a New Country before it is the case again; move where you can give your Children some Land if nothing else.

If you will direct your Letters to San Augustine by way (VIA) Fort Jessup they will come safely to hand if you pay the postage to Fort Jessup.\(^{11}\)

Your Mother appears to be tolerable well satisfied, though we have no person to help us do anything but Jeb. Negroes cannot be hired in this neighborhood. Sally sends her love to you and Rachel; also wishes to be remembered to Caroline Langster and all her old neighbors. Tell Mr. Langster I think he has been very neglectful in not writing. I have received but one letter from him, be sure to write to me often. Corn is worth 75 cents per bushel, Pork \(3\frac{1}{2}\) dollars per CWT (hundred weight) Money is remarkable scarce, you can get 320 acres of Land for a good saddle horse — for money 50 cents per acre — good title. Give my love to Rachel — farewell my son.

Robert Sanders

(The following two postscripts were written in the margin)

Tell old Mr. Pervis his Son died here in October last. He was sick near four months.

Tell Peter, Jefferson and Jarrel Willingham they can realize 500 per cent in a few years by laying out money now in this Republic.

NOTES

\(^{1}\)The larger acreage was John’s land entitlement for settling in Texas; the smaller acreage was bonus land for military service.

\(^{2}\)Regulator-Moderator War is widely covered in Texas history; sites of First Battle and Last Battle near Shelbyville are marked by historical markers placed by the State of Texas in 1936 in observance of the Texas Centennial.

\(^{3}\)John D. Moore, believed to be the brother of Harriet Moore, wife of Robert Potter, signer of Texas Declaration of Independence and senator in the Republic of Texas. The story of Rob Potter and Harriet’s romance is the subject of the historical novel by Elithe Hamilton Kirkland, Love is a Wild Assault (Doubleday, 1952).

\(^{4}\)Matilda Sanders, daughter of the letter writer and sister of the recipient.

\(^{5}\)“Potter’s Point” on Caddo Lake, established by Robert Potter, who gave John Moore 100 acres to move there.

\(^{6}\)Spottswood Henry Sanders, Matilda’s older brother.

\(^{7}\)“Walk 3\frac{1}{2} miles or board with the scholars...” Robert’s inventory of livestock does not include a horse.

\(^{8}\)Robert Sanders Jr., John’s younger brother.

\(^{9}\)“...another heir.” Ann Eliza Sanders, born August 2, 1841 in Haywood County, Tennessee, the second child of John and Rachel Sanders. Ann Eliza married Henry McCauley, died in 1922, and is buried in the old cemetery at Tenaha, Texas.

\(^{10}\)Rachel Boyd Willingham, John’s wife, descendant of George Boyd (1691-1731), who came to Pennsylvania from Ireland in the early 1700s.

\(^{11}\)Fort Jessup, Louisiana, then the western-most outpost of the United States, a few miles from the Republic of Texas boundary on El Camino Real (King’s Highway) connecting Natchitoches, Louisiana, to San Antonio, Texas, via San Augustine and Nacogdoches. Fort Jessup, near present Many, Louisiana, has been restored as a park and museum by the Louisiana Department of Parks and Recreation.

\(^{12}\)Peter, Jefferson, and Jarrel Willingham — Rachel’s relations; she was the daughter of Jarrell Willingham Junior.
THE RAPIDO RIVER CONTROVERSY: A REVIEW

by Robert L. Wagner

Lee Carraway Smith is the latest entrant in the 36th Division (Texas) Rapido River controversy. Her book, *A River Swift and Deadly: The 36th "Texas" Infantry Division at the Rapido River*, was published by the Eakin Press of Austin in 1989. Mrs. Smith tells the story from the viewpoint of the GIs and junior officers, and does a creditable job of capturing the courage and frustration of the "T" Patchers who crossed the Rapido for the purpose of seizing the Liri Valley during January 20-22, 1944.

The ill-advised Rapido operation is perhaps the most written about happening of the Italian Campaign. The British, who were heavily involved in the overall effort, have written extensively on most of its phases, including the American tactical Rapido operation about which they knew little. Fred Majdalany's *The Battle of Cassino* (1957) is the chief culprit. Like many English journalists, he writes well, which tends to obscure his lack of detailed knowledge. On the American side, the man who has written the most about the Italian Campaign is Martin Blumenson, former historian for the Office of Chief of Military History. Since leaving OCMH, he has published at least two works, *Bloody River* (1970), and a biography of General Mark Clark in 1984 which deal directly with the Rapido Crossing.

It is Blumenson's thesis that the Rapido fiasco should be viewed in a larger context. He writes that the river crossing into the Liri Valley was needed to draw German troops south to ensure the success of the Anzio Landing on Italy's west coast. In theory the enemy would be caught in a great pincer movement. The German commander at the Rapido, General Fridolin Von Senger, has written a rejoinder that nothing more than local reserves were ever moved into the sector opposite the 36th.

Blumenson states that General Fred L. Walker, Commander of the 36th, was isolated within his own command and therefore ignorant of the larger picture. Walker may not have been privy to the details of the Anzio Landing, but he most certainly knew that some such action was in the wind.

Clark apparently did not require the counsel of his brother officers. I once asked General Walker if Clark had ever said to him, "Fred, what do you think?" Walker replied, "Never." This seems strange in light of Walker's distinguished service in World War I and the fact that Walker and Clark knew each other more than casually. It suggests that Clark relied on Fifth Army staff and did not seek advice from the commanders most involved in the actual fighting. It also suggests why Clark never developed what General Lucian Truscott called "a feel for battle."

Blumenson claims that Walker had a defeatist attitude about the

Robert L. Wagner lives in Austin, Texas.
Rapido crossing. He further maintains that Walker's alleged anxiety trickled down to the troops. Having talked with hundreds of "T" Patch veterans over the years, I can attest that none of them needed a bulletin board to inform them that they were embarking upon a cockamamie project. Lieutenant Colonel Oran C. Stovall, commander of the division's engineers, worked closely on the Rapido operation and knew him well. He told me that Walker never gave any hint that he felt the crossing would fail.

Blumenson also paints Walker as a director who was too concerned about the safety of his men and too tenderhearted to commit them to battle. Anyone who knew Walker will find this ludicrous. He was a tough, talented, experienced commander of combat troops who made the success of a mission — any mission — his top priority. What Walker saw being done was a major tactical error that not only would cause much bloodshed but, more importantly, probably would fail.

Blumenson concludes that the "real tragedy of the Rapido was that a broader and more detached view indicates that if Walker had demonstrated more determination, the crossing would have succeeded." If this is credible, why did it take six properly equipped divisions, in good weather, to do the job five months later?

Blumenson has described Walker as "quiet in manner, softspoken ... balanced in his judgments ...." All of which I can agree with, but then he goes on to describe Walker as "tall and rugged." Walker was no more than five feet, nine inches tall and weighed between 155-160 pounds. A trifling matter, perhaps, but I find it curious in light of the fact that Blumenson had interviewed Walker several times for his research and knew him socially. It suggests that if Blumenson's perception of Walker's physique could be so awry, but about his perception of far more intangible matters? To sum up, Martin Blumenson's writings about the Rapido tried to paint Fred Walker as vacillating and uncertain; that Clark was correct in launching the river crossing for reasons of higher military purpose; and that Walker was chiefly responsible for the defeat.

Blumenson ignores the overwhelming evidence that proper river crossing equipment was not available in all of Italy, and even if the "T" Patchers had crossed successfully, there was no place to go. The Germans were entrenched in heavily fortified artillery positions in the mountains on either side of the Liri Valley where infantry and armor could not have advanced until the mountain positions were neutralized. Where should the attack have been made? Walker held, as did the French, that it should have been made to the north in their sector behind Monte Cassino. This was the attack that General Von Senger said he had feared most.

Clark's own book, Calculated Risk (1954), is, as are most autobiographical works, self-serving. His views of the Rapido are echoed and amplified by Blumenson. The book, Return to Cassino (1964), was
written by Harold Bond, who had served as a 36th Division junior officer. Bond's account, published after a lapse of twenty years and relying entirely on memory, makes a mishmash of the Rapido and later operations. The excuse made for him is that he writes beautifully! Bond was a professor of English after the war and his work mirrors another great triumph of style over substance.

A sound historical work, though appearing early-on, is Chester G. Starr's *From Salerno to the Alps* (1948). It is a condensation of the nine-volume Fifth Army history and he was fully aware that much remained to be researched.

My own book *The Texas Army: A History of the 36th Division in the Italian Campaign* (1972), reflects the views presented here in opposition. My only regret is that General Clark's culpability was not sufficiently stressed in my misplaced attempt to be evenhanded.

On the German side there are at least three books that should be noted: Albert Kesselring's *A Soldier's Record* (1954) — Kesselring was commander in chief of German forces in Italy; Siegfried Westphal's *The German Army in the West* (1951); and Fridolin von Senger's *Neither Hope Nor Fear* (1964). All three agreed that the Rapido attack should not have been made. Kesselring added if Clark had been under his command he would not have treated him politely.

To all this controversy and more, Mrs. Smith had made her contribution and a good one it is. She has tried to get down to the nitty-gritty of the GI's problems at the Rapido, and largely succeeds. She, too, sees the attempted crossing as shortsighted and foolish.

There are, however, two criticisms: the inclusion verbatim of the flawed post-Rapido casualty reports, which suggests book-length padding; and secondly, whether veteran's memories after forty-odd years can retain an accurate picture. Allowing for these reservations, Lee Carraway Smith has achieved her purpose.
LASTING TRUTH AMIDST FLEETING CIRCUMSTANCE: AN ESSAY ON AN EXEMPLARY HISTORY OF AN EAST TEXAS TOWN*

by Ralph C. Wood

A hard-bitten reader of modern literature does not expect to like a hometown history. The genre is often the occasion for puffery and fluffery. These surveys of the local scene count the successes of illustrious families, they sing the glories of athletic heroes, and they praise the good deeds of all and sundry. But usually they contain not a word about failures and disasters or shames and crimes. Fred McKenzie’s history of Avinger, an East Texas town numbering 671 souls, is no such study in self-congratulation. It reads like a William Faulkner novel or a Mark Twain story more than a conventional local history. Thus does this book deserve a much wider readership than such works ordinarily receive.

William Wordsworth is renowned for having sought to make poetry out of “incidents and situations from common life,” even “low and rustic life.” “In that condition,” he wrote in his “Preface to the Lyrical Ballads,” “the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain their maturity, are under less restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language.” Fred McKenzie has discovered Wordsworth’s truth with admirable clarity. The reader need know nothing about tiny Avinger and its people to find this a riveting book. Though rich with the particulars of a small lumber and cotton town that reached its zenith in the 1950s, McKenzie’s work transcends local interest. In the lives of ordinary and otherwise forgotten people, he has revealed what Wordsworth called “the elementary feelings” — the greed and lust, the courage and charity, the grief and anger and joy that motivate human life.

In the early chapters the reader discovers McKenzie’s ability to locate lasting truth amidst fleeting circumstance. He traces the city’s founding father, Hamilton J. Avinger, to his South Carolina birth in 1833, to his graduation from Philadelphia’s Jefferson Medical College in 1853, finally to his arrival in Cass County via ship to New Orleans and then by riverboat to Shreveport and Jefferson in 1855. Avinger was a canny entrepreneur no less than a dedicated doctor. He bought a large tract of land, and founded both apothecary and blacksmith shops only a mile away from the established village of Hickory Hill. When in the 1870s a railroad was proposed for the area, the enterprising physician “donated” a depot in exchange for having the station named after him and located near his own commercial ventures. This shrewd maneuver dried up rival businesses in


Ralph Wood is a Professor of Religion at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
by-passed Hickory Hill, causing the new town of Avinger to develop around property owned by the doctor.

Such realism about the town's slightly shady origins is indicative of McKenzie's work as a whole. This is an honest book, and it is full of homespun Mark Twain-style wit as well as careful historical research. Baptists who look askance at Methodist baptism are made to call it "dandruff moistening." The cotton shed that served as an open tabernacle for the local churches' "protracted meetings" — summer revivals indefinitely drawn out until the Spirit's promptings were quenched and sinners no longer converted — had an extra high center portion. McKenzie declares dead-pan that it "enabled the hot air, including that from the pulpit, to escape through the separation between the two roofs."

Among the finest sections of the book are McKenzie's remembrances of his school days in the 1920s and 1930s. Though his recollections are at once fond and funny, he reveals what we have lost in the moral and academic seriousness that once characterized small-town education. The ten grades were crowded into four rooms divided by thin partitions. A closet served as the library. The day began with worship, and even the slightest violation of school discipline earned fierce retribution.

Anyone yearning for a return to an idealized educational past need only to read McKenzie's description of what, with the aid of a hickory cane, a teacher ominously named X Carson did to John Golden, a boy who had killed a chicken accidentally:

Loud-sounding blows landed on the terrified boy's face, which he tried to shield, as best he could, with his thin-sleeved arms; others struck his chest, shoulders, back, and legs, clear down to his ankles, as he spun and hopped in a futile attempt to ward them off. John's screams and pleas for mercy didn't slow the infuriated teacher down at all, but seemed instead to throw him in more of a frenzy than ever. (p. 122)

McKenzie's description makes one wonder what personal and sexual frustration could have fired such sadistic fury, what permanent effect this bloody beating may have had on poor John Golden, and whether the boy would have received so cruel a caning had he been, say, a banker's son rather than a sharecropper's child.

It is to the author's considerable credit that he recalls not only his own rollicking schoolboy pranks but also these moments of horror. Therein lies McKenzie's faithfulness as historian of this "little postage-stamp of native soil," as William Faulkner called his own mythical Yoknapatawpha County. Yet for all his candid naming of the chiselers and deadbeats, the do-gooders and the self-serving, McKenzie's tone is affirmative and encouraging. Not in this book is there any sneering disdain for small town life. Fred McKenzie is not to Avinger as Sinclair Lewis is to Sauk Centre. As a native Michigander who migrated here as a small child with his family, McKenzie is thankful to have had Avinger as his home. Its story is to a large extent his own story. He can tell the truth about his town because
he is an insider who is yet an outsider, a long-time citizen who is beholden neither to the commercial nor the familial powers-that-be.

McKenzie does more than chronicle the obvious; he also ferrets out the hidden. The most startling revelation concerns the murder of the town’s founder in 1881. The official story is that Dr. Avinger died three days after being literally disembowelled by Ross Hicks, a Negro employee who had begun the fracas by sass ing his boss. McKenzie found it strange that this black man would have been so surly toward his white patron, stranger still that he was not immediately lynched upon arrest, and strangest of all that Hicks was given an orderly trial and sentenced to only twenty years in the Huntsville prison.

While doing research on the town’s history in 1954, McKenzie discovered considerable skepticism, among old timers, about the standard account of Dr. Avinger’s murder. With a detective’s scent for the odor of truth, he tracked down John Rhyne, an eighty-five year old man who clearly remembered the sensational escapade. Rhyne and many of his contemporaries believed that the dying Dr. Avinger had falsely accused Hicks in order to shield his true assailant, a man whose name McKenzie declines to release — perhaps to protect innocent descendants of the guilty. Yet for the first time in more than a century, the hidden truth has been revealed: Ross Hicks was probably a black stooge made to bear a white man’s guilt.

One need not be a political liberal to find McKenzie’s treatment of race relations the most interesting and revealing parts of his work. Though hardly a righteous crusader, McKenzie knows what unfairness and injustice are, and he is willing to call them by name. It is indeed the confessional character of McKenzie’s moral judgments that make them so convincing. Regarding the separate-but-equal doctrine, for example, he recalls his own years as a school trustee during the late 1940s and mid-1950s:

Anytime any funding came into the white board’s hand, ... from whatever source, at least 90% of it was spent on the white school facilities and only what happened to be left over trickled down to the blacks. This was typified by an expression I heard over and over until it got to be somewhat of a joke with us. It usually came about this way — we’d get a sum of money to spend on improving school property. After spending it as just indicated, some board member would say, “Well now, you know we ought to spend some of this on the coloreds” (only he usually used another word). Then the others would chime in and say, “That’s right, we’ll buy ‘em some paint and let ‘em paint their building, that should take care of them for a while.” I used to think that old 1921 building must have paint an inch thick on it by this time. Maybe that’s why it has lasted so long. (p.146)

The book’s most engrossing episode concerns Avinger’s leading turn-of-the-century citizen, Bragg Duncan (1860-1931). As a courageous historian not bound by a fastidious propriety, McKenzie voices openly what had often been whispered about this man whose brazen lust and
generous philanthropy make him worthy of comparison to Faulkner’s Carothers McCaslin. In his respectable role, we learn, Duncan was a wealthy railroad investor, banker, churchman, and husband; but in his shadow life he was the father of seven children by his housekeeper and paramour. She was Jennie Turner, an attractive Negress whose parents had been brought from Georgia as slaves of the Duncans.

Rather than concealing this liaison, Duncan publically acknowledged and supported his mulatto offspring. He kept them near at hand and let them call him “Papa Bragg,” he built them houses and a school, and he made modest provision for them in his will. In an act of extraordinary homage which an official image-saving chronicler would have declined, McKenzie follows the careers of all the miscegenated Duncan progeny. He locates and photographs the last of them, with her notably Caucasian features, living in a St. Louis apartment. He also recounts the gripping story of what happened to Duncan’s huge estate, including the gigantic court suit brought by 184 white descendants two decades after the old man died. Almost like a Greek tragedy, the saga ends with the suicide of Duncan’s executor and business partner, R.M. Kasling.

It is not only the scandalous side of Avinger’s history that interests McKenzie. He also renders honor to unsensational folk of both races, showing what is memorable in their otherwise forgotten lives. There is “Crazy Hattie,” for example, an epileptic black woman whose husband hacked off her hand in a fit of rage. After his arrest, Hattie confessed, she never saw hand or husband again. We also meet “Nigger” John Clark, a boy who spent his summers playing with McKenzie and other white children instead of his fellow blacks. Even after they had taken up books, Clark would sneak to the edge of the white schoolyard and peer in, wistfully yearning to rejoin his now segregated friends.

One of Avinger’s most remarkable citizens was Doss Jones, the town’s last remnant of slavery. We hear Jones recalling his days as a slave on an Alabama plantation and explaining what Emancipation meant for a sixteen-year old boy. We also see McKenzie’s photograph of Jones taken in 1954, shortly before his death at age 108. Those attending the dying ex-slave had enabled him to retain an impeccable dignity, as McKenzie notes: “his coal black face [was] nestled among the whitest of white pillows.”

“Pap” Jones is one of thirteen children belonging to Doss’ wife Mary, although his own biological father was a white man. “Pap” is remarkable for having broken the deadly cycle of sharecropper poverty by getting a job at a sawmill, earning a regular income, and finally returning to school in order to earn his diploma at the age of sixty-five.

McKenzie also etches keen vignettes of Avinger’s white residents. Among the town’s most memorable “characters” was a frugal and hard-working blacksmith named Goldie Henderson who, only days before his
death, asked for a crowbar. Using the last of his sapped strength, he pried a board off his bedroom wall, and out poured a cache of some $16,000. We also encounter Sadie Stuckey, a self-appointed Yankee missionary who passed out tracts, sold Bibles, and went about doing good in her circa 1922 Ford coupe. This large lady drove her car from almost the center of the seat, pushing her diminutive husband George against the passenger side and leaving her fox terrier Turkey squarely behind the wheel.

Far from the least conventional of Avinger's citizens were Naomi and B.J. Douglas. "Nig" was a pretty mail-order bride who smoked cigarettes in a long Mae West holder and dressed up in Hollywood finery to frequent the local picture show rather than the churches. Her husband "Jay" became so deaf that he could hear only with the aid of an air trumpet, leading the irreverent to make ribald jokes about the couple's relations in bed and elsewhere. Unaware that Jay's new hearing aids had arrived in the morning post, Nig received a terrible thrashing when she idly asked: "What did we get in the mail today, you deaf old S.O.B.?"

McKenzie narrates not only the humor of local life but also its quiet courage and poignant calamity. He tells how Wirt Simmons, a black serviceman recently returned from the World War II, was brained with a baseball bat during a racial dispute. Mrs. Jack Dorman, a prominent lady of the town who happened upon the furor, single-handedly dragged the unconscious Simmons into her car and sped him to a doctor. There was nothing falsely heroic in her deed, as McKenzie observes. It was simply a matter of woman seeing a man in extremity and answering his need without fuss.

During the 1920s Henry Whitworth was at once postmaster, sawmill operator, hard drinker, and village atheist. During his latter years he was sentenced to a federal penitentiary for certain "financial irregularities" at the post office - although many say the crimes were committed by other family members whose shabby practices Whitworth failed to monitor. Whitworth's wife sued for divorce after her husband left for prison, but then remarried him upon his return. The couple later celebrated their golden wedding anniversary as if there had been no hiatus!

The ageing Whitworth did not slacken the reins of his unbelief. When his son was killed in an automobile accident, the old man refused to attend the funeral, declining the church's assurances during the worst of times no less than the best. Yet Whitworth's unconventional atheism was permeated with a humility that conventional piety often misses:

"I had a good job as postmaster, a devoted wife and a good family, but with all that, I still wasn't happy. It wasn't until I had lost everything, including my reputation, that I attained real happiness and contentment. Back in my so-called better days, I was burdened down with worry, indecision, envy, resentment, and many other negative traits which led to my becoming a soured-on-the-world alcoholic, but once I hit rock bottom, all that changed and the years
that have transpired since have been some of the happiest of my life."

(p. 64)

Thus was a magnanimous historian like McKenzie able to elicit a religious confession that would have been closed off to a moralizing minister.

John Avinger, the only descendant of the founder to remain in the town, came to a less happy end. Though a man of considerable means, he refused all modern conveniences except the automobile, saved mountains of bread wrappers and newspapers in his cluttered house, squandered his savings on bad loans to conscienceless borrowers, and died in an insane asylum. Yet McKenzie memorializes this sad eccentric as more than a mere failure. We are reminded that Avinger was an expert marksman who was also gifted in math and penmanship. Hence McKenzie’s final salute: “He is remembered, by those who knew him well, as a friendly, good-natured, easy-going type of man who probably never intentionally harmed anyone.”

It is such remarkable remembrances of the near and distant past that make this book relevant to a much wider audience than Avinger and Cass County. Fred McKenzie has raised a verbal and pictorial monument to people whose names and lives would have been erased by history. In saving them from the oblivion of the past, he has also made them stand like guideposts and sentinels for the present. To read Avinger, Texas USA is thus to receive moral instruction of the best kind — the kind that does not hector and whine, but rather humbles and inspires.

McKenzie’s book is also commendable for displaying the skills other local historians must possess if they are to make their own town stories more than a lifeless chronicle. His painstaking compilation and assimilation of data, his colorful and vigorous prose, his splendid choice of photographs, and above all his telling portraits of the poor and the powerless alongside the wealthy and the mighty — these are exemplary indeed. McKenzie’s work has enduring worth because it reveals how, amidst the chances and changes of time, we work out our sin as well as our salvation.

It must be admitted that Avinger, Texas USA contains numerous mistakes in spelling and punctuation, and that the book’s organization is sometimes clumsy. Yet these innocent blemishes give the work an unvarnished charm. The most egregious errors are to be corrected in a second edition, and a sequel devoted to the town’s families is forthcoming. But already in its rough and warty shape, this excellent book serves to recover an East Texas past that would otherwise be irretrievably lost. As an outsider who reluctantly agreed to read Fred McKenzie’s book only because it was a family gift, I found myself devouring it with consuming interest. Others — many others — should go and do likewise.
EAST TEXAS COLLOQUIY

The SPRING 1990 meeting was held in Galveston, Texas, on February 2-3 at the restored Tremont House. An excellent program was provided by Garna Christian, Patricia Kell, Maury Darst, and John Britt. A featured event of the meeting was a Friday afternoon cruise on "The Colonel," and even fog and the threat of rain did not dampen the spirits of the hearty East Texas "salts" who enjoyed a water-level view of historic Galveston. Another would have to be the opportunity to feast in the island's seafood restaurants. Dr. Robert W. Glover received the Ralph W. Steen Service Award, and Captain and Mrs. (Ann) Phillips received the Lucille Terry Historic Preservation Award for their restoration of the Tol Barret House, located in Nacogdoches County.

The FALL 1990 meeting will be held in Nacogdoches on September 21-22. We will headquarter at the Fredonia Inn, and details of the meeting will accompany this Journal. Please get your reservations in early so we can plan better for the meeting. Our Galveston experience is a case in point: by the Monday before the meeting we had preregistered less than half the number who eventually attended. Preregistration is a great help to Esther Karr, and is a benefit to members because it reduces the time that must be spent at the registration table. But the greatest benefit is that it helps the poor meeting coordinator in dealing with the host hotel and providers of banquets. Most hotels demand a forty-eight hour advanced guarantee, and some are inflexible. So to insure that you have a place at the table set for you, please get those reservations in to us well in advance.

At its meeting in September 1989 the Board set the registration fee for this and future meetings at $10, and adjusted the dues structure as follows:

a. Regular $ 15.00
b. Student 8.00

(Note: the following are optional, sustaining level memberships)

c. Sustaining 25.00
d. Patron 50.00
e. Benefactor 100.00
f. Institutional 100.00

(Note: the following are optional, life membership levels)

g. Life-Member 250.00
h. Life-Patron Member 500.00
i. Life-Benefactor Member 750.00
j. Life-Grand Benefactor Member 1,000.00

(Note: Life memberships may be paid in installments of $125 each)
This will be effective with your renewal of membership.
In conjunction with the Texas State Historical Association, we co-sponsored a History Awareness Workshop in Nacogdoches on June 5, 1990, and another in San Antonio on August 2-3. We were largely responsible for the program for the June meeting, and helped out as directed at the other. This constitutes a wonderful opportunity for teachers to obtain AAT credit and to learn things that will be useful when they return to the classroom in September.

In one of its many special sessions, the Texas legislature created the Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission and directed that group to devise a plan to commemorate the tri-centennial of this important thoroughfare in 1991 and to preserve the road for the future. Commissioners include Archie P. McDonald, chair, Stephen F. Austin State University; John McGiffert, Institute of Texan Cultures; Ingrid Morris, Sabine County Historical Commission; Nan Olsen, Bastrop County Historical Commission; Rose Trevino, Texas Archaeological Stewardship Network; Ken Bohuslav, State Department of Highways and Public Transportation; Mike Herring, Texas Parks and Wildlife Department; Rick Lewis, Texas Historical Commission; Phil Davis, Texas Department of Commerce. The Texas Highway Department began by researching the site of the original road to determine, where possible, what parts are now "under asphalt" as Highway 21, and what parts are no longer in service. More details will be released as the plan develops.

As usual, Eliza Bishop and Houston County are out in front. The road was constructed in part to reach San Francisco de las Tejas, located in what became Houston County. Eliza’s group has several events planned for 1990, and she solicits the help of all. If you can lend a hand, contact Eliza at 409-544-3255.

Under the direction of chairman Linda Romer, our Membership Committee is doing good work. We have added quite a few members since Linda took over this important work in September 1989, and she solicits the assistance of all. If you have need for membership brochures to distribute to your friends, please call or write to the Association’s office and we will supply them. Linda works for the AAA, and has asked for twenty-five brochures of any event related to the history of our various communities; she will use them to help you publicize your activity. Mail these directly to Linda at 16378 Kuykendahl, Houston, TX 77068.

One such event is the effort of the Historic Bowie County Foundation, Inc., to restore the Boston Courthouse and make it into a museum honoring Jim Bowie and others. Support may be expressed through memberships in the HBCF, and are available for $12. Mail your support to Historic Bowie County Foundation, General Delivery, Boston, TX 75557.
We would be happy to run similar notices as those that appear above, and hope you will send the appropriate data to us. Keep in mind that we work with deadlines. For example, members will receive this Journal in late Summer or early Fall of 1990, but the manuscript left Nacogdoches to be printed in late February; the journal you will receive in January 1991 will go forth to the printer by the first week of October. SO: events must be anticipated with those deadlines in mind, but all received will be given space in these pages.

Dr. William R. Johnson, fourth president of Stephen F. Austin State University and a strong supporter of the Association, has announced his retirement. It was effective in July 1990. The Board directed that our appreciation be expressed to Dr. Johnson for his assistance and support for our work and for the advancement of education in our region, and this was done during the meeting in Galveston. I know all members join the Board in this expression of appreciation. Dr. Johnson faithfully attended our meetings, provided the support which made our work possible on the campus of Stephen F. Austin State University, and tolerated the director for fourteen years. Some would say he deserves our thanks for the latter item alone, so this is a personal "thank you" as much as it is an effort to convey the appreciation of our members.
BOOK REVIEWS


Much has been written about the roles of the *presidio* and the mission in history books, but Gilbert R. Cruz's well-written and well-documented book, *Let There Be Towns*, recognizes the overlooked and real importance of the civil settlement, or town, in Borderlands history. As Donald C. Cutter poignantly points out in his Foreword, this book will cause many Borderlands scholars and students to alter their thinking about the relative importance of these three pillars of civilization in New Spain.

An opening chapter on the Iberian origins of the municipalities in New Spain is followed by chapters detailing the founding and early development of six classic frontier towns in northern New Spain: Santa Fe, El Paso, San Antonio, Laredo, San Jose, and Los Angeles. Later chapters describe the life of civilian settlers of northern frontier towns and the function of the *cabildo*, that guardian of justice and social order in the Borderlands.

The author convincingly supports his thesis that town settlements and their civil governments in northern New Spain were more important and durable than the more glamorous missions and *presidios*.

Moreover, the reader will realize that many of our ideas and practices of democratic government today came to us from Spain as well as England.

This book should interest all East Texas history scholars and buffs. The case study of San Antonio, especially, established as a halfway post to East Texas, would apply also to the municipal settlements of Los Adaes, Bucareli, Nacogdoches, and Trinidad de Salcedo.

Robert H. Thonhoff
Karnes City, Texas


Mary Austin Holley, born before the Constitution was ratified and buried just as the Mexican War began, lived at least a century too early. Wife, mother, biographer, poet, essayist, teacher, indefatigable traveler, and discreet lobbyist for Texas, this remarkable woman would have been more at home in the late twentieth century than in the narrow confines of a nineteenth-century woman's place.

Rebecca Lee Smith’s biography, wonderfully rich in detail in the best "life and times" tradition, is also a skillfully balanced study of the
“life and works” variety that traces Mary Austin Holley’s intellectual progress as well as the peripatetic course of her life as she moved from New England to Kentucky to Texas to Louisiana.

Mary Holley is best known as the cousin of Stephen F. Austin and the author of *Texas: Observations: Historical, Geographical, and Descriptive in a Series of Letters* (1833) and *Texas* (1836), but she was a minor poet and essayist before that, and her first major work was the compilation of a memorial to her husband, who died of yellow fever in 1827. *A Discourse on the Genius and Character of the Rev. Horace Holley, LL.D., Late President of Transylvania University*... was published in 1828.

Widowed at forty-three, Mary Holley may have had a romantic interest in her bachelor cousin, Stephen Fuller Austin, nine years younger than she, but his untimely death in 1836 dashed her hopes of ending her days with him in Texas. Reduced to genteel poverty, dependent on the kindness of her daughter and her husband’s former students, Mary Holley died in New Orleans at the age of sixty-two. Her books on Texas assured her lasting fame, and Rebecca Smith Lee’s biography ensures her place in the history of American women as well as the history of Texas.

Virginia Bernhard
University of St. Thomas

*William Barret Travis, A Biography*, by Archie P. McDonald (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709) 1976. Index. Bibliography. P. 214. $15.95 Hardcover.

Apart from his final few days, during which he wrote a famous letter and may or may not have drawn a line in the Alamo dirt, just how much do most Texans really know about William Barret Travis the man?

More now, for sure, than they did before Archie P. McDonald produced the first legitimate biography of Travis in a 1976 Pemberton Press publication, now reissued by Eakin Press.

Not secondary to the facts of Travis’ short life, McDonald’s fluent narration of the events leading up to San Antonio makes this one of the very better protraits of a revolution which helped to reshape a continent.

Programmed by genes to look westward always, Travis arrived in Texas early enough to involve himself at Anahuac and Gonzales, following a path which led inexorably to the siege at Bexar.

Not that he was born with the white hat he wore in the movie by which most know him! Wed to a wife he left in Alabama, Travis kept a Texas diary which offers, if not a new definition, at least an early meaning to the activity understood today as scoring.

If you missed this the first time around, correct the mistake now.

Max S. Lale
Marshall and Fort Worth, Texas
The Battle of San Jacinto, by James W. Pohl (Austin: Texas State Historical Association. P. 49. Illustrations and Map. $4.50).

Late in the 1970s F. Lee Lawrence, a prominent lawyer from Tyler who was President of the Texas State Historical Association, urged the Association’s Executive Council to publish a series of popular histories. His purpose was to provide short, readable works that all Texans could enjoy. Lawrence was successful. Over the past several years Texas historians have written readable monographs entitled The Old Stone Fort, The Battle of the Alamo, and The French Legation. James W. Pohl, a military historian at Southwest Texas State University, has added to this series with The Battle of San Jacinto.

Pohl aptly followed the series format. He clearly and concisely explained the causes leading to revolution against Mexico, and discussed the events during a six-and-one-half-month period beginning with a skirmish at Gonzales between Mexican and Texian forces on October 2, 1835 to the concluding battle at San Jacinto on April 21, 1836. He evaluated Sam Houston’s role as commander-in-chief of the Texian forces as well as his strategy during what was known as the Runaway Scrape, which began with the torching of Gonzales on March 11. And he has painted a vivid picture of the battle, presenting an objective account of the Mexicans and Texians in this engagement. Pohl has added to the understanding of Texas history.

Ben Procter
Texas Christian University

Life of “Big Foot” Wallace: The Great Ranger Captain, by A.J. Sowell (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX 78761) 1989. Illustrations. Appendix. Index. P. 200. $12.95 Paper. $19.95 Hardcover. $50.00 Limited ed. (50)

The above title is purported to be a reprint of A.J. Sowell’s Life of “Big Foot” Wallace: The Great Ranger Captain (published at Devine, Texas, by the Devine News?, 1899, with illustrations, portrait), when, in truth, it is not a reprint, but a doctored, distorted version of Sowell’s book edited by Mike Cox and the State House Press, with twelve imaginary, double-page, black-and-white uncaptioned pictures drawn by Charles Shaw. There is a completely new title-page.

This is a biography of the great Texas frontiersman, hunter, ranger, Indian and Mexican fighter, and great story-teller, William Alexander Anderson (“Big Foot”) Wallace. Editor Cox and the State House Press have changed the structure of Sowell’s sentences; added, changed, and omitted words; changed capitulations; and corrected Sowell’s spelling of words and names, but have failed, because of their limited knowledge, to recognize that there are other names mispelled; and “d--d” becomes
"damned" (p. 54). They have eliminated "racial slurs," as they call them, that appear in Sowell's book. For instance, "nigger" becomes "negro," (p. 48), without the dignity of being capitalized.

Cox's introduction is devoted largely to a biographical sketch of Andrew Jackson Sowell, his writings, and his associations with Wallace. In it he refers to John Crittenden Duval's *Adventures of Big Foot Wallace* as being that of John D. Duval (p. viii). Wallace did not like Duval's biography and stories of him by others. He claimed that no story of his life was correct except as it was told in a series of interviews with A.J. Sowell. Research scholars should be wary of the current biography of Wallace edited by Mike Cox and the State House Press.

The only redeeming feature of the current publication is the addition of a limited index of personal names and places. Added as an appendix is a letter written by W.A.A. Wallace to the reviewer's cousin, Miss N[ora] C[lifton] Franklin, San Marcos, [Texas], [dated] Big Foot Oct. 13/88, concerning some of the author's experiences on the Texan Mier Expedition, 1842-1844.

Joseph Milton Nance
Texas A&M University


It is doubtful that any other researcher could come up with another significant fact that has any bearing on the story of the 2nd U.S. Cavalry in Texas. Beginning with a short history of the cavalry in general, Simpson tells of the organization of the regiment at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, in 1855. He then follows the unit to Texas and writes a complete history of its times until it was broken up in 1861.

Mention is made of famous officers who were in the regiment, including Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, Earl Van Dorn, and William J. Hardee. Many enlisted men were also listed, as well as their adventures afield and in camp. From Indian fights to wive's gossip, it is all there.

This book should be read by anyone interested in the defense of the forts of Texas, or in cavalry and Indian fighting in general. While the first two chapters are a bit slow, the tempo picks up as interest in the famous regiment grows.

Jack Pirtle
Nacogdoches, Texas

Covering the months from January to August 1844, volume VII of the Correspondence of James K. Polk gives a clear sense of the partisan nature of American life in this election year. Issues such as the annexation of Texas, the tariff, and the appropriate strategies for the nominating convention and the forthcoming election dominate correspondence to Polk and that written by him.

As in earlier volumes of this series, the editors have done a thorough job of annotating names mentioned in the letters and including brief descriptions of events referred to by the correspondents. These make the letters extremely valuable for anyone seeking a broader understanding of the political activities centering around Polk. The correspondence also provides excellent insight into the political "networking" that was necessary in this era of serious sectional divisions. As this reviewer browsed through the letters, he was struck by the all-consuming attention and focus that politics had in this era of American history. Also evident is the extreme partisanship of the participants. They often saw the opposition as less than suitable for continuing national leadership.

The "Preface" provides an excellent overview of and introduction to the volume. The editors give a brief, but comprehensive, summary of what occurred in these eight months. They also give the reader a sense of what the many events covered in the correspondence meant to Polk and his supporters and to the Democratic Party which wanted to recapture the presidency.

Volume VII of Polk's correspondence is a fine piece of editorial scholarship and will serve its users well. Anyone seeking to gain a sense of contemporary attitudes should read this and other volumes in the series which trace James K. Polk's trials and successes in his effort to become president.

William L. Taylor
Plymouth State College


There are many good, important books on Southern history. Interpreting Southern History, however, clearly belongs in the small, select group of works that are indispensable for serious students of the field. Picking up where its predecessor, Writing Southern History (1965) left
off, *Interpreting Southern History* describes the major developments in
the field and discusses the major works published, 1965-1985. Although
both volumes are dedicated to leading Southern historians (Fletcher Melvin
Green and Sanford W. Higginbotham), this collection of historiographical
essays is not by Higginbotham’s former students but by leading scholars
on the editorial board while he was editor of the *Journal of Southern
History*, 1965-1983. This book is only twenty-four percent longer, but its
index (books, articles, authors, and topics mentioned) is eighty-two per­
cent longer than that of its predecessor.

In addition to showing increasing numbers of publications in Southern
history, this volume illustrates basic changes in the field. Essays on religion
by John B. Boles and on women by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall and Anne Firor
Scott show the emergence of these topics. Scholars since 1965 have been
less concerned with narrative, military, and political history and more
aware of the influence of race, class, gender, and regional differences
within the South. Their works have dealt more with social and intellec­
tual (both elite thought and popular attitudes) history, and with quan­
titative, economic, urban, and local studies.

Two historians of or from East Texas are prominent in the book. Randolph B. (Mike) Campbell (author of a history of Harrison County,
and an active member of the East Texas Historical Association), covered
studies of “Planters and Plain Folks: The Social Structure of the
Antebellum South.” The book's main editor and essayist on “The
Discovery of Southern Religious History,” John B. Boles, grew up on
a chicken farm in Center, Texas.

Robert G. Sherer
Wiley College

*Historians of the American Frontier. A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook,*
edited by John R. Wunder (Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West,

*Historians of the American Frontier* is a reference work intended for
libraries rather than individuals. Unless an individual had a pressing need
for a volume of this sort, he or she would be better served by saving the
purchase price and taking the few minutes necessary to retrieve the perti­
nent material on the particular frontier historian of interest, most of which
is readily available from other sources.

For those who are contemplating acquiring this volume for a library,
some things about its basic shape and structure are worth knowing. The
book discusses briefly each of fifty-seven historians who have written on
topics related to frontier history. The criteria for inclusion among these
fifty-seven seem to be that the individual must be deceased, must have
written about the frontier (broadly defined), must have made a contribu-
tion to the discipline (subjectively determined), and must be a historian (also broadly defined). The editor in his introduction admits that the results are somewhat incomplete, leaving out such obvious choices as Ernest Osgood, Reuben Gold Thwaites, and Le Roy Hafen, among others. The editor promises that another volume is to follow which will no doubt correct these omissions as well as include those frontier historians of note who have passed on since this volume went to press.

One suspects that the selection of historians discussed was as much a product of finding contributors as it was to any more rational process. The contributors have done a workmanlike job. Each chapter is divided into four subsections: biography, themes, analysis, and bibliography. For the better known historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb, the bibliographies usually include a section on books and articles about the historian. A handy index is included.

This book is primarily a reference work which would be of value in a large library supporting class offerings in frontier and western history.

Robert T. Smith
Eastern Montana College

Texas High Sheriffs, by Thad Sitton (Texas Monthly Press, P.O. Box 1569, Austin, TX 78767) 1988. Photographs. Notes. P. 279. $17.95.

This excellent oral history can not only be read; it can be felt. The book consists of oral autobiographies of eleven men who served as sheriff in rural Texas counties from the 1880s to the present. Four of the interviewees represented East Texas counties.

Sitton masterfully elicits fascinating tales from his subjects, arranged in an appealing and gripping format. Very personalized creations for each sheriff preserve the auditory tone of the raw interviews and enhance the descriptive, illustrative, and informative values of each man's account. The comments of one sheriff's wife also are included most effectively. Each vignette snaps along in the shirt-sleeves prose of the sheriffs, with no editorial retouching to mar the individuality of each person.

The knowledgeable reader will perceive in each discourse attributes of rural sheriffing whose separate dots connect into a familiar picture of the office in rural Texas. Readers with less awareness of the institutional sheriff will still discern features that are intriguing, startling, amusing, poignant, and revealing. This is oral history that teaches without being pedantic; it amuses and bemuses — even shocks — while uncovering quite important things.

The editor's first-rate introduction sets the stage for the interviewees' personal accounts, imaginatively prefacing the personal and professional lives of his subjects. The introductory comments, like the editorial arrangement of the sheriffs' words, are made with the X-ray eye of the skilled
journalist who has the insights and vision of the sensitive historian. Sitton constructs a vivid mirror for projecting each personal account into the big picture of Texas history. Arranged by individual person, no editorial comments interfere with the subjects' stream of consciousness; yet, the subtle skill of the sequential presentation is apparent.

*Texas High Sheriffs* humanizes the development of this ancient office in rural Texas in a way reminiscent of the great western chronicler Louis L’Amour. Sitton catches the essence of the office as it was, sensing the direction toward which it is evolving, all in the unpretentious language of the men who manned the office during a crucial transition period of Texas law enforcement.

The essential character of the rural sheriff and of rural Texas is highlighted. At the outset, Sitton effectively galvanizes the reader’s expectations, establishing a rolling connection between the institutional roots of the office and its practical evolution in the street. Starkly running like an unbroken thread throughout the accounts is a “mystique of legitimate violence,” defining rural voters’ demands for a “fighting sheriff.” Sheriffs serving after World War II clearly chafed under the effects of the civil rights’ movement on their discretionary powers.

A recurrent impression is one of the intense dedication of these men to this low-paying, dangerous job. A kind of primeval folk-wisdom prevails, providing glimpses of the dynamics of survival in rural law enforcement, including responses to technology and urbanization.

Of particular interest are colorful instructions on “How to:” make moonshine whiskey, train and use tracking hounds, and break horses — stories which reveal the subjects’ backgrounds and depict the translation of youthful experiences into practical tactics of sheriffing. Such rustic experiences transferred to catching bootleggers, safecrackers, and cattle rustlers, as well as prescriptions for nabbing drunks, dopeheads, and mental defectives. Whatever the youthful background of these men, the notable consistency in their careers was their almost fatalistic fearlessness.

The versatility required of rural sheriffs was magnified by lack of the technological devices that now enhance the investigative work of the modern sheriff. Even so, several of the subject sheriffs instinctively became skilled criminal investigators. The unique relationships between the rural sheriff and his constituents are displayed graphically by these tales. The impact upon the sheriff’s family of the job’s incredible consumption of his time and energies is vividly emphasized. An interview with one sheriff’s wife tells of the rigors of raising a family in the jail (where the sheriff’s family usually lived). The intergovernmental relations of the sheriff are well-portrayed.

Essentially untrained men took this office — each for different reasons — worked, fought, studied, adapted, and applied themselves assiduously to the task, for meager pay and at great hazard of their privacy and their
lives. One can understand how the office of sheriff has persisted through the upheaval of historical growth as our oldest common law public office.

The original tapes of these interviews are filed with the Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas at Austin. The spirit of the tapes delightfully comes alive in Texas High Sheriffs.

James G. Dickson, Jr.
Stephen F. Austin State University


I wouldn't lie about a thing like that; I got the book — The Capitol Story: Statehouse in Texas — for the picture on the dust jacket. I liked it as soon as I saw it; two cowboys riding down Congress Avenue sometime around the turn of the century. The picture is wet and cold and rainy, and there are street cars and buggies and people moving around — and the State Capitol looms up, stage center, as the background to the whole scene. G. Harvey of Fredericksburg painted it. At one time I checked on the price of a print, but when I recovered from financial shock I decided that the better part of wisdom was to buy the picture that had a book wrapped in it. I framed the dust jacket, and it hangs in my wife's office, a treasure to her sentimental little Austin-lovin' heart.

There you have it, unvarnished.

Lest, however, you've been told not to judge a book by its jacket, let me say that it's OK to do so in this case. Great jacket, great book! The Capitol Story is that great a book that it took four people to write it: Mike Fowler and Jack Maguire, with Noel Grisham and Marla Johnson. They have all hung around the Austin scene long enough to have the proper love and respect for it.

About three-fourths of the book is a fascinating, detailed history of all the dopey, bureaucratic cartwheels a provincial government goes through building state capitol, with emphasis on the present one, of course. The rest is personality pictures of downtown Austin, nostalgia trips for everybody who ever wandered up and down Congress Avenue when that street really was the spoke on the hub of Texas. Looking at Austin then, you could still see the Capitol, before it was lost in all the high-rise, rich-bitch banks and oil towers.

But, back to the Capitol. Our founding fathers, pulsating egos as they were, dragged the state capital around to a half a dozen places before M. Buonaparte Lamar won the tug-of-war. He chose for the site of the capital of the great state of Texas the sleepy little village of Waterloo (pop. four families) located on the banks of the Colorado near the corner of First.
and Congress. Those fathers built a frame capitol a block west of Congress with a stockade wall to hold off the Indians, and that was the seat of a Texas government from 1839 to 1853. The first building that looked like a state capitol was a tall courthouse-looking limestone building, located at the north end of Congress, where the present Capitol is located. It was put into service in 1853, and lasted until it went up in a roaring blaze in 1881. The present Capitol, grand and glorious building that it is, was begun in 1882 and was dedicated in 1888. And if you haven't wandered through it lately, observing the bronze hinges and doorknobs and the cast-iron stair rails and the carved woodwork, you need to. It will make you proud.

All of that is just an outline, of course. The details will amuse and amaze you. Sam's natural inclination was to have the capital in Houston — where else! — and an episode in the midst of those political shenanigans was Mrs. Eberly's shot heard round the corner in the Archive War as Sam tried to spirit the state records away from Austin. And did you know that Texas has paid for the land the Capitol was built on three times and still does not have a clear title? And did you know that Texas not only has the largest statehouse in the U.S., taller than the big one in D.C., but that it is the most expensive? Texas paid ten! Panhandle counties — which soon after became the site of the XIT (Ten in Texas) ranch — for the Capitol. In 1882 that part of the Staked Plain was pretty poor real estate; its oil and gas and irrigation pumps have now made it worth billions — all of which is moot. The Capitol was built with convict labor working the granite and limestone quarries and with Scottish scab labor as stone-cutters and masons. And it is good that the Goddess of Liberty is perched high and away from the scrutiny of a discerning public, because she is so ugly that — "She is so ugly that they had to hog-tie her mother before she'd let her nurse." The original 1888 zinc statue was replaced in Sesquicentennial 1986 by an aluminum clone, but sad to say the casters did not improve her features.

But I refuse to divulge all the secrets of this book, with which if I had a cavil, it would be with its lack of documentation — but, then, it had such a great dust jacket.

Francis Edward Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin State University


Robin Doughty, historical geographer, herein presents a survey of Texas wildlife, environmental change, and conservation since 1820. Omitting the Hispanic and Indian impact, the author focused on the Anglo-Americans and divided Texas into three regions. Of these, East Texas and
the Rolling Prairies received significant attention.

Doughty noted that innovative Anglos came to Texas and lived off the land. Then the author described the vast range of beneficial and dangerous wildlife which Anglos hunted for profit and recreation. Extensive, wasteful hunting of wildlife, plus competition of farming for land use, reduced the wildlife population. Texans then became enchanted by introducing foreign plants and animals for economic reasons rather than increasing Texas' wildlife potential. This development "massively disrupted and reconstructed native fauna and flora" (p. 154). Finally, on the eve of the Civil War, Texans began to demonstrate concern for wildlife through game and later fish and bird laws. With increasing national concern for conservation, federal laws formed the foundation for wildlife management. As a result Texas became a principal beneficiary of the federal fish hatchery program. Recently Texans have realized that each region has a unique and complex set of wildlife factors necessary for future conservation and management.

Readers will find an interesting book with appropriate anecdotes from travelers accounts, yet one that is balanced with sound scientific research. Originally published in 1983, this reprint should have been revised to incorporate the latest research and also remedy the superficial analysis of farming. But these are minor notations regarding this very significant contribution to the history of Texas wildlife.

Irvin M. May Jr.
Blinn College at Bryan
and College Station

_Down the Corridor of Years: A Centennial History of the University of North Texas in Photographs 1890-1990_, by Robert S. La Forte and Richard L. Kimmel (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-3856) 1989. Color and Black and White Photographs. Index. P. 281. $35.00 Cloth.

Although the 1950s are short-changed (I'm biased, of course ... similar comments undoubtedly will be heard from graduates of the 1930s, 1940s, 1960s, etc.), the centennial history of the University of North Texas fares extremely well in comparison with other commemorative efforts.

This offering by Robert LaForte and Richard Kimmel does so for two major reasons. One is the judicious selection of photographs from what must have been a virtually limitless supply; the other is the University of North Texas Press, which has produced an absolutely splendid book in a technical sense, reproducing color and black and white photographs marvelously between the covers of a first-rate coffee-table-sized book.

There is text, of course, accompanying each chapter (divided roughly into two-decade eras), but the authors wisely limit their written history...
to short, salient facts, relying on the photographs to chronicle the university's transition from its Normal College beginnings to its full-fledged university status of today.

Of particular interest are the earliest photographs, many dating to before the turn-of-the-century, although former students obviously will be more interested in photographs from their era (I, for instance, was particularly intrigued with shots of Voertman's and the Eagle Drugstore, along with a tennis team photograph identifying a young Larry McMurtry, but leaving unidentified my close friend and No. 1 team seed, Don Coppedge).

In any work covering such a lengthy period, there are certain to be omissions and oversights. One of the more noticeable is the lack of recognition for M.E. "Gene" Hall, known throughout the country for his pioneer work in jazz education. Although dozens of photos abound featuring various areas of NT's Music Department, including the famous One O'clock Lab Band, only one brief cutline mentions that Hall founded the Lab Band program when he was director from 1947 to 1959, and Hall isn't even in the photograph accompanying the cutline.

But perhaps that is nit-picking because the authors do feature a photograph and give due credit to another oft-overlooked North Texas giant, Cecil E. "Pop" Shuford, who founded the respected journalism program in 1945.

The principal aim of the book ... to chronicle a century of the university in photographs ... is accomplished, and accomplished well.

Ken Kennamer
Stephen F. Austin State University


John Storey and Ronald Ellison, history teachers at Lamar University and McCullough High School (Conroe I.S.D.), respectively, have written a commendable history of Southern Baptists in Southeast Texas. Their book includes the expected statistical and event listings but there is more.

The authors have broken the story into chapters detailing approximate decades. They weave into the text brief but telling glimpses of the state and the nation during each period. They also have collected a sufficient number of personal anecdotes from the lives of principal characters in the story to keep the most non-zealous historian aware that history is about real people. A case in point is the description of Peyton Moore, current director of missions for the Golden Triangle Baptist Association, fleeing South Viet Nam in 1975. Moore and his family had been
missionaries in Southeast Asia until events, too familiar to us all, drove them from that land.

The authors have used all major Baptist histories available to them along with a wealth of primary sources to tell their story. The book should be on the reference shelves of educational institutions, public libraries, and church libraries throughout East Texas.

Jerry M. Self
Education Commission,
The Southern Baptist Convention

Letters to Oma, A Young German Girl’s Account of Her First Year in Texas, 1847, by Marj Gurasich (TCU Press, P.O. Box 30776, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 1989. Illustrations by Barbara Mathews Whitehead. Glossary. P. 176. $9.95 Paper.

The Chaparral series of juvenile books published by TCU Press contains an impressive number of award winners. Judy Alter, director of the press, seems to have an instinct for spotting and publishing some of the best juveniles in Texas. I suspect that Letters To Oma may well be another prize winner. For starters, it was hard to leave the cover to begin the reading. Barbara Whitehead’s use of traditional German folk art in bright colors featuring birds, animals, and faces intertwined in flowers and vines is charming and draws the reader inside the pages of another world, a time long ago and a place far away. A preface offers a little history about political unrest in Germany in the 1800s and how some came to Texas under the patronage of the Society for the Protection of German Emigrants in Texas, the Adelsverein.

The story moves easily and naturally to the heroine, Tina Von Scholl, who leaves her beloved grandmother in Germany and comes to the frontier of Texas. Tina’s story is told through letters written back to Oma. The reader is drawn into the peculiarities, hardships, laughter, danger, and adventure of frontier living. The story is predictable, including an encounter with Indians and a mountain lion. What is unpredictable involves a kidnapped baby and a family heirloom.

Marj Gurasich is a master storyteller, but equally she is in command of a writing style that pulls at the heart strings, keeps the pages turning, and offers reading pleasure for all ages. Occasionally a juvenile book reads so well that one forgets that it is aimed at a specific age range. I think of Sounder and Old Yeller. Letters to Oma is as good, and it, too, ought to be filmed.

Joyce Roach
Killer, Texas
Range Wars, Heated Debates, Sober Reflections, and Other Assessments of Texas Writing, edited by Craig Clifford and Tom Pilkington (SMU Press, Box 415, Dallas, TX 75275) 1989. Bibliography. Index. P. 188. $10.95 Paper. $22.50 Cloth.

The publication of Range Wars: Heated Debates, Sober Reflections, and Other Assessments of Texas Writing says two things about SMU Press. It is not run by an accountant; it believes in and is committed to the writers of Texas and the Southwest.

Using Larry McMurtry's Texas Observer's essay, "Ever a Bridegroom: Reflections on the Failure of Texas Literature," an imperious, condescending, and often accurate attack on Texas "literature" and its good-old-boy philistines, as the spark that ignited a decade-long range war among Texas writers, the editors, Craig Clifford and Tom Pilkington, have brought together a collection of essays that not only provides an historical perspective to this specific battle, but also offers some sensitive insights into the world of Texas literature in general. Although many of the essays allude to McMurtry's infamous essay, the purpose of this collection is not so much to review old territory as it is to bring together some of the best writers' views on what is wrong and what is right in the world of Texas letters.

Reprinted here is A.C. Greene's list of "The Fifty Best Texas Books" that first provoked McMurtry into his attack in 1981 and, of course, McMurtry's "Ever a Bridegroom," but the most valuable essays are those perhaps less well-known.

Craig Clifford, in "Horseman, Hang On: The Reality of Myth in Texas Letters," reminiscing about his expatriatism and homesickness while living in Maryland, disagrees with McMurtry's contention that serious Texas writers must dismiss both the cowboy mythic tradition and ruralism if they want to write anything worthwhile. The question we should be asking, Clifford asserts, is whether the myth is exhausted and ultimately self-defeating, but whether anyone has or will explore it with insight and artistry.

In "A 'Southern Renaissance' for Texas Letters," Jose E. Limon, insightfully noting that there is more judgment than explanation in McMurtry's essay, suggests that the real flowering of literature in the state will come from Texas Mexicans bolstered and nurtured by a real sense of place and a rich folkloric literature.

Clay Reynolds, in "What Does it Take to be a Texas Writer?", provides a detailed history of the literary quarrels in Texas and then wisely shows that the question is fatuous at best. The most important thing, he says, is that the writer remain committed to faithfully revealing the human condition.

That women have, for the most part, been ignored, trivialized, or
romanticized in Texas fiction is made abundantly clear in Celia Morris' "Requiem for a Texas Lady" — an essay that offers glimpses in the rich yet-to-be-explored territory awaiting the state's female writers.

Two spirited essays, James War Lee's "Arbiters of Texas Literary Taste," and Don Graham's "Palefaces vs. Redskins: A Literary Skirmish," uncover the real world of Lone Star belles lettres — a world which J. Frank Dobie, the literary dictator, self-promoter, and genuine Philistine first created and a world which the Texas Institute of Letters, taken over at various times by "fern-bar" writers from New York, Texas Monthly cronies, feminists, and university creative writing departments, has tried to sustain as the main arbiter of Texas literary taste.

Marshall Terry seems the calmest voice in this verbal dust storm, suggesting as he does in "The Republic of Texas Letters" that we need to quit bickering and try to establish a critical and spiritual community that will make Texas a positive place in which to write.

The most constructive essay is the last: Tom Pilkington's "Herding Words." He rightly points out that Texas literature is still very young and it is much too early to write its obituary. What Texans — teachers, critics, writers — must do is to help establish a literary tradition that will nurture and inspire our future story-tellers.

The fact that SMU Press chose to publish such a collection at all is evidence that Pilkington's dream is just beginning. Clearly this book is not aimed at the majority of Texans, but rather those, like the editors at SMU Press, who believe that literature has inherent value. Someone there has seen the need to put the quarrelling past behind us and get on with the business of creating a healthy climate in which the state's writers can work.

Michael Adams
The University of Texas at Austin


Author Bill Mackin was introduced to the world of the cowboy through the Saturday matinee — the world of make-believe instead of the real thing. Even so he did try being a cowboy, and before reaching the age of twenty he even tried being a rodeo star. As it is more fun to play cowboy than to be a real one, Mackin became a collector of cowboy realia. Mackin's experience was limited but he also had years of studying Will James, Jo Mora, and cowboy equipment.

This book is titled an encyclopedia but more properly should have been termed an introduction to cowboy collectibles. Forty different item
classifications are listed — from cowboy advertising to Winchesters. Several examples of each item are illustrated so the novice can understand what items are discussed in the few pages devoted to each category.

Even though there is great interest in the Old West the readily available references usually concentrate on specific and popular items such as the Colt revolver or the Winchester. Reference sources dealing with a wide variety of cowboy equipment are not common. This work fills a gap in that respect.

Mackin's price guide to all items pictured gives the reader an idea as to the value of listed items. Some are nearly unobtainable — such as the Colt Dragon pistol priced at $3,500 — but many are within the range of the beginning collector at less than $100. The average western buff will certainly enjoy this work.

The term "gunfighter" in the title is misleading because virtually all items discussed specifically are tools of the cowboy and few can be classified as belonging to the gunfighter. The badges and weapons are perhaps gunfighter oriented, but the reader who is looking for gunfighter specifics will be disappointed.

Chuck Parsons
South Wayne, Wisconsin


This book tells the story of the Warren Wagontrain Raid, or the Salt Creek Massacre, which took place in northern Texas, in May 1871. A war party of over a hundred Kiowas under Chief Satanta, including Chiefs Big Tree and Satank, left their reservation at Fort Sill and attacked a ten-wagon train of freighters bound for Fort Griffin. The Indians had earlier let pass a small military detachment that included General William T. Sherman.

The attack killed seven teamsters. Afterwards the Indians plundered the wagons and defied pursuit by the Army by re-crossing the Red River. Upon their return to Fort Sill, the Kiowas boasted of their exploits, leading to the arrest of the three chiefs by General Sherman. Satank was killed in a suicidal escape attempt; the other two chiefs were tried and imprisoned for murder in Texas. The incident had a profound effect on the thinking of General Sherman in regard to frontier military policy.

The author has written an exhaustively researched account of this incident, and has mastered a great mass of primary and secondary source material to give a complete and accurate account of it in a detailed and well-written book. However, the author's fictionalizing of the story — adding imagined dialogue and details and describing the thoughts and
feelings of the characters — was and is a controversial writing technique. In his "Apologia" in this edition, the author ably defends his approach as leading to a better, more understandable narrative. Perhaps. But while it may be magnificent literature, it is not pure history. Nevertheless, this book is to be recommended highly for its research and detail, even if parts of it must be read guardedly.

Robert D. Norris, Jr.
Tulsa, Oklahoma


The struggles between sheepmen and cattlemen has been the stuff of dozens of scriptwriter's and novelist's plots. And, if Bill O'Neal is correct, the animosity and fighting that occurred was as bitter and bloody as Western myth and fiction suggests. In this book, which is long on storytelling and short on analysis, O'Neal argues that over a five-decade period, 1870-1920, more than fifty people and 53,000 sheep died in the Western conflicts. It is not a pleasant story.

The basis of the conflict, contends the author, was grassland. Sheep and cattle raisers both sought good grass, and as they looked they encountered one another, usually on government land. The resulting conflict produced outrage and violence, with sheepmen usually suffering the most.

In many ways the book is well done. O'Neal carefully reconstructs the ranching wars in nine Western states with emphasis on Texas, Wyoming, Colorado, and Arizona. But there are problems. The author seems to ignore the wide-spread cooperation in Texas that existed between cattlemen and sheepmen, and he fails to note that in West Texas many sheepmen also raised cattle. In East Texas there was little difficulty between the two groups. Some of the death counts — for both humans and sheep — of which the author makes note were caused by Indians or outlaws, or they resulted from farmer-cattlemen violence, not from cattlemen-sheepmen antagonism.

Nonetheless, the book has merit. Warfare did indeed exist, and men died in the conflicts. The author has made us painfully aware that in several Western states reality challenges myth.

Paul H. Carlson
Texas Tech University


You had to have been there to get the beauty of it hot. The setting was the Folklore Section of the 1988 meeting of the Texas State Historical Association. Guy Logsdon, impeccably suited in western attire, the sort of man over whom your wife gets a whiplash, was on the program after John Henry Faulk gave his talk about how he made a political liberal out of J. Frank Dobie. Guy strode to the podium, announced his topic "BAWDY COWBOY SONGS!" in clear, unmistakable terms, and suggested that those gentle souls of Victorian persuasions take that opportunity to leave without prejudice. None wishing to be identified with the prudish, all stayed, even those wishing to take advantage of the break to go to the rest room. Guy subsequently launched into an unblushing (for him) discussion of what cowboys really sang about between snatches (not a pun) of "'whoopy ti yi yo, git along, little dogies.' He flung four-letter words out among the dodging audience as if he were sowing for the harvest, and it was an education for us all.

I had long known that the Chisholm Trail cowboy who awoke with "a rope in his hand and a cow by the tail" was using a euphemism, or perhaps a substitution. And when Grandad sang, "Old Lank Kate, she's a good old squaw; She lives on the bank of the big Washita," I knew even in my youth that there was something more involved than meditations on the noble savage. Guy Logsdon completely rends the veil in "The Whorehouse Bells Were Ringing."

No minor amount of research was involved in this scholarly treatise. One does not just step out on the street or stroll in a rest home and ask some idling ancient to sing him a dirty song, cowboy or otherwise. Guy worked years on these songs, fighting his soul's corruption by these sinful sallies and enjoying every battle of it. The result was sixty-one, field-collected songs from working cowboys. The songs are not all about cowboys; they are the songs, both the sacred and profane, that real cowboys sing, and Guy presents them in scholarly and sometime startling detail. Accompanying each entry is a full discussion of sources, song history, and variations (as in the "Strawberry Roan" we all sing and "The Castration of Strawberry Roan" that bawdy cowboys sing). He concludes with notes on field collections and manuscripts, bibliographical references, and discography.

As scholarly as "Whorehouse" is, Guy Logsdon's style is smooth
and easy and as conversational as if he were talking to you. Put this book on your coffee table and wait for your first guest to say, “What the …!”

John I. White’s *Git Along, Little Dogies: Songs and Songmakers of the American West* lacks Logsdon’s snappy title but is equally informative. White was radio’s Lonesome Cowboy during the 1920s and 1930s and provided the musical interlude for six years of NBC’s *Death Valley Days*. He published books of cowboy songs and recorded twenty songs, during which time he was employed full time in mapmaking for General Drafting Company. White was a guit-picking city slicker, as was Guy Logsdon, who liked cowboy songs and got fairly famous singing them. And during all his time as an entertainer he was studying the songs, reading about them, writing authors, and collecting song books and sheet music. When he retired from map making in 1965 he got out his old files and began writing. *Git Along* was first published in 1975; this 1989 publication is a paperback reprint.

*Git Along* is an interesting variety of essays on cowboy songs and singers. Some of the chapters deal with the history of the songs, tracing them from their inceptions through all their meanderings among the folk before White, The Lonesome Cowboy, incorporated them into his repertoire and sent them out over NBC’s airways. That most popular of cowboy songs in the 1930s, “Home on the Range,” has not yet been officially run to ground, but the search by a defense lawyer for its beginnings is a fascinating tale of skillful detective work. “Strawberry Roan” had a strange career, beginning with Curley Fletcher’s composition of “The Outlaw Broncho” in 1915. White traces the song and its progeny through all of its commercial manifestations in song books, on records, through a Ken Maynard movie and a lawsuit, but missed Guy Logsdon’s “The Castration of the Strawberry Roan.” You need both books, you see, to get the complete picture of cowboy songs.

Some chapters deal with the singers themselves and the songs they wrote such as D.J. O’Malley and his “When the Work’s All Done This Fall,” and Gail Gardner, who wrote “Tying a Knot in the Devil’s Tail,” and Carl Sprague, the 1920s Victor recording artist who popularized “The Cowboy’s Dream.” White’s concluding chapter is a discussion of the two pioneer collectors of cowboy songs and ballads, Jack Thorp and John Lomax, who were the true pioneers in the collecting and publication of cowboy songs, in 1908 and 1910, respectively. He concludes with a critical and analytical bibliography of cowboy songs and where to find them, in books and on records.

Cowboys and cowboy poetry have been much in style lately, I guess ever since the big Cowboy Poetry Gathering in Elko, Nevada, in 1985. All working cowboys who are also poets are probably worn out by now from having to read their poetry in every western state, Texas, and Oklahoma. And they are still writing. I think that is great. The poetic urge is universal. Education and environment have nothing to do with it. It is
genetic, and when a cowboy is hit with the intensity of some aspect of his work, it is most natural that he cast the experience in poetry. And all you have to do to prove that assertion is read the books discussed above.

Francis Edward Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin State University


Owing to restrictive boundaries dictated by the subject matter, the challenge of compiling a utilitarian dictionary requires a greater investment of intellectual energy and creative writing than a more conventional enterprise of historical research and composition. Both Matt S. Meier and Mark Glazer fall into the former category with the publication, respectively, of Mexican American Biographies: A Historical Dictionary, 1836-1987 and A Dictionary of Mexican American Proverbs.

A professional historian by training, Matt S. Meier gained pragmatic insight into the problems and pleasures of compiling and editing a sourcebook when he and Feliciano Rivera earlier in the decade produced Dictionary of Mexican American History. Capitalizing upon prior experience, and cognizant that no useful tool of basic information about Hispanics existed in libraries, Meier resolved to correct that deficiency by creating a reference handbook that identified prominentes in the Mexican American community from the period of the Texas Revolution in the mid-1830s to the present time.

With thoughtful deliberation, Meier selected 270 cameo biographies of which the majority detailed the lives of contemporary personalities in the arts, education, politics, sports, and other areas of achievement. The author-compiler devoted considerable attention "to include women and men representing virtually all important fields of endeavor." A pervasive theme throughout the volume is an obvious commonality of effort in the cameos that clearly illustrates the ongoing struggle of Mexican Americans to attain full acceptance — socially, economically, and politically — in the mainstream of national life.

An outstanding feature of this reference tool is the insertion of a wider scope of background information about each of the personalities, such as their intellectual and social antecedents, academic training, advancement in their chosen fields, and hallmark accomplishments as reflected
by appointments, awards, and prizes. Admittedly, the spotlight fell primarily on professional and public roles, with the most prominent meriting indepth histories. To a degree that he has raised the level of consciousness of the readers, Meier has admirably succeeded with his new and significant contribution.

Anthropologist Mark Glazer energetically utilized the rich and extensive Rio Grande Folklore Archive at Pan American University in south Texas to construct the framework of *A Dictionary of Mexican Proverbs*. Generally regarded as rustic popular wisdom, proverbs are perceived as traditional sayings deeply rooted in oral folklore. According to Glazer, proverbs are valued as a medium of making “potentially profound and culturally appropriate” comments in an ordinary yet difficult human encounter.

To provide a new dimension for *A Dictionary of Mexican American Proverbs*, Glazer included contextual and sociological backdrops to highlight each dicho “from the perspective of its actual use.” With prudent editing, the compiler and his associates assembled 986 entries based on currently used sayings and amplified by annotative data. To give the volume additional utility, they arranged the entries in alphabetical order beginning with the concept of *abrazar* (to embrace) and concluding with *zapato* (shoe). Indices and tables for a variety of items facilitated rapid access to a large corpus of information, including the date and location where the proverbs were recorded and terse explanations on the informants who shared interpretations about the proverbs.

Both *Mexican American Biographies* and *A Dictionary of Mexican Proverbs* will be welcome additions to libraries at all levels, as well as to serious scholars in Borderlands, Chicano, Hispanic, and folklore studies. Even humanities scholars and social scientists will find something of merit in these two volumes. The only glaring drawback is a high list price that may discourage a few researchers from buying the books but not from consulting them in peaceful reading nooks in most libraries.

Felix D. Almaraz, Jr.
The University of Texas at San Antonio


William R. Shafter is best remembered as the obese, unpopular, and often criticized commander of the United States Army’s expedition to Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Paul Carlson argues that scholars have been too ready to dismiss Shafter as the ludicrous, 300-pound “floating tent” who served in 1898 and have failed to examine the general’s long
and distinguished career in the frontier Army. Through extensive research in the government records, regimental and post returns, personal papers, and secondary books and articles, Carlson demonstrates that Shafter was a capable leader, an aggressive combat commander, and an important figure in the military pacification of Texas. The book’s strength is the detailed study of the numerous small scouting expeditions, killing marches, and occasional skirmishes which characterized Shafter’s military operations in the Southwest. It also provides a perspective on such elements of frontier life as post social life, the relations between black troops and white settlers, and the violent personal rivalries between officers.

Carlson makes a good case that Shafter should be remembered for the fine record he made as a regimental officer and not solely for his mediocre final command. However, although he often comments that Shafter was an unpleasant and dislikable person, Carlson may be faulted for becoming too sympathetic to his subject. His dismissal of Shafter’s critics as “uninformed,” “arrogant,” or “whining” (p. 194) overlooks that if Shafter embodied many of the strengths of the frontier constabulary, he also personified its weaknesses. Most of Shafter’s military career was spent in an army which asked little more than of its officers than courage, stamina, and an ability to tolerate isolation, qualities Shafter demonstrated in abundance. His inability to be anything beyond a brave regimental officer became all too apparent when he commanded the military forces of the new empire.

Brian M. Linn
Texas A&M University

Del Pueblo, A Pictorial History of Houston’s Hispanic Community, by Thomas H. Krenek (Houston International University, 2102 Austin Street, Houston, TX 77002) 1989. Photographs. Index. P. 246.

Houston, once that most Waspish of towns, belatedly but diligently is documenting its increasingly diverse ethnic mix. Five years after the publication of Fred R. von der Mehden’s applauded Ethnic Groups of Houston appears the most complete work to date on the city’s burgeoning Spanish-speaking contingent.

Already heralded by the local media and the Latino community, the book blends a myriad of insightful photographs with a solid narrative carrying a biting edge that distances it from the coffee table genre which it initially resembles. Kreneck, assistant archivist at Houston Metropolitan Research Center, traces the progress of a miniscule nineteenth-century enclave to its present position as the fifth largest Hispanic population in the nation, boasting political, business, and media leaders. While correctly underscoring the multitude of prejudicial barriers erected against the group, the author’s omission of non-Spanish countervailing forces fails to focus sharply the relationship between the smaller and larger communities. Still,
sufficient discrimination is noted to question Houston's traditional claim to toleration, a point worthy of further study.

A bevy of photographs embracing the sweep of history instantly arrests the reader. Drawn from numerous collections, the posed and spontaneous visuals silently and forcefully express a triumph of the spirit. This uneven and unfinished success story should enhearten the impatient in the barrios and reassure the apprehensive in the suburbs. All should thank Kreneck for this contribution to knowledge and to community pride.

Garna L. Christian
University of Houston-Downtown

Between the Enemy and Texas: Parsons' Texas Cavalry in the Civil War,
by Anne J. Bailey (Texas Christian University Press, P.O. Box 30776, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 1989. Bibliography. Maps. Index. P. 400. $25.95 Hardcover.

This is the first complete history of Parsons' Confederate brigade in the Trans-Mississippi Department. The Twelfth, Nineteenth, Twenty-first, and Morgan's Texas Cavalry regiments, as well as Pratt's artillery battery, volunteered from across North, Central, and East Texas in 1861-1862. Because of conflict over command between Colonel William H. Parsons and Colonel George Washington Carter, the brigade frequently fought in two groups.

The Twelfth Regiment helped defend Little Rock, Arkansas, in early 1862 before the other regiments arrived during the summer. The brigade failed to reach Arkansas Post, which fell in January 1863, and suffered through harsh winter weather. In the spring of 1863 Carter led the brigade, except the Twelfth Regiment, in John Marmaduke's unsuccessful raid into Missouri. Parsons directed two regiments in disrupting Union-run plantations in Louisiana in an effort to relieve Vicksburg during the summer of 1863. Carter, with the other regiments, participated in the unsuccessful defense of Little Rock that fall. The brigade helped repulse the Red River Expedition in Louisiana during the spring of 1864. The regiments then camped in Arkansas and Texas before disbanding in May 1865.

Bailey presents a lively account based upon excellent research. A lengthy appendix explores the changing leadership of the brigade. In an epilogue the author concludes that the soldiers exhibited aggressiveness and devotion to some officers, but little discipline. Some distinction might have been developed between the tactics of small raids and larger battle situations. Yet this is one of the finest unit histories written about Texans in the Civil War.

Alwyn Barr
Texas Tech University
Arnaldo De Leon's history of Houston Mexican-Americans is both a synthesis of existing literature and a clarion call for additional research in this growing field of historical study. Drawing inspiration in part from his own writing in nineteenth-century Tejano studies and in part from the work of scholars in recent urban and ethnic history, De Leon has undertaken a difficult and ambitious task. As he gratefully acknowledges in his ample footnotes and extensive bibliography, a good deal of the preliminary spadework already has been done by several historians working in the ethnic history of Houston. Arturo Rosales, Tatcho Mindiola, and Thomas Kreneck — to name just a few — have provided the author with a scholarly head start. De Leon has done some of his own digging, too, primarily in the developing collections of Mexican-American materials in the Houston Public Library and the University of Houston. The result is the first scholarly synthesis of Houston Mexican-Americans.

Houston is an interesting case study of Mexicano culture. The city's entrepreneurial background and the absence of a resident Tejano population meant that the Hispanic experience was a twentieth-century phenomenon with direct ties to Mexico. De Leon makes it clear that an important part of the dynamics of the Latino culture in Houston was a tension within the Hispanic community between ethnic and historic ties to the lo mexicano tradition and the eroding effects of lo americano influences. It is De Leon's emphasis on this conflict that helps portray Houston Mexican-Americans as dynamic actors with a distinctive past rather than simply as victims of Anglo prejudice and injustice. Neither is this solely a study of Hispanic elites, though figures such as Felix Tijerina, national president of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), get their due. Rather, this is mostly a book about grassroots community building and ethnic identity in an urban setting.

Professor De Leon has clear sympathies for his subject, and his treatment of such topics as the "movimiento" activism of the 1960s suggests that he has a personal political agenda for Houston Hispanics. But his study is relatively free of didacticism, and clearly the author is at his best in describing the socio-economic divisions within the colonia and the ideological diversity which has characterized its internal struggles.

None of this means, of course, that Ethnicity in the Sunbelt is a perfect book. No doubt many will think it too uneven in coverage, or perhaps too thin on research. But then the author makes no claims to finality and seems to welcome revision. Most of all, he has served notice that Mexican American History is an important part of Houston's past which
deserves more attention than it has received. In that way, this study is a very welcome addition to the history of Houston and Texas.

Charles Orson Cook
St. John’s School, Houston


Two decades ago I took a graduate course in literature from Professor William T. Jack at East Texas State University. Dr. Jack was witty, opinionated, lively, humorous, and thought-provoking. Now retired, he has written a reminiscence of his boyhood and adolescence in Corsicana and Joinerville. *Gaston High School, Joinerville, Texas, and a Boy Named Billy Jack* is witty, opinionated, lively, humorous, and thought-provoking. It is intensely personal, a story of poignant family relationships and of growing up in the East Texas oil field during the Depression.

The Jack family was prominent in early Texas history; Corsicana boasts a rich past; and young Billy Jack arrived in Joinerville just as the Gaston School became the largest and one of the wealthiest rural school districts in the world. Jack relates details of this interesting background with the insight of a sensitive and articulate observer, artfully reviving memories of a vanished time and place. There are fascinating reflections about the Southern way of life, about movies and dancing and sex and the Gaston Red Devil Band. One riveting chapter offers the best account ever published of the tragic New London School explosion of 1937. The book contains more than two dozen photographs, most previously unpublished, as well as a number of suitable literary quotations. *Gaston High School, Joinerville, Texas, and a Boy Named Billy Jack* is a slice of life, permanently reviving characters and customs of an earlier East Texas, along with the coming of age of a bright young misfit named Billy Jack.

Bill O'Neal
Panola College


Every year sixteen percent of the land area of the United States is affected by the work of the Southwest Division Corps of Engineers. The Army created the Corps of Engineers, Southwestern Division, in 1937 to consolidate the work of existing divisions in the Southwest. The past fifty years have included work during the Dustbowl and Depression to seaports of Catoosa and Houston. This is a chronicle of the Division’s operations from 1937-1987.
As the first publication of the division's official history, it is a valuable reference. It provides an opportunity to observe the sociological and economic impact of projects such as the McClellan-Kerr Waterway and the Trinity River Waterway. Where large gaps exist in records, Brown, working in conjunction with the division's Historic Committee, does an excellent job of interpretation. Retired employees also provided Brown with information that was unavailable elsewhere. In fact, through these lengthy interviews of retired employees, the Division's earliest history unfolds.

Since each of the division's five districts published its own history, special care has been taken not to merely reiterate previous publication. However, topics not covered in this work can be found in the district publication. The book is arranged in ten chapters that concentrate primarily on management function and perspectives of the Southwest Division. Each chapter includes superb photographs that greatly enhance the reader's understanding of the division's work. Adding to its value as a reference source, it has an extensive bibliography that includes archival materials, interviews (including addresses of persons interviewed), government documents, and Corps of Engineers documents.

Projects undertaken by the Southwestern Division have had a profound impact on the history of the Southwest. Dams that provide waters for millions, aiding in the wake of natural disasters, and the building and improvements of military installations are all enterprises of the Division. The Southwestern Division: Fifty Years of Service is an accurate, objective, and sincere chronicle of work done by hundreds of dedicated workers and the roles they played in changing the face of the Southwest.

Maura Gray
Dallas, Texas


For six decades there were only sixteen major league franchises. Expansion finally occurred in 1961, after supporters of the Continental League threatened to establish a rival major league. Four years later one of the expansion teams, the Houston Astros (originally the Colt .45s), moved into the "Eighth Wonder of the World." The Astrodome was the world's first covered stadium, and when outfielders began to lose fly balls against the glass roof, a paint job shut out the sunlight, killed the grass, and necessitated the development of Astroturf.

Major league expansion, domed stadiums, and artificial playing surfaces have exerted revolutionary influences over baseball. A primary moving force behind the creation of the Continental League, the Houston
major league club, and the Astrodome, was George Kirksey. Born in 1904 in Hillsboro, Kirksey became a sportswriter for the local newspaper, attended The University of Texas, wrote for the Dallas Morning News, then was hired by United Press. He covered twelve World Series for UP, along with numerous other major events, and became one of the most famous sportswriters of the 1930s. During World War II he obtained a commission and served the army in a public relations capacity in the European Theatre.

After the war Kirksey relocated in Houston, established a public relations firm, and helped to found a Civil War Round Table. Soon Kirksey became obsessed with bringing big league baseball to the booming city, and he was a founding father of the Houston Sports Association. With prodigious enthusiasm and singleness of purpose, for years Kirksey led a determined campaign which eventually produced the Continental League, the Colt .45s, and the Astrodome. Kirksey worked for a time in the team's front office, but in 1966 he was squeezed out by Judge Roy Hofheinz. A gourmet and wine connoisseur, Kirksey began to spend much of his time in Europe, visiting three-star restaurants and driving race cars. He was killed in France in 1971 in an auto accident, but his estate created a handsome scholarship fund for journalism students at the University of Houston.

Possessed of frenetic energy, an encyclopedic mind, and a capacity for winning friends, the eccentric Kirksey also could be exasperating and generally disagreeable. But he led a glamorous and fascinating life, and the landmark effects he helped to bring to baseball make him worthy of the biographical treatment provided by Campbell B. Titchener, a professor of journalism at the University of Houston.

Bill O'Neal
Carthage, Texas


The centennial of the official closing of the frontier is an appropriate time to ask questions about our present state of mind regarding our society's long-lived ambivalence toward the natural environment. C. Brant Short explores the issue of "preservation versus development" during a period when the nation's political leadership shifted from a Democrat administration comfortable with the 1960s-era conservation consensus to a New Right directory hostile to the notion of restricted access and use of government-owned lands. The author's interest is in a rhetorical analysis of the contemporary political process rather than a close study of the evolution of the conservation movement.
Short begins his analysis with the Sagebrush Rebellion of the late 1970s when a small group of Westerners, some of them influential political figures, called for the transfer of federally owned lands to the individual states. The “lifeblood” of this movement, says Short, was its rhetorical imagery drawn from the Revolutionary War — aimed largely at a Western audience and drawing financial support from conservative think-tanks. Although this movement failed to change the character of federal land management, the author points to its importance as a forerunner of the more profound effort to reorient government policy during the Reagan administration, when New Right activists — epitomized by Interior Secretary James Watt — advocated radical privatization of public lands. Perhaps the best part of the book is Short’s discussion of Watt’s tenure as an effort to use “resource policy to symbolize the New Right ideology in operation,” promoting “a human-centered management philosophy that placed people at the top of a resource-use hierarchy” (pp. 59-60). Indeed, such may be the book’s most useful insight: demonstrating that Reaganism exemplified (despite appearances) a strong, elemental strain of secular humanism, intent upon elevating human economic needs as the ultimate criteria shaping the destiny of public lands. Yet, within three years, Watt had resigned, and his ambitious privatization scheme was shelved in favor of less rancorous and more moderate alternatives.

Former Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus asked in 1983, “Did we inherit this land from our forefathers or did we borrow it from our children?” According to Short, this question is far from answered as we approach the turn of the century. For residents of states such as Texas, with large tracts of public lands, this book provides a useful analysis of Reagan-era policy debates over resource management.

Scott L. Bills
Stephen F. Austin State University


As our empirical experience grows, we learn that nothing happens in a vacuum. This phenomenon applies to constitutions and to the evolution of constitutional law. Our work as teachers and researchers uncovers linkages connecting the creative stimuli of cause and effect in the making and analysis of history.

In our public life, we adhere to the rule of law; if there is any consensus on what this means, it is that no one is above the law.
Constitutional restraints upon the exercise of public power and leadership concepts are important in the relations between people and governments within the evolving character of American democracy.

The years 1987 through 1991 encompass the bicentennial celebration of the United States Constitution. The creation of these two volumes by faculty members of Louisiana State University at Shreveport makes a useful contribution to our measurement of the leadership factor in American constitutionalism. The Rating Game is a collection of original and previously published essays focusing on the quality of American political leadership and the development of interdisciplinary techniques for ranking persons in positions of political leadership.

Concentrating initially upon ranking of American presidents as a dilettantish exercise by specialized scholars, social scientists have developed more scientific classification schemes for understanding the essential character of democratic leadership.

The major rankings of presidents are included, beginning with the original poll by Arthur Schlesinger. James David Barber’s predictive typology of presidents is presented, along with a comparison of presidential personality types with respect to national amnesty policies.

Essays reporting the ranking of American Secretaries of State by diplomatic historians provide an interesting appraisal of the leading lights in this cabinet post. The connection between centralized and decentralized staffing practices by presidents and the mutual dependence between presidents and their staffs highlight the importance of White House politics as an element of presidential leadership.

An interesting expansion of the rating game is the poll ranking the ten greatest United States senators. Blaustein and Mersky’s ranking of Supreme Court justices is also included.

A series of cross-national essays had nothing directly to do with American political figures, but it places the process of understanding effective leadership in an international perspective. Particularly fascinating is the late Barbara Tuchman’s inquiry into the persistence of “woodenheadedness” among governmental leaders.

The bulk of the book is taken up with biographical essays on leading Americans who have held the offices of president, United States senator, Supreme Court justice, secretary of state, and persons who have held no public office. These are typical fare, each stressing distinguishing characteristics of the subjects which led to their being ranked in the great or near-great class.

Grassroots Constitutionalism contains fifteen original essays limning the effects of federalism on American constitutional development. Through local events, issues, and individual public figures, the essays explore the extent to which national constitutional issues are molded for their national
level resolution. The reaction of local elements of the federal system in stimulating emergence of these issues as matters of national concern is a recurrent theme of the book.

*Grassroots* examines historical, legal, and political linkages whereby provincial constitutional conflicts are catapulted into the national arena. Introductory essays reiterate the major premises of American constitutionalism and the ways in which these assumptions are reflected in the constitutional development of Louisiana.

Intermediate essays draw biographical sketches of major Louisiana judicial personalities who have played an active part in shaping constitutional issues at the state level and in the United States Supreme Court. To these conceptual discussions and judicial characterizations, the final essays add specific court cases and the issues within these cases which rose to become matters of national concern.

The two books have no direct relation to each other. *The Rating Game* is represented as the first interdisciplinary rating game text. Both have some utility as supplementary readings texts in classes in history or political science, though *Grassroots* is more regionally limited than *The Rating Game*.

James G. Dickson, Jr.
Stephen F. Austin State University

*The Cattlemen*, by W.R. McAfee (Davis Mountain Press, P.O. Box 2107, Alvin, TX 77512) 1989. Photographs. Index. Limited Editions. $29.95 Hardcover.

This book is about Wade and Roy Reid, brothers and cattlemen who operated a ranch in the Davis Mountains of the Upper Big Bend Country of Texas. It covers the long period from the 1890s to the 1970s but concentrates on the years after 1930. It is an account of a working cattle ranch managed carefully by its owners through blizzards, droughts, and depression.

The book represents an interesting tale, but it is not good history. The author, who worked for the Reids for several summers, is really an editor who has put together a number of interviews, including a lengthy one with Roy Reid. The other interviews are with people who knew the Reids. There are dozens of pictures on quality paper, but most of them are without captions, rendering them nearly meaningless.

The Reids grew up in the Tulia area of the Texas South Plains with little interest in farming. They bought a few cattle while still youths and drifted south to the Davis Mountains. They worked for area ranchers, spent their money on cows and land, and eventually went to work for themselves.

The Reids were generous, friendly cattlemen who put in long hours
tending their spread, the Eleven Bar (11). They lived simple but self-sufficient lives, getting by without electricity until the 1960s and sleeping in bedrolls on the ground for more than a decade while putting together their ranch, and learning about the outside world from occasional visitors, infrequent trips to town, and an ancient battery-operated radio that brought them Fort Worth livestock reports each morning.

The book is incomplete. It lacks broad themes and clear focus. In many ways it is more a romantic memoir of the author’s youth than a biography of Wade and Roy Reid, the cattlemen it has attempted to depict.

Paul H. Carlson
Texas Tech University


Walt LaRue drew cover illustrations for The Buckboard from 1945 to 1952, when that magazine ceased publication. The Buckboard was the official publication of the Rodeo Cowboys Association (now the PRCA), and if anybody was qualified to be its official illustrator, Walt was. He was a rodeo cowboy himself, and for fifteen years rode bareback horses, bulls, and saddle broncs. Walt knew of what he drew. He wove a cartoon style that was part Charles Russell, Will James, and J.R. Williams, but mostly Walt LaRue; and he drew pictures that captured the feel of the rodeo arena from the cowboy’s perspective. He must have been good because his readers loved him, and they reveled in his depiction of themselves winning and losing, drunk and busted, and high and lonesome.

Walt was good at a lot of things, and he did a lot of things. He started out in his youth as a guide and packer in Yosemite and Glacier National Park and the high Sierras. He moved from that to his rodeo and cartooning days where he fell in with Richard Farnsworth, of the The Natural and Silver Fox fame. Both of them ended up in Hollywood, riding and stuntin in cowboy movies during the Western and horse-opera craze of the 1950s and early 1960s. He was a guitar picker and singer and did some recording. And he continued to draw cartoons, one of his major sponsors being Levi’s.

Walt is almost retired from the rough stuff now, but he still rides and stunts for the movies when a good show comes along. And he still paints, mostly oils and acrylics. Walt has lived a good life, good mainly because he was able to do what he thoroughly enjoyed doing. And he was paid well for doing it.

Walt’s cartooning days were one large part of a long life, but this was the part that caught Guy Logsdon’s fancy early on. These pictures fit into Guy’s love of cowboy art and literature. Therefore, as an initial publication for his new publishing company, Guy is presenting Walt to
the western art and literature public. Guy himself is just off the press with his classic "The Whorehouse Bells Were Ringing" and Other Songs Cowboys Sing, from the University of Illinois Press. Guy says, "In my quest to make a living, I have always found honest ways to lose money; publishing is my newest." He is following his book of Walt's cartoons with Christmas poems by a New Mexico cowboy. If Guy is wearing a fancy western suit the next time you see him, you will know he is doing well.

Francis Edward Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin State University


Mrs. Fay wrote this family history as a supplement to Orlin P. Fay's Fay Genealogy: John Fay of Marlborough and His Descendants, which was published almost a century ago. The original history dealt with the period prior to the Civil War. This new family history, which is complete in itself, deals with the accomplishments of the later life of Edwin Ray and brings his descendants down to the present day.

The book begins with Edwin Fay's descent from John Fay of Marlborough, Massachusetts, who arrived in 1656 on the Speedwell from England. Nearly two hundred biographies are included with fourteen of them the seventh generation from Edwin and Harriet Fay.

The family moved from Massachusetts to Maryland, southward to Georgia, and then to Alabama. In the past three hundred years, the descendants have scattered all over the world.

Mrs. Fay, who is a certified genealogist, has carefully documented this volume and included a bibliography to aid further research. Numerous photographs, both old and new, have been reproduced. The numbering system is recommended by the National Genealogical Society and enables the reader to follow the individual without difficulty.

Fay descendants owe Mary Smith Fay a debt of gratitude for her excellent work compiling this family history.

Carolyn Ericson
Nacogdoches, Texas


It is a pity the book just misses being as good as the title.

Nevertheless, this narrative of the 36th Infantry Division's attempts to cross the Rapido River against stout German resistance and difficult terrain and weather conditions in January 1944, based largely on interviews
with survivors, is a worthwhile piece of oral history.

All veterans of the division and some Texans with long memories know the story: two regiments badly mauled, a bitter challenge to the tactical judgment of General Mark Clark, and a congressional investigation after the war which exonerated the establishment hierarchy. The division commander, MG Fred Walker, summed up the bitterness "It was a tragedy that this fine division had to be wrecked ... in an attempt to do the impossible" (p. 86).

Perhaps the best aspect of this account of a tragic battle is the table of casualties, by unit, which the author includes in an appendix — a fearful number of them Texans in a division which long since had lost its character as a true Texas National Guard division. In the 141st Infantry Regiment they numbered 156, in the 143rd, ninety-two, and in the 111th Engineer Battalion, one.

Preparation for the book involved 117 interviews with participants in the battle. But here, unfortunately, is where the author bogged down. There is a lack of cohesion and chronology in presenting the interviewees' quotations, along with an unease with "army speak," which good editing would have eliminated. These are the only genuine complaints.

Still, WWII buffs and a fast declining number of 36th veterans will want this on their shelves.

Max S. Lale
Marshall and Fort Worth


Penny postcards were the junk mail of the age of American innocence. In 1913 alone, the Post Office Department handled nearly one billion views of local sites and grander vistas. Along with the mass circulation newspapers and magazines and the new motion picture industry, they comprised the mass media of the age. Thus far, however, they have been left to gather dust in attics and a handful of specialty shops.

In Border Fury, two historians, Paul J. Vanderwood and Frank N. Samponaro, have used this under-used resource to provide a vivid visual history of the Mexican Revolution and the Pershing Expedition, drawing on more than 20,000 cards, located in dozens of collections. The major subjects of the printed collection are combat scenes, views of the U.S. Army experimenting with new weapons and mechanized vehicles, and human interest photos, including "General Francisco Villa — The Cause Of It All."

In their highly readable analysis of the cards and the messages they
carried, the authors argue that the producers of the post cards framed American understanding of border events and fostered the stereotyping of Mexicans.

Vanderwood and Samponaro also explain the commercial side of the trade by describing the brief career of the most successful local entrepreneur, Walter H. Horne of El Paso. The Maine native worked in the financial district of Manhattan for several years before he moved westward, seeking relief from tuberculosis. In El Paso, he supported himself as a pool hustler until the Mexican Revolution furnished visual subjects for his Kodak 3A camera. As the Revolution heated up, Horne established his preeminent position in a market with about one hundred competitors. He even beat out the International Film Service of New York and the Max Stein Company of Chicago, among the biggest producers in the world, by turning his local connections into competitive advantages, often gaining exclusive access to bloody executions and other saleable scenes. He died a rich man in 1921, at age 38, leaving behind a visual legacy which has now been renewed in *Border Fury*.

Roger M. Olien
University of Texas - Permian Basin


For seventeen years the series entitled *Best Cartoons of the Year* has proven to be highly entertaining as well as enlightening in regard to what has happened in the United States. A banner year surely was 1988. With such a multitude of subjects to choose from, American cartoonists had a "field day." In politics, the Republican and Democratic primaries were rife with inconsistencies and paradoxes; the last year of the Reagan Administration was filled with wonderful ironies; and the political debates between George Bush and Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen and Dan Quayle were hilarious to portray.

American cartoonists had a wide range of topics which merited their attention. Besides noting the annual peregrinations of Congress in regard to the deficit, defense, and foreign affairs, they depicted the religious dilemmas which had to do with the movie *The Last Temptation of Christ*, Pope John Paul II defining the role of women in regard to motherhood and the home, and the ludicrous frailties of such television evangelists as Jim and Tammy Bakker, Jerry Falwell, and Jimmy Swaggart. They also focused upon Attorney General Ed Meese and the scandal concerning steroids and drugs at the Olympics in 1988. And they chronicled the American scene regarding ecology, the homeless, crime and the courts, and health issues, while paying their respects to such notables as cartoonist Charles Addams and athlete "Pistol" Pete Maravich.
Consequently, anyone who wishes to see United States society and the world through the art of the cartoonist’s pen will again find *Best Editorial Cartoons of the Year* delightfully refreshing and enjoyable.

Ben Procter
Texas Christian University


Texas has been a magnet for the type of character the authors have chosen to use as a foil about which to weave a story of the life and times of East Texans immediately before, during, and after the founding of the Republic. Semi-scoundrel, entrepreneur, land speculator, man of affairs, family man, but ready at the least provocation to drop everything to get into the thick of a brawl or a full fledged gun firing fight: that was John S. Roberts.

When he was not engaged in fighting at the Battle of New Orleans, the Fredonia Rebellion, the Battle of Nacogdoches, the Storming of Bexar, Cherokee Indian campaigns, and the Cordovan Rebellion, he found time to wheel and deal in land, operate a mercantile business, be a signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence, and spend endless hours in court battles relating to some of his rather shady and unethical business and land manipulations. The reader is kept in suspense constantly wondering in what next scrape Roberts will find himself.

One very important and interesting feature of the book is the copious, well-researched set of notes that follow each chapter. Every person named is identified completely regarding his background and place in Texas history.

A first reading is pure enjoyment. A second reading makes you aware of the tremendous amount of factual Texas history you have absorbed.

Along with the other East Texans such as Houston, Rusk, and Starr, John S. Roberts may now take a place as a true Texian patriot.

Charles K. Phillips
Nacogdoches, Texas
The Ralph W. Steen Award
Mrs. Lera Thomas
F. Lee Lawrence
Robert Cotner
Mrs. Tommie Jan Lowery
Mrs. E.H. Lasseter
Archie P. McDonald
Robert S. Maxwell
Max S. Lale
Mrs. W.S. Terry
Captain Charles K. Phillips
Bob Bowman
William R. Johnson
James I. Nichols
Ralph Wooster
Robert W. Glover

The C.K. Chamberlain Award
W.T. Block
James Smallwood
John Denton Carter
James M. McReynolds
Elvie Lou Luetge
Randolph Campbell
Douglas Hale
Michael E. Wade
Tommy Stringer
Donald W. Whisenhunt
Pamela Lynn Palmer
George Walker
George N. Green

The Fellows Award
Randolph Campbell
Archie P. McDonald
Robert S. Maxwell
J. Milton Nance
Ralph Wooster
Marilyn M. Sibley
Fred Tarpley
Margaret S. Henson
Francis E. Abernethy
Dorman H. Winfrey
Mike Kingston
Bob Bowman
Skipper Steeley
Max S. Lale
Bill O'Neal

The Lucille Terry Award
Friends of the Adolphus Stern Home, Nacogdoches, Texas
The Howard-Dickinson House, Henderson, Texas
Museum for East Texas Culture, Palestine, Texas
The French House, Beaumont, Texas
The Tol Barret House, Nacogdoches, Texas
Angelina & Neches River Railroad Co., Lufkin
Bob Bowman Associates, Lufkin
Commercial National Bank, Nacogdoches
East Texas Oil Museum, Kilgore
First City National Bank, Lufkin
Fredonia State Bank, Nacogdoches
Harrison County Historical Society, Marshall
Kilgore Chamber of Commerce
Lamar University, Beaumont
The Long Trusts, Kilgore
Marion County Historical Museum, Jefferson
M.S. Wright Foundation, Nacogdoches
North Harris County College, Houston
Panola Junior College, Carthage
Sam Houston State University, Huntsville
San Jacinto College North, Houston
San Jacinto Museum of History, Deer Park
Superior Federal Savings Bank, Nacogdoches
Temple-Inland Forest Products Corporation, Diboll
Texas Forestry Museum, Lufkin
Trinity Valley Community College, Athens
Tyler Junior College, Tyler
The University of Texas at Tyler

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