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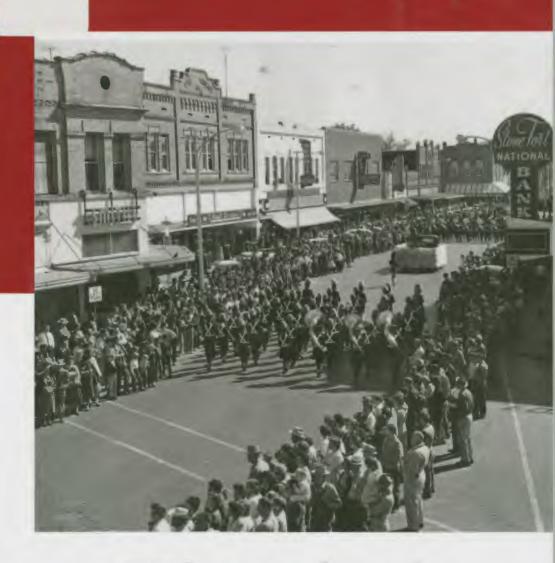
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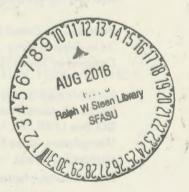
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The Diary of a Ranger's Wife, 1938-1939

BY KEMP DIXON

In March 1932, Leona Spellman celebrated her seventeenth birth-day. But she was not happy, nor was her mother, Nora. A few weeks earlier, Nora had yanked Leona out of the high school she was attending in Smiley, Texas, eight miles from the Spellman farm in southern Gonzales County. Leona had been boarding in town, and was living quite a social life. In a diary, she built a list of 47 boys who lived in the surrounding area. She put plus signs by the boys she favored, and minus signs by some of the others.

During a week in January she had listed her evening activities: Sunday, in Nixon with friends; Monday, played cards with friends; Tuesday, attended a ball game and rode horses with a date; Wednesday, danced with several friends in her boarding room; Thursday, danced again; Friday, attended a party; Saturday, attended a party and rode horses with friends. But her social life came to an end on the night Leona went to a dance hall in Westoff with a boy and another couple. Leona and her date were in the back seat in the parking lot when the boy opened a flask of whiskey and took a drink, causing her to cry. Nora's brother witnessed it from across the parking lot, and thought Leona was being molested. He told Nora, who jumped in her car and drove to Smiley to bring her daughter home.¹

Later that spring, a car loaded with an oil well drilling crew drove from San Antonio to Smiley, then on the unpaved highway toward Yorktown, turning off onto the half-mile two-rut road to the Spellman farmhouse. One of the passengers was twenty-four year-old Norman K. Dixon, fine-looking and clean-cut, and the answer to Nora's and Leona's prayers. They married on July 7, 1932.²

Growing up in Vermont, New Jersey, Ohio and Brooklyn, Dixon

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excelled as an athlete, playing several sports in public schools and at the University of Florida. But the Great Depression was underway when his junior year was to begin, and his scholarship suddenly ended, leaving him without the funds needed to stay in school. When Rice Institute offered to enroll him, he traveled to Texas, but arrived too late for the fall semester. He joined the Army Air Corps but was released from cadet training in San Antonio in May 1931 when he slugged an officer for making a pass at his girl friend. After working at different jobs, he gained employment with the drilling crew, boarding at the Spellman home. The oil well failed, as did another one. Now a married man, Norman worked for a time as a farmhand for his father-in-law, Christian Spellman, but he lacked experience and Christian lacked money to pay him. Norman took Leona to the east where he landed a job in a department store in Cleveland. Two years later, with little money and few possessions, they hitchhiked back to Texas. A 20-year-old farm girl with complete faith in her husband, Leona had no concerns about hitchhiking across the country. In Texas, Norman quickly acquired a job as a private detective in Dallas.³

While employed with the detective agency, Dixon gained part-time work at the 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition performing a clown-diving act. Overseeing a Texas Ranger exhibit at the exposition was Manuel "Lone Wolf" Gonzaullas, one of the iconic Rangers of the 20th Century. Dixon became determined to go to work for the Texas Department of Public Safety as a Texas Ranger if possible, or if not, a highway patrolman. With dogged persistence, Dixon achieved his goal within a year, and became a Texas Ranger working for Lone Wolf Gonzales in the Bureau of Intelligence. Twenty-two-year-old Leona was now a Ranger's wife.⁴

In September 1937 he was assigned to work in Tyler in East Texas with Robert "Bob" Crowder, who would become one of the famous Ranger captains of the century. They worked together until the end of May 1938, when Dixon was transferred to the state crime lab in Austin. During the months in Tyler, Dixon was instrumental in breaking up the East Texas oil well theft ring, the largest in Texas history and perhaps in U.S. history, resulting in the arrests of dozens of thieves and three fences. After that success, Dixon drove west where he played a significant role in breaking up a West Texas oil well theft ring. He also spent weeks working for Gov. Jimmy Allred investigating a scandal involving oil land leases made by the General Land Office. On these and other cases, Dixon spent many days away from home.⁵

When Norman began keeping a daily diary of his Ranger activities on January 1, 1938, Leona decided to do the same. His diaries would continue into 1950; hers would end in October 1939. In her first entry on January 1, 1938, she recorded that she and Norman went to the movies that afternoon with the Crowders, and played cards with them that evening until midnight. On January 3, she and "Mrs. C" went downtown together for doctors' appointments. She refers to the Crowders in her diary 43 times between January 3 and May 31, the Dixon's last day in Tyler. He is "Bob" in her diaries, but she is always "Mrs. C." — never "Lucille." Leona was twenty-three-years-old with a farm girl background; Lucille was a more sophisticated and experienced older woman and mother.

On January 20, Norman left for Austin and Houston to investigate the General Land Office oil-lease scandal, leaving Leona alone for about three weeks, with only her dog, Honeyboy. Two days later at 2:00 P.M. Leona walked with Honeyboy to the Crowders. "Stayed there all night," she wrote in her diary. She did not return home until 7:30 the next evening. The following night she "saw a show by myself for first time since we've been in Tyler." On January 26, she wrote to Norman that she was "getting used to being alone. Not scared at night." Two days later, she saw a movie downtown. "Rode home with Mrs. C. on bus & stayed with her till dark." But the next night she read a mystery novel. "Will probably have nightmares if I sleep at all." On February 2, she stayed overnight with the Crowders. With Bob out of town the next night, she stayed with Lucille."

On February 5, she received a letter "from Norman saying he can't come home yet. I considered going home [the Spellman farm]." But when she found out the vet would charge \$3.50 a night to board Honeyboy, she changed her mind, and spent the night with the Crowders. Finally, on the next night, "about ten A.M. heard HB [Honeyboy] raising Cain on front porch & in walked Norman. Were we surprised & pleasantly!" She was pleased when he walked in again the next night in time for supper in the midst of an oil theft case, and again on the following night, though at 2:00 A.M. The next night, February 9, Norman was gone "all nite." On February 10 he was home "at mid-nite."

Norman Dixon's work hours included nights and weekends, which was typical for Texas Rangers. To stay alert he became addicted to cigarettes, rolling his own to save money, and lighting his next cigarette with the butt of the last one. He had no money to spend nights away from

home in motels, nor did the Ranger budget allow much beyond meager salaries. Sheriffs, with whom he worked throughout his Ranger career, also had stingy budgets, but they had empty jail cells where Dixon could at times stay overnight. Whether he was one county away from Leona or a few hundred miles, long distance calls were expensive and usually out of the question. During the three weeks away from January 20 to February 8, their few contacts were by letter.

In the meantime, the lonely Ranger wife was suffering bouts of illness. On January 13, she "cleaned house thoroughly. Feeling sickish for about a week. Worse today. Norman out of town." The next day: "Still feeling upset – no appetite." On January 17: "Sick – ate practically nothing." January 18: "Sicker – fruit and juices. Heaves." January 19: "Worse. Nothing to eat all day." January 21: "Still sick. Rain. Homesick." On February 8: "Almost fainted looking at patterns in dime store & had girl call a cab." On February 14: "Went to see Dr. Brown & after a thorough examination was pronounced O.K. I was well pleased with him. Limped part way home with hip pains." Leona was pregnant.

On February 17 while Norman was testifying at a trial of an oil field thief in Suphur Springs, Leona was again spending the night with Lucille Crowder. But Sunday, February 20, was a day Norman and Leona spent together at home: "Norman wrote reports & I spent practically all day in the kitchen cooking & washing dishes, with time off to read the funnies. At bedtime, he skinned me at 'checkers' & I him at 'Parcheesi." Another form of entertainment for the Dixons was the movies. When Norman was at home, the Dixons often went downtown to see a movie. At other times, they gathered with the Crowders to play Bridge. When Norman was out of town, Leona and Lucille often walked or took the bus to downtown to shop. At other times Leona often walked alone during the day to the Crowders or to downtown, sometimes with Honeyboy. 10

On Sunday, March 13, for the first time during their stay in Tyler, the Dixons attended church and Sunday school. At 9:30 that evening, Norman and Bob Crowder joined a manhunt searching for bank robber Harry Wells. Norman did not return home until 6:30 on Monday night, only to leave again an hour later. On Tuesday Leona wrote, "Norman home at six A.M. – caught Wells at 1:30 A.M. – Norman slept till 2 P.M." Norman did not return home immediately after the capture. Instead, he joined other officials at the sheriff's office in Longview to interrogate Wells. Norman wrote in his diary that Wells "voluntarily told of bank robbery and hi-jackings & battles." By the time he returned home, he had

not slept for forty-eight hours.11

Leona was meticulous in cleaning house wherever they lived. On March 17 she "was busy all day" cleaning and ironing. The next day, "I cleaned house thoroughly, scrubbed floors and front stairs. Washing & ironed living room curtains." She also cooked meals regularly whenever Norman was home, as she did on Wednesday, March 23, when "Norman brought highway patrol boy home for supper. Without notice." The "boy" could not have been much younger than Leona, who was twenty-three. On Thursday she ironed "all afternoon and was late getting supper." Cooking, ironing and cleaning were common on-going chores for Leona. Their rental houses always had hardwood floors, never carpets. Grocery stores were filled with unprocessed products, not prepared meals. Fast food restaurants did not exist. 12

At the end of March, the Dixons moved to another house in Tyler. While Norman was out of town on April 2 tracking down oil field thieves, Leona spent the night at the Crowders. On April 3, "I came home from Crowders about eleven thirty. Mrs. Dutton [the Dixon's new landlady] said woman across the street threatened to shoot H.B. if he came on her lawn. Upsetting. Norman still gone." Leona faced another problem on Thursday, April 7: "Feeling upset because plumber hadn't come to do the work needed to be done before we moved in. I had reminded Mrs. Dutton each day & plumber came at 3." But on Friday, she wrote, "Called plumber as work done yesterday wasn't satisfactory.... Norman still gone." On Saturday: "Called plumber twice & he promised to be over during afternoon, but wasn't. Norman home about five, thank goodness, & all my troubles ceased." 13

At the end of May 1938 the Dixons left Tyler and moved to Austin, where Norman worked in the state crime lab for the next several months. He was home most evenings – except for occasional investigations out of town or when he played baseball or basketball. On June 14, Manuel "Lone Wolf" Gonzaullas and his wife Laura took the Dixons to their home where Gonzaullas, chief of the Bureau of Intelligence, which included the crime lab, and Dixon worked on a speech the chief was to give later in the month, while Laura and Leona visited. Dixon spent the next two days polishing the speech. He was now a speechwriter for the chief while Honeyboy was a problem for Leona. On June 17, Honeyboy "rolled" again in forbidden stuff." On June 26, the dog got a chicken bone caught in his throat. Two days later: "H.B. came in covered with fleas so I bathed him – washed six out of my hair. 14

When Christian and Nora Spellman visited their daughter and son-in-law on Friday, July 15, the Dixons took them to the Paramount Theater for a special showing of a Popular Science film on the Texas Rangers, including scenes of the crime lab, "though," wrote Leona," only saw one side of Norman's face once." Later that day the Dixons rode with the Spellmans to their farm house near Smiley for a two-week vacation. On Saturday, Leona wrote that Norman was "looking better already." A week later, she wrote that he was "looking grand." But Norman did not forget the crime lab, for which he collected hairs and fiber from "pigs, sows, horses, cows, calf, mules, cat, dog, jackrabbit, cottontail, cotton boll, corn silk." 15

About three weeks later, on Tuesday, September 13, Leona "packed suitcase PM. Norman home at 5 & keeping state car. Slight cramps. Called Dr. Klotz 10:35 P.M. Hospital at 11:00. On Wednesday: "Frederick Kemp Dixon born at 8:10 A.M." Nine days later: "Dr. Klotz instructed & advised me on care of baby on morning visit, nurses gave me notes on it. Nurses visited me all this A.M. for chats. Nice. Mom & Norman here at 2 P.M. Norman brought candy for nurses. We came home at 3:30 P.M. Dr. [Klotz] here at 6:30." This was the first baby Dr. Klotz had delivered, and he wanted to make sure the baby was fine. The nine days Leona stayed in the hospital after giving birth was not unusual at the time. The next morning, "Norman carried me to [kitchen] table and bathroom. Norman to work, Mom worked, I stayed in bed." On the following morning, "I stood on feet and walked around first time today." 16

Three days later on September 28, Leona wrote: "I fixed breakfast first time & Norman ate before leaving. Mom left 9 A.M. for Smiley....I worked all day, washed diapers, cleaned house, etc. Tired." On September 29, "I bathed baby 1" time — washed gowns, etc.....Ironed P.M." Her busy daily routine was now busier than ever with the baby, who had good days and bad days. On October 2: "He loves his bath, never cries, thank goodness." On October 6: "Baby slept most of day, good all nite." But on October 9: "Up with Kemp at times all this nite." However, on October 10: "Kemp good all last nite, awake only to nurse at 10-2-6, feeling good today." But on October 13: "Baby trouble all day. Spoiled? We wonder." However, on October 15: "Baby good all day." ¹⁷

Like the newcomer, Honeyboy was sometimes the focus of attention. Twice during August nights, prior to the baby's birth, Honeyboy roamed the neighborhood, once on a "mid-nite barking spree" and on the other occasion "raising thunder" until midnight, causing Norman

to climb out of bed to find him and bring him home. On one night in November, Leona wrote, "Gave HB bath & rid him of fleas. What a job! 40,000,000 (?) fleas and ticks." On a night in December, she wrote, "HB out all nite." But by January 6, 1939, the Dixons had moved to a new rental house in Austin, and Honeyboy seemed to have improved his behavior: "HB sticks close to new house – stays in back yard, insists on N [Norman] playing with him when he comes home. I don't have a chance." 18

On nights when Norman was home, he and Leona often played cards, sometimes with company, but often just the two of them. On Sunday, August 28, Leona beat Norman at Rummy. On Monday she beat him again, "leaving him very sad." He lost on Tuesday, for the third night in a row. On many nights they listened to radio programs. On June 22 during their first month in Austin, they listened as "Joe Louis knocked Max Schmeling out in 1st round." On October 30, they avoided the panic caused nationwide when listeners thought Orson Well's play "War of the Worlds" was real and that aliens had invaded the country. Instead, they listened to the Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy show.¹⁹

After Louis beat Schmeling on the evening of June 22, the Dixons went to a ball park where Leona watched Norman play baseball. After baseball season ended, he played basketball, as he did on January 8, 13, and 15, 1939. When he came home after his game on January 13, Leona wrote, "Stiff, sore, & skinned, but feeling victorious. Says he's getting good. Ha!" But Norman's job was changing, resulting in more days out of town. Instead of working in the crime lab, he took on assignments that sent him to other parts of the state. He was in Austin on January 17, but basketball on that day was out of the question. It was inauguration day for Texas's new governor, W. L. "Pappy", O'Daniel. Norman attended the event at the University of Texas football stadium and that evening he walked the streets to ensure the peace. Leona was downtown in the afternoon to watch the parade. "Streets packed," she recorded. "Some mob!" 20

On January 25 Norman and Chief Gonzaullas left Austin for a court hearing in South Texas. On the next day, Leona wrote, "I sleep with a gun under my pillow." In February, Norman investigated a "white slavery" case in Dallas and a gambling case in East Texas. On February 24, "Norman left A.M. in state car for 'points unknown" to be gone one week or so. Woe is me." On February 28, she was invited by Mary Wray, a friend, to her house that afternoon. "I rode street car over there 2:30

P.M. 1st street car ride. Enjoyed it. Home at 6 P.M." She relied more and more on friends for company as Norman's trips out of town continued. During the first part of May, he was in Galveston, Houston, and other towns east of Austin working on a murder case. On May 12, Leona Wrote, "No company. Worst. Rather scared." 21

Norman returned home on May 13, "looking tired and sleepy," only to find visitors: Mary and Forest Wray. For the next few days he was out of town again on the murder case, returning home on May 19, ready to rest and recuperate. Instead, the Wrays came over to visit. They came over again the next night "with Norman still irritated at outside interference. Tired of the 'social whirl." Perhaps aware of this, the Wrays did not revisit at night until May 21, 22, 23, and 25. However, on that last visit, Norman was in Houston on a bank robbery investigation and to handle some "labor troubles." Norman was back on June 3 in time to take Leona to a lawn party in honor of Colonel and Mary Nell Garrison at Camp Mabry, DPS headquarters.²²

The next day Leona recorded something that every marriage faces from time to time, but nothing like this was mentioned anywhere else in her diary: "N & I gripy at each other. Some 'get-together." Another unique incident occurred on June 15 when Norman crashed a state car on a bridge about six miles out of Austin on his way to Hallettsville to investigate a bank robbery. Six days later Leona wrote, "[B. F.] Spain spilled beans re N's accident." On the following day, she confronted him: "Norman home 4 A.M. from Tyler. He had to admit to accident, said he totally demolished 1938 Ford. Whew!" Another opportunity for Leona to berate Norman occurred a few weeks later. On July 24, Leona wrote, "No word from Norman — a little worried because he expected to be back last nite." After he came home the next night, "I told him a thing or two. I think next time he'll tel[ephone] if delayed long." It worked. On Saturday, July 29, Norman had Ranger Joe Thompson telephone "to say N. wouldn't be back till Tues. Blue." 23

August 1 brought good news: "Norman tel. early from Camp Mabry to say he would still have his job after Sept. first. Was he tickled. I baked cake, fried chicken, & had Wrays for supper for celebration. Also, \$25 raise in Sept." More good news on August 19: "Norman has state car assigned to him now." More confirmation on Friday, September 1, that Norman had learned a lesson: "Captain Ham called early A.M. to say he talked with N. last nite & he thought he might be home Sunday." More good news on October 15: "The Crowders popped in. Pleasant

surprise." Two days later Leona closed out her diary: "Crowders left 11 A.M. & Kemp cried so they rode him around block. We really enjoyed their visit." Leona had begun her diary on January 1, 1938, writing that she and Norman spent the day with the Crowders. Her diary had come full circle."²⁴

Leona's life as a Ranger's wife continued into the 1950s. During the years of World War II, they lived in McKinney, where Norman was in charge of eight counties between Dallas and the Red River. In the postwar years, his reputation as an investigator grew as he conducted investigations for the governor, the state legislature, and the attorney general. During one of his lengthy investigations away from home, Leona wrote Norman a letter: "Dear Norman, received, read, enjoyed your note. Have been having lots of fun and hope you have been getting lots of rest. Everything fine here. Am now on my way to town and haven't much time, but you can't say I didn't write. Will be surprised by my surprise when you get home. Love, Leona." This note, written during a long absence of Leona's Ranger husband, was considerably more uplifting and cheerful than entries she wrote in her diary during his lengthy absences in earlier years, indicating that she had learned to adjust to the life of a Ranger's wife. 25

By 1948, Norman Dixon was stationed in Austin as the special investigator for Colonel Garrison, the DPS director. Among his investigations as a Ranger were Texas A&M when cadets and veterans rebelled against the administration after World War II; the University of Texas where legislators made charges that it harbored Communists and Gays; the Phantom Killer who preyed on young lovers parked on country roads near Texarkana; and the most famous cold case in Texas history, involving the murders of a California socialite and her beautiful daughter on a lonely highway near Van Horn in West Texas.

By 1953, his role as a Texas Ranger ended as he took on a bigger assignment as chief of the Internal Security Section of DPS with agents stationed around the state to keep a close eye on the activities of Communists. Leona, after raising two children, began a career with the State of Texas. They built their dream house in Austin in 1956, living there the rest of their lives. Norman died in 1992 at the age of 84; Leona in 2011. She was 96.

ENDNOTES

¹ Leona Spellman's 1932 Diary, Author's Collection.

² Interviews with Tommie Spellman Bullock, February 22, 2010, and Leona Spellman Dixon, February 23, 2010.

³Norman Dixon, "Chronology: The Life of Norman Kemp Dixon," Norman Dixon Personal Papers (hereafter "DPP"). Written during Dixon's retirement years, the Chronology contains a paragraph or so on each year of his life from 1908 to 1956; interview with Leona Dixon.

⁴Dixon, "Chronology," DPP; Houston Chronicle, August 16, 1936.

⁵ Break-up of the East Texas oil theft ring: Longview Daily News, April 28, 1938; similar articles appeared on April 28 in the Corpus Christi Times and the San Antonio Light and on April 29 in the Dallas Morning News, the Dallas Times-Herald, and other newspapers. Break-up of West Texas oil theft ring: NKD Diary, May 9-27, 1938. General Land Office scandal: Land Office Irregularities, Department of Public Safety Records, Texas State Archives (hereafter "TSA").

⁶Leona Dixon Diary (hereafter "LSD Diary"), January 1- May 31, 1938.

⁷ Norman Dixon Ranger Diary (hereafter "NKD Diary"), January 20, 1938; LSD Diary, January 22-29, February 2-3, 1938.

⁸LSD Diary, February 5-10, 1938.

⁹LSD Diary, January 13, 17-19, 21, February 8, 14.

¹⁰ NKD Diary, February 20, 1938; LSD Diary, February 17, 20, 1938.

¹¹LSD Diary, March 13-15, 1938; NKD Diary, March 15, 1938.

¹²LSD Diary, March 17-17, 23-24, 1938.

¹³LSD Diary, April 3-10, 1938.

¹⁴LSD Diary, June 14, 17, 26, 28, 1938; NKD Diary, June 14-16.

¹⁵LSD Diary, July 15-16, 23, 1938; NKD Diary, July 15, August 1, 1938.

¹⁶ LSD Diary, September 13-14, 23-25, 1938.

¹⁷LSD Diary, September 28-29, October 2, 6 9-10, 13, 15, 1938.

¹⁸LSD Diary, August 24, 28, November 3, December 2, 1938, January 6, 1939.

¹⁹LSD Diary, August 28-30, June 22, October 30, 1938.

²⁰LSD Diary, June 22, 1938, January 8, 13, 15, 17, 1939.

²¹ LSD Diary, January 25, February 24, 28, May 12, 1939; NKD Diary,

February 21-22, 24-28, March 1, 1939.

²² LSD Diary, May 13, 19-25, June 3-4, 1939; NKD Diary, May 15-19, 25-June 3, 1939.

²³ LSD Diary, June 4, 15, 21-22, July 24-25, 29, 1939; NKD Diary, June 15, 1939.

²⁴LSD Diary, August 1, 9 September 1, October 15, 17, 1939.

²⁵Leona Dixon to Norman Dixon, Undated, DPP.

The Baltzell-Brantley Feud in Texas and Mississippi: The Murders of John, Arnold, and William Brantley, 1859-1870

BY WHITNEY SNOW

A feud spanning the states of Texas and Mississippi started when William Baltzell whipped a slave belonging to John Brantley in Gonzales. When John sought satisfaction for the assault, he wound up dead and more murders ensued. Over the course of eleven years, his brothers Arnold and Confederate General William met with an assassin's bullet. Both the Baltzell and Brantley factions sought righteousness, a justice that never came because the feud was one of futility.

Historians have long explored the roots of feuds as reflecting far more than animosity. Indeed, many quarrels stemmed from cultural, ethnic, racial, or economic causes and or Civil War affiliation. The word feud often evokes the Hatfield-McCoy conflict but many squabbles of equal ferocity took place all over the country, especially in Texas. Whereas the Hoo Doo War, Sutton-Taylor Feud, and Lee-Peacock Feud became renowned in the state, others like the Baltzell-Brantley feud received little attention, perhaps because much of the killing took place in Mississippi. This feud warrants study not merely because one victim happened to be famous, but because its beginning likely had an economic basis.

John, Arnold, and William were born to William and Marina Brantley in Greene County, Alabama. Father William originally came from Edgecombe County, North Carolina, and had lived in Hancock County, Georgia, before moving to Alabama. He and his wife had the following children: Edmund (1822); John Ransom (1824); Albert (1826); Missouri (1828); William (1830); and Arnold (1832). When William died in 1839, the family moved to Choctaw County, Mississippi. William and Arnold pursued law and remained in Mississippi while John became a doctor and moved to Texas in the mid-1850s. Had John known then what this transition would mean for his family, he never would have gone west of the Mississippi River.

John Ransom settled in Gonzales, Texas, with his wife Rebecca and their daughters Missouri and Alice.³ In addition to practicing medicine, he dabbled in merchandise and this may well have instigated the feud

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which began in 1857. His foray into goods may have irked local general store owners John, Barney, and William Munroe as well as their clerks David and William Baltzell. One day, one of the Baltzell brothers lashed John Ransom's slave Buford. The Memphis Avalanche reported that Bufe was a "smart nigger, although a grand rascal" but no one knew what he had done to earn the wrath of the Baltzells. When Buford informed his master what had happened, John Ransom was livid and sought vengeance.

On February 26, 1859, John Ransom confronted the Baltzells and the verbal argument quickly turned bloody. Rumor had it that he tried to stab William, was shot by David, and succumbed from the wound.⁵ Local authorities arrested David but the Munroes bailed him out of jail and he was never brought to trial. The people of Gonzales quickly took sides and most came to the defense of the Baltzells, likely for three main reasons.⁶ For one thing, even though John Ransom was well liked, he had only been in town a few years and was still viewed as an outsider. For another, many likely thought he had been foolhardy in his quest to avenge a slave. Another possibility may be that they thought John Ransom posed a threat to the Munroe brother's trade. The murder made newspaper headlines nationwide and when word reached J.R.'s relatives in Mississippi, all hell broke loose.

After the murder, Rebecca and the girls, no doubt heartbroken, moved back to Choctaw County.⁷ When the extended Brantley family learned that John Ransom had been killed, members were angry. Seeking justice, the family sent "a noted desperado," to Gonzales to find out exactly what happened.⁸ The feud soon intensified.

On August 16, 1859, Neil McCoy, whom witnesses described as a "professional gambler and outlaw," attacked William Baltzell and killed David Baltzell. Much like John Ransom's demise, this murder appeared in papers throughout the country. One article in the New York Commercial Advertiser stated that even though the bullet hit David in the side of the head and lodged in his forehead, he lived for about half an hour. McCoy disappeared after the fact, and a mob failed to find his trail. Later that month, however, the San Antonio Ledger and Texan reported that McCoy had sent an appeal "in refutation of the charges made against him" and that "he says he is ready to meet any charge."

In 1860, McCoy was indicted for the murder of David and many witnesses gave their version of what happened to authorities. About 45 minutes before the scuffle, McCoy was playing pool at a home connected

to the local hotel, the Keyser House. When he finished his game, he walked outside and began chatting with about fifteen men. He let it be known that he had arrived the day before and planned on leaving the following day. He explained that if he ran into the Munroes, he would "spit in their damn faces, and then they could murder him as they had his friend Dr. Brantley."12 One eye witness said McCoy claimed, "The Munroes were damned cowards and damned murderers, that he could whip any of them; that they and the Baltzells had murdered his friend; and that he would rather lie in Brantley's grave than to speak to them."13 After this rant, he told listeners to inform the brothers of his presence. When they heard the news, the Baltzell brothers responded in very different ways.

When friends told them of the threat, William exhibited nonchalance while David expressed apprehension. A man named Logan invited both to dine with him at the Keyser house but only William accepted. David decided to stay at home where he armed himself with a shotgun and prepared for the worst. In the meantime, when William and Logan approached the hotel, they saw several men: Hardy, Gibson, Blakely, McCoy, and a man identified only as "Brantley." 14 As William and Logan walked in, Brantley motioned to McCoy as if to affirm their identity. Wanting to be positive of which man was, in fact, a Baltzell, McCoy asked the other men but they refused to answer. Frustrated, McCoy took Brantley into the hotel office to confer. While they conversed, William

and Logan sat down to eat.15

For William, the evening promised to be a much needed respite. After all, ever since John Ransom's murder, William and his brother had tried to keep out of sight and rarely went out. Because he did not know what McCoy looked like, he probably had not paid much attention to the stranger outside. Plus, Logan had been drinking and William wanted to imbibe as well. They pretty much had the place all to themselves because the only others inside were the landlord, landlady, and one other customer. 16 Relaxing and talking with Logan, William had no clue what was about to transpire.

By that time, McCoy and Brantley had exited the building and once more, lurked outside the door. One of the men present, William Laird, saw trouble brewing and tried to prevent it by asking McCoy to join him for a smoke. Laird later testified that McCoy refused his offer in an extremely rude way. Insulted, Laird turned to walk away and came face to face with David, shot-gun in hand. David, no doubt worried about William, had decided to face McCoy but Laird warned him that bloodshed was likely. Before David had time to address McCoy, a voice

rang out from the door of the hotel.17

Hearing the ruckus, William had left his table and gone to the door where he asked, "Mr. McCoy?" David all but leapt to William's side in an attempt to deter McCoy from hurting his brother. Ignoring the display of filial loyalty, McCoy answered, "This is Mr. Baltzell is it?" Hesitantly, William said yes. Obviously unsure of which brother he was addressing, McCoy took several steps and asked, "Billy Baltzell?" Laird later stated that at that moment, McCoy raised his hand as if he intended to punch William. In self-defense mode, William proceeded to answer while grabbing for his gun. He never managed to utter a reply because what happened next left a man dead. 21

"Don't you speak to me you damn murderer," McCoy screamed. Laird said that at that moment, McCoy, William, and David fired their weapons and then McCoy managed to knock William out by hitting him with a slung shot. However, William's "cap exploded without firing, and none of the loads of his pistol were discharged." Some standers-by dragged William into the hotel while others ran for cover so none claim to have seen the coming murder.

Once the gunfire ceased, the townspeople peeked out the windows and slowly made their way onto the street where David lay. David had been shot in the left temple but the bullet had not exited his head. Instead, it lodged in his forehead and made for a gruesome sight. Amazingly enough, locals detected a weak pulse and while his breathing was shallow, David managed to live for another thirty minutes before passing away. When William came to, he mourned his brother and was irate because McCoy had vanished.²³

While some saw the killing of David retribution for the murder of Dr. Brantley, others disagreed. Austin's *State Gazette* inferred that Brantley's murder was justified. In essence, because Brantley had been in the process of knifing David, the paper said William shot him in self-defense. It added that David "was highly esteemed by all who knew him, and was followed to his last resting place by a concourse of citizens, who seemed deeply afflicted at the irreplaceable loss." Eventually, McCoy was apprehended but denied bail because "the killing was upon express malice." His trial took place in 1860 but the blood feud continued. The Munroe brothers, especially, blamed the Brantley's for David's death and vowed to get even. In Choctaw County, a man named Davis, a friend of the Brantleys, was hit in the side with buck-shot but survived. Back in Gonzales, William kept himself armed at every waking hour

because he lived in constant dread of being killed. This must have taken a toll on his nerves because he turned to alcohol and became a drunk.²⁷ The Civil War temporarily sidetracked the feud participants but not for long, and another Brantley brother paid the ultimate price.

Unlike John, Arnold remained in Choctaw County, married a woman named Lucy, had four children: Laura, Clayton, Ella, and Hattie.²⁸ He practiced law until the Civil War when he operated as a "secret agent for the Confederate government" in Jackson.²⁹ It was there, in 1863, that Arnold murdered a planter named Green at the city's Bowman House. No charges were filed but accounts differed as to motive. Some speculated that he and Green argued over gambling but others thought it feud related.³⁰

A Works Progress Administration history of Webster County, Mississippi, briefly mentioned this particular murder. It claimed that Green expressed glee over John Ransom's death and admitted as much to Arnold. He supposedly said that for a quarter, he would just as soon see Arnold under the ground. Arnold did not have a gun on him and Green warned that in the future, arming himself might be wise. When the exchange ended, Arnold stormed off, procured a gun, and returned to the Bowman House shouting, "I am Arnold Brantley, brother of Dr. Brantley who was murdered by the Baltzell brothers, and whose murder you endorsed; you would kill me for twenty-five cents, by God I'll kill you for nothing." With that, Arnold fired a bullet into Green's head, killing him instantly. Arnold walked away a free man and after the war, returned to Choctaw County, and then moved to nearby Winona, Montgomery County.

In 1870, Arnold, by then mayor of the city, likely never imagined that he, too, would fall victim to the feud. On August 16, an unknown assassin fired a shotgun through a window at the Winona Opera House. The flurry of buckshot killed Arnold and injured a woman sitting closeby. At the time, the community did not know who killed their mayor but many thought it had something to do with Texans. The WPA History of Webster County mentioned that the "Ringer brothers were credited with this murder" but no charges were ever filed. Whatever the case, two Brantley brothers lay buried and the question remained—which of the remaining brothers was next?

William had perhaps the most eventful life of the Brantley siblings. In 1850, he lived with John but in 1952, he started practicing law. Three years later, William married a woman named Cornelia and had two

children, Mary and Joseph.³³ While hardly a fan of politics, he served in the Secession Convention in 1861 and went on to have an impressive military career. He started as Captain of the 15th Mississippi Regiment, and after showing valiance and leadership in battles like Shiloh, Murfreesboro, and Chickamauga, became a Brigadier General, possibly the youngest one in the Confederacy.³⁴ At war's end, peace provided little solace for Brantley for Cornelia had died in 1863 so he returned home a widower. In 1867, he married Julia Cunningham and the two had a baby which died shortly after birth. Two years later, his ten-year-old son died, adding yet another sorrow.³⁵

William had been livid when John had been killed but Arnold's murder cut him to the core. After the mayor's death, William and his law partner J.Z. George made it a personal mission to find the murderer. All the while, William kept receiving threats that he, too, might share the same fate unless he ceased snooping. Sure enough, on November 2, 1870, while on a road near Winona, William was shot with "twenty-five buckshot" and died. Various accounts claim that he was in a wagon when shot but the Semi-Weekly Clarion held that he had been on horseback. The paper asked, "Who were the authors of this dark deed?" 38

No one knew for sure but while a respected war hero, Brantley's notorious temper coupled with stubbornness had earned many enemies.³⁹ According to one account, "Not a few of his men, and even officers, looked upon him as a martinet, unduly acting, and at times unnecessarily severe in his discipline." The Semi-Weekly Clarion, however, connected his death to Arnold's murder:

He seems himself to have considered it not unlikely that the efforts he felt called on to make the apprehension and punishment of his brother's murderers, might result in the sacrifice of his own life, but it was a principle with him never to deviate from his course through fear of his enemies; and but a short time before his death, when warned by a friend that there was danger to be apprehended at their hand if he should travel the usual route in a journey which he contemplated, his characteristic reply was—Whenever it is so that I cannot go wherever my business calls me, then I want them to kill me.⁴¹

William had refused to live in fear and instead, had tried to live

life as usual, dangers aside. He was laid to rest in the Old Greensboro Cemetery but if locals thought the feud had ended, they had made a serious mistake.

Later that year, the feud claimed yet another victim—Thomas P. Conner, a cousin of the Brantleys. A Mississippi legislator, Conner had been shot in Winona. Authorities suspected a man by the name of Collins but had no real proof. The *Albany Evening Journal* reported that the murder had stemmed from that of Arnold's.⁴² After this death, however, the feud seemed to fade away but it had certainly taken its toll on the Brantley family.

By 1871, only two of the original six Brantley siblings remained. Four had died gory deaths. Edmund had been killed in a duel in 1850 while John, Arnold, and William had been murdered, likely all at the hands of feud participants. Missouri had stayed in Choctaw County, married Josiah Dunn, and had a family. In 1872, a man named Story killed her son William but this may or may not have been related to the feud. The only brother left, Albert worked as a district attorney in Choctaw County and had sons Ransom and William with his wife Mary. These survivors no doubt struggled to find normalcy after so many years of turmoil.

The feud largely decimated the Brantley family. Three brothers and possibly a cousin and nephew lost their lives because of the squabble. Authorities never prosecuted anyone for the murders of Arnold and William. Peace eluded the Brantleys while the remaining Baltzell brother drank himself into oblivion. If anyone could remotely claim victory, it had to be the Munroe brothers who had rid themselves of whatever competition John Ransom might have posed and rather successfully taken up the gauntlet to avenge David. Memory of the Baltzell-Brantley Feud dwindled over the following decades but its tale of blood, honor, and reckoning remains a vivid, if often overlooked chapter, in both Texas and Mississippi history.

ENDNOTES

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For the Love Of A Sweet Country Song

By GARNA CHRISTIAN

This is a story of a father and a son who lived for music and died from the loss of it. I know the story to be true, as I witnessed much of it and was privy to the rest.¹

Benjamin Theodore Christian was born in or near the central Texas town of Rockdale on June 1, 1885. The family lived on a farm at first, when towns existed mainly as support for agriculture, and the census listed the children, in the fashion of the time, as farm laborers. There were nine children born to Charles and Anne, of whom Ben was fifth, but he rarely, if ever, spoke of his father. I learned almost sixty years after his death that his ancestors had migrated from Saxony in the 1700s and moved from Maryland to Illinois to Texas. The revelation came as a surprise because he never spoke of this either, if indeed he knew, nor revealed an interest in Germany. It was a time when families supplied their own amusements: house parties and local dances provided much of the non-church enjoyment, and the ability to create music was a social necessity. Only Ben and a younger brother entered the music profession, but other siblings picked up the fiddle and other stringed instruments with equal alacrity.²

Growing up in the rural, small town environment, Ben didn't indicate a passion for anything specific, except perhaps for wanting to leave. There weren't many avenues of escape such as presented themselves to promising athletes or singers or dancers of later years. A younger sister attended college, referred to as a normal at the time, long enough to teach for a few years. Most of the family remained in the area, one son devoting a lifetime of duty to the local post office. A daughter married a genial member the Texas Legislature, maintaining a household in the town but standing a social cut above much of the population. When able to do so, Ben moved to a nearby city, returned only periodically to visit, and never again lived in a small town.

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He didn't become the "Uncle Ben" of considerable country music fame until midlife. The genre, known widely as hillbilly music, remained a local and largely unprofessional calling. It was associated with house parties, carnivals, and medicine shows until the advent of radio, the Grand Ole Opry, and the recording successes of Jimmie Rodgers, Vernon Dalhart, and the like, in the 1920s. For all the waiting, that golden age had a shelf life of only a little over twenty years. Nevertheless, it offered a pathway to stardom, however narrow, to plain people of the rural South. The fans loved and identified with the performers and the songs. Ben engaged in various businesses, apparently once involuntarily involved in an insurance bubble, married, became a father and widower, and stood on a hill overlooking Kansas City, reviewing his life. A family story had a relative and Ben working up enthusiasm for military service in the Great War, only to win release with the assistance of an influential citizen when their patriotic zeal wore off the next day.³

Ben had returned to his early affection for music when his life settled into an opportune groove. In the late 1920s he was traveling through East Texas with a medicine show, amusing audiences by holding the fiddle and bow with his feet, when he passed the night at a boarding house in Port Neches. The tall, middle aged stranger piqued the curiosity of a young cleaning lady, Rose Lee Franklin. The attractive hazel eyed brunette failed to get Ben's attention until she employed the time tested procedure of dropping her handkerchief in the hallway as he left his room. In true Hollywood fashion, he hurried after her with the retrieved accessory, a conversation ensued, and they became husband and wife for the rest of Ben's life.

The responsibilities of a husband, and later a father, pushed Ben back into the mundane world of business, where his accounting skills guaranteed a steady, if modest, income. Opportunities and desire for improvement took the couple to Dallas, Fort Worth, and Houston. Rose Lee preferred the wide hilly streets of Fort Worth to her perception of the confined thoroughfares of Dallas, but they settled in Houston permanently by 1930. Indeed, many people at the outset of the Great Depression migrated to Houston, drawn by its reputation of employment in hard times. The new family member, Ben, Jr., was born and grew up in the Bayou City. A small remaining snapshot shows a large eyed, smiling, charming boy, predicting the gregarious, handsome adult. An only child for the next five years, Ben, Jr. enjoyed a quick grasp of information, identifying a downtown street after passing it a few times in the family

car and learning the lyrics to a folk song, while too young to pronounce all the words correctly. Surely, thought the father, the boy would follow in his footsteps, prints now beginning to emerge in the field of music.

A new music literally was in the air at the beginning of the Depression, molded largely by James Robert (Bob) Wills, from the dance halls and cotton fields of East and West Texas. Fifteen years Ben's junior, Wills, from Limestone County, put together the blues, jazz, and string tempos that later became known as western swing. He introduced the music to a wider audience with guitarist Herman Arnspiger, vocalist Milton Brown, and himself as fiddler in Fort Worth. Expansion of the Wills Fiddle Band to the Light Crust Doughboys and Texas Playboys made Wills the most recognizable and durable name in the annals of the much performed music. Within several years Wills' band was appearing daily on the Texas Quality Network, reaching enthusiastic and loyal audiences across the state.⁴

There is no evidence that Ben knew Wills in this period, though the former had lived in Fort Worth and played and listened to country music. Their lives displayed striking similarities, though Ben, with essentially non-recording and non-traveling bands, never attained the legendary status of Wills. Both were better managers than musicians, adopted the role of fatherly figures to their musicians, and relied on others as vocalists. Each smoked cigars, developed health and temperance problems in the later stages of their careers, and retired before their deaths. Wills, who often performed in "battle dances" with Ben's band when appearing in Houston, would be a pall bearer at his friend's funeral⁵

While Wills was presenting his new sound where the West began, Ben teamed with two guitarists, Dave Melton and Lynn Henderson, two hundred and fifty miles to the South at Houston house parties. Shortly thereafter, Ben and Henderson, who apparently met while the latter busked on a downtown street corner, organized a band. With fiddle and guitar slots filled, younger brother Elwood (Elmer) Christian left the hometown permanently to play second fiddle, more often bass, and provide vocal harmony. In what constituted an unaffordable action a generation later, radio station KTRH donated free air time to the new aggregation. The agreement enabled the station to strengthen its afternoon schedule at no salary expense while affording the musicians invaluable no-cost advertising for dances within the signal of the 50,00 watt station. Radio announcer Harry Greer named the group, "The Bar-X Cowboys from Sunset Valley," becoming so enamored with his

creation that he pushed unsuccessfully to name Ben's second son "Bar X." Ben, the business manager of the commonwealth band, meaning every musician received an equal share of the revenue, quickly adopted the spirit. The musicians bought colorful matching Gene Autry-type uniforms and had postcards made at a horseback rental, designated in the photos as "Sunset Valley."

The 1930s curiously mingled hard times and escapism. Despite the sternest unemployment numbers in the nation's history, millions of Americans accessed barely enough money to spend a Saturday night in denial of the moment. They packed movie houses to watch, and sometimes cheer, screen criminals James Cagney and Edward G. Robinson thumb their noses at authority, particularly the unpopular banks. Real life outlaws Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow provided a cheaper thrill for only the cost of a newspaper. Audiences could vicariously view the rich, enacted by William Powell and Irene Dunn, in their mansions with swimming pools and butlers, on the silver screen. Anyone could turn a radio dial and be swept away to country club and grand hotel orchestras, such as Glenn Miller's and Guy Lombardo's. And in Texas they turned out to dance.⁷

The Mississippi River forged a line between danceable and listenable country music. East of the demarcation, people stood or sat for traditional Appalachian ballads or modernized Blue Grass music at concerts, county fairs, and family homes. Religion permeated many of the refrains, hampering any urge for physical contact. To the West folks took to the dance floors to celebrate truck driving, lost love, and crying-in-my-beer songs with a brisk beat. After 1933, the year of the inauguration of the Bar-X Cowboys, customers could legally buy the beer. The Houston-Gulf Coast area propitiously resided in the "wet" region of the state when Texas counties divided over local option. Small European ethnic communities within the signal and driving range of Houston radio stations usually had a large building suitable for dances and few constraints on alcohol. The site owners, as well as those in Houston, provided little beyond the keys and, perhaps, security officers. The bands brought their own instruments—generally a fiddle, guitar," bass, steel guitar, and possibly a banjo and accordion-except for the piano. Many musicians played several instruments, although Ben stayed with the fiddle. They lugged their audio equipment and hired someone, or volunteered their wives, to sell and take tickets. Remuneration was a share of the gate; the owners kept the proceeds from food and drink

sales. The Saturday night receipts determined the success of the band, as other nights often produced negligible results beyond holding public attention and keeping the musicians active. The longevity of the Bar-X Cowboys demonstrated both the band's popularity and Ben's talent for booking and keeping the choice venues.⁸

The convenient relationship between radio stations and dance bands accounted for the proliferation and durability of local country music groups in the depression and war years. The Bar-X Cowboys, who ultimately appeared on each station –KTRH, KPRC, and KXYZ-customarily performed three afternoons a week in fifteen minute segments. Ben opened the program with a fiddle tune, known in the trade as a breakdown or rag, and the band shifted to more modern selections, including pop or swing. There was little of the cowboy genre, though photos show the musicians dressed in full western regalia in the studios, and less of traditional mountain music. True to form, they played upbeat dance music, even to sad lyrics. Broadcasting no commercials, Greer and later announcers read the week's dance schedule, the raison d'être for the program. High spirited, Ben and the band schemed at pranks to cause announcers to lose their composure on the air, a popular off-scripted feature of early live radio.⁹

The symbiosis led to recording sessions for the band, as the radio programs which stimulated the dances created an appetite among the audiences for more music. Recording companies sought new talent to fill the growing demand, scheduling "field trips" across the country to tap local talent. The Bar-X Cowboys never attained star status as recording artists but eagerly accepted a Decca contract. A few members were capable writers, particularly after Ted Daffan, of later "Born to Lose" fame, joined the group, and even Ben wrote one tune, "The Rockdale Rag." In those pre-Nashville, low tech recording days, local bands rented a Houston or Dallas hotel room and gathered around one microphone with no chance for error to produce a 78 rpm record that shattered at the touch and hissed like a snake after a few plays from a metal Victrola needle. Miraculously, many of the records have survived, have been restored, and sell particularly well in European markets.¹⁰

Indeed, the achievements of the Bar-X Cowboys, under Ben's management, border the amazing. Despite the severe limitations of the economy, Ben, retaining only one share of the band's earnings, set aside other employment and cared for his family, now containing two sons, throughout the depression. A generation later, in more prosperous

times, most local musicians would require a day job to subsidize their music. The hard times accounted for only one of the impediments to the band's survival. Other musical groups entered or organized in the area, received free air time from radio stations, and enjoyed the same booking opportunities. The competition attempted to entice away musicians, a notoriously independent-minded lot. Other musicians proved unreliable, perhaps given to drink or simply eccentricity, presenting a persistent challenge to delivering a competent, rehearsed organization to the scheduled sites. Ben had come into the business without experience in the peculiar art of maintaining and nourishing a band. Cars broke down, dance halls went out of business, and band members did not arrive home until wee hours of the morning. Ben's children were hushed into silence until after noon, when his routine began again. Yet, the Bar-X Cowboys more than held their own against better known recording artists, Leon "Pappy" Selph, Cliff Bruner, Moon Mullican, and Shelley Lee Alley. They endured while other organizations came and went as Ben's stock as a bandleader rose and the economy continued to improve in the late 1930s.11

Despite the accomplishments of the Bar-X Cowboys, Ben opted to make a major career change at 50 plus years of age. As business manager of a commonwealth band, he felt he lacked the control he needed over the organization. Both first fiddler and actual leader, he performed two important functions, yet received only one share of the proceeds. That share had fed and dressed his family and covered the expenses of rental houses in respectable working class neighborhoods, but Ben was doubtless impressed by counterparts Adolf Hofner, of San Antonio, and Jesse James, of Austin, who directed their bands with their names above the groups. In 1940, with the nation essentially recovered from the depression, Ben turned management of the Bar-X Cowboys over to his brother, Elwood, and formed the Texas Cowboys, with his name heading the title. One of his first discoveries, Richard (Jerry) Jericho, from Millican, Texas, caught Ben's attention while performing at a Houston root beer stand. "Smilin" Jerry Jericho, exuding star quality, promptly filled the vocalist position, assumed a relationship with Ben comparable to that of singer Tommy Duncan to Bob Wills, and became a lifelong friend. 12

Little more than a year after the inauguration of the Texas Cowboys, the Japanese struck Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, pushing the United States into a nearly five year war. Although Ben was well past the age for military

service, some of his musicians were young and fit enough to serve, most notably Jericho. His departure for the duration of the war created the most crucial void in the new band, as Ben could never replace him with a singer of equal talent. In common with other band leaders, Ben patched together as many acceptable musicians as were available and struggled within the confines of government imposed rationing. The fuel allotment of three gallons per week and the availability of only used cars after American industry turned to defense manufacturing severely cut the travel schedule. Customers experimented with a variety of colas to substitute for the favorite BYOB mix, Coca Cola, after the military monopolized the soft drink. Conversely, the flow of money from Houston area shipyards and defense plants created customers eager to spend, even for a less desirable product than in the past. The Texas Cowboys led the local ensembles, taking in more revenue than at any time in Ben's career.¹³

The four years following the end of World War II crowned the golden age of the first generation of country music in Houston and elsewhere. Previously a rural, Southern-based music, it spread into the North and West with the integration of Americans into a national military and the movement of civilians to new job locations. Elton Britt, an Arkansas yodeler and tenor, had topped the hit list during the war with a patriotic country song, "There's a Star Spangled Banner Waving Somewhere." California hosted the large western swing bands of Spade Cooley, "Tex" Williams, and, for a time, Bob Wills. With the resumption of large scale recording, Eddy Arnold, Ernest Tubb, and Roy Acuff reached new fans. Dance bands headlined by Floyd Tillman, Dickie McBride, and Hank Locklin joined the trek to prosperous Houston. Notwithstanding the brisk competition, Ben had Jericho and other first rate musicians back and he held on to Cook's Hoedown, in its new downtown location. as the most coveted Saturday night venue, strongly supplemented by Eagle's Hall, the Polish Hall, and Dokeys Hall. As a sign of the times, Ben brought home a shiny two-toned green Buick, virtually new. Wills and other prominent bandleaders dropped in occasionally to share the bandstands. A friendly radio rivalry developed between Ben's Texas Cowboys and Ellwood's Bar-X Cowboys, featuring singer-songwriter Jerry Irby. Ben signed a record contract with a company so recently in business that his family participated in gluing the labels to the disks. Firmly established as one of the most recognizable musical figures on the Gulf Coast, Ben heeded Rose Lee's longstanding plea to buy a home of their own, a comfortable, but unpretentious, late nineteenth century house in the Houston Heights.¹⁴

Unfortunately, Ben's health failed to keep pace with his success. Heart trouble seemed to plague the male side of his family, and he suffered chest pains, tempered by pills and whisky toddies. Ben had fought asthma since childhood and sought relief in an atomizer. An enlarged prostate caused such pain and blockage that only a catheter brought relief before he finally agreed to surgery. More than dread delayed the operation, though Ben's generation regarded hospitals more as final resting places than health centers. Health insurance was as rare as home air conditioning, credit cards as exotic as cartoon detective Dick Tracy's wrist radio, and, as employer of his musicians, Ben could not qualify for social security. Medical expenses came out of dwindling savings. One lengthy illness caused virtually every member of the Texas Cowboys to request a bedridden Ben to release them for other employment.

A new wind blew out of the East at mid-twentieth century in the form of a thin, young Alabaman named King Hiram "Hank" Williams. He quickly topped the record charts with mournful tunes, "Cheatin' Heart," "Cold, Cold Heart," and "I'm so Lonesome I Could Cry," as well as lively renderings, "Jambalaya," "Hey, Good Lookin'," and "Mind Your Own Business." Williams unwittingly changed country music fans' preferences. The proliferation of recording companies, abetted by the phenomenon of disc jockeys, permitted music fans to stay by their radios for stretches of hours, avoiding the smoky dance halls. A Houston postwar radio station, KNUZ, filled daily mornings and afternoons with country and pop music introduced by "Biff" Collie and Paul Berlin. They became wildly popular in their own right, matching radio trends in other cities. The programming profoundly impacted the local dance bands, as free air time diminished and then expired. Recording stars, providing yet more competition, placed the Bayou City on their itineraries for concerts and special events. Previous dance hall fans, if tiring of radio, now enjoyed the option of watching variety shows, sports, and movies on TV channel two, KLEE. By 1954 Elvis Presley and the new genre of rock-and-roll had devoured most of its local and national musical competition and subsequently ended the pop music format of TV's "Your Hit Parade."15

The succession of blows to Houston dance bands were not immediate knockout punches. Ben and Ellwood had established themselves as leaders in the music scene and, after all, had survived the Great Depression. They and several other band leaders for a time acted

as their own disc jockeys and announcers of their dance schedules on a Saturday morning radio program. Mimicking the Grand Ole Opry and Louisiana Hayride, a local station put together a weekly radio concert of Houston country talent. Promoters held weekend dances at Magnolia Gardens on the banks of the San Jacinto River, at which Hank Williams and Elvis Presley appeared on stage with Ben and the Texas Cowboys. Nevertheless, the tide of change proved irreversible. When Ben turned the Texas Cowboys over to Jerry Jericho in 1954, other bands had already left town or were in the process of breaking up. Floyd Tillman and Ted Daffan had returned to their songwriting and singing careers, while Cliff Bruner and Leon Selph had entered other professions. Jericho fought gamely as bandleader, even recording several sessions before appearing as a solo act on Louisiana Havride and re-forming a band for a time in San Antonio. Similarly, Tommy Duncan's western swing band, formed after separating from Wills in the late 1940s, eventually failed as the genre lost its audience.16

Ben's musical career had ended but, in the absence of social security or a pension, his need for employment continued. Disappointed that new Houston mayor and former radio announcer Roy Hofheinz failed to extend any patronage, Ben took a series of minor jobs, including night watchman at a downtown office building. The dancers had permanently left the floor and the applause silenced. Rose Lee returned to service work as a waitress and the younger son went into the army. Ben's health declined. The toddies intended to relieve chest pains gave way to ubiquitous half pints of whiskey. Ben and Rose Lee quarreled more frequently. One March evening in 1956 Rose Lee returned from work to find Ben lying still in bed and could not awaken him. In her anguish she cried out to him to help her. Ben, Jr. hurried over, called the medics, and unobtrusively removed the small whiskey bottle from his father's hand.

Ben's death washed away the last bitter years. He was again recognized as the leader of the most popular dance band on the Gulf Coast. The modest funeral brought out the elite of country music: Bob Wills, Hank Thompson, and Floyd Tillman joined local celebrities and friends as pallbearers. For years afterward, fans approached the younger son, away on duty at the time of the funeral, with tributes of affection for his father. Sadly, little remained to archive; records, photographs, and most memorabilia of Ben and his bands escaped the immediate family during the distractions and confusion following his death and were lost to history.

Ben, Jr. early learned the difficulties of meeting the expectations of a successful father. The precocious child developed into the popular young man and he was interested in little beyond music, to which he listened intensely on the radio and phonograph. Ben and Rose Lee encouraged him with the purchase of a piano, though the son never expressed a desire for one. Strains of "The Marines' Hymn" echoed throughout the house as Ben, Jr. struggled to master it. Ben proudly called for command performances when other musicians or relatives visited but voiced his disapproval if the son missed a note. The boy began to neglect practice and school work. Perplexed, Ben loved his son but could not understand his apparent lack of ambition. Ben, Jr. wanted to emulate his father's music career but had not found the path.

Outside the family Ben, Jr. enjoyed an active social life. He made friends readily, some early friendships lasting throughout his life. He was particularly proud of his promotion to chief usher at the Metropolitan Theater and the neat dark blue uniform with a pants stripe and brass buttons that accompanied it. The younger brother would stand by the street door and wait for Ben, Jr., squeezing every second of drama from the moment, to motion him into the movie house without paying the requisite nine cents. The siblings' roles had been established years earlier with the older son acting as consultant to the younger on vital issues, such as movies, music, comic books, and professional wrestling. Then the war in Korea broke out and Ben, Jr. received the familiar "Friends and Neighbors" summons to duty. The army sent him to Oklahoma for training and to a tent in France for permanent duty. Photographs show the new direction in his life: playing a guitar and singing with a likeminded comrade. Ben, Jr. had found his calling.

Ben, Jr. returned home when Ben and his music were in sharp decline. The son married, fathered two children, and held a variety of manual jobs while awaiting an opening in the music business. It came in an undesired manner, with the death of his father. He seized the opportunity to perpetuate Ben's memory by gathering some of his father's best musicians. It would be a reincarnation of Ben and the Texas Cowboys, with Ben, Jr. as lead vocalist and guitarist. He managed some impressive bookings, particularly a nightclub owned by the now independent Jerry Irby at San Leon in the Clear Lake area. The music was good and Ben's singing was fine, as attested by a former manager of Jim Reeves. But the crowds wouldn't come. Ben, Jr. confronted the same public indifference that stifled the other local dance bands. He struggled,

used up all available funds, and eventually gave up. The musicians went back to their day jobs and the prospective revelers stayed at home with "I Love Lucy" TV reruns and Elvis Pressley records.

Ben, Jr. never recovered from the failure to redeem his father's legacy and prove himself to the deceased man. He continued to perform for family and friends and occasionally for pay. On one occasion he and other musicians went out on a New Year's Eve, the most lucrative night of the year for entertainers, and returned immediately for lack of a single customer. To make a living he drove a truck, worked at a warehouse, and won and lost a series of unimaginative jobs. At length he gave up, his idleness losing the home and the family. A position as county health inspector carried Ben, Jr. through a new career, until he filed for early retirement and moved in with his ailing mother. After Rose Lee's death, Ben, Jr. found comfort with alcohol but never relinquished his determination to keep Ben's reputation alive. He supplied source material for numerous articles on the history of Houston country music and was interviewed by historian Bill Malone. In one of his last decisions, he moved the remains of his parents to the same resting place. One spring day in 2004 Ben, Jr. telephoned his brother that he was entering the hospital because of pneumonia and would be out soon. He died a few days later.

History is not inevitable, but neither is it open ended. Some actions that are possible at one time are impossible in another. The confluence of changing music tastes, institutional policies, and technology overwhelmed all resistance and brought to an end the first era of country, big band, and, eventually, pop music. Historians have taken greater note of events and their causes than the impact on the affected individuals. While some musicians were able to refashion their lives after the music revolution, others saw no viable options and, like their music, became casualties of the times.

ENDNOTES

Missing Endnote 1

- 2 Garna L. Christian, "Christian, Ben" in Roy Barkley, et al (eds.), The Handbook of Texas Music (Austin, Texas State Historical Association, 2003), 50; Interview of William Holford by author, Houston, July 31, 1984, in possession of author. Uncited text is based on the author's personal unrecorded knowledge.
 - 3 Christian, Stay, 3.
- 4 Ruth Shelton, Bob Wills Hubbin' It (Nashville, Country Music Foundation, 1995) first published in 1938 covers the early years of Wills; Charles R. Townsend, San Antonio Rose: The Life and Music of Bob Wills (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1976) 1-50 is the standard work on Wills; Bill C. Malone, Country Music, U.S.A. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1985), 170-174; John Mark Dempsey, The Light Crust Doughboys Are On The Air: Celebrating Seventy Years of Texas Music (Denton, University of North Texas Press, 2002), 58-65.
- 5 "Battle dance" was a term used for two or more bands appearing in the same venue at the same time. The publicity implied they were competing.
- 6 Christian, Handbook, 50. Similarly, Entrepreneur Jesse Jones, owner of KXYZ, named Selph's Blue Ridge Playboys after one of his oil properties. See Malone, Country, 164; Christian, "It Beats Pickin' Cotton: The Origins of Houston Country Music," Red River Valley Historical Review, vol. 7 (Summer, 1982), 37-38; Christian, "They Brightened the Corner: The Era of Gulf Coast Texas Swing," The Houston Review, vol. IX, no. 1 (1987), 25-38.
- 7 John Sedgwick and Michael Pokorny, "The Film Business in the United States During the 1930s," *Economic History Review, LVIII, no. 1 (2005), 92, 96-97, 106.*
- 8 Interview of Laura Lee McBride by author, Houston, January 11, 1984, in possession of author; Malone, Country, 164.
 - 9 Christian,, Handbook, 50; Christian, Stay, 3.
 - 10 Gary S. Hickinbotham, "Recording Industry" in Handbook, 255-256.
- 11 Michael Erlewine, et al (eds.), All Music Guide to Country (San Francisco, Miller Freeman Books, 1997), 8, 58, 319; Nick Tosches, Country, The Biggest Music in America (New York, Dell Publishing Company, 1979), 188-191; Gilbert C. Fite and Jim E. Reese, An Economic History of the United States (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 629.

- 12 Christian, Handbook, 50; Christian, Stay, 18; Interview of Jerry Jericho by author, Houston, July 18, 1980, in possession of author; Jeffrey J. Lange, Smile When You Call Me a Hillbilly (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 2004), 118-20.
 - 13 Fite and Reese, An Economic, 644-645.
- 14 Irwin Stambler and Grelun Landon, The Encyclopedia of Folk, Country & Western Music (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1984), 71-72; Erlewine, All, 1, 102,113-114,274, 472,516, 518; Christian, Stay, 23,30.
- 15 Malone, Country, 239-243; Interview of Herbert Remington by author, Houston, December 28, 1984, in possession of author; Interview of Leon Selph by author, Houston, September 28, 1977, in possession of author; Colin Escott and Kira Florita, Hank Williams, Snapshots from the Lost Highway (Cambridge, Da Capo Press, 2001), 78; Houston Chronicle, December 17, 2004; www.celebritynetworth.com/watch/QGLbL_ZNFE/biff-collie; Los Angeles Times, July 4, 1990.
- 16 Jericho interview; Interview of Floyd Tillman by author, Houston, March 17, 1985, in possession of author; Interview of Ted Daffan, Houston, October 24, 1977; Erlewine, All, 134.
- 17 The remainder of the story was personally witnessed by the author or related by observers.

The Sawmill's Role in East Texas Development

By Darrel L. McDonald, David Kulhavy, Daniel R. Unger and Paul R. Blackwell³

INTRODUCTION

Understanding cultural landscape is an important research endeavor for historical research. Land conversion is a dynamic process which includes a stage, the landscape; the people, often heterogeneous, and cultural values which enables the population to alter the landscape. In East Texas, the sawmill culture has been a primary factor affecting change in regional landscapes over the last 170 years.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives are to: 1) define the historical phases of the sawmill industry that shaped the land and culture in East Texas; 2) describe the ways in which the sawmill industry impacted land conversion; 3) present an argument that present East Texas landscapes exhibit aspects of gentrification; and 4) to discuss ramifications of this process on East Texas culture.

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East Texas lies in a vegetational zone described by Correll and Johnston (1979) as the pineywoods¹. Although historically-based works have addressed culture or individuals in the area, limited research has examined the extent and intensity of land conversion in this southern thermophylic forest region. The piney woods occupy approximately 21 million acres or an area about the size of Ohio. Historically, longleaf pine was an important species, but today loblolly and slash pine are dominant. Hardwoods occupy clayey flood plains and seasonal wetlands, while cypress and tupelo typify woody vegetation associations in perennially wet areas and bayous.² For this study, East Texas was defined by the counties in Figure 1. Most of these counties underwent major lumbering over the last century.

TEMPORAL DEVELOPMENT AND AFFECTS OF THE SAWMILL CULTURE

Although permanent European settlement in East Texas dates from the Spanish period of the late 18th century, significant landscape change did not occur until the early 1800s. Isolated Spanish missions and trade centers did little to alter forest lands long inhabited by Caddoan Indians. The immigrants moving into the region, as Doughty (1987) suggested, changed the wilderness into a garden³.

PHASE I (1810s-1850s)

The earliest recorded East Texas sawmills began operating in 1819; one near the Spanish community of Nacogdoches and the other on Ironosa Creek, just north of San Augustine. Both were owned by Anglo-Americans. The early sawmills utilized human, animal and water power to remove trees from the forest to produce lumber products. Resultant open lands were replaced by agrarian landscapes planted in row crops including corn and cotton, or occasionally tobacco into tracts cleared of forests. The number of mills grew slowly over time; many starting as family operations with some later maturing into lumber companies. Near the end of the first phase, rivers and ports became vital to the transportation of logs to mill sites.

The history of the Harrisburg Steam Mills Company reflected the general sawmill effect on the cultural landscape before 1860. Built on the junction of Buffalo and Bray's Bayous in Harris County in 1831, the mill was operated by steam machinery shipped in by the *Ann Elizabeth*. Although the company prospered because East Texas lumber was favored

by Mexican tariff law, the steam machinery also operated flour and grist mills for local consumption. Even though the mill was destroyed by Santa Ana's army during the Texas Revolution, the mill was rebuilt and operated until 1867.⁵

The memoirs of William Zuber revealed the interaction of industry, agriculture and environment in the life of the people. He recalled the mill "was the first steam mill I ever saw--the first built west of the Sabine River." Because workers were provided with shanties and access to food supplies, the Harris sawmill community became one of the first, if not the first, of the region's mill towns that eventually numbered nearly one thousand. Zuber remembered that the Harris pinery "was a forest of noble pines growing within two hundred yards of Bray's Bayou." A work crew of nearly twenty men, including fellers, haulers, water men and cooks, dropped the timber, sawed it into lengths, and floated the raw product across the bayou to the mill, where it was sawed into lumber. Often the cleared land was incorporated into the plantation's crop rotation⁷

After the Civil War, the railroads and sawmill communities developed a synergistic relationship that lasted for almost eighty years. As early as the 1850s, railroads were envisioned as a logical means to transport the raw materials and products to and from the then small but prosperous lumber industry communities. Later, the railroads and sawmill communities developed a synergistic relationship that lasted for almost eighty years. The charter title of the Texas & New Orleans Railroad, founded in 1856, as the Sabine and Galveston Bay Railroad and Lumber Company, exemplified the relationship between timber and rail. The railroads gave the lumber industry an efficient means of both harvesting and marketing the forests; sawmills provided the railroads with vitally needed crossties and building timbers to expand the rail network. However, the development did not begin in earnest until the latter part of the 1870s.8

A compilation of sawmill frequencies by county by decade extracted from the ETSMDB (Figures 2) summarizes the spatial patterns of the emerging sawmill culture between 1819-1850. Collaborating records support that population density in these counties closely mirrored patterns of counties which had the highest sawmill frequencies. While most East Texas counties had no sawmill activity, several had between 6-10 mills operating during these decades. Initial commercial exploitation of the forest began in counties adjacent to the Sabine River and in

Houston County between the Neches and Trinity Rivers, respectively. In this phase, large mature trees were cut down and rafted to mills for processing (See Figure 1 for county locations).

By the 1850s, the sawmill industry had greatly expanded in number and geography across East Texas landscapes. From two animal-and-man-powered mills in 1819, at least 229 sawmill plants were documented in East Texas during the decade before the Civil War. The expansion of mills was enhanced by a significant shift from animal and human muscle to steam or water power. By the Civil War, almost ninety pecent of the mills had been converted to steam (134) or water (66) from direct power by either animal and/or human labor. For example, the J. J. Bowman sawmill was converted to steam shortly after the Civil War to increase capacity.⁹

PHASE II (1860s-1890s)

It was during the second phase of lumbering in East Texas a distinctive lumber culture emerged and the sawmill industry began to reduce the magnificent, mature forests in earnest. Sawyers turned fallen trees into tens of millions of board feet of quality southern pine and hardwood lumber. Essentially, this phase of sawmill industry development extended from the Civil War years through Reconstruction into a wild-and-wooly period of sawmill, railroad and tram construction that especially dominated the decades of the 1880s and 1890s. This phase witnessed a gradual increase in sawmill numbers, even during the turbulent Civil Wars years (nearly 300 during the decade of the 1860s), until the post-1877 period of rail construction nearly tripled that number by the end of the century. Advanced steam machinery and harvesting techniques brought about an increased level in the division of labor and increased rate as well as amount of lands deforested. Land conversion intensified in East Texas during this phase.

In these decades, the first large scale mills were constructed along the Texas Gulf Coast and also were built in Northeast Texas. Orange and Beaumont changed from small agricultural and commercial villages into important mill towns with extensive rail, tram and shipping connections in order to move the "green gold" of Texas. In the town of Orange alone, the more important operations included Lutcher & Moore Lumber Company, established by northern capital in 1877, the Alexander Gilmer Lumber Company, the Bancroft Lumber Company, M.T. Jones and the Orange Lumber Company. The Beaumont lumber industry thrived on the companies and mill communities of Long Manufacturing, Beaumont

Lumber Company and Texas Tram & Lumber Company. These commercial interests built mill towns for their workers and their families. They also built tram roads deep into the virgin pineries so that loggers could extract enormous volumes of timber and move it many miles by rail and water to the sawmill factories.¹¹

The impacts on the Orange area landscape were incredible. Before the Civil War a half-dozen mills, with a combined cutting capacity of 15,000 to 18,000 feet daily, were operating at or near Orange. Of thirty billion feet of timber on both sides of the Sabine, more than a billion of it was within five miles of the city. With the introduction of full-scale, intensive milling fueled by large amounts of capital in 1877 by William Moore and G. Bedell Moore, by 1890, the Orange lumber companies were reaching beyond the five mile radii they had harvested.¹²

Not just southeast Texas was being stripped of its timber crop. More than 200 of the 701 East Texas sawmills documented in the era of the 1880s operated in the three most northeastern Texas counties (ETSMDB). The development of Texarkana, the growth of Cass County, and the revitalization of Jefferson and Marion County were inextricably linked to the expanding lumber industry in the northeastern portion of Texas (See Figure 1). Large mills were built along the major trunklines. In addition, company-owned tram lines built by Central Coal & Coke Company, DeKalb Lumber Company, Redwater Lumber Company, Sulphur River Lumber Company, were vitally important in the economic development of the area. Although not used as extensively as in eastcentral and southeast Texas, more than fifty company-owned trams were built and constructed in the northeastern counties, some lasting into the 1930s. Prosperity was fleeting as many of the mill towns flourished then withered away after timber resources were exhausted. The clearing of the forests along the railroad and tram routes and along the banks of the bayous and rivers not only converted the landscape of northeast Texas but directed economic diversification into livestock, agriculture and new areas of industrialization. 13

Railroads and tram roads of East Texas contributed significantly position to the history of Texas. Not only did they influence the rapid development of the lumber industry after 1880 and consequently brought much needed capital to the state, but many became common carriers as well while others were absorbed into the vast systems of the trunk lines. As a result, many East Texans were given a way to make a living maintaining and operating the rails.

Many of the most labor intensive tasks of getting logs out of the forest to the mills were carried out by African-Americans and oxen teams. These technologies were merged with other horse-drawn skidder technologies and linked to the use of the tram-borne skidding machinery, all of which dramatically increased the rate of logging and intensified the rate of land conversion.¹⁴

Rivers funneled the majority of logs to the mills. Shifting logging camps housed hundreds of laborers who worked in the stifling heat/humidity and the bitter chill of grueling East Texas summers and winters while performing dangerous jobs. Regional railway lines were built along the periphery but not through the great East Texas forest until the last fifteen years of the 19th century. In East Texas alone, the number of company-owned tram lines increased from seven in use before 1879 to more than seventy-five active lines in the latter part of the 1880s, with more than 300 engines traveling over several thousand miles of track. ¹⁵

The patterns of sawmill frequencies by decade for the phase indicated that the number of sawmills significantly increased in East Texas (Figure 3). By the 1880s, 87% of East Texas counties were involved with the lumber industry with 20% having 21 or more mills that operated during the decade.

During this phase tram railways were built to provide transportation conduits from mills to deeper reaches of the forest. A large number of the early trams supported mills along the eastern margin of Texas and along the Neches drainage to the Gulf. The expansion of trams influenced the geography of sawmills. Large numbers of the mills were used to produce ties to for trams which penetrated into the vast forest. This decade was a period of massive deforestation and land conversion.

PHASE III (1890s-1920s)

The third phase extended from the 1890s-1920s. The period was characterized by an explosion in the number of sawmills; many capable of producing hundreds of thousands of board feet per day. Hundreds of company-owned towns of 5 to 500 families occupied the forest interior (Maxwell 1983). Toward the end of Phase III electricity and other modern physical infrastructure features were added to sawmill communities. Lumber barons, such as T.L.L. Temple, John Henry Kirby, and the Kurth family amassed large land holdings and wealth. Ernest Kurth was president of the Angelina County Lumber Company and organized Southland Paper Millis in Lufkin, the first mill to use southern

yellow pine for newsprint. The Angelina Lumber Company was sold to Owens-Illinois in March 1966.¹⁶

As railroads continued to penetrate deeply into the forest they began to dissect the region. The result was increased accessibility to an increasingly vulnerable East Texas landscape. The growing importance of the relationship between the American rail and timber industries before and after 1900 cannot be understated. Texas ranked third in national railroad mileage, excluding thousands of miles of tram tracks, with more than 9,700 miles by 1900.¹⁷

In 1900, the American Lumberman estimated that the railroad industry in the United States was spending about \$100,000,000 on lumber annually. Timbers were used for pilings, telegraph poles, bridges and trestles, stringers, caps, sway bracing, bridgesills, guard rails, bridge ties, coal chutes, cattle guards, warning posts, semaphore signals, tank and grade crossing materials, and piece stuff for dockage and terminals. Automobile construction, required roofing, ceiling, flooring, sills; common property fencing; finished lumber for station buildings and platforms; and hardwood lumber and veneers for passenger coaches. Before the turn of the century more than twenty billion feet was used alone in the crossties for American railroads, at a cost of \$192,000,000. About 1/8th of the ties were replaced annually at a cost of \$24,000,000. About 15,000,000 telegraph poles were in use. An estimated 2,250,000,000 feet of bridge materials were in use at this time, with a replacement rate of one in ten. Privately-owned steam logging railroads doubled in number to 148, with more than 5,000 miles of removable track and at least 400 engines in use.18

The zenith of the East Texas lumber world was early in the 1900s; particularly from 1900 to 1910. Its impact on community, culture and landscape cannot be overstated. Belo's *Almanac* for 1904 noted that twenty-four percent of Texas was covered with forest; the largest wooded area was located between the Trinity and Sabine rivers. Although almost thirty-seven billion feet of timber had been cut by the end of 1902, John Henry Kirby estimated early the following year that Texas still had more than thirty billion standing feet of Southern yellow pine. Census records noted that from 1880 to 1900 the value of lumber production had grown from \$3,673,449 to \$16,296,473. In 1900, 637 lumber mills valued at \$19,000,000 employed 7,924 workers, who were paid more than \$3,000,000 in wages; Orange ranked first in production, followed closely by Beaumont. Jefferson and Texarkana remained significant milling

centers in northeastern Texas. Inter-regional trade was by coastal vessel to the northeastern states and by rail to the rest of the nation. Texas lumbermen used export trade only when home consumption declined.¹⁹ Turpentine and barrel staves were products also produced from the east Texas forests. Turpentine production peaked in the 1910-1920 with the Western Naval Stores in longleaf pine in Jasper County producing 21 percent of the nation's turpentine in 1918.²⁰

Almost 1,500 sawmills operated at one time or another between 1900-1910 in a geographic are not quite as large as that of the Solomonic Empire in ancient Palestine. These mills were fed by nearly 150 private steam logging railroads. The sawmills employed more than ten thousand loggers, millmen and railroad workers, who lived with their families in numberless East Texas village and hamlets, including at least 362 company-owned mill towns. The years of 1906 and 1907 were the threshold harvest signatures for East Texas. In 1906, more than 518 sawmills, 16 shingle mills and 127 planing mills, box factories, sash and door factories produced 1.7 billion board feet of lumber. In 1907, only two other states produced more lumber than did Texas.²¹

The great increase in mills is readily seen in Figure 4. Sawmill numbers reached a maximum frequency and concentration in the early 1900's as the interior forest was exploited. Steam power remained the dominant energy source during this decade with fossil fuel and electric mills starting to increase in number (ETSMDB). Further, the sawmill industry landscape exhibited a core periphery landscape which essentially persists to the present. Records indicated that during this decade up to 6 million tons of lumber were hauled annually which accounted for about 24% of tonnage carried in the state. ²² Vast lumber yards were built as the intensity of forest harvest reached a peak. Along with this explosion of mills, settlements relocated near tracks to serve the lumber industry. The landscape devastation was immense. Estimates indicate that up to 95% of the old growth forest was clear cut during the cut out-get out era of land conversion in East Texas (Block 1995; ETSMDB; and Maxwell and Baker 1983).

PHASE IV (1920s -1960s)

The fourth phase was characterized by mature company mill towns and a distinct sawmill culture imprint on the landscape. Mills consolidated and began to specialize. The Great Depression period saw the reduction of mills in East Texas. Highways began to become important

corridors to bring logs from the forest to the mills impacting the importance of railroads and river running. These were tough times.

The final major East Texas mill, that of Wier Long Leaf Lumber Company, was formed by R.W. Wier, C.P. Myer, T. P. Wier, B. F. Bonner, Mrs. Henry Lutcher, Miriam Lutcher Stark, William H. Stark, Carrie Lutcher Brown, and Dr. Edgar W. Brown, all of whom had extensive interests in the Lutcher-Moore Lumber Company. Buying the major remaining unused part of the Lutcher-Moore Texas pinery, in 1918, the mill, company town and tram road were located at Little Cow Creek, deep in Newton County. The company town population fluctuated between 1,500 and 4,000. The mill operated continually during the Great Depression as it dominated the industry, community life and politics of the county until it closed 25 December 1942.²³

During this phase, the *de facto* enclosure of the East Texas woods, enforcing the *de jure* rights of property owners, began in the 1920s, although traditional views of open access to lands persisted for over four decades. Nearly three centuries of an informal custom of running livestock and hunting across the "open range" of the Southern woods was banned. An oral history interview in 1995 of three East Texas women, each over seventy years of age, who had lived the great majority of their lives near Goodman Bridge in southwestern Nacogdoches County, described the social change that came to the area with forest enclosures.

The informants' fathers worked as farmers, seasonal laborers and small stockmen. The families kept milk cows, vegetable gardens and poultry. In an era of no electricity with water drawn from well or creek, women employed other women as midwives, canned many of the homegrown vegetables, banked sweet potatoes and green winter onions in a cool spot during the summer. In addition, they laundered clothing in boiling pots over wood-fed stoves. The men hunted for squirrels and wild hogs (the deer were gone by then) and fished. One woman explained that the "open range" [meaning the woods outside of the communities, although it was the private property of someone] was used by all for firewood, pine and sustaining livestock. Meat hogs were kept in a pen; other swine, known as pineywood rooters, and cattle, other than milk cows, roamed in the woods. At times, fierce fencing disputes arose between landowners and those who used the open range, with much cutting of fences, dynamiting of cattle and hog dips, and occasional deaths. Generations of East Texan forest families lived poor but survived this lifestyle for more than a century. As one woman recalled the year her

family could not afford shoes for the children, but remembered she ate extremely well: fruit, eggs, bread, meat and milk. When the enclosures were enforced, the small stockmen went out of business. Many moved families away from an area where they had lived for many years. Some folks recall that some land owners laid claim to free range stock after fencing. Summarily, the closing of the woods brought to an end the era of the backwoodsmen culture in East Texas.²⁴

Sawmill communities achieved a maturity during this phase that lasted until the lumber companies either closed mills down or leased them to tenants; business strategies of more cost-effective economics. Robert S. Maxwell and Robert D. Baker, authors of Sawdust Empire: The Texas Lumber Industry 1830-1940, reported that the world of the East Texas lumber worker achieved a remarkably uniform community for several decades²⁵. Racial and ethnic patterns remained constant during this period. In large mill towns, such as Keltys or Hayward, now suburbs of Lufkin and Nacogdoches respectively, Maxwell and Baker found that "... 9 out of 10 were native-born Americans, two-thirds were native Texans and most of the others were southerners. Four out of ten were black."²⁶

The politics of race affected social grouping. So, in a particular mill town, it could, and often did, fluctuate radically from the norm. Afro-Americans at some mills had totaled as much as seventy-five percent of the workforce. The Michelli plant during the 1890s just south of the Angelina River on the Houston East and West Texas is one example. Racial tension was present in East Texas communities. Although, by the 1940s, the Texas Rangers and state guard had not been dispatched to suppress race riots in lumber towns for many years (two earlier examples being Ragley Lumber in Panola County in 1904 and the entire city of Orange in 1899), white lumber workers and their families maintained social and personal feelings reflective of their southern culture. For example, G. J. Maxwell, a Jacksonville sawmill owner whose career spanned the eras of both World War I and World War II, was reported by The Jacksonville Journal in 1947 to pride himself on maintaining racial solidarity "in being [able] to operate an exclusively [sic] white man plant." Maxwell was not unrepresentative of his class or for his time.²⁷

Almost all sawmill plants in East Texas in 1940 provided their own mill towns, each with company-provided housing, commissary, some schooling and medical care. Costs for these services were deducted monthly from the employee's check. The commissary, at times over priced

and under stocked, nonetheless often provided everything from cotton to coffins for the employees and their families. Access was not always easy. Sometimes company workers and families lived miles from the company store. Chronister Lumber Company of Cherokee County had a logging camp west of Douglass in Nacogdoches County. Joe Bob Staton told Grady C. Singletary in an oral interview that company employees living on Buckshot Road at times left commissary orders on a pole for the engineer of the company tram engine. The next train returning from the mill at Wildhurst would blow its horn, deposit the groceries on the ground, and depart. If the families were not quick enough, then the wild hogs might get the food instead of the people.²⁸

Sawmill housing and towns obviously had significant effects on both the social demographics and the rural and community landscapes of East Texas. Housing in Angelina and Nacogdoches counties during the 1940s generally rivaled or exceeded that of non-mill neighbors. In several cases sawmill housing was instrumental in the introduction of modern utilities to the countryside. Six of the major fifteen sawmills were located in or near to the two county seats. Four of these companies either had access to or shared city utilities. Two companies had their own utility systems. Almost every house had electricity; many had running water; while a few were connected to natural gas and sewage systems. The sawmill towns of the countryside were not as well developed as those of the city, yet provided a better standard of material living than did that of the average rural farm in either Angelina or Nacogdoches county and received utilities before adjacent non-mill farm families.

By 1940, nearly all milltown houses in the two counties had electricity; all had access to wells either or running water. The case of T. O. Sutton & Sons at Chireno, the last of the larger mills in the two counties to electrify its company housing in 1942, reflected the material-cultural differences between mill home and farm home. Before electrification, mill-town families at Chireno did not have electric stoves: cooking was done with butane, kerosene oil or wood. Water had to be carried from the mill site about two hundred yards from the quarters. Wells were dug on a hill and later in the quarters. Before electricity came to the homes, the typical family would have a gasoline-powered washing machine, a kerosene refrigerator, a Coleman white gas clothes iron and an Aladdin lamp.²⁹

Southern Pine Lumber Company at Diboll and the Southland Paper Mill at Hertys, however, rivaled the preceding city sawmill towns in terms

of development of utilities. Southern Pine, because Diboll was created literally to be the company's mill town, had electrified all of its housing by 1910. Southland Paper Mill (SPM) owned generally by the same people that controlled Angelina County Lumber Company and the Angelina Hardwood Company had been constructed in 1939. The small SPM mill town of Hertys reflected the material conditions of an East Texas town. The company housing of Angelina County Lumber Company at Keltys demonstrated the standard of living in the sawmill towns of the Angelina River Basin by 1948. The community consisted of about 480 families; 150 were Afro-American families. All homes were electrified, about half had vegetable gardens, and, unlike Southern Pine Lumber's mill town at Diboll, very few cows, chickens or horses were kept.³⁰

Factors of race and class determined housing priorities in mill towns and affected the demographics of community housing patterns in East Texas. At Keltys (on northwest edge of Lufkin, Texas) for example, four types of housing were available and these were upgraded during World War II. White owners and management lived in large homes of nine or ten rooms with garages, all but two of the homes built in oak groves; these houses were serviced with electricity, water, natural gas and sewer. The next group, also for whites, included five or six room houses with porches and fence-enclosed small yards. The homes all had electricity and water while some had sewer and natural gas. The third house type was primarily inhabited by whites while a few of the homes were available in the African-American quarters. It consisted of four to six rooms, large porches, old fences and electricity and water. The final type consisted of unpainted shacks of two to three rooms, no fences, no porches and no garages. All had electricity, some with running water, but most families had to carry water from hydrants located at several points along a block. These quarters were inhabited mainly by African-Americans.31

As the mill towns closed, whites generally moved out of the quarters to newer sections of towns while the African-Americans bought their homes. The houses emptied by whites were bought by other black families, and the sections of East Texas communities that once had mill towns became distinctively reinforced as the housing areas for peoples of color. Distinctive Afro-American sections in Nacogdoches can directly trace their origins to the mill plants of Frost Industries and Nacogdoches County Lumber, on the east and west sides of town, respectively.³²

During the fourth phase lumber barons began to manage the forest as a renewable, sustainable resource rather than an endlessly exploitable one. To summarize this phase (Figure 5), sawmill frequencies declined during the 1930s and 1940s, but began to increase during the 1950s. It is important to note that during this phase sawmill frequencies could no longer be used as a surrogate for population densities as the East Texas oil boom began to reshape population concentrations. Power sources also shifted toward fossil fuels and electric driven mills although steam power remained important. Electrification came, in part, to the rural countryside through the need of lumber companies to affect more cost-effective sources of power (ETSMDB).

PHASE V (1960s-1990s)

The most recent phase of the sawmill culture is best described as a corporate landscape with diversified regional industries stimulating urban expansion and continued development of the material and physical infrastructure reducing the area's isolation from metropolitan centers. Fewer but larger mills dominated the industrial landscape. In looking at the sawmill frequency maps, two points should be noted (Figure 6). First, there was a gradual centralization of sawmills in the central-eastern portion of East Texas. Second, the numbers of mills have been consolidated gradually over time, from a total of 347 during the 1960s to slightly more than 100 as the year 2000 approaches.³³ But mills that have persisted on the landscape have become integrated with various modes of transportation, enabling the sites to obtain, process and put to market large volumes and variety of lumber products daily. For instance, the Pineland mill has connections to external rail and road transport with a complex internal transportation network. This plant is part of the Temple-Inland Corporation which grew out of the Southern Pine Lumber Company started by T.L.L. Temple during the boom years. Today, the corporation is a Fortune 500 conglomerate based in Diboll, Texas. Temple Inland land was acquired by the Campbell Group and the mills acquired by International Paper and Georgia Pacific. 34 Over the years east coast executives settled in the East Texas region due to Temple Inland. In addition, two of the three remaining industrial short lines still operating in East Texas are associated with Temple-Inland Forest Products, Inc. The Texas-Southeastern, built after 1894, still serves the plant at Diboll in Angelina County. The Sabine River & Northern, the last built of the company-owned tram roads (1965), transverses almost thirty miles from the paper plant on the Sabine River to the deep-water port of Orange.35

LEISURE LANDSCAPES

Another aspect of landscape change in East Texas is exemplified by leisure landscapes. These gentrified places fall into two major classes: 1) landscapes of privileges; and 2) landscapes with privileges.

Most private lands of East Texas represent landscapes of privileged. In the last century, individuals, families and later corporations amassed vast tracts of land in East Texas. Ownership of land is a right worth defending in Texas; but clearly a privilege as well because of the physical and aesthetic value local landscapes. Second homes in the country side or even primary residences outside the city are becoming more common in the region. East Texas also is seen as a retirement destination for many folks. Land holding often integrates agricultural practices with rustic tract of country vista, pleasing the senses or allowing the pursuit of cultural amenities. For example, hunting clubs such as Boggy Slough and Pine Mill Meadow are sought after destinations, not only by local residents but by many others familiar with the amenities found on these managed properties. Trophy deer, turkey and quail are raised for organized hunts or leisure weekends are enjoyed at lodges on these grounds.

The Aldridge mill site, now located in the Angelina National Forest, operated in the early 1900s. The Aldridge sawmill represented the highest level of development with multiple saws, residential areas, hotels, schools and a commissary³⁶. Now the site is included on a hiking trail. Also, consider the remnants of the 4-C mill at Ratcliff (ANF). As mentioned earlier this mill operated during the depression. It supported a community of over 1,500 people. Interpretative trails have been developed around the old sawmill buildings and the old logging pond has been up-graded into a recreational lake.

CONCLUSIONS

In closing, evidence supports that landscape gentrification is a dynamic process operating in East Texas. Further, it is suggested that the sawmill culture initiated massive land conversion in East Texas which was facilitated by improved, adaptive technology over the years. The lumber industry significantly influenced extra-regional and international culture contacts as well as directly influenced transportation infrastructure development in the area reducing its isolation from urban influences. Moreover, sawmill culture and lumber industry remains dynamic elements guiding East Texas landscape gentrification. An important lasting impact on East Texas is most readily seen as landscapes with privileges; public

lands with access and private lands that sustain privilege. The recent acquisition of timber land by Real Estate Investment Trusts and Timber Investment Management Organizations (TIMO). TIMOs and REITs developed in the 1970s after congress passed legislation encouraging investors to diversify their portfolios. A TIMO is a management group that aids institutional investors in managing their timberland investments³⁷.

Acknowledgements

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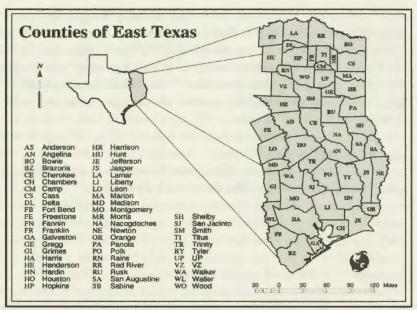


Figure 1. Counties of east Texas for sawmill database.

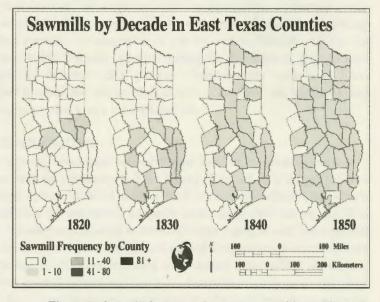


Figure 2. Sawmill frequency by county, east Texas, Phase I, 1820-1850.

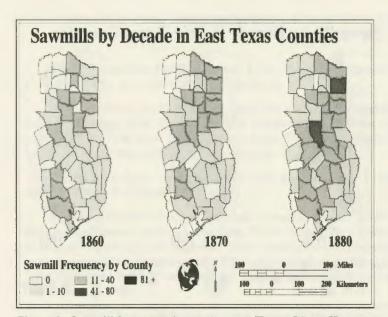


Figure 3. Sawmill frequency by county, east Texas, Phase II, 1860-1880.

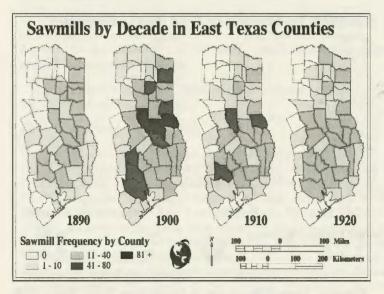


Figure 4. Sawmill frequency by county, east Texas, Phase II-III, 1890-1920.

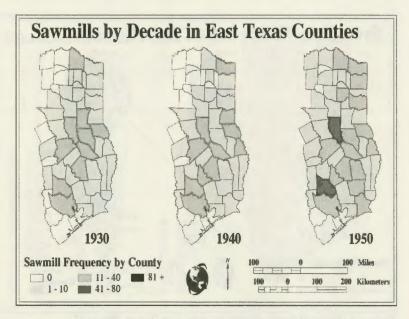


Figure 5. Sawmill frequency by county, east Texas, Phase III-IV, 1930-1950.

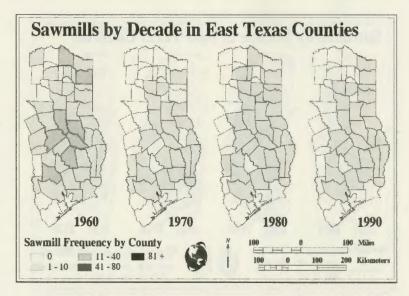


Figure 6. Sawmill frequency by county, east Texas, Phase IV-V, 1960-1990.

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"Serendipity" in Action: Hana Ginzbarg and the Crusade to Save Armand Bayou, 1970-1975

BY ALEX J. BORGER

Once a land of tall-grass prairies and an interconnecting system of coastal bayous, the Houston area and the Texas Gulf Coast are now dominated by an extensive sprawl of unchecked residential, commercial, and industrial development. Up against such a formidable human enterprise, wild nature has had little opportunity to thrive. The few natural areas that have managed to survive in the region—usually small patches of quasi-wilderness, nestled between chemical plants, office buildings, shopping centers or subdivisions—are an invaluable resource for recreation and eco-education. Some are also havens for a number of critical flora and fauna that have suffered years of habitat destruction from development or pollution. Often taken for granted are not only these preserves and parks themselves, but the stories behind their rescue or restoration.

One such story revolves around a twelve-mile waterway twenty miles south of Houston and just north of the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center. Armand Bayou (formerly Middle Bayou) is part of a 2,500-acre urban wilderness preserve, one of the largest of its kind in the United States. Under the guardianship of the Armand Bayou Nature Center, the waterway and its surrounding wilderness play critical roles in the ecosystem of the Texas Gulf Coast. Estuaries like Armand Bayou are rare transition zones between river and sea environments.

Water flows into the preserve from both the gulf and the watershed, combining to create an environment extremely high in nutrients. Its shallow estuarine marshes provide shelter and spawning grounds for a number of economically important marine organisms including gulf shrimp, blue crab, spotted trout, and black drum.² The preserve is also a critical breeding area and habitat for more than 370 species of birds,

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reptiles, amphibians, and mammals.3

Preserved as a wilderness, Armand Bayou offers invaluable services to the people of the Clear Lake area. A 1975 interpretive tour guide offered a quantified monetary value for Armand Bayou. Using a formula developed by ecological economist H.T. Odum, bayou preservationists projected that Armand Bayou provided \$10,000 per acre per year in services to the surrounding community. Factor in inflation and it becomes obvious; economically speaking, Armand Bayou delivers. Despite the well-documented ecological and economic value of wild estuaries, Houston's bayous are rare or endangered. Armand Bayou is one out of only four Texas Coastal Preserves, and one of the few bayous in the area not channelized. Those who enjoy the benefits—knowingly or not—of Armand Bayou, are indebted to the activists and concerned citizens who worked tirelessly for preservation. Spearheading the movement in the early-1970s was Hana Ginzbarg.

The story of Hana Ginzbarg's early life is one of personal triumph and good fortune in the face of ominous global forces. Born in Prague in 1925 to Otto and Zdenka Sommer, Hana was thirteen when the Nazis invaded Czechoslovakia in 1938. She and her eleven-year-old brother narrowly escaped. Fortunately, their mother's friend, a British journalist, connected them with a group of English Quakers embarking on a mission to rescue Jewish children from Czechoslovakia. Hana and her brother waited at the train station day after day as trains filled with children and left before them. Luckily, they caught the final transport and made it to England. Their mother joined them several weeks later, but their father did not make it out. Hana and her brother lived in foster homes while they attended school in Newcastle until 1943, when they got visas to emigrate to the United States. After earning a bachelor's degree in two years at Vassar College in New York, Hana enrolled in the chemistry master's program at Smith College in Massachusetts. Following completion of her master's, higher ambitions led her westward to pursue a doctorate in chemistry at Purdue University.6

While at Purdue, Hana met fellow graduate student and European refugee Arthur Ginzbarg. The couple eventually married and moved to Houston in 1949, following a job offer for Arthur. As a chemistry teacher and mother in the booming coastal prairie city, Hana Ginzbarg hoped to find a place to hike with her family. In an interview with the Texas Legacy Project, she recalled thinking her son Steven was "such an underprivileged child, he [didn't] have any hills to climb." Though

nothing close to the mountains of her home country, where she often retreated growing up, the slopes and ravines of Brays Bayou helped the Ginzbargs find refuge from the rapidly developing city. On one trip to the area, she was shocked to discover the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Corps) had bulldozed trees and dug up the banks along the waterway to enhance its drainage capacity, thereby limiting its recreational use. Eager to find another hiking area, the Ginzbargs started visiting Houston's premier natural feature, Buffalo Bayou.⁷

At Buffalo Bayou, Hana's interests in outdoor recreation intersected with the concerns of Houston's environmental activists. In the mid-1960s, the Corps contracted with the Harris County Flood Control District (HCFCD) on an unannounced order to rectify and reroute upper sections of Buffalo Bayou. Witnessing the forested banks razed along the water near Chimney Rock Road prompted homeowners in Houston's Memorial subdivision to investigate. When they learned of the plans to reroute the upper sections of the bayou, local advocates formed a coalition called the Buffalo Bayou Preservation Association (BBPA) to voice their concern. The most visible and outspoken member of the BBPA was memorial resident Theresa Tarleton Hershey. With her "Save Buffalo Bayou" campaign, Hershey worked tirelessly to bring her neighborhood issue to a larger band of Houston environmental advocates.⁸

Among the many individuals touched by the BBPA's extensive crusade was Hana Ginzbarg. After seeing Terry Tarleton Hershey speak out on television for Save Buffalo Bayou, Ginzbarg joined the organization. In service to the movement, she established a post in Houston's Memorial Park every weekend where she obtained several thousand signatures on a petition to oppose the bayou's destruction. After her initiation into conservation working for the Save Buffalo Bayou campaign, Ginzbarg began to turn her attention to a wider range of environmental concerns. She once reflected on her personal development as an activist, noting, "The projects that I get involved in don't happen by planning. They just happen by serendipity. . . it's like evolution. It's a matter of chance events, plus natural selection—a combination of the two." Eventually, such chance events led her to the small out-of-town estuary that would become the focus of her life for several years.

By 1970, Ginzbarg established herself in Houston's environmentalist networks through volunteer work with several organizations. In January 1970, the Bayou Preservation Association (BPA, formerly BBPA) asked her to photograph the destruction of a wetland around Buffalo Bayou

that occurred during construction of what she called "a road to nowhere." Her documentation work led her to a patch of "beautiful land...out in the woods" west of the proposed road, which she felt would be perfect for a park. The person to help make that happen, Ginzbarg thought, would be Armand Yramategui with whom she had opposed the Texas Water Plan in 1969.¹¹

Yramategui was "Mr. Conservationist. . . [and] he knew how to do things," Ginzbarg later recalled. 12 Born of Basque and Mexican parents, Yramategui was a native Houstonian with a love for learning. As a passionate autodidactic, he never limited himself to one vocation. An engineer by training, he was also an astronomer, a curator at the Burke-Baker Planetarium, and an avid naturalist. By January 1970, when Ginzbarg approached him for help with her vision of a new park on Buffalo Bayou, Yramategui had gained a reputation as a formidable Texas conservationist. Through the 1960s, he headed up a number of programs in the Gulf Coast area and eventually served as president of the Texas Conservation Council. 13

On January 27, 1970, Yramategui suggested that Ginzbarg attend the Houston City Council budget meeting the following morning to make a statement about her park idea. While getting ready to leave for the city council meeting the morning of January 28, she heard on the news that Yramategui had been tragically murdered.¹⁴ After his conversation with Hana, Yramategui set out away from the city lights for a better view of the Tago-Sato-Kosako comet. When he stopped to change a flat tire on US 59 at the edge of the city, three teenagers approached to offer their help, then senselessly robbed him and then fatally shot him. 15 With tears in her eyes, Hana pressed on and attended the city council meeting to make her statement. 16 At city hall and then later that evening at a meeting of the local Audubon Society, of which Yramategui was president, discussions broke out about the possibility of dedicating a memorial to the revered naturalist. The members insisted on continuing his efforts for conservation. Ginzbarg and another Houston environmental advocate and engineer, Frank Kokesh, volunteered to speak for the slain activist at the Harris County Commissioners Court, where he had been scheduled to make a presentation the following night.¹⁷

Kokesh delivered a passionate speech on behalf of Yramategui to save Middle Bayou, an endangered estuary in a booming suburban area south of Houston, which he saw as the "best preserved piece of wilderness in Harris County." "We will not let you gentlemen rest," he warned,

"until something substantial is done to save the Middle Bayou area, and perhaps someday it will be known as Armand's Bayou." Yramategui's supporters left the meeting enraged, feeling the commission had only given "polite attention" to their requests. Afterward, Ginzbarg obtained a tape recording of the Middle Bayou speech, which she transcribed and handed out at Yramategui's funeral, requesting support to preserve the land as his memorial.

While in contrast to the sprawling metropolis of Houston, Middle Bayou must have seemed like a pristine wilderness, but before 1970, the area had a long history of human occupation. Later archeological investigations in the area indicated "various Indian tribes" inhabited the area "for several thousand years," although an earlier documented history of Middle Bayou began with European settlement in the nineteenth century. As it noted, about a dozen families established farms and a small community in the 1870s along the bayou's eastern banks. Settlers like Jimmy Martyn, who lived in the area from 1894 until his death in 1964, lived mostly subsistence lifestyles, raising a few cattle and some produce, and logging cedar along the banks of the river.22 Before such settlers arrived, the watershed was largely a tall-grass prairie hosting vegetation such as big bluestem and Indian grass; the banks along the bayou were lined with coastal forests breaking up the open landscape. Native buffalo, and later free-range Spanish horses and cattle, grazed the prairie at a low intensity.23 By the 1930s, much of the land surrounding Middle Bayou had been incorporated into Jim West's 30,000-acre cattle ranch and game preserve. Other than West's opulent 45-room mansion and complex of amenities, much of the ranch stayed undeveloped pasture for cattle and game.²⁴ In 1938, the Humble Oil and Refining Company (later Exxon USA) purchased the entire ranch to exploit its mineral resources.²⁵

Humble Oil left the land around Middle Bayou mostly undeveloped until the early 1960s, when approached with a unique opportunity. In 1961, Chairman of the Board of Trustees for Rice University, George R. Brown, and Texas Congressman Albert Thomas approached company president Morgan Davis requesting a donation of 1,000 acres to Rice University, which would then donate the land to the federal government for the National Aeronautic and Space Administration's new Manned Space Flight Center. The company did not ask for compensation from Rice University with the understanding that a new federal installment would cause a surge in land values and create profitable business opportunities in the area. Likewise, Brown understood Rice University's

connection with the center would bring the school funding and research opportunities.²⁶

In January 1962, Humble Oil entered into a joint venture with a development company to create a new firm that would develop the rest of their West Ranch property, including the waterfront land surrounding Middle Bayou. The new company, Friendswood Development Company, planned residential and commercial development of 15,000 acres on both sides of the bayou and 7,250 acres for heavy industrial development on its northeast end.²⁷ At that time, the land surrounding Middle Bayou was under the jurisdiction of Harris County, which meant the development company was virtually unrestricted in its plans to alter the landscape. But by the middle of 1964, in what Ginzbarg would later identify as another "serendipity idea," the City of Pasadena annexed a strip along the bayou down to Clear Lake in a move to prevent the City of Houston's advancements to surround the suburb.²⁸

In March 1970, two months following Yramategui's death, a friend invited Ginzbarg on a boating trip out to Middle Bayou. She had never been on a natural river and she later recalled: "It was a beautiful day . . . with the Spanish moss hanging down. . . and birds. . . no sign of civilization anywhere, just wilderness." It was a pivotal moment in Ginzbarg's evolution as an activist. As a chemist who had read Rachel Carson's revolutionary Silent Spring, Ginzbarg understood the scientific arguments for conservation better than many of her peers, and as a lover of the outdoors, she appreciated the beauty of nature. However, her advocacy took on a new dynamic when she experienced for herself Yramategui's "last wilderness." Ginzbarg remembered, before going out on Middle Bayou, "it was just a theoretical thing and now [afterward] it was something emotional." In 1990, Texas Shores magazine quoted her in reflection on the moment: "My first thought was 'this is something special.' We can't ruin it. This can never be recreated for future generations." 31

After the canoe trip in the early spring of 1970, Ginzbarg mounted a fortuitous campaign to save Middle Bayou. She and other BPA members actively researched the impact of such development on the watershed and unleashed their lobbying efforts on local government. By the fall of 1970, Ginzbarg began discussing plans with Frank Kokesh, the Audubon Society member who spoke out for Yramategui at the January commissioners court meeting, to rename the river as a memorial to the beloved naturalist.³² The City of Pasadena eventually agreed to rename the bayou after Yramategui's first name, Armand. Kokesh

organized a ceremony on the bayou in November and invited dozens of environmentalists and Houstonians, including Pasadena public officials and Friendswood executives.³³

At the ceremony, some wondered what Humble Oil subsidiary planned to do with the land surrounding the bayou. With part of it then under the jurisdiction of Pasadena, the company had to submit plans to the city's Planning and Zoning Commission before they could build anything. Following the renaming service, Ginzbarg called the Pasadena commission to request a copy of the company's plans. It was awful, she recounted Every inch was development and there were streets all the way down to the bayou. I mean, everything was developed. Trawing on her experience with the BPA, she next educated Pasadena city officials on the workings of the Federal Insurance Administration (FIA), a new federal program that insured building owners in flood-prone areas. As a prerequisite to the program, municipalities were required to implement floodplain management plans, which among other measures, restricted building within the fifty-year and hundred-year floodplains.

Representing the BPA and the Audubon Society, Ginzbarg convinced the City of Pasadena, whose residents had long dealt with flooding problems, to consider adopting a flood management plan and apply for the federal program.³⁷ Seeing how close to the bayou Friendswood planned to build, Ginzbarg felt compelled to request from the Corps the maps Pasadena planned to use in its flood management ordinances. In a footnote in the preliminary plans, she discovered that the elevation regulations had been set to a 1955 contour map, which ignored fifteen years of land subsidence. In their research, Ginzbarg and other conservationists found that the industrial centers along the Houston Ship Channel were withdrawing 600 million gallons of groundwater per day, causing the Clear Lake area to sink slowly over time. She urged the USGS to re-level (update the elevation) and issue new elevation maps. When the agency denied her request, she turned to the FIA itself, warning that unless USGS issued a re-level, it would end up insuring houses within the hundred-year flood plain. After receiving the message, the FIA agreed to meet half the cost of the \$200,000 survey. Fortunately, Frank Kokesh was able to persuade the American Society of Civil Engineers of Houston (of which he was member) to donate the other \$100,000 for the survey.³⁸ The study showed that the area surrounding Armand Bayou had, in fact, subsided an average of 1.5 feet since 1955 reducing the acreage available for Friendswood's planned waterfront lots.³⁹ Ginzbarg urged the Pasadena City Council to

pass an ordinance as part of its floodplain plan to restrict homebuilding to thirteen feet above sea level, forcing the company to withdraw its original development plan.⁴⁰

In total, the changes to the flood control maps and adoption of flood management by the City of Pasadena rendered 800 acres along Armand Bayou legally unfit for development.⁴¹ Ginzbarg and her supporters hoped the new restrictions on development and a resulting drop in land value would prompt Friendswood to donate the acreage as a public wilderness park. But the development company had other plans; on April 2 Friendswood revealed to Armand Bayou conservationists that they instead planned to keep the 800 acres along the bayou underdeveloped as a private greenbelt for neighborhood residents. They would not allow public regulation of how the area was used, leaving open the possibility for various "planned recreational uses," including the possibility of a golf course.⁴² As an alternative, Friendswood offered to sell the land to the City of Pasadena at the firm price of an average \$6,000 per acre.⁴³ From that point forward, the Armand Bayou campaign focused heavily on fundraising efforts.

Hana Ginzbarg and her supporters, which included a variety of local organizations and individuals, waged a vocal and multifaceted operation. 44 Outreach efforts included mass mailings; speeches at conservation societies, universities clubs, and other public gatherings; and organized canoe trips with the public, politicians, and members of the local news media. Ginzbarg led the movement without falter, herself writing dozens of letters to state and federal officials for potential funding programs and actively pursuing the aid of other conservationists. 45 Within a year, the movement to save a small out-of-town bayou grew from a handful of committed Houston-area conservationists to hundreds in and out of Harris County. 46 By the end of 1971, the grassroots campaign entered a new phase of legitimacy. On December 21, Pasadena Mayor Clyde Doyal and the city council established the Committee for the Preservation of Armand Bayou consisting of 37 citizens. 47

Despite the growing support, the campaign and its mission did not sit well with all of the area's local residents. In April 1971, Ginzbarg received a letter from the nearby Cresthaven Estates Civic Club, Inc. claiming to offer the "more realistic viewpoint," which was to rectify the bayou for flood control. The club gathered more than 1,000 signatures to petition the Harris County Commissioners Court to modify the bayou. 48 Likewise, that same year Ginzbarg and other advocates met

with doubt as they promoted the park idea to people of the Clear Lake Forest subdivision. Some reacted with astonishment, asking, "What do you want to save this for? It's a mosquito-ridden swamp." Confident that education could shift the attitudes of residents in their favor, the Armand Bayou advocates responded to skepticism and full-on countercampaigns by residents with opportunities to learn about the significance and value of coastal wilderness preserves. The premier education tools for Armand Bayou were group hikes and boating trips often led by scientists, professors, and occasionally, astronauts. In lieu of a service fee, the Preservation Committee asked that visitors (often over a hundred in a day) send a letter to a government official or Friendswood executive in support of preservation. Such events got the attention of local media such that Armand Bayou was a "continual story" in regional papers. St

Throughout the campaign, Ginzbarg stayed perpetually alert to opportunities and worked tirelessly to pursue anything she thought would help see her vision, and that of Armand Yramategui, come to life. In May 1971, Hana read a newspaper story about a new federal program, announced by Pres. Richard Nixon, to fund park development in urban areas.⁵² The Legacy of Parks program, administered by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), offered to match 75 percent of the funds raised by local communities for open space park projects that met certain criteria. Armand Bayou fell under each of the program categories: "scenic vistas, protection of wetlands, small forests, ecological laboratories, general watershed protection areas, and wildlife sanctuaries and habitats."53 Immediately after hearing about the program, Ginzbarg invited officials at the HUD regional office in Fort Worth to visit Armand Bayou. The visitors were impressed by what they saw and spoke positively of its potential as a large park. The same day, Ginzbarg hosted several people from the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (TPWD) to persuade them to consider making Armand Bayou and its surrounding wilderness a state park.⁵⁴ After his visit to Armand Bayou, TPWD executive director James Cross showed significant interest in acquiring the land for the state system, but like the City of Pasadena, his department would wait as more developed on the Legacy of Parks grant.55

In the summer of 1971, just as the campaign began to focus its fundraising goals, Congress cut appropriations for the Legacy of Parks program in half from \$200 million to \$100 million and lowered the top grant awarded from a 75 percent match to fifty percent.⁵⁶ Behind the scenes, Ginzbarg sent letters urging Houston-area Congressman

Bob Casey, a member of the House Appropriates Committee, and other Congressmen, as well as President Nixon, urging them to restore the original program appropriations and subsidy.⁵⁷ Furthermore, by February 1972, the TPWD decided that due to lack of funds and other "uncertainties," the commission could not accept such a "gigantic task."⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Ginzbarg worked with the Preservation of Armand Bayou Committee to raise funds for the City of Pasadena to apply for the grant. In December 1971, the municipality, whose officials had long supported the park idea to complement the industrial working-class city, borrowed more than a million dollars from bankers in the form of certificates of obligation. The effort paid off, and by summer the following year, HUD matched the city's funds with a grant of \$1.04 million.⁵⁹

In October 1972, Pasadena purchased the first 956 acres—all six tracts along the waterway—of Armand Bayou Nature Center from Friendswood, opening a path to the realization of Armand Yramategui's wish. 60 Citizens, environmentalists, businesspeople, and office holders gathered soon after to dedicate the Armand Bayou Nature Center at Bay Area Park. At the ceremony, U.S. Senator John Tower recognized the tenacity of the campaign's citizen leader, noting, "When you turn her loose on a project it's almost like watering a lawn with a fire hose. I'll tell you she gets it done. I think we can all think ourselves better because we belong to a society that produces unselfish and dedicated people like Hana Ginzbarg." Her story of leadership and perseverance reached a national scale when the New York Times News Service picked up the story the several months later. Headlines like "Housewife wins Fight to Save Small River," appeared in newspapers as far away as Florida. 62

The first 956 acres accounted for only a portion of the Armand Bayou Nature Center's eventual landholdings. Before the ceremony that Fall, the City of Pasadena moved swiftly to apply for a second HUD matching grant, looking to beat the Legacy of Parks program deadline in December. Ginzbarg and the Preservation of Armand Bayou Committee remained devoted to the cause of preserving a substantial section of wilderness in the suburban area. Their public outreach-oriented fundraising efforts reached their zenith, when supporters commissioned a full-page ad that ran in several national magazines headlined, "We Urgently Need Money to Build Absolutely Nothing Here." The park's first in-depth interpretive guide, issued in 1975, clearly articulated the ambitions of the campaign: "The movement to preserve Armand Bayou and to create a 3,000-acre park is gaining momentum." With funds

from private citizens, the City of Pasadena, Harris County, and federal programs through HUD and the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the park had grown an additional 1,200 acres, bringing the total to more than 2,100 acres by 1975 (see Figure 1).⁶⁵

Despite the efforts of those who joined in Ginzbarg's vision, the park continued to face dangers from encroaching development and pollution in the decades following the establishment of the Armand Bayou Nature Center 1974.66 While the presence of bulldozers and the imminent threat of development in the surrounding area are prime leads for headlines, often the harshest threats are invisible or unnoticed, coming from the multitudes of chemicals dumped daily into the watershed by ordinary well-meaning people. With every heavy downpour, dangerous levels of nonpoint source pollutants make their way to Houston's bayous from lawn fertilizer, automobile fluids, and industrial waste.67 Even with the ongoing challenges it faces, Armand Bayou remains healthier than many waterways around Texas's largest city. What's more, as a wilderness enclosed on all sides by suburban and industrial development, Armand Bayou serves as a reminder of the fragile balance held between nature and human civilization.

The story behind Armand Bayou's rescue shows the power of citizen-led democratic action. Though she later attributed her involvement in conservation-related causes to "serendipity" and "chance events," Hana Ginzbarg operated with vigilant determination when she felt called to act. 68 With the movement such a success, she continued to publicly advocate for stricter protection of the Armand Bayou watershed and other environmental concerns throughout her life. 69 In 1979, she and her husband helped found an outdoor science education center called the Hana and Arthur Ginzbarg Nature Discovery Center. In the ensuing years, and well into the next century, she selflessly continued to devote her time to ensuring that residents of the surrounding urban and suburban areas, as well as tourists from well beyond, had opportunities to experience and learn about the natural world. Her crusade, though, came to an end on October 22, 2013, when she passed away, leaving behind legions of admirers and an impressive legacy of places still enjoyed by residents and tourists alike more than four decades after her work began. 70 The rescue of Armand Bayou's "urban wilderness," with the sustenance it gives to coastal wildlife, and the wonder and curiosity it has inspired in thousands of visitors is and will always be a legacy of Hana Ginzbarg.

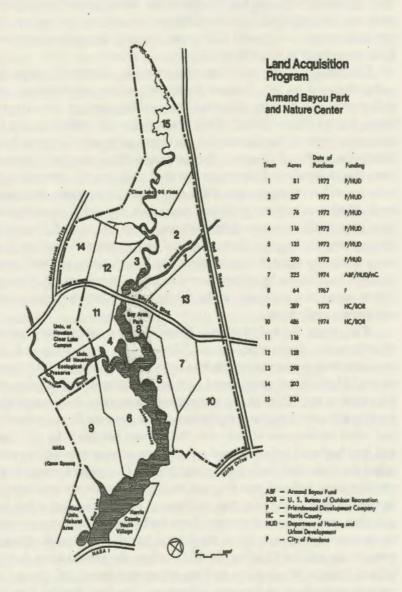


Figure 1: "Land Acquisition Program" (March 1974) Hana Ginzbarg Papers. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries, Houston, TX.

ENDNOTES

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- While Ginzbarg and her supporters (including Harris county) felt the price was high and "based on elevation not corrected for subsidence," Friendswood held firm into January 1972, stating in a letter to the BPA, "\$6000 per acre is a reasonable figure considering budget purposes." See Ginzbarg, "Comments on Herzberg;" and John B. Turner to Frank C. Smith, January 12, 1972, Hana Ginzbarg Papers, Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries, Houston, TX.
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- 62 "Housewife Wins Battle to Save Small River," New York Times News Service. The Miami News, February, 28, 1973.
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- Hana Ginzbarg, "Armand Bayou needs to be saved," Letters to the Editor, The Daily Pasadena Citizen, December 3, 1988. According to Ginzbarg's letter to the editor in 1988, Friendswood began bulldozing the last 1,000 acres of the "Hoped-For" park. Although HUD had approved a second grant to buy a section of this land in 1972, Friendswood refused to sell unless the City of Pasadena purchased a larger undevelopable section first. By 1988, with no more funds for Armand Bayou, the city and advocates had run out of time. Hundreds of acres of wetlands were destroyed, and to make matters worse, the City of Pasadena had approved a donation of a 180-foot wide strip of land through the park for a road. Following these developments she revived her efforts to "Save Armand Bayou Again."
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From Corpus Christi's First Lady to Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy: Teaching at the Margins, a Transnational Story and Legacy

By Cecilia Gutierrez Venable

In 1884, a young Robert Kleberg wrote to his friend and future wife, Alice Gertrudis King, the following: "My Dear Little Heart: This is a little late to begin a chat with [you about] (eleven o'clock) but I think I will sleep better after writing to you tonight...." Kleberg recounted his trip for her and revealed that he had hunted one day and had not reached Corpus Christi until nine o'clock. Starving and with all the hotels closed, he decided to follow some Laredo Excursionists to the Pavillion for a dance and refreshments. There he satiated his appetite and danced for a few hours only to fall into a deep slumber and dream of the next time they would meet.

He ended his letter on a very somber note when he discussed the passing of John Bernard Murphy:

"Last night Judge Murphy died. He was buried today. He died very suddenly while he was eating his supper his head dropped upon his breast and his life was gone. I attended his funeral this evening. His poor wife seems hardly able to bear the weight of grief, and yet it was doubtless best for her [and] for him."

This poor wife Kleberg referred to was Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, the wife of Corpus Christi's retired mayor. That night Margaret Mary lost her husband, business partner, and friend. John Bernard Murphy had been unwell for several years during his term as mayor of Corpus Christi. In fact, he only resigned as mayor just three weeks ago because his health had taken a turn for the worse.

His death propelled Margaret Mary Healy Murphy into a new direction in her life, from the first lady of Corpus Christi to Mother Margaret Mary. An astute business woman with progressive ideas, Margaret Mary Healy Murphy remained close to her Irish roots and founded the Sisters of the Holy Ghost and Mary Immaculate, the first

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order of nuns founded in Texas whose mission was to administer to those who live at the margins of society, and more specifically, people of color. Margaret Healy's family introduced her to race differences, assisting her father with the sick and disadvantaged; taught her how to heal the infirmed, and working with her husband; taught her how to manage her business affairs and deal with the power of city councils. All of these skills enabled her to open a boarding house, hospital, build a church, establish a school and teach those who live at the margins of society.

Although Margaret Mary Healy Murphy accomplished so much during her life, it is not surprising that she remains obscure in the scholarship. Many women's accomplishments went unnoticed or studied because women's history in general had not been the focus of many historians. In fact, women's history in the United States did not evolve until the 1970s. One of the pioneers for women's history, Gerda Lerner noted that publishers were not interested in publishing a women's history in the late 1960s, but of course this soon changed at the beginning of the next decade.²

Since Margaret Mary Healy emigrated from Ireland to the United States, her story might be mentioned in Irish women's scholarship, but their history developed even later in the record. While Irish women have recorded their history since the seventeenth century, it often appeared in the form of novels, poems or plays. With the oppression of the Irish and the search for their Gaelic roots more scholarship evolved from women's pens, but still it went undetected by serious historians. This situation changed when women trained themselves to translate ancient Gaelic stories and poems and brought their history to the masses.³ As women entered universities, the history of Irish women unfolded but not until 1978, when one of the first books on Irish women appeared in print. Irish Women's History proved such a success for its time that the book was reprinted the following year. ⁴

While general histories for United States women and Irish women's history appeared by the end of the 1970s, serious scholarship concerning Catholic nuns escaped historians for almost thirty years. Sisters themselves, humbled by their calling and considering their activities less important than the establishment of the church itself, often wrote stories of the early priests who traversed the countryside spreading the word of Catholicism, because their work appeared more significant than the efforts of the nuns. For example, Sister Mary Xavier

of the Incarnate Word wrote the history of the church in South Texas and its prominent priests. Her book, Father Jaillet: Saddlebag Priest of the Nueces, records his travels and his importance to the establishment of the Catholic Church in South Texas.⁵ Along with the sisters who wrote about priests and the beginnings of the church, other nuns wrote about the priests who founded their particular order. For example the Sisters of St. Mary Namur owe their founding to Nicholas Joseph Minsart of Colen (Belgium) and published a history of his activities and his efforts in forming their order.⁶

Early histories of nuns finally evolved through the efforts of the sisters themselves to record or promote the uniqueness of their order, which was used to attract women to their community to become novitiates. These histories penned by one of the sisters who had an interest in history, or had memory of their order wrote meticulously detailed chronological histories of the establishment of their community; however, these works often lacked the placement of their order in the historical context, and their actions had little analysis.7 The next three decades found nuns history relegated to sparse historical articles, but a few nuns did emerge in works written by fellow nuns usually about mother superiors or sisters, who had a significant impact on the community. The history of nuns, however, flooded the bookshelves by the turn of the century when a plethora of scholarships by historians finally featured sisters and their works, analyzing their actions, and placing their efforts within the history of the United States.8 The activities of women in various orders are just coming to light, and the study of a woman who established one of the first orders of sisters in Texas, built a church, hospital and school for people of color adds significantly to this scholarship.



Margaret Mary Healy
Courtesy of the Sisters of the Holy Spirit Convent

Margaret Mary Healy was born in Cahirciveen, County Kerry, Ireland in May of 1833, the eldest of four children, to Jane Murphy Healy and Richard Healy. At the age of six, Margaret Mary lost her mother shortly after the birth of her sister, Jeannie. Her two aunts, Mary and Johanna and two uncles, Walter and John aided the family through their grief. With the demands of his work as town doctor and operating a hospital, Richard Healy could not care for his young offspring. Margaret Mary's godfather and maternal cousin Richard Barry, also a doctor, offered to raise Jeannie and Margaret but Margaret refused to leave her father, so the Barry's welcomed Jeannie into their home and raised her as one of their own. Margaret Mary's brothers emigrated, with her aunts and uncles to the United States in search of better opportunities in 1839. Margaret Mary, alone with her father, grew up quickly. She attended school and made trips with her father to the hospital and tended the poor and sick.9

Economic conditions in Ireland became increasingly grave due to the oppression of the British government, as well as the potato blight,

which had destroyed the dietary staple of the country Richard Healy decided to follow his sons and relatives to America. ¹⁰ Applying as ship's doctor, Richard Healy and Margaret sailed to the United States in 1845. The family reunited in West Virginia, but the trip took a toll on Richard Healy's health. With their father ailing, the family worked the fields, and Margaret cared for her father. The family along with other neighbors taught school for immigrants and helped African-Americans, who worked nearby with food and introduced some to the Catholic religion. ¹¹

Teaching, spreading religion and aiding blacks was a normal outcome of the Murphy's and Healy's life. Their families had worked in Ireland to help the poor and their relative and close friend, Daniel O'Connell continuously preached against slavery.¹² O'Connell, who grew up near Cahirciveen and was educated in France, practiced law and worked for Catholic Church rights. By 1828, he became the first Catholic to sit in the British Parliament for centuries. As O'Connell witnessed the hardships of Ireland, his belief in the Enlightenment Ideals both political and personal grew stronger, and he tied the issues of repeal and slavery together. As early as 1829, O'Connell voiced his opposition to slavery in America. In Britain, he promoted and implemented the Slave Emancipation Act in 1833, which sought to end West Indian Slavery. The following year, he worked for Irish repeal legislation. O'Connell's ideals to relieve oppression in any form sailed with his friends and family to America. ¹³

After several months in West Virginia, Richard Healy's health improved and the family decided to make the journey to New Orleans where they hoped for better employment prospects as well as a larger Catholic community. Traveling overland, the rough trip caused Healy's health to take a turn for the worse, and by the time they reached New Orleans, he was gravely ill and soon died. The family buried Richard Healy at the St. Patrick's church cemetery. ¹⁴

While Catholicism dominated New Orleans, the city's transient population and continuous immigrant influx in 1846, mostly of Irish laborers, escaping the cholera epidemic and the potato blight, deterred the prospects of finding fruitful employment. General Zachary Taylor sent scouts to the city to recruit for the army, and the Murphy's and Healy's decided to follow the recruits to Matamoros where they learned empresarios James McGloin and John McMullen occupied offices, and where Irish immigrants might obtain parcels of land in Texas. The family arrived in Matamoros and found that money could be made with a boarding house because of the army occupation, so they opened the

"Healy Hotel." Everyone worked the hotel and the family did well for a year, but with the exodus of the army in 1848, the hotel closed. The army left the area with mass unemployment, but word of the California Gold Rush seeped into town and Walter Murphy along with Thomas, and Richard Healy left to find their fortune. Unfortunately, Walter died en route on the ship. John Murphy, who stayed behind to care for his sisters and niece, was gunned down in front of their home. Consequently, by the age of fifteen, Margaret Mary Healy had lost her mother, father, and both of her uncles. ¹⁶



John Bernard Murphy
Courtesy of the Sisters of the Holy Spirit Convent

During all of this tragedy, Margaret Mary met John Bernard Murphy, a native of Mallow County Cork, Ireland. Murphy had sailed from Liverpool on the *Sir John Campbell* bound for New Orleans on October 22, 1845 and upon arrival he enlisted with Zachary Taylor's army. He acquired the rank of captain, but when the army dispersed, he traveled to Monterrey and published and edited the *Gazette* in 1846. He sold his interest in the paper in 1848 and moved to Fort Brown, (later known as Brownsville) where he worked for the commercial house of Strothers & Katheresi. After a short time he moved to Matamoros and opened another business.¹⁷



Margaret Mary Healy Murphy and John Bernard Murphy
Courtesy of the Sisters of the Holy Spirit Convent

Working in Matamoros, Murphy met Margaret Mary Healy at the Murphy Hotel which she and her family owned and operated. After a year of courtship, the couple married on May 7, 1849 at the Cathedral in Brownsville. Dress The couple lived at the Healy Hotel and while there, Murphy met the young attorney, Edmund J. Davis. Davis rode circuit between Laredo and Brownsville at this time and Murphy clerked for him while also studying law. They became friends and eventually formed a successful partnership and worked together for several years. Murphy later became District Attorney for Refugio County from 1857 until 1863. When Murphy's career expanded he decided to purchase property and approached his brother about buying Mount Echo, an old stage coach stop in San Patricio County, which his brother owned, but at which he was no longer living.

John Bernard Murphy continued his work as a lawyer while acquiring cattle and hiring people to work on his new property. The couple chose to build a home site near the existing brick depot. With her experience of working at the Healy Hotel, Margaret Mary opened her home and boarded travelers. She also cared for the ranch personnel throughout the

area. Margaret Mary frequently rode to Corpus Christi for medicine and supplies for the sick. Not only did she tend to their physical needs, she also visited local homes and taught the women household skills such as knitting, sewing, and curing meat.²⁴ A devout Catholic, Margaret Mary also discussed her faith. Noticing the distance to St. Patrick's, the closest church in the area, Margaret Mary converted the old stage coach depot into St. Stephen's Chapel. Rev. Peter Verdaguer, the Vicar Apostolic of Brownsville blessed the chapel on October 18th 1883. The Bishop spent three days hearing confessions, and administering sacraments to the local ranchers and workers in the area. ²⁵ The Southern Messenger also reported that the Chapel was "a substantial stone building, measuring 20x 40 feet, and will be a great convenience to the Catholics living in that neighborhood."²⁶ This new church later invited priests from the region to administer services and later received an appointed priest to say mass on certain days.²⁷



St. Stevens Chapel ca. 1960s

Courtesy of Andi Estes

The Murphys had a thriving business in the area; cattle raising, legal work, boarding travelers and administering to the sick. Murphy also established his business in Corpus Christi, although the storm of 1858 blew down the skeleton of his original office.²⁸ The couple amassed some money from their fifteen years at the ranch. They had no biological

children, but one day Margaret Mary encountered a young girl on the road who was famished and thirsty. She cared for the Mexican child and made inquiries throughout the area in search of her parents, but to no avail. The Murphys cared for Delphine, and she became Margaret Mary's constant companion for many years.²⁹

The coming of the Civil War and its aftermath brought Margaret Mary more sick and starving people, so she opened a soup kitchen on the ranch. While the couple was away, their home was broken into and their furniture stolen or destroyed. By 1865, the Murphys decided to move to Corpus Christi where John Bernard had an office. The Murphys rented a home and Margaret Mary soon occupied her time with tending to the sick. When the yellow fever epidemic hit Corpus Christi she worked alongside Father John Gonnard, pastor of St. Patrick's church aiding the ailing residents. Father Gonnard succumbed to the illness and eventually died. Another patient, Mrs. Delaney also died, but not before entrusting her daughter, Minnie, to Margaret Mary's care. The Murphys adopted Minnie and noticing the child's aptitude, traveled to New York in 1869 where they brought Minnie to the sisters of St. Mary of Namur, where Margaret's cousin Sister Augestine taught.

The shortage of Catholic sisters in Texas and the lack of a Catholic boarding school disturbed the Murphys, so with their constant encouragement and monetary loan, they finally brought the Sisters of St. Mary of Namur to Texas. In 1873, the sisters opened a school in Waco where they sent Margaret Mary's baby sister Jeannie, now Sister Mary Angela Healy, to be one of the founding sisters of their new community. One of their first students in this new school was Patrick Murphy's daughter Lillie, who the Murphys also cared for after the death of the child's mother.

John Bernard Murphy represented Nueces County at the 1875 First Constitutional Convention in Austin. His stint as a delegate propelled him into local politics, and he was elected mayor of Corpus Christi in 1880. The city experienced several changes to its urban infrastructure during his administration. He implemented a prisoner work program to improve city streets. Personally, he also worked with Rev. Manucy to procure funds to build a new Catholic church. Manucy collected funds from several families for St. Patrick's Church and the Murphys donated the side alters. This gift amounted second only to that of Richard King's family.³²

During his last year in office Murphy's health declined and under

criticism of several city officials, the couple left Corpus Christi for Galveston in an effort to restore his strength. After three weeks, the couple returned in better spirits, but his health continued to decline, and Murphy was forced to resign his mayoral office. Under regret, the city council accepted his resignation and a week later, on July 4, 1884, Murphy died. In a resolution after his death, the city council acknowledged:

"That upon the pages that are brightest of the Public records of our City, it is written that he (John Bernard Murphy) entered upon his public duties as Mayor at a time when our city was heavily in debt, its credit severely impaired and flailing; and its treasury empty. That his earnest and assiduous labors, rigid, economy and prudence, fearless enforcement of the laws and maintenance of executive discipline resulted in the restoration of the Credit of our City, discharged its accumulated debt, [and] vitalized its franchises..." ³³

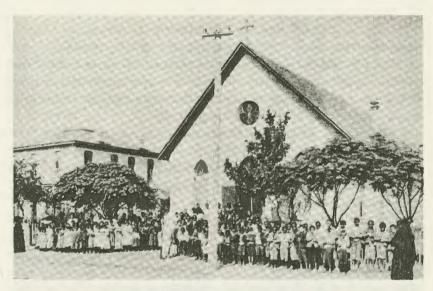
Margaret Mary Healy-Murphy grieved her husband's loss, and within the week it was compounded by the loss of her aunt, Johanna Murphy, and shortly thereafter her other aunt, Mary Murphy McGloin. Alone, except for her daughter, Delphine, Murphy assumed the responsibilities of their business interests in Corpus Christi and the running of their ranch in San Patricio County Jim Hart managed the ranch, but Margaret Mary continued to make major operational decisions. During this time, Murphy also remained active in the church and soon received an invitation from the fledgling Catholic Church in Temple to help start a school for black children. With little holding her to Corpus Christi, Murphy and Delphine left for Temple.34 However their stay was short lived because although Murphy made an attempt to open a school, it was not supported by the community. The Catholic Church, in its infancy in this two-year old city, along with the larger number of Protestants, hindered the enthusiasm and backing for this project. Defeated, Margaret Mary and Delphine returned to Corpus Christi.35

Since this endeavor proved unsuccessful, Murphy decided to continue her work with the sick when she returned to Corpus Christi. On July 30, 1885, Murphy purchased part of block five located between Caranchua, Antelope and Broadway streets from a banker, Allen M. Davis and his wife Maria L. Davis for \$6,000.³⁶ Murphy used this land to operate the "Murphy Hospital." The *Corpus Christi Caller* noted that "Mrs. J.B. Murphy has had her hospital apartments put in first class order. Cleanliness and comfort are great medicines." The hospital received funds from the Knights of Labor and the St. Vincent DePaul

society also supported her work.³⁸ The city needed her facility and by October 1886, Murphy commissioned the building of another facility by Reid and Sutherland.³⁹ While the city needed the facility, it proved too expensive to operate, although she solicited contributions and received some donations, she could not maintain its operation.⁴⁰

While returning home from Tyler a few years ago, Murphy had gone through San Antonio and noticed the influx of people. Many flocked to the city with the coming of the Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway in 1877 and later the International-Great Northern in 1881. With subsequent railroads built through the city, the population more than doubled by the 1900s. With the failure of her hospitals Murphy decided to move to San Antonio too. Attending mass one Sunday at St. Mary's Church, Father John Maloney stressed the need for schools and churches for African Americans in San Antonio. His directive came from the Third Plenary Council meeting in Baltimore in 1884, which addressed the concern of the church's growth. Archbishop Ireland stated that: "The reach and drive of the Holy Spirit is very wide and if Catholicism was to be a salutary force, all its people must be involved; [and] all its voices must be heard." All the bishops carried this message to their diocese and later to their priests. After hearing Maloney's lengthy sermon, Murphy went to Bishop Neraz and discussed the building of a church and school for black children. 41 With the Bishop's favorable response, Murphy sold part of her ranch and with this \$20,000, she purchased a plot of land on Nolan and Live Oak Street and began construction. 42

San Antonio recognized their growing black population, but was not in favor of building a black church and school, especially at the back door of a seemingly white neighborhood. On several occasions, they attempted to block construction because of code violations, but Margaret Mary well versed with city operations, contacted her lawyer and had the injunctions rescinded. The city's apathy toward the plight of black education continued even though Alderman Gallagher pleaded continuously for additional money for new black schools. During one city council meeting in September 1888, Alderman, Schreiner stated, "that he didn't believe there were in the entire city over fifty blacks asking for school accommodations" so he felt the whites needed the money for their schools, since they had a greater population.⁴³



St. Peter Clavers Church built in 1888 Courtesy of the Sister of the Holy Spirit Convent

Even though the city lacked enthusiasm for these buildings, Murphy continued her project. The church she built was made of "pressed brick with high gables and gothic windows," with a natural wood alter and an organ in the vestibule. 44 Murphy adopted the name St. Peter Claver from the seventeenth century Spanish priest who taught African slaves in Lisbon for most of his life, and who was finally canonized by Pope Leo XIII in 1888. 45 Bishop Neraz consecrated the church and both whites and blacks celebrated the opening of this facility. Neraz gave special attention to the fact that all three buildings, the church, and two free schools for 500 children were built by Murphy. He also felt that Murphy would carry on her previous work and later open a hospital. 46 While the building and school designated for blacks was segregated, it did provide African Americans an opportunity to create their own church community and view services from beyond the back of the church or its balconies.

The school opened its doors the next day on September 17th 1888 with 120 students. Murphy enlisted friends and volunteers to teach the children, which led to many difficulties because they were untrained teachers who could not handle a classroom. Consequently, many left. Since the school was a constant source of racist insults, it was difficult to find staff to stand up to criticism, and the volunteers ceased. The

instability of the staff hurt the operations of the school, so Murphy approached the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word and the Sister of Divine Providence for help, but both orders did not have the ability to take on such a large project. Frustrated, Murphy contacted her sister in Waco and asked the Sisters of Saint Mary Namur to aid her, but they too refused because of the lack of personnel.

At this point, Murphy had three choices, she could close the school permanently, which wasn't an option because she believed in her mission and had spent too much of her money. She could join an order of nuns and then recruit new novices. The problem with this solution is that upon entering the order, she would have to surrender her money and holdings to the order and would not have total control of her assets, or three she could start her own order of sisters. As a mother superior she could still manage her affairs and have a tighter control of managing the school. Since she felt the Holy Ghost guided her throughout her life, she chose the name Sisters of the Holy Ghost and Mary Immaculate. This order according to their constitution, would work with the poor and direct the "spiritual and temporal good of the Dark Races." ¹⁴⁷



Mother Margaret Healy Murphy
Courtesy of the Sister of the Holy Spirit Convent

After another discussion with Bishop Neraz, Murphy, a cousin and two other friends took their novitiate probably with the Sisters of Mary Namur in Waco and reopened the school in 1891, with the Sisters of the Holy Ghost operating the facility. With strong recruiting efforts, the school and congregation grew, however several priests who said mass at St. Peters thought the property and holdings of the order should be given to the church. Murphy accustomed to running several businesses refused to turn over her holdings, and the disagreement became so heated that she withdrew the sisters from the school and in 1893 moved them up to her ranch. A new administration assumed the diocese, and Murphy received all her papers, and the school reopened in 1894.⁴⁸

Finally able to operate the school as she directed, the numbers of students increased. However, new sisters could not be found. Her disobedience to the church hierarchy resulted in their nonsupport of finding novices. Many young novitiates entering into an order of sisters at this time did not want to subject themselves to overt racism, so they chose other orders. Murphy decided to return to her ancestral home and find women in Ireland, who had a desire to come to America. Irish women wanting to enter an order found the sisters of the Holy Ghost intriguing, because it was both small and new, which meant there was plenty of room for advancement within the order. This strategy proved very profitable for both the order and school and eventually Murphy opened a convent in Galway, Ireland to increase her recruiting efforts. 49 While this rapid expansion of the order was good, it may have deterred American students from joining this order because of the cultural differences between themselves and the Irish born sisters. Mexican women. for instance, joined orders where they spoke Spanish and black women migrated to the all-black Holy Family Sisters.



Echo Ranch Home, built by Margaret Mary and John Bernard.

This is where the novitiates stayed when they arrived from
Ireland before taking up their work in San Antonio
Courtesy of Andi Estes - present owner of the home

Nonetheless, the order survived and in 1938 the Sister Servants of the Holy Ghost and Mary Immaculate, received Final Approbation from Rome.⁵⁰

The sisters celebrated their centennial a few years ago. The school has changed its name to the Healy-Murphy Center and caters to at risk teens. They also built a new convent in San Antonio and had it blessed in 2010. Because Margaret Mary Healy Murphy lost her mother at a young age forcing her to work with her father tending to the poor and sick shaped her personality. Learning of the beliefs of her cousin Daniel O'Connell also made her sensitive to people of color, and she carried these ideals across the ocean and throughout her life. Becoming a widow at the age of 54 propelled her to pursue her interests, and her experiences of operating several businesses, as well as learning the law and city politics from her husband, enabled her to tackle the difficulties in establishing a church and school. Starting an order of Sisters, specifically to cater to the needs of people of color set her congregation apart and returning to her Irish roots to supply the order continued the success of the Sisters of

the Holy Ghost and Mary Immaculate in educating the poor and people of color throughout the Southern United States, Mexico and Africa (Appendix 1). Mother Margaret's legacy continues to flourish because at the same time the sisters built a new Motherhouse in San Antonio, they also built a new convent in Zambia. Their international ministry caters to the very poor in Zambia and has been successful in educating and providing water and other amenities to the people in this region.



Monument in San Antonio and Gravesite in Corpus Christi
Courtesy of Sisters of the Holy Spirit Convent

Appendix 1

Ministries of Holy Sisters to 1991

Ghana	
Nsawam, Health Care Clinic	1981-1983
Ireland	
Galway, St. Philip Convent	1934-1965
Mexico	
Oaxaca	
Casa de Cuna Orphanage	1901-1915
Stas. Perpetua y Felicitas Parish	1973-
Indigenous Ministry	1988-
Hospital Civil	1990-
Saltillo Mission of Iglesia Perpetuo Socorro	1982-1983
Santa Maria del Oro	
Parish Ministry	1990
San Carlos	1970-1973
San Mateo del Mar	1981
L' Academika del Espiritu Santo	1990-1991
Women's Cooperatives Ministry	1989-1990
Clinica San Antonio	1990
Zambia, Kalabo, St Michael's Parish	1988
United States	
Alabama	
Mobile	
St. Anthony	1911-1943
St. Peter Claver School	1911-1943
St. Bernard School	1913-1927
Pritchard	
St. James School	1928-1943
Zimmer Memorial Institute	1928-1943
Tuscaloosa	

Tuscaloosa	1937-1943
Arkansas	
Pine Bluff	
St. Peter School	1913-1927
Kansas	
Wichita	1927-1932
Louisiana	
Convent	
St. Joseph School	1932-1966

St. Michael School	1940-1971
Crowley	
St. Theresa School	1923-1952 and 1955
Houma	
St. Lucy Day Care	1972-
Louis Infant Center	1979-
Diocesan Social Services	1982-
Kraemer, St Lawrence Social Ministry	1969-1982
Lebeau, Immaculate Conception	1927-
Mansura, Our Lady Of Prompt Succor	1944-1960 and 1983-1986
New Orleans	
Archdiocesan Social Ministry	1990-
Hospital Ministry	1966-1971
Hope House	1983-1984
Holy Redeemer School	1933-
St. David School	1984-
St. Theresa School	1927-1933
Mount Carmel Academy	1977-1980
Our Lady of the Angels School	1986-1988
Our Lady of Lourdes School	1986-1988
Our Lady Star of the Sea School	1975-1979

St. Raymond School	1991-
New Roads, St. Augustine School	1951-
Shreveport	
Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament	1929-1987
Notre Dame High School	1958-1987
Thibodeaux, St. Luke School	1926-1967 & 1981- 1984
Zwolle, St. Joseph School	1940-1981
Missouri	
Cameron, St. Rita School	1924-1928
St. Joseph	
Our Lady of Guadalupe	1925-1939
Holy Rosary School	1926-1958
Mississippi	
Biloxi, Our Mother of Sorrows Paris	1984-1985
DeLisle, St. Stephen School	1926-1954
Laurel Hill, St. Mary School	1940-1948
Natchez, Holy Family/St. Francis School	1921-
Pascagoula, St. Peter School	1915-
Pass Christian, St. Philomena	1921-1967 and 1984- 1988
New York	
Albany, St. Philip School	1931-1962
Oklahoma	
Okmulgee, Uganda Martyrs School	1927-1950
Tulsa	
St. Monica School	1926-1936
Diocesan Religious Education Dept.	1981-1982
Oregon	
Cornelius, Migrant/Spanish Speaking	1978-1982
Texas	
Alamo, St. Joseph School	1926-1962
Alice, Our Lady of Guadalupe	1984-1989

Aransas Pass/Gregory/Portland	1969-1973
Austin, Holy Family School	1949-1951
Beaumont, Our Mother of Mercy	1941-
Boerne, Benedictine Health	1991-
Brownsville	
Division of Education	1968-1981
Christ the King Parish	1967-1973
Brownsville Public Schools	1971-1981
Su Clinica Familiar	1985-1986
Incarnate Word Academy	1987-1989
Our Mother of Perpetual Health	1934-
Sacred Heart	1959-1983
St. Joseph Academy	1940-1959
Charlotte, St. Bridget	1913-1916
Corpus Christi	
Corpus Christi Cathedral Parish	1984-1990
Childrens' Crisis Center	1986-1989
Dioceses of Corpus Christi Division	1980-1990
Holy Cross School	1922-1925, 1928-1965 1981-1987
Holy Family Parish	1987-1991
St. Cyril	1954-1990
Cotulla, Sacred Heart School	1953-1971
Dallas	
Immaculate Heart of Mary School	1948-1967
St. Anthony School	1947-1979
St. Augustine School	1957-
St. Bernard School	1948-1983
St. Mary of Carmen School	1944-
St. Peter School	1910-1987
St. Philip School	1955-
St. Pius X School	1955-1985
St. Paul	1980-1982
Dallas Public School	1983-

Denton, Campus Ministry	1986-1990
Donna, St. Joseph School	1929-1944
Edinburg	
Sacred Heart Parish	1984-
St. Joseph School	1957-1983
Fort Worth	
All Saints School	1988-
Casatta Learning Center	1974-
Dioceses of Fort Worth	1974-
Our Mother of Mercy School	1929-
St. George Parish	1974-1991
Hospital Pastoral Ministry	1990-
Galena, Our Lady of Fatima	1986-
Garland, Good Shepherd School	1954-1983
Gonzalez, St. Joseph School	1915-1921
Gregory, Immaculate Conception	1949-1970 and 1984-
Harlingen, Rio Grande Home Health	1986-
Harper, St. Anthony	1933-
Hillsboro, Our Mother of Mercy Parish	1983-1985
Hondo	
Our Lady of Sorrows	1925-1964
St. John School	1924-1973
Houston	
Holy Ghost School	1948-1983
St. Charles Borromeo	1964-
Notre Dame Parish	1974-1976
Northwest Junior High School	1970-1974
Queen of Peace School	1983-1986
St. Francis Xavier Parish	1983-1984
Kerrville, State Hospital	1988-
Laredo, Our Lady of Guadalupe	1904-1912

Divine Providence

1987-

Santa Rosa Hospital	1940s & 1960s, 1970s, 1989-
St. Philip	1984-1988
Pastoral Ministry	1978-1983 & 1989-
Hospital Pastoral Ministry	1973-1978
St. Ann Parish	1977-1978
St. Leo Parish	1985-
St. Joseph Parish	1978-1984
Eastside Apostolate	1979-
Our Lady of Guadalupe	
Catholic Worker House	1985-1990
City Human Resources	1983-
S.A.I.L.S.	1983-1990
Victoria, St. John the Baptist	1898-1901
Weatherford, St. Stephen Parish	1986-
Weslaco, Holy Family Services	1984-1986

ENDNOTES

- 1 Kleberg and King Collection, Texas A & M University Corpus Christi, Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Special Collections and Archives; Robert Kleberg, and Alice King who was sixteen years old at this time, were dating and wrote many letters to each other. Their correspondence often revealed current events of Corpus Christi and the surrounding area. Many of these letters have been reprinted in, Jane Clements Monday and Frances Brannen Vick, Letters to Alice: Birth of the Kleberg-King Ranch Dynasty (Gulf Coast Books, sponsored by Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi), (Austin: Texas A&M University Press, 2012).
- 2 Gerda Lerner, The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). xviii.
- 3 Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart, *The Irish Women's History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001), 1-3.
- 4 Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart, ed., Irish Women's History (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2004), xi; Margaret MacCurtain and Donncha O'Corrain ed. Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension (Kildare: Leinster Leader Ltd. 1978). This book also appeared in 1978 and underwent a reprinting the following year.
- 5 Sister Mary Xavier, Father Jaillet: Saddlebag Priest of the Nueces (Corpus Christi: Grunwald Printing Co. 1948).
- 6 Nicholas Joseph Minsart 1769-1837 (London, 1995). Along with recording the history of priests, the nuns who wrote the particular history often go unnamed.
- 7 Sister Mary Imamaculata Turley, S.H.G., Mother Margaret Mary Healy-Murphy, A Biography (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1969); Mother M. Patricia Gunning, To Texas With Love: A History of the Sisters of the Incarnate Word and Blessed Sacrament (Corpus Christi: Printers Unlimited, Inc. 1971).
- 8 John J. Fialka, Sisters: Catholic Nuns and the Making of America (New York: St. Martin Griffin, 2003); Maureen Fitzgerald, Habits of Compassion: Irish Catholic Nuns and the Origins of New York's Welfare System, 1830-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Anne Butler, Across God's Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Margaret M. McGuinness, Called to Serve: A History of Nuns in America (New York: New York University Press, 2013).
 - 9 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 1-9.
- 10 Susan Campbell Bartoletti, Black Potatoes, The Story of the Great Irish Famine 1845-1850 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 8-11 & 53-54.

- 11 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 10.
- 12 "Daniel O'Connell," http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/PRconnell.htm accessed 1/20/2013.
- 13 Angela Murphy, American Slavery, Irish Freedom: Abolition, Immigrant Citizenship, and the Transatlantic Movement for Irish Repeal (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 30-31.
 - 14 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 14.
 - 15 John Brendan Flannery, The Irish Texans (Austin: University of Texas) 37.
 - 16 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 14.
- 17 "Judge B. Murphy," Corpus Christi Caller, (July 5, 1884), 1; Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 16-17.
 - 18 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 15-16.
 - 19 Cameron County Marriage records Vol. A p. 11.
- 20 1850 Census of Cameron County; Shows John B Murphy 25yrs. Old, Margaret 17 yrs. Old, Mary Murphy 30 and Hannah Murphy 26 living together; Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 14.
 - 21 Carl Moneyhon, Edmund J. Davis (Fort Worth: TCU Press, 2010), 10-11.
- 22 Nueces Valley (23 December 1871), 1. This advertisement reads that they have offices in Austin and Corpus Christi. Nueces Valley (6 April 1858), 2; Davis moved to Corpus Christi and met and married Miss Anna Britton and lived with her family Hon. Forbes Britton. Davis pursued politics and the couple left Corpus Christi for Austin.
- 23 Hobart Huson, District Judges of Refugio County (Refugio: Refugio Timely Remarks, 1941), 16.
 - 24 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 19-24.
 - 25 "A Great Missionary," Corpus Christi Caller (3 November 1893), 1.
 - 26 Southern Messenger, (19 October 1893), 5; Ibid, 1.
 - 27 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 77.
- 28 "Corpus Christi Sixty-One Years Ago," Nueces Valley (13 December 1858) in Eli Merriman Scrapbook 1845-1932, p. 207 located at the Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Texas A & M University Special Collections and Archives; Corpus Christi Caller (15 December 1858) in Eli Merriman Scrapbook 1845-1932, located at the Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Texas A & M University Special Collections and Archives.

- 29 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 28.
- 30 Nueces County Census 1870 showed the Murphys living in Corpus Christi; Turley, *Mother Margaret Mary Healy* Murphy, 32.
- 31 Sisters of Saint Mary Namur Special Collections, located at their Mother house in Fort Worth.
- 32 Kate D. Bluntzer, *History of Saint Patrick's Church*. Newspaper scrapbook in Geraldine McGloin personal collection; Corpus Christi City Council Minutes 1880.
 - 33 "Judge B. Murphy," Corpus Christi Caller (30 May 1886), 1.
 - 34 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 53.
- 35 http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hdt01 accessed 5/1/2013; Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 53.
- 36 Nueces County Deed Records for Allen M. Davis and Wife to Margaret Mary Murphy Vol. Q p. 496-497; 1880 Nueces County Census.
 - 37 Corpus Christi Caller (15 November 1885), 5.
- 38 "Holloway," Corpus Christi Caller (24 Jan. 1886), 5; This article notes that William Holloway aged 24 of Collinsville, Grayson Co., Texas died of consumption at the Murphy hospital; Corpus Christi Caller (13 June 1886), 5; The Knights of Labor are acknowledged for their donation of twelve dollars for the hospital.; Corpus Christi Caller (5 September 1886); The St. Vincent De Paul Society held a meeting at the hospital.
- 39 Corpus Christi Caller (21 February 1886), p. 5; "Improvements," Corpus Christi Caller (10 October 1886) p. 5.
 - 40 "Aid for the Sick and Poor," Corpus Christi Caller (15 May 1885), 1.
- 41 Archdiocese of San Antonio: Diamond Jubilee 1874-1949 (San Antonio: Schneider Printing Company, 1949), 137.
 - 42 Ibid., 141.
- 43 "City Council Meeting: Gallagher Again Pleading for the Blacks," The San Antonio Daily Express (4 September 1888), 3
- 44 "Colored Church Dedicated," The San Antonio Daily Express (18 September 1888), 4; Corpus Christi Caller (18 September 1888), 1.

- 45 http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11763a.htm accessed 5/1/2013.
- 46 "Colored Church Dedicated," The San Antonio Daily Express (18 September 1888), 4.
- 47 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy 195-6; The Sisters would eventually change their names to the Sister of the Holy Spirit.
 - 48 Turley, Mother Margaret Mary Healy Murphy, 110.
 - 49 Sisters of the Holy Spirit Archives in San Antonio.
 - 50 Archdiocese of San Antonio, Diamond Jubilee 1874-1949, 141.
- 51 Sister Anne Finnerty. Ministries In Alabama, Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Mississippi, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon 1888-1991. (Unpublished manuscript 1991).

James Henry Faulkner (1861-1936)

By ROBERT J. (JACK) DUNCAN

James Henry Faulkner pursued a multi-faceted career. He was County Judge of Collin County, Texas, for two two-year terms around the turn of the century (nineteenth century to twentieth). At other times in his life, he served as Justice of the Peace (in Collin County and later in Tarrant County), and as a public school teacher and principal. For a few years he and his wife owned and operated a hotel/boardinghouse in Terrell (Kaufman County). He was in the insurance business. At one low point after suffering a crippling disability, for four years he sold newspapers on the streets of Fort Worth.\(^1\)

Collin County

James Faulkner was born in Collin County on July 14, 1861, just a few months after the Civil War began. His parents, Jacob (also known as "Jake") and Amanda Stinson Faulkner, had migrated from Kentucky to Texas. They arrived in Texas in the early 1850s (after October 26, 1851 and before about 1855).

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They had a large family, large even for that era: 15 children, nine sons and six daughters. James Henry, who, as a child, was addressed as simply "Henry," was the eleventh child. He was the ninth, and youngest, son. The family lived in a rural area of Collin County, but in the general vicinity of the town of Allen.²

Jacob, James's father, was a farmer and a teacher. Before the Civil War, Jacob taught school at Orchard Gap, a community about seven miles southeast of McKinney. So James was raised in a home environment that encouraged education. Later he attended Seven Points College, in the Westminster community (in northeast Collin County); he studied with the headmaster, Reverend J. M. Harder. Reportedly he obtained much of his education after he was 23 years old. By 1893, James was teaching at the Wilmeth School north of McKinney. He also taught there in 1894. At night he read the law. In November 1894, he was elected Justice of

the Peace in Collin County, Precinct 1. He beat his one opponent, J. W. George, by 1,294 votes to 752. His duties included serving as coroner. In 1896, he ran for reelection, against J. R. Padgitt; this time James won by 1,763 votes to 1,074.³

On June 30, 1895, James married Minnie May Reynolds. Minnie possibly was an orphan; she had been living with her older sister and other family members in Collin County. James was her senior by a decade. On June 19, 1897, their daughter, Thelma May Fleda Faulkner, was born. The family lived on Parker Street in McKinney, several blocks southwest of the town square and the (then) County courthouse. In 1905, James's property (for tax purposes) was valued at \$1,200 (for his house and halfacre lot), plus \$10 for personal property.⁴

James was well positioned socially for politics in Collin County. He was an active member of the McKinney Lodge (No. 28) of the Order of the Knights of Pythias. His niece, Mrs. Sallie Faulkner Perkins, was the wife of a man who owned the two local newspapers, Thomas W. Perkins. (Perkins would later be elected mayor of McKinney for several terms, over several decades; his first term would begin in 1905.) Also, James's brother, J. Ben, (Sallie's father), was a highly popular Christian minister in Collin County. He was an early pastor of the First Christian Church in McKinney. Ben also served as the first pastor of the First Christian Church of Wylie from 1888 to 1894; someone followed him as pastor, then he again served in that capacity from 1895 to 1899.

In 1898, James ran for County Judge of Collin County. He won the election against L. L. Miller (3,753 votes to 1,419) and was uncontested for re-election in 1900, for a second two-year term (6,775 votes). James did not seek re-election in 1904. He was a Democrat. In February 1902, apparently as an entertainment, James and four other men engaged in a public debate on the topic: "Men have greater influence than women." It is interesting, though not surprising, that no women participated in the debate, so it may have been somewhat one-sided.⁶

Looking back from the twenty-first century, among the more quaint and nostalgic activities of the Commissioners Court that resonate today are instances where the members voted to pay themselves \$3 each per diem for their services. On a monthly basis they also approved funds to support several local paupers who were mentioned by name in the record (\$5 to \$7). An occupation tax had 60 subparts. It was used to tax residents and also seems to have been directed at gypsies and at workers in traveling circuses and medicine shows, probably partly to

discourage their presence in the county; the occupation tax on transient workers apparently was used in lieu of a permit. The county established a contract with an undertaker and paid for the burial of paupers (\$3 for an adult's coffin, \$3 for the grave, \$0.40 for a plank to cover the grave, and \$0.50 for "hauling corpse to cemetery in hack"; rates for children were cheaper.) Pensions for Confederate veterans were approved. Much of the time the Commissioners Court was involved with matters having to do with county schools, county roads, and local option (prohibition) elections, and sometimes redistricting matters. An outbreak of smallpox in Farmersville in November and December of 1899 was also a matter of some concern to Judge Faulkner and the Commissioners Court.⁷

Kaufman County

On May 11, 1902, Minnie gave birth to another child, Henry Lee Faulkner. At some point Minnie became disenchanted with James, and the couple separated on June 15, 1905. Minnie and the two children moved to Kaufman County. She bought a rural house a few miles east of Terrell on May 25, 1907. Soon James followed her, and they lived "under one roof" for at least much of the next eight years, though (at Minnie's insistence) apparently not "as husband and wife." So their marriage by that time may simply have been one of convenience, or economic necessity; perhaps it also was done partly to "keep up appearances" in that relatively straight-laced era (that was even more straight-laced for public officials and school teachers).

On April 19, 1910, a Tuesday, at about 11 a.m., the Faulkner family's home, in the Elmo community of northeastern Kaufman County, burned. The house was a total loss, as were its contents. A report in the next day's Dallas Morning News said that the house itself had been valued at \$400, and the contents at \$900. The furnishings had included an expensive piano. Minnie had left a burner lit on the gasoline cook stove while she made a trip to gather some vegetables from the backyard garden. At the time of the article, James was a "professor" at the public school in Elmo. The Elmo community was about seven miles east of Terrell, the largest city in Kaufman County, and about 13 miles northeast of the city of Kaufman. Elmo had a population in 1910 of approximately 400. By May 9 or 10, just three weeks later, when census taker Thomas Kimbrough arrived on the scene, the Faulkners had bought, and were occupying, another house in the vicinity.

By January of 1911, James was principal of the public school in Lawrence, Texas, five miles northwest of Terrell. On February 6, Minnie purchased the Mansion Hotel in downtown Terrell from Mrs. Josie Zink. Though it was called a hotel, it was actually a combination hotel and boardinghouse. She paid \$8,000 for it: \$4,050 down, with the balance financed by Mrs. Zink at eight percent per annum interest. The hotel/ boardinghouse was located at the corner of East Broad and South Virginia streets, within a block of the Texas and Pacific Railroad tracks and freight depot. (See photo of the hotel in appendix, Item no. 4, p. 17; for location of the hotel, see appendix, Item no. 5, p. 18, Texas Digital Sanborn Map for Terrell, Texas, August 1914, p. 10.) The three-story hotel was built of wood and had 36 guest rooms; more than half of the rooms occupied by regular boarders. The Faulkner family, of course, lived in the hotel. In early November of 1912, Minnie placed a recurring classified ad in the Dallas Morning News offering to sell, trade, lease, or rent the hotel. However, it must have taken a long time to sell; the R.L. Polk & Company's Texas State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1914-15 showed M. M. Faulkner (Minnie) as the proprietor. On October 22, 1915, Minnie sold the hotel to Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Sims for \$4,000, a loss of 50 percent.10

Tarrant County

In the meantime, James and Minnie had finally divorced. By the spring of 1914, James had moved to Dallas County; on October 20 of that year, he filed for divorce. The divorce was final on March 2, 1915, and a notice was published in the *Dallas Morning News*. By then their daughter, Thelma, was 17 years old, and their son, Henry Lee, was 12. (Minnie would later briefly marry a man named George G. Kirby in Dallas on August 23, 1917, whom she would divorce on May 17, 1918. Strangely, in that divorce decree, Kirby, who had not adopted Thelma and Henry, would be required to pay several dollars per week in child support; more than a year later, Kirby would finally get that requirement revoked. Later Minnie would marry a Clayton M. Smith in Garland, Texas; she would remain married to him until her death on November 6, 1937. She is buried in Mills Cemetery in Garland.)¹¹

James moved to Fort Worth in 1916. He "engaged in the insurance business." A few years later, he suffered an illness that caused him to essentially lose the use of his right hand. Apparently down on his luck, James sold newspapers on the streets of Fort Worth from 1922 to

1926. However, even at the age of 65, he was able to make a profound comeback; perhaps his one-on-one daily contact and rapport with a great many citizens in the business district of Fort Worth helped him to accomplish the feat. James was elected Justice of the Peace for Precinct 1, Place 1, and served in that capacity from 1926 until 1935. Once again, his J. P. duties included those of coroner. Fort Worth, home of the notorious "Hell's Half Acre" of a few decades before, was still a wild and wooly place in the 1920s and 1930s.¹²

Many of James's cases involved violent crimes such as murder and robbery. Often those cases made for big news stories, but not just in Fort Worth—they also frequently made front-page stories in Dallas, some 30 miles away. Some involved poisonings; some were suicides. One case involved a bigamy charge against a girl (who had first married at the age of thirteen) and her 32-year-old husband. Another case involved the possession of marijuana; one is left with the impression that arrests for that crime must have been rare occurrences, because the Dallas Morning News quaintly spelled the offending material as "marihuana." One case involved fraud that was perpetrated to cash in on the so-called "Dead Bank Robber Reward." The Texas State Bankers Association had offered a \$5,000 reward to anyone killing a bank robber who was engaged in the act of robbing a bank, but "not one cent for a hundred live ones." Not surprisingly, a reward of that size—especially during the Great Depression—led to several instances across the state wherein people were "set up" for murder by schemers who wanted to collect the reward and were willing to stoop to murder to obtain it. In another criminal case, Billie Mace, Bonnie Parker's sister, was charged in the murder (along with gang member Floyd Hamilton) of two Texas highway patrolmen near Grapevine, Texas, on Easter Sunday, April 1, 1934; she later was acquitted of that charge when it was established that Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow had committed the murder themselves. Physical evidence that was important to Mace's defense included a discarded whiskey bottle found near the scene of the double killing, upon which investigators had found a partial fingerprint that appeared to match a sample of Clyde Barrow's fingerprint. In addition, Billie Mace had a witness, her aunt, Mrs. Lelia Plummer, who swore under oath that Mace was in Oak Cliff all night on Saturday, May 31, and the morning of Sunday, April 1; the aunt testified that she and Mace had slept in the same bed that night.13

In late 1932, an outside audit of the 1928 expense reports filed by Justice Faulkner found what the auditors called: "illegal and extortionate

collection of court costs" associated with both civil and criminal cases and determined that Faulkner owed Tarrant County \$1,367. This evidently triggered an audit of his expense reports for 1929 through part of 1932; that audit found that, for those four years, he owed the County \$4,465.53. Apparently he repaid the money, or some other mutually acceptable resolution was reached, because he continued in his job until 1935, when he was defeated at the polls by Hal P. Hughes. 14

The 1930 U.S. Census showed that at that time James was a boarder in the home of a young married couple, William G. and Juanita Miller. At some point, one winter James slipped on ice and fell, breaking his right leg. The leg became infected with gangrene and amputation was necessary. Thereafter, he used a pair of crutches.¹⁵

Falls County

James's son, Henry Lee Faulkner, had become an auto mechanic. In 1928, he owned a repair garage, Lee's Garage, in Dallas; the following year, he was still in Dallas but was working at Oak Cliff Brake Service. Henry married and divorced twice before moving to Marlin, Texas, in the early 1930s. There he purchased

and operated the automobile repair garage that was adjacent to, and associated with, the eight-story, 110-room Hilton Hotel, built by Conrad Hilton in 1929 to capitalize on tourism associated with the artesian mineral water in Marlin. (The building is still there.)¹⁶

In the mid-1930s, James developed prostate cancer. He moved to Marlin and lived with Henry Lee. James slipped while bathing, breaking his remaining leg. While hospitalized, James introduced Henry Lee to his nurse, Elizabeth Hartgrove. (Soon Henry Lee would marry Elizabeth, and within a few years they would have three sons.) On August 28, 1936, James died from uremia (along with contributory causes: a hypertrophied prostate and a fractured femur in his left leg). He was 75 years old at the time of his death. His remains are buried in Marlin's Calvary Cemetery.¹⁷

* * *

Although James Faulkner suffered several formidable disappointments and setbacks over the course of his life, he had some substantial accomplishments, too. Besides serving as chief executive officer of the Collin County government for four years, he served as a Justice of the Peace in Collin County, and later for many years in Tarrant County. He served as an educator (public school principal, "professor,"

and teacher). He taught young people in at least three schools (possibly more) in at least two Texas counties. He was a hotelier for a time in Terrell. He evidently was a versatile, intelligent, accomplished individual with very good deductive, communication, and social skills. Surely he must have reveled in his major comeback late in life: election to an office of substantial responsibility, and repeated reelection, despite advanced age and physical handicaps, even in the midst of the Great Depression. We can view his and Minnie's marriage difficulties only from afar because we know almost none of the personal details. But regardless of what caused their marital problems, we know that for about a decade, he apparently persisted and struggled, trying to regain what he had somehow lost. Whatever the circumstances that remain veiled to us, his effort must be viewed as an epic, heroic (and very human) quest—in anybody's book.

ENDNOTES

- I. Lee Stambaugh and Lillian J. Stambaugh, A History of Collin County, Texas (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1958), 246, listed Faulkner's election as November 8, 1898; his successor, F. E. Wilcox, was elected on November 7, 1902; "J. H. Faulkner Dies at Marlin," Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Saturday, August 29, 1936, 4 (See appendix, Item no. 15, p. 35), mentioned his I. P. service in both counties, his teaching school, his work in insurance, his disability, and his selling newspapers on the streets. "Wilmeth School - Collin County Communities," Texas History and Genealogy Webpage by Genealogy Friends of Plano Libraries, Inc., < http://www.geocities.com/GenFriendsghl/ schools/wilmethsch.htm>, says he taught at the Wilmeth School in Collin County; "Fire Destroys Residence," Dallas Morning News, April 19, 1910, 3 (See appendix, Item no. 3, p. 16), said that he was principal of the Elmo public school in Kaufman County; "Civic and Industrial Development," Dallas Morning News, February 11, 1911, 10, mentioned that he was a school principal at Lawrence in Kaufman County and discussed the purchase of the hotel; to view a photograph of Judge Faulkner, see appendix, Item no. 1, p. 14.
- 2 Faulkner's death certificate (See appendix, Item no. 13, p. 33) showed his date of birth; the same date was written on the back of a portrait photograph of Faulkner in the possession of his grandson Tom Faulkner, of Victoria, Texas; that date also is consistent with his age (in years) on the U.S. Censuses for 1870 and 1880, and with the birth month reported on the 1900 Census (though the birth year was off by one). The Censuses for 1870 and 1880 (See appendix, Item no. 9, pp. 24 and 25, for abstracts) showed the Jacob Faulkner family in Collin County; an e-mail message from Tom Faulkner to the author on September 26, 2008 contained a list of the names (and most ages, as well as the birth states for most) of the 15 offspring of Jacob and Amanda Faulkner, and this supplemented the lists from the 1870 and 1880 Censuses; the "child ladder" method of tracing migration provided the parameters for the arrival of the family in Texas, because Daniel Jackson Faulkner was born on October 26, 1851, in Kentucky, and the next youngest child, John J. Faulkner, was born in about 1855, in Texas; George Pearis Brown, Collin County in Pioneer Times, Selections from the George Pearis Brown Papers, second edition (Collin County Historical Society: McKinney, Texas, n.d. [after 1985]), 42, said that Jacob was teaching in Collin County before the Civil War, so James Henry Faulkner, who was born in July 1861, must have been born in Collin County.
- The 1880 Census showed Jake (Jacob) Faulkner's occupation as farmer (Schedule 1, Allen Election Precinct, Collin County, Texas, Page No. 25, Supervisor's District No. 3, Enumeration District No. 19, Enumerator

W. H. Chandler, June 24, 1880); George Pearis Brown, Collin County in Pioneer Times, Selections from the George Pearis Brown Papers, mentioned Jacob's teaching school in the Orchard Gap Primitive Baptist Church building (before the Civil War); "Westminster Baptist School - Schools of Collin County," Collin County, Texas History and Genealogy Webpage by Genealogy Friends of Plano Libraries, Inc., http://www.geocities.com/GenFriendsghl/schools/ westminsterbap.htm> mentions that Judge Faulkner studied under Rev. J. M. Harder at Seven Points College in Westminster; "Wilmeth School - Collin County Communities" says that James taught at the Wilmeth School in 1893 and 1894; the Fort Worth Star-Telegram obituary, "J. H. Faulkner Dies at Marlin," said that Faulkner studied law at night; precinct number and vote counts were from Collin County Election Records ledger, pages 53 and 63, respectively, in the Collin County Elections office, 2010 Redbud Boulevard, Suite 102, McKinney, Texas; James's coroner duties were mentioned in "A Terrible Tragedy," Dallas Morning News, April 24, 1897, 1, which said: "Justice Faulkner of McKinney was notified and went down to inquest the remains."

- Date of marriage was shown on Collin County Marriage Record, vol. 9, p. 535 (See appendix, Item no. 2, p. 15). The U.S. Census for 1880 showed that Minnie, age 9, was living with her older sister (perhaps a half-sister since their ages were 40 years apart) and other family members in Collin County; the 1880 census showed that (James) Henry Faulkner was 18 years old; Thelma's date of birth was reported by Tom Faulkner, her nephew, in an e-mail message to the author dated August 30, 2008; name of street was shown on index to the U.S. Census for 1900; value of property was shown on the Assessment of Property in Collin County for 1905, Precinct No. 8, P114, line 16.
- Faulkner was one of a three-man committee that presented a resolution to the officers and members of the McKinney chapter of the Order of the Knights of Pythias, as reported in an article entitled "Resolutions: Passed by the K. P. at a Meeting of the Order Last Evening," McKinney Democrat, Thursday, December 8, 1898, 2; information on Perkins was from Stambaugh and Stambaugh, 193-194; J. B. (Ben) Faulkner's pastorship of the McKinney church was mentioned in a Dallas Morning News article, "First Christian Church of McKinney to Be Dedicated Today," December 12, 1897, 7; his pastorship of the Wylie church was listed in First Christian Church: Wylie, Texas, 1887 1987 (Wylie]?], Texas: First Christian Church, 1987), 11.
- Vote counts were from Collin County Election Records ledger for 1898 and 1902, pages 73, 132, and 27, respectively; Faulkner's party affiliation was mentioned in "Collin County Democrats," *Dallas Morning News*, May 13, 1900, 2; the debate was mentioned in *Collin County Lifeprints*, by Joy Gough,

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"Collin County Timeline," Collin County History and Genealogy Friends of Plano Libraries, Inc., http://www.geocities.com/GenFriendsghl/TIME_LINE/timeline.htm>.

- 7 Collin County Commissioners Court Minutes, vols. 9 and 10, in the Collin County Clerk at Law office, 1800 N. Graves Street, Suite 110, McKinney, Texas; judge's and commissioners' per diem pay, p. 242 and elsewhere; pauper welfare, p. 318 and elsewhere; occupation tax, p. 248-254 and elsewhere; cost to bury paupers, p. 313; Confederate pensions, p. 335; county schools, p. 244 and elsewhere; county roads, p. 243 and elsewhere; local option elections, p. 234 and elsewhere; smallpox outbreak, p. 369.
- 8 E-mail message from Tom Faulkner, James and Minnie's grandson, to the author dated August 30, 2008; warranty deed (sale agreement).
- 9 "Fire Destroys Residence," Dallas Morning News, April 20, 1910, 3; location and population of Elmo were from Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. "Elmo, Texas," http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/EE/hne12.html; the 1910 U.S. Census showed that they owned the (mortgaged) house they were living in on the day the Census was taken.
- James's teaching job and the name of the hotel were from the Dallas Morning News article, "Civic and Industrial Development"; details of the purchase of the hotel/boardinghouse were from a copy of the warranty deed (sales agreement) supplied to the author by James and Minnie's grandson Tom Faulkner, the classified ad was published in the Dallas Morning News of November 2, 1912, 15, column 5 (See appendix Item no. 6, p. 19); it was again run in the November 4, 1912 issue (p. 12, column 4); Texas State Gazetteer and Business Directory (Detroit: R. L. Polk & Co., 1914), 860; details of the sale of the hotel/boardinghouse were from a copy of the warranty deed (sales agreement) supplied to the author by Tom Faulkner.
- James's petition to divorce Minnie, Dallas County District Court, dated October 20, 1914 (See appendix, Item no. 7, pp. 19-21); Faulkners' divorce decree, Dallas County, dated March 2, 1915, 268 (See appendix, Item no. 8, p. 23); "Local Courts," *Dallas Morning News*, March 3, 1915, 20; details about Minnie's two subsequent marriages and her death and burial were from e-mail messages from Tom Faulkner to the author dated August 30, 2008 and September 8, 2008, as well as a phone interview with him on September 17, 2008.

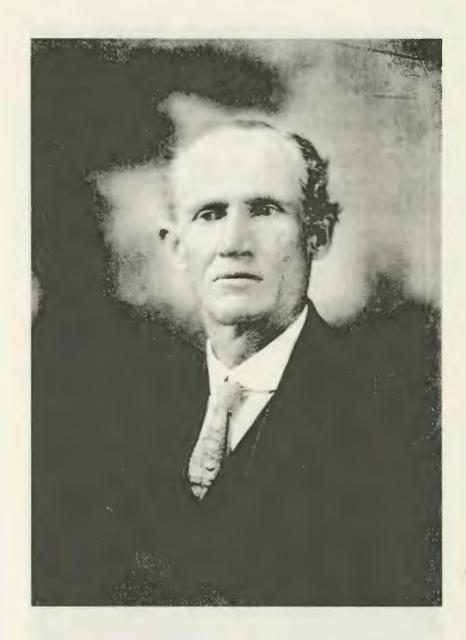
- All of this information, except examples that document James's coroner duties as J. P., was from the Fort Worth Star-Telegram obituary, "James Faulkner Dies at Marlin"; examples of his coroner duties were found in the following Dallas Morning News articles: "Man Is Slain at Fort Worth, Plumber Held," January 10, 1929, 1; "Bullet Ends Man's Life," February 1, 1929, 7; "Body of Man Found at Home Near Lake Worth, September 1, 1929, 10; "Stab Wounds Kill Butcher," July 21, 1930; "Man's Burned Body Is Found," July 27, 1930, 1; "Dairy Employee Finds Man Hanged on Tree," May 1, 1931, among others.
- Some examples of Faulkner's cases that involved suicide and that 13 were reported in the Dallas Morning News were articles entitled: "Late Hour Worker Goes to Bed by Side of Wife Thought to Be Asleep, Wakes, Finds Her Dead," July 23, 1930, 1; "Three-Year-Old Girl Watches While Father Shoots Self Fatally," May 26, 1933, 1; "Charge Woman in Bank Blast" (a murder-suicide using nitroglycerin), August 17, 1930, 1; and "Suicide in Trinity Still Unidentified," September 10, 1930, 23; an example of a Faulkner case involving poison (and suicide) was: "Body of Man Found at Home Near Lake Worth," Dallas Morning News, September 1, 1929, 10; the bigamy case was reported in: "Girl, Married at 13, Charged as Bigamist," Dallas Morning News, May 30, 1933, 3; the marijuana case was reported in: "Charge Marihuana Sold to Students," Dallas Morning News, March 27, 1932, 10; the Faulkner case involving the "dead bank robber reward" was reported in: "Third Arrest Made in Bank Holdup Deaths," Dallas Morning News, April 18, 1930, 1 & 3; further information on this misguided reward policy was from A. C. Greene, The Santa Claus Bank Robbery, Revised Edition (Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 1999), 28-29, 128-129, and 144-145; the Billie Mace case was reported in: "Bonnie Parker's Sister Presents Alibi Testimony," Dallas Morning News, May 25, 1934, 3 (See appendix, Item no. 12, p. 32); Billie was acquitted of that crime, according to John Neal Phillips, Running with Bonnie and Chyde: The Ten Fast Years of Ralph Fultz (Norman, Oklahoma and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996) 311.
- The two Dallas Morning News articles that reported the results of the audits were: "Audit Shows Justice of Peace Owes \$1,367 to Tarrant County," December 23, 1932, 6 (See appendix, Item no. 10, p. 30): and "Claim Justice Owes County," May 23, 1933, 11 (See appendix, Item no. 11, p. 31); his obituary in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, "J. H. Faulkner Dies at Marlin," said that he served as J. P. until 1935, when he was defeated by Hughes; also, a Dallas Morning News article published in 1934 mentioned him still working at that time: "Marriage Free Sign Posted by Combatant in Courthouse War," February 8, 1934, 1, as did the Dallas Morning News article, "Bonnie Parker's Sister Presents Alibi Testimony."

- Abstract of 1930 U. S. Census (See appendix, Item no. 9, p. 28); Faulkner's Fort Worth Star-Telegram obituary, "J. H. Faulkner Dies at Marlin," mentioned the loss of his leg, and Tom Faulkner mentioned it to the author during a phone interview on September 17, 2008; also, a portrait photo of Faulkner (taken late in life) shows him holding a pair of crutches (See appendix, Item no. 16, p. 36).
- In phone interview on September 17, 2008, and in an e-mail to the author dated September 27, 2008, Tom Faulkner said that he found his father's name (Henry Lee Faulkner) listed as the proprietor of Lee's Garage in Dallas in the 1928 Dallas City Directory (p. 915) and as an employee of Oak Cliff Brake Service in the 1929 Dallas City Directory, the other information is also this same phone interview and e-mail.
- 17 Most of this information was from e-mail messages from Tom Faulkner to the author dated August 30, 2008 and September 5, 2008, and phone interview on September 17, 2008; James's Fort Worth Star-Telegram obituary, "J. H. Faulkner Dies at Marlin," mentioned that he broke his remaining leg and that that injury contributed to his death; the cause of death and the contributory causes mentioned above were from his death certificate; the Texas Death Index also listed his death on August 28, 1936 in Falls County, Certificate no. 40411; there was also an obituary in the Dallas Morning News: "Former Collin County Judge Dies at Marlin," August 29, 1936, 3; however, it got his first name wrong (See appendix, Item no. 14, p. 34).

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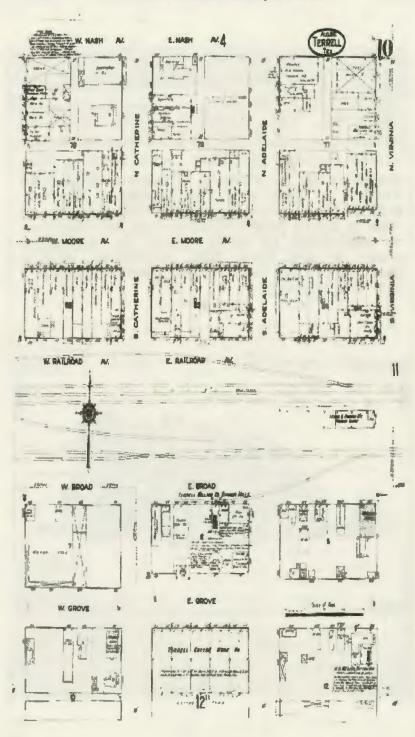
NAMERAGE RECORDS . 2 VOL 9	
MARRIAGE RECORD.	144
THE STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF COLLIE. To any Engeloning Liamand or Ordained Minister of the Gospel, Joseph Baible, Judge of the District or County Sourt, or any Justice of the Prace, in and for acid County—GREETING Now have pleaning Armonisan to Bulliment than the Repen of MATRIMORY, increasing Office of the Prace, in and for acid County—GREETING Now have pleaning Armonisan to Bulliment than Repen of MATRIMORY, increasing your miles which the Linear County County County of soil County, which deep they chreeting your miles which the Linear County County of soil County County they are thereafter, earliering your miles which agreement of the county County in the Linear County County in the County County of the County County of the State of the County County in the County County of the Cou	
THE STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF COLLIE.	
To may Impolarly Liouence or Orderical Minister of the Googal, Joseph Robbi, Judge of the Detrict or County Court, or may Justice of the Prince, in and for axid Owned,—DRENTING. You and Manusce Accessings to the Orderic Prince Of MATRIMONY Increases. Office of States They are of County of the Natural Natural Prince of States of County of the County	

Fire Destroys Residence.

SPECIAL TO THE NEWS.

Terrell, Tex., April 19.—The residence of Prof. J. H. Faulkner, principal of the public school at Elmo, was burned this morning at 11 o'clock. The building was valued at \$400 and the contents, including a fine plano, at \$900, all of which was a total loss. The origin of the fire is supposed to have been a gasoline stove which was left burning while Mrs. Faulkner was in her garden gathering vegetables.





No. SERON. A
DISTRICT COURT, DALLAS COUNTY
926 Saulkner
A Davekno
Filed Oot 20" A. D. 191 H. H. WILLIAMS, District Clerk.
Citation Issued A. D. 191
Disposed of Box No. /279
32,268
ON DOMEN
Plaintiff's Attorney. Defendant's Attorney.

THE STATE OF THEMS

In the Middle Tours

To the Henerable Judge of said Court:

How cemes J. H. Faulkner, hereinafter

styled plaintiff, complaining of Mrs. E. E. Smallmon, haralangles, styled defendant, and shows to the Court;

1

That pleintiff is an actual bone fide inhabitant of the State of Texas, and has recided here for more than twelve menths, and has recided in the County of Dallac, State of Texas, for more than six meaths mext preceding the filing of this suit; that said defendant recides in Emphasa County, Texas.

2

That plaintiff and defendant were legally married in Cellin Ceunty, Texas, on towit: June 30, 1895 and lived tegether as husband and wife until tewit: June 18, 1908, at which time the said defendant veluntarily left the bed and beard of this plaintiff with the intention of abandement, and has since said time refused and continues to refuse to live with plaintiff as her husband.

3

Trut during all of said time plaintiff treated defendant with kindacce and affection and did everything in his power to make her extisfied, contented and happy; but netwithstanding all this defendant gradually grew morese and harder to satisfy, and on each day and date openly declared that she would never live with plaintiff again so her husband; that plaintiff has insisted that she still recognize him as her husband and that they live tegether as wan and wife; all of which she has percistently refused, and still refuses to de.

S

That during said married life two children, Thelma, a girl new aged eighteen years, and a bey, Henry Lee, aged 12 years, were been to plaintiff and defendant; and that said children are new in the custody of said defendant at Terrell, Taxas.

That during said married life the plaintiff and defendant have: acquired the fellowing community property, towit: Situated in the County of Eaufman, State of Texas, and being Lats Hes. 1, 2, 5 and 4 in Black He. 5 of the City of Torrell, tegether with a tweetery hetel thereon eituated, as also considerable househald goods, et all of which is in the peasessien of eaid defendant; that eaid prop crty was deeded to defendent as her weparate preparty, alleged the truth and fact it was community property; and that all of saidproperty rights have heretefore been adjusted between plaintiff and defendant as per centract, a cepy of which is new in the pessession of each.

That said abandenment on the part of said defendant has centioued & for more than three years next preceding the filing of this cuit, and said defendant has always declared that she would never again live with plaintiff as his wife,

Precises considered plaintiff praye that defendant be cited to ap peer and mawer this petition, that on final hearing the bends of astrineay heretefore existing between plaintiff and defendent be cancelled, that plaintiff be granted a full and complete divercentr from defendant, that the property rights be adjudicated as per spid contrast, that plaintiff recover of defendant all costs in this behalf expended, for all general, special and equitable relief, and as in duty bound will ever pray,

Atterney for Plaintiff.

THE STATE OF TEXAS COURTY OF DALLAS

How comes J. H. Faulkner, plaintiff in the above entitled cause, and being duly evern eave, the allegations in the above and foregoing petition are true.

Subscribed and amern to before me this the 1914.

Hetery Public in and for Dallas County, Texas.

-	Juliday, March 2 ma. 1913.
18301	Desired as a March 2 and, 1915. On this day this course rounding as as he heavy come the plantiff in press and he strang and heavy come the plantiff in press and heavy and hea
18283	It is further extend that Alexa lift per all cours in this behalf increment, and that the officers of the court many travel their execution against each party bereto respectively for all courts by such increment. The Makel Dendinger The Makel Dendinger To this day the court coming on to be beaut, come the philatell in pursue and by atterney and commenced resily for that but the defendant although harving the thin the defendant although harving a wavel service of catalities and a Aury being watered and the Court berief by the court med defendant, and A July being watered and the Court berief by the court for the first rather and defending to the Court these the means of operations in place of the resistance or place of the court than the means of operations in place of the court than the means of operations to propose produce of the court than the means of operations grinted between as at a lateral than Makel Dending and
18385	the each part berse in brook in the Cale and Cale the country of the child booking. The make bending to the cale cale, and cue they of seeing the child in seasonable time. It is the contin addition each party books respectively for all costs in this behalf incurred, and that the allows of the costs may have their execution addition each party books respectively for all costs by each boursed. Liste Lewis The allowed on a mark the case conting in to be band, come the philately in powers and by extensing and supercontent really for trial the deflactant having in spritting
	A Just being various and the Court buries board the particulary and the evidence, and discount of the explaints that the material unique to principle and the evidence, and explaints of country, and the claimst the material unique to principle protect of the claimst that the bands of material unique protects explaints between mind pointed like a series and discountry beganish between mind pointed like a series and discountry beganish between the board of the weeks and that each purry error is intrody researed to the status of single persons. Frust deal the weeks that the blands of the purpose of the country of the like blands of the series and the series of the blands of the series of the series of the blands of the series of the serie

12

1870 United States Federal Census

Name: Henry Faulkner

Estimated Birth abt 1862

Year:

Age in 1870: 8

Birthplace: Texas

Home in 1870: Precinct 1, Collin, Texas

Thomas Faulkner

Race: White

Gender: Male

Value of real View Image

estate:

Post Office: McKinney

Household Name Age
Members: Jacob Faulkner 48

Amanda Faulkner 45 Helen Faulkner 21

Frances Faulkner 19
Daniel Faulkner 16

John Faulkner 14

Jacob Faulkner 10

Henry Faulkner 8

Mary Faulkner 4

100	30 United States rederal Censu	S
Name:	Henry Faulkner	
Home in 1880:	Precinct 1, Collin, Texas	
Ager	18	
Estimated Birth Year:	abt 1862	
Birthplace:	Texas	
Relation to Head of Household:	Son	
Father's Name:	Jake	
Father's birthplace:	Kentucky	
Mother's Name.	Amanda	
Mother's birthplace:	Virginia	
Neighbors:	View other on page	
Marital Status:	Single	
Bace:	White	
Gender:	Male	
read/write: Blind: Deaf and dumb: Otherwise disabled:	View Image	
Idiotic or insane:		
Household	Name	Age
Members:	Jake Fm liner	58
	Amandy Faulkner	56
	Henry Faulkner	18

Mary Faulkner Jake Faulkner

20

1900 United States Federal Census

J N Faulkner

[J Faulkner]

McKinney, Collin, Texas Home in 1900:

Age:

Birth Date: Jul 1860

Birthplace: Texas

> White Race:

Ethnicity: American

Relationship to Head

head-of-house:

Father's Kentucky

Birthplace:

Mother's Kentucky

Birthplace:

Spouse's Name: Minnie

Marriage Year: 1895

Married Marital Status:

Years Married:

Members:

McKinney City, Collin, Texas Residence:

Occupation: View Image

Neighbors: View others on page

Household Name Age

J N Faulkner 29

Minnie Faulkner 26

Thelma Faulkner 4

1910 United States Federal Census

-/-	
Name:	James A Faulkner
Age in 1910:	48
Estimated Birth Year:	abt 1862
Birthplace:	Texas
Relation to Head of House:	Head
Father's Birth Place:	Virginia
Mother's Birth Place:	Virginia
Spouse's Name:	Minnie M
Home in 1910:	South Elmo, Kaufman, Texas
Marital Status:	Married
Race:	Milatto White ("W" ON CENSES form)
Gender:	Male
Neighbors:	View others on page
Household	Name Age
Members:	James A Faulkner 48
	Minnie M Faulkner 39
	Thelma F Faulkner 13
	Henry L Faulkner 7

Age

25

24

64

1930 United States Federal Census

Name: James H Faulkner

Home in 1930: Fort Worth, Tarrant, Texas

Age: 64

Estimated Birth abt 1866

Year:

Birthplace: Texas

Relation to Head Lodger

of House:

Race: White

Occupation:

Education:

Military service: View Image Rent/home value:

Age at first marriage:

Parents birthplace:

Neighbors: View others on page

Household Name

Members: William G Miller

Juanita Miller

James H Faulkner

133

1880 United States Federal Census

Name:	Minnie Reynolds	
Home in 1880:	Precinct 7, Collin, Texas	
Age:	9	
Estimated Birth Year:	abt 1871	
Birthplace:	Tennessee	
Relation to Head of Household:	Sister	
Father's birthplace:	New York	
Mother's birthplace:	New York	
Neighbors:	View others on page	
Occupation:	At School	
Marital Status:	Single	
Race:	White	
Gender:	Female	
read/write:		
Blind: Deaf and dumb:	View I	
Otherwise disabled:		
Idiotic or insane:		
Household	Name	Age
Members:	Fredrick V. Reynolds	26
	Eugene Reynolds	22
	Keziah Reynolds	49
	Charles Reynold	13
	Minnie Reynolds	9

Audit Shows Justice Of Peace Owes \$1,367 To Tarrant County

From the Fort Worth Bureau of The News.
FORT WORTH. Texas, Dec. 22.—No discrepancies were found in the departments of District Attorney and County Judge in Tarrant County covering activities in 1928, according to a report made Thursday by accountants making the outside audit of the county's financial affairs.

However, auditors found that Justice of the Peace J. H. Faulkner owes the county \$1.367 from operations of his office during that year. Violation of statutes by "illegal and extortionate collection of court costs" in both civil and criminal cases that came before Justice Faulkner are charged against this official by the auditors.

Jese E. Martin, present incumbent in the District Attorney's office, and S. I. Shannon, then County Judge, were the two officials whose books for 1928 were pronounced satisfactory.

This is the sixth report coming from the auditors who have so far worked only on records for the one year.

The Commissioners' Court Thursday everruled a suggestion made by County Judge Atkinson that the sudit he extended to cover all of 1932 and he made to reach backward for several years prior to 1928 in the offices of the Justices of the Peace and County Clerk.

The contract with the auditors calls for auditing only the first seven months of 1332.

The county's general fund was overdrawn \$162,894 at the end of November, according to County Auditor W. E. Yancy. The overdraft stood at \$106,283 the last of October. Claim Justice Owes County.

From the Fart Worth Bureau of The News.
FORT WORTH. Texas. May 22.—
Liability amounting to \$4.465.53 was marked up against Justice of the Peace J. H. Faulkner covering the 1929 to 1932 period in a report Monday from the Tarrant County outside auditors, who charged the Justice with conducting inquest not authorized by law, overcharging of fees and incorrect reporting of fees.

Bonnie Parker's Sister Presents Alibi Testimony

Claims Was in Oak Cliff When Patrolmen Slain on Easter Sunday

the Fert Worth Bureau of The Rews. PORT WORTH. Texas. May 24.ges Lelia Piummer, aunt of Mrs. Bille Mace, who is charged with Flord Hamilton in the Easter Sunday billing of two highway patrolmen near Gesperine, testified at an examining gial here Thursday that Mrs. Mace slept with her the night before the thing and was with her in and near home of the susspect's mother in Oak Caff Easter Sunday Billie Mace is the aster of Bonnie Parker, slain with Clyde Barrow Wednesday.

It wasn't possible for her to have gase to Grapevine and taken part in Out shooting. declared the aunt, only hering before Justice Faulkner.

in the meantime, attorneys for Mrs. as Clyde Barrow's.

Mace sued out a writ of habeas corpus to free her, and a hearing was set by Judge George E. Hosey for Friday or Saturday.

Later Visited Scene.

Mrs. Plummer, who is the sister of Mrs. Mace's mother, said Billie Mace went with her to the scene of the killing during the latter part of Easter Sunday when they heard about the shooting.

Mrs. Emma Parker, mother of the suspect, was in the courtroom.

District Attorney Jesse E. Martin announced he had sent for Clyde Barrow's guns and will have bellistics experts compare shotgun and rifle shells found on the Grapevine roadside with shells fired in these weapons.

"That should tend to prove or disprove whether Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker killed the two peace officers." Martin said. "If they don't check we will have a better case against Billie Mace and Floyd Hamilton.

Martin sent Police Identification Superintendent Barney Finn to Dallas to take fingerprints from the bodies of Barrow and Bonnie Parker, shot down Wednesday by Texas and Louisiana officers. Finn will compare these prints with marks on a shisky bottle found at the scene of the double killing near Grapevine.

It had previously been indicated winess placed on the stand during the that the prints on the bottle had been partly, but not conclusively, identified

, m	BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS
If Profit REMINERT, he conclud to give the numbers radioned of the december death often menty and nature.	STATE OF MEANS SURFALL OF VITAL STATISTICS STANDARD CENTURATE OF DEATH SURFALL OF VITAL STATISTICS STANDARD CENTURATE OF DEATH STATE OF MEANS STANDARD CENTURATE OF DEATH SURFALL OF VITAL STATISTICS STANDARD CENTURATE OF DEATH SURFALL OF
362444	This is a true and correct reproduction of the original record as recorded in this office. Issued under authority of Section 191,251, Health and Salety Code. ISSUED 4 4 5794

Former Collin County Judge Dies at Marlin

Special to The News.

McKINNEY, Texas, Aug. 28.—John Henry Faulkner. 75, former Collin County Judge died Friday at the home of his son. Lee Faulkner. at Marlin, Funeral services will be held at Marlin Saturday.

Judge Faulkner was born near Farmersville. He taught school in the rural districts of the county, served as Justice of the Peace and later as County Judge. He later served as Justice of the Peace at Fort Worth. Surviving are his son. Lee Faulkner of Marlin; and three brothers, Jake and Tom Faulkner of Bellevue, City County; and John Faulkner of El Reno, Okla.

Faulkner was a brother of the late J. Ben Faulkner, Confederate soldier and pioneer minister of the Christian Church of this county, who was the father of Mrs. Tom W. Perkins, wife of the Mayor of McKinney.

ORNING

SATURDAY, AUGUST 29, 1

COLLISION IN NEW MEX

ison **Paris**

Collier





NDAY PAUL

Served as Justice of Peace! in Tarrant County From Jan. 1, 1927 Until 1935.

J. H. Faulkner, who served as justice of the peace in Tarrant County from Jan. 1, 1927, until 1935, died yesterday in Marlin, friends here were informed.

Faultner wag injured about three months ago at Marlin when he fell and suffered a broken leg. He

months ago at Marita when refell and suffered a broken leg. He
never recovered.

Faulkner was burn in Collin County in 1886. He was 1887 he taught
to 1886, he was 23. He taught
school for a time, studying law at
night. He was justice of the pears
at McKinney from 1885 until 1898
and then served four years as county judge.

In 1916, Faulkner came to Fort
Worth and engaged in the snaurance
business. From 1922 until 1928 he
sold newspapers on the streets effer
illness rendered the use of has right
hand practicelly useless.

In 1926 he was elected justice
of the peace and served continuously until his defeat by Hel P. Hughes,
incumbent, two years ago.

incumbent, two years ago.
Surviving are two brothers and a
son, Lee Faultner of Marlin. The
funeral will be conducted Saturday in Marlin.

YOUNG GYPSY MOTHER AND BABY KEPT IN JAIL

AND DALLAS, Aug. 28 (P).—Helen Merk. 21-year-old Gypsy mother and her two-month-old beby girl remained in county jail today, although she made 3750 bond on a fugitive war-rant filed in connection with an el-leged swindle in Leavenworth. Kan. When authoritize planued to re-lease her on bond made Thurselay.

Illness Fatal



J. H. Faulkner, former Tarrant County justice of the peace, who died yesterday in Marlin. Faulk-ner, who suffered the loss of a leg early in life, slipped while bathing and suffered a break in the other limb. The accident hastened his death.

Exchange Man Dead,

ST. PAUL, Aug. 26 UP: ---F. Aull, 61, president of the S Livestock Exchange and tree dant of the National Livestia change, died Friday folion heart attack.



m ALSI Big Bi day Part Pep C Private from: 18 4

IN PERSON TODA AT EACH SHOW

DIRECT FROM HOLLYWOOD





University of North Texas Press



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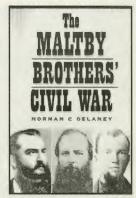
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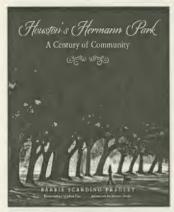
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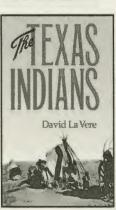


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J. MASON BREWER FOLKLORIST AND SCHOLAR: HIS EARLY TEXAS WRITINGS Milton S. Jordan Bruce Glasrud Foreward by Ken Untiedt



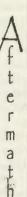
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