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BONNIE AND CLYDE IN TEXAS: THE END OF THE TEXAS OUTLAW TRADITION

by *Mitchel Roth*

The history of the outlaw tradition predates the founding of America and can be traced at least to eleventh-century England. Outlaw legends have appeared in a variety of incarnations throughout American history and it would be impossible to ascribe a particular paradigm to its development. Examples of this tradition can be found in most regions of America. Vermont had Ethan Allen's Green Mountain boys, New Mexico had Billy the Kid, and California the mystical Joaquin Murrieta and highwayman Jack Powers.

By comparison, the Texas outlaw tradition is not only rich but is more complex. Southern, Spanish, and Southwestern influences and traditions have found their way into the various explanations for its persistence into the twentieth century. Legends and historical accounts of Texas outlaws often are imbued with the mythology of the social bandit. Criminal justice historian Frank Prassel described the American outlaw tradition as "essentially democratic," asserting that "in pure form the legend is born of injustice and reflects a wish for rebellion, yet it often has elements of savagery, suffering, betrayal, and doom."¹

The association of outlaws and Texas as well as the West became an integral facet of the American myth during the mid-nineteenth century. The phrase "Gone to Texas," often abbreviated "G.T.T.," implied that those fleeing the law could find a less-demanding system of criminal justice in Texas. According to the popular historian Ed Bartholomew, "Texas had more of the so-called badmen than all the others put together" in the years following the Civil War.²

The Texas outlaw tradition can be divided into two distinct phases, both responses to changing social, economic, and political conditions in the Lone Star state. After 1865, divisions became apparent within American society as the result of modernization and its resultant upheaval. The first phase coincided with the terrible "1870s" after the Civil War, a period when unreconstructed Texans felt the sting of injustice at the hands of Governor Edmund J. Davis' State Police and Carpetbagger rule. However, Texas emerged from the Civil War in probably better shape economically than any other Confederate state. Recent scholarship suggests that the injustice of this period has been overstated, which nonetheless did not make it any less real to the defeated populace.

Between 1865 and 1890, outlaw gangs took full advantage of the social disorganization and the lack of resources available to support peace officers or to construct jails, leading one visitor to Texas to comment, "If you want distinction in this lawless country, kill somebody." Outlaws such as William Longley, Sam Bass, and John Wesley Hardin apparently gave little thought to killing or maiming newly freed blacks. According to Western historian Joseph

G. Rosa, that while both Hardin and Longley "started down the outlaw trail killing what they classified as belligerent Negroes," any examination of their careers will demonstrate that "neither man had much respect for anyone – black or white."³

One biographer of Sam Bass noted, "He manifested a remarkable antipathy for Negroes."⁴ Of the first four books written about Sam Bass, all but one were published anonymously. According to Ramon Adams, "Perhaps it was because they were written during the life of Bass and his followers and there was some fear of retaliation, but more likely it was because the writers were too proud to have their names associated with that of an outlaw." More than a few authors of books on outlaws thus penned their works under a pseudonym, lest their reputation be sullied. Nonetheless, these books were classed among the penny dreadfuls, forbidden to youngsters but still read in secret by young adults.⁵ As late as 1956, some chroniclers of the Texas outlaw tradition felt stigmatized enough to write under pseudonyms decades after the deaths of their subjects. Stanley Francis Louis Crocciola, for instance, wrote the biography of Robert A. "Clay" Allison under the pen-name of F. Stanley.⁶

By the twentieth century Texas outlaws were lionized as heroes, their exploits described on a par with the most famous peace officers. It was not uncommon in the years before the civil rights movement to read of the racist deeds of outlaws during the 1870s as if they were noble knights on a crusade against miscegenation. In the men's magazine *For Men Only*, in an article published in 1938 entitled "Minister's Son-Of-A-Gun," based on the life of John Wesley Hardin, we read of an outlaw who was a "hardware artist with forty notches on his gun." The author cited the turmoil accompanying Reconstruction as the stimulus for the climate of violence that prevailed, stating that "Some of the colored folk took their citizenship too seriously, and this irked Wes, so he shot himself one."⁷

An even earlier article by J. Martin Hunter, in an issue of the *Frontier Times Monthly* in 1926, noted that the "Careers of Cullen M. Baker, Ben Bickerstaff, Bob Lee, John Wesley Hardin, and Bill Longley bear a striking resemblance to each other in their first stages." Hunter stated that the "primary cause was the freed Negroes," explaining that "in normal times these men would have been normal men."⁸

The second distinct phase of outlawry in Texas began soon after the invention of the automobile and was given impetus by the increasing disparity of incomes in the burgeoning industrialized economy. By the 1930s, Texas had moved beyond its frontier reputation with a population of nearly six million people, with more than forty percent living in urban areas. The state had changed, but it still relied on the Texas Rangers for statewide law enforcement, even though it barely had evolved beyond the ranging companies which patrolled on horseback in earlier years. Texas became the American dream for motorized outlaws during the first decades of the twentieth century. This era became "a sort of bridge between the classic era, when outlaws used horses,

six-shooters, and Winchesters, and the new age, when they employed automobiles, automatic pistols, and submachine guns in their crimes.⁹

Outlaw depredations in Texas early in the 1930s were in part assisted by the virtual absence of a state police apparatus. Others attributed the outbreak of outlaw activity to the Depression, and in the process many poor Texans imbued these criminals with certain features of the Robin Hood tradition. Texas was hit hard by the stock market crash in 1929 as prices plummeted on cattle and farm products. And when Prohibition ended in 1934, bootleggers and other gangsters joined those who already had fallen on hard times.

While banks were also hard hit, they still contained money, and they became targets for gangsters and outlaws such as Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker. In the Depression many people, including Texas outlaws, considered robbing banks an admirable thing to do since farmers and tradesmen were losing their livelihoods while the banks foreclosed. According to one biographer of Bonnie and Clyde, "The hardest way to make money was to earn it. Robbery had become a competitive profession (in 1930s), and the underpaid, overworked officers of the law, Federal, State, County, and local, were finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the wave of crime ... It was partly incredible luck, partly timidity and stupidity of some of the officers of the law, but also the repercussions of the Depression that protected Bonnie and Clyde so long from their inevitable end."¹⁰

Texas outlaws share enough characteristics to be labeled as part of a tradition. While outlaw Sam Bass actually seemed to have been that rarity, an outlaw who sometimes gave to the poor, this fact did not deter his fate which was shared by other Texas outlaws, who were hunted down and executed in ambush. Like Bonnie and Clyde, an informer betrayed him to the Texas Rangers, along with his plans for a bank robbery. He died on his twenty-seventh birthday, admitting that his shooting of a Williamson County deputy sheriff was probably the first killing he ever committed. Other Lone Star outlaws or former desperadoes sometimes known as peace officers met their deaths in circumstances less convivial than a fair fight. John Wesley Hardin was shot in the back of the head by Constable John Selman in a saloon in El Paso. John King Fisher and Ben Thompson, lawmen and outlaws both, were gunned down together in a controversial incident at a San Antonio theatre.

The volumes of books written about Sam Bass exceed the significance of his actual exploits. Like the ballad which embellishes the legacy of Bonnie and Clyde, "The Ballad of Sam Bass," with its various errors of fact, memorializes one of the more mediocre permutations of the Texas outlaw tradition. Every few years the town of Mesquite, near Dallas, puts on a reenactment of a Bass train robbery to celebrate the county fair. It drew 300 participants in 1936. In 1977, the city of Round Rock, the scene of Bass' demise, passed an ordinance to create the Sam Bass Historical Commission to celebrate the Centennial of Sam Bass the following year.¹¹

Sam Bass' outlaw career was of relatively short duration, lasting but one year and four months. According to one of Bass' most recent biographers,

"Sam's financial gain from his exploits (in Texas) shows that his crimes did not pay much." Apparently from his first stagecoach robbery on December 20, 1877, to his last train robbery at Mesquite in April 1878, his complete share of the take came to \$514.87 over a period of four months.¹²

Bonnie and Clyde helped perpetuate their image as Texas outlaws during a two-year reign of terror between 1932 and 1934. One source described Bonnie as "her own press agent." Like Longley as he awaited his death sentence, Bonnie assaulted Dallas newspaper editors with bits of maudlin verse and news detailing the perambulations of the notorious Barrow gang. Clyde himself was not beneath using the pen to communicate his innermost thoughts, which usually ran the gamut from A to B. He even wrote to Henry Ford to endorse the Ford V-8 automobile, as the only kind he would steal. Despite their reputation as bank robbers during their 1932-1934 killing spree, their targets were more often small town grocery stores. Their myth began to outgrow their exploits while they were still alive, something that rarely occurred in the previous era of Texas outlaws, when they were usually in the grave by the time the legend took on a life of its own. Virtually every bank that was robbed in Depression-era North Texas testified that Bonnie and Clyde were the culprits as if this was a badge of honor.

Texas outlaws did not make the best of prisoners. William Longley became a prolific letter writer while awaiting the hangman in Giddings. Taken to a Galveston jail for safe keeping, Longley's letters appeared in newspapers throughout Texas, lamenting the unfairness of his sentence, that he should hang while John Wesley Hardin, with ten more killings to his credit, would only serve time at Huntsville. Shortly before his execution, one reporter found the admitted killer of over thirty men less jocular than usual, but still in the habit of talking lightly about his misdeeds. He appeared to have gained weight and was reported to have "left off using profane language entirely." Longley became a thorn in the side of the Texas criminal justice system as he attempted to get a new trial, but Governor Richard B. Hubbard would have none of it and Longley met his appointed destiny on time.

A perusal of Hardin's letters in various Texas archives testify to how ill-suited he was for life behind bars as well. His correspondence portrays a man constantly at odds with hard work as well as a world class hypochondriac. His letters include a litany of medical woes. He wrote to the superintendent that he feared that he might have "cancer of the stomach Bright's disease [sic] Heart disease or what else but whatever it is it gives me much pain both mentaly [sic] and physically beyond Description at this present time."¹³ Like Clyde Barrow, who was never an enthusiast for hard labor, Hardin wrote to the superintendent of Huntsville Prison, "I have been trying to work - I can do very little. I do not wish to be worked to death - nor punished to death for my inability to do the required work - Unless you see that I am an invalid ... I fear I shall not be able to serve twenty-five years."¹⁴ Hardin would serve all but nine years of his twenty-five year sentence and would be spared a natural death.

Clyde Barrow was as unlucky a prisoner as he was a Texas outlaw. Tired of the monotony and sweat of hard labor at Huntsville's prison and faced with a fourteen-year sentence after his arrest in 1930 for robbery, Clyde had about as much as he could take less than two years into his stint behind the Walls. Convinced that he would rather face the world a cripple than as a laborer, with the assistance of another prisoner he whacked off two of his toes with an axe. Much to his chagrin, a short time later he was paroled and left Huntsville aided by a brace of crutches.

Many of the outlaws during the violence-prone Reconstruction years began their bloodletting early. According to the biographer of John King Fisher, "Biographers of gunmen evidently feel that killings by their heroes while very young add greatly to their reputations."¹⁵ However, credulity is strained when tabulating the scores of human victims left in the wake of Texas gunmen. C.L. Sonnichsen, the stalwart defender of "grassroots history," noted that while John Wesley Hardin had admitted in his autobiography that he had shot forty men, "he did not say how many had recovered," as if it would make him a more commendable human being if he had any less gun notches.¹⁶

Sonnichsen described Hardin as "one of the most enigmatic characters of our heroic age – a gentleman in manners and appearance, a southerner of good family background, intelligent and polite, a professing Christian who could and did teach Sunday school and tried to instill the highest ideals in his children." Sonnichsen attempts to ascribe his psychopathic tendencies to the bad times of the Civil War. Yet no attempt is made to reconcile the blood lettings of Bonnie and Clyde with the harsh realities of the 1930s. Perhaps it was Hardin's visage – gentlemanly and unpreposing, with a veneer of Southern charm and manners. What can be said of the diminutive Clyde and Bonnie, unmarried-living together in sin, in an age which frowned on such arrangements, physically unmemorable, creatures of reputed perverted sexual appetites, and her exploits as a woman, in an age of murderous men. Yet they were credited with less than one third the victims of the less tarnished Hardin.

The literature written about Texas outlaws encompasses both the academic and the popular, often ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous and steeped in both the worst kind of racist stereotyping as well as the debatable field of psycho-history. There are historical novels written about such multiple killers as John Wesley Hardin. In the novel *Between Loaded Guns*, Reconstruction-era Texas is portrayed as literally that, with more than 3000 outlaws on the loose. It is described as a "historical novel about violence, love, struggle, hardship, humor, and triumphs in East Texas."¹⁷ Hardin is portrayed as a victim of his temper and the hard times of the terrible 1870s. He is a popular figure feared by blacks and carpetbaggers, and revered by his kin and friends as they help protect him from bounty hunters and the hated Texas Rangers. One recent study of John Wesley Hardin with the intriguing title of "John Wesley Hardin, Adolescent Killer: The Emergence of a Narcissistic Behavior Order," can even be found in a work on adolescent psychiatry.¹⁸

A common trait of Texas outlaws before 1934 was that most killed at least

one law enforcement officer. The Barrow Gang was responsible for twelve homicides, eight of which were law enforcement officers. By 1933 crime had become a national dilemma. That year over 12,000 Americans were murdered, 50,000 robbed, and 100,000 assaulted. A public outcry demanded that law and order be restored. Texas ranked sixth nationwide in crime per capita, but ranked first in the number of peace officers murdered. In 1933, Bonnie and Clyde were responsible for killing two peace officers in Missouri, one in Arkansas, and one in Texas. The following year they added two more in Texas, one in Oklahoma, and a prison guard. In one instance, as Bonnie delivered the *coup de grace* with a sawed off shotgun to one of the officers, a bystander reported she exclaimed "look-a-there, his head bounced just like a rubber ball." The wide publicity given this crime insured that their killing spree was approaching its conclusion.

Texas outlaws such as Bonnie and Clyde were armed with an array of weaponry not seen since the First World War. Their arsenals could outgun those of most small-town police forces. Of these weapons the most recognizable was the Thompson submachine gun, or as it was more popularly known, the "Tommy gun." By the 1930s it had established itself firmly in the public's imagination as the outlaw's gun of choice.¹⁹

Bonnie and Clyde were as inextricably linked in death as they were in life. Both were born and bred in Texas, not far from Dallas.²⁰ However, not all of the practitioners of the Texas outlaw tradition were homegrown products. Some of the most famous names associated with the Texas outlaw tradition came from outside the region. Ben Thompson immigrated to Texas from England in 1849 and Sam Bass was born in Indiana, where he spent his early years, before drifting into northeast Texas in 1870. Clay Allison came from Wayne County, Tennessee, arriving in Texas shortly after his service in the Civil War.

Testaments to longevity in both careers and life spans, something not normally associated with the outlaw tradition were Willis and Joe Newton, who formed a gang in the 1910s and were still alive in 1973. According to Willis Newton, "Bonnie and Clyde was just silly kids bound to get themselves killed. They killed that old sheriff over at Commerce and that was their undoing. We wasn't at all thugs. All we wanted was the money. Just like doctors, lawyers and other businessmen. Robbing banks and trains was our way of getting it. That was our business."²¹

On May 23, 1934, the smell of spring was in the air as six grim-faced men waited beside Highway 154, a few miles south of Gibsland, Louisiana. Concealed behind a large mound of dirt near the roadway were members of various law enforcement agencies under the command of the legendary ex-Texas Ranger Frank Hamer. Hamer had been hired by Lee Simmons, general manager of the Texas Prison System, to track down the Barrow Gang after they killed a guard near Huntsville while helping one of their gang escape the Eastham prison farm.

The 1920s and 1930s had found Texas peace officers over matched by

outlaws when it came to firepower and transportation. But on this day, they thought they were better armed than their opposition. Their arsenal consisted of a machine gun, an automatic rifle, and four shotguns loaded with buckshot. Events determined that the only thing they had in their favor were numbers and surprise. When their withering fusillade had ceased the six lawmen hesitantly approached the car containing their prey. Among the contents of the death car was an array of weapons, vastly superior to their own – a shotgun, eleven pistols, a revolver, three Browning automatic rifles, and more than 2000 rounds of ammunition, as well as fifteen sets of license plates under the rear seat.

Methods of outlaws changed in response to law enforcement. By the deaths of Bonnie and Clyde in 1934, law enforcement had taken steps to meet the challenge. The deaths of Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow in a hail of bullets on a country road in northern Louisiana signalled the end of the Texas outlaw tradition.

Bonnie and Clyde had been the most wanted outlaws in Texas history, yet they were not caught in Texas. While ex-Ranger Frank Hamer was authorized by Huntsville Prison, his status as a peace officer was only temporary. Hardin, Bass, Allison, the Newton Gang, and countless other outlaws were captured or killed by Texas peace officers in a reasonable amount of time, maintaining the confidence of their constituents. But the 1930s clearly called for something more than ranging companies on horseback or peripatetic gunmen with a badge and a Colt.

It was made clear by the exploits of the outlaws in the 1930s that Texas needed a statewide police force with systematic and scientific procedures for collecting and analyzing evidence. Prior to the creation of the Department of Public Safety in 1935, statewide law enforcement in Texas was handicapped in dealing with the new breed of outlaw. Both the Texas Rangers and the Highway Patrol were without a radio communications system, record keeping systems for cataloguing data about criminals such as fingerprints, and laboratory facilities.

When James V. Allred became governor in January 1935, he made good on his campaign pledge to reorganize the state law enforcement apparatus, partially in response to a crime wave sweeping Texas. The Texas Rangers had been labeled as wholly inadequate for the task of statewide law enforcement.

With reorganization under the law that created the Department of Public Safety in 1935, the role of the Texas Rangers in law enforcement was greatly reduced. The Highway Patrol, which previously had been responsible for enforcing traffic and motor vehicle related laws, was given law enforcement duties on par with the Rangers. Among the most important steps taken to improve the quality of state law enforcement was the creation of the Headquarters Division at Austin. Its establishment furnished the state with the means to fashion a modern and efficient law enforcement force. Under the Headquarters Division, the Bureau of Identification and Records functioned as a central repository for fingerprints, photographs, and other data on felons and

other outlaws convicted in Texas after 1935. Ballistics and laboratory work were conducted under this bureau as well. The Bureau of Intelligence collected information on criminal *modus operandi*, and the Bureau of Education was responsible for specialized training courses for all levels of law enforcement officers in the state. The Bureau of Communications established a statewide police radio network, but a year too late for two Texas highway patrolmen about to be murdered after stopping a stolen car on a country road near Grapevine.²²

Texas outlaw were products of their time and place, whether it was the post-Civil War or Depression eras. According to one authority on frontier violence, "Their careers perhaps offered a vicarious escape for many Texans who suffered the frustrations of poverty or the endless routine of drab small towns and rural areas." Fortunately, the majority of people living in such conditions found other outlets for their anger and dangerous proclivities, often in the monotony of hard work. While it is the outlaw that is most cherished in the imaginations of many living between the traditions of the Southern and Western frontiers, it should not be lost, according to historian W. Eugene Hollon, "For, along with its outlaws and homicidal maniacs, the Texas wilderness also produced an astonishing number of intelligent, hard working, law-abiding, and even urbane citizens."²³

The traditional association of outlawry with certain types of criminal behaviors (i.e. bank robbery, train hold-ups) ended with the deaths of Bonnie and Clyde in 1934. That same year it became a federal crime to rob a federal bank, introducing a new variable to the crime fighting process, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. No longer would bank robbery be solely the province of local and state law enforcement. Instead a two-pronged attack was launched against the roving outlaw gangs of the 1930s. A series of national crime bills passed Congress in May and June 1934, which in addition to making bank robbery a federal crime, added other offenses to the list, many of them characteristic of the outlaw tradition: first, to assault or kill a federal officer became a federal crime, punishable by federal courts and penalties, and second, making bank robbery a federal offense, deprived bank robbers of the device of skipping over state lines, leaving pursuing state police forces who could not follow them at the state line. Since most banks became affiliated with the federal banking system, this provided an almost universal avenue by which the FBI could move against bank robbers.

In the process the crime fighting network, which outlaws had made such a mockery prior to 1934, had been transformed and professionalized – FBI agents were authorized by Congress to carry weapons and given full police powers which they did not have before. The result was that a virtual "who's who" of Depression-era outlaws met their fates at the hands of Tommy-gun toting G-men.

NOTES

¹Frank Richard Prassel, *The Great American Outlaw: A Legacy of Fact and Fiction*, (Norman, 1993), p. xii.

²Ed Bartholomew, *Kill or Be Killed*, (Houston, 1953), p. 7.

³Joseph G. Rosa, *The Gunfighter: Man or Myth?*, (Norman, 1979), p. 42.

⁴Charles L. Martin, *A Sketch of Sam Bass, the Bandit*, (Norman, 1956).

⁵Early biographies of Bass include, Thomas Elisha Hogg, *The Authentic History of Sam Bass*, (Denton, 1878); *The Life and Adventures of Sam Bass: The Notorious Union Pacific and Texas Train Robber*, (Dallas, 1878); Charles L. Martin, *A Sketch of Sam Bass, The Bandit*, (Dallas, 1880); "Hands Up!" or *the History of a Crime. The Great Union Pacific Express Robbery*, (Omaha, 1877). The most complete and accurate rendering of his life is Wayne Gard, *Sam Bass*, (NY, 1936).

⁶F. Stanley, *Clay Allison*, (Denver, 1956).

⁷Alexander Fisher, "Minister's Son-of-a-Gun, in *For Men Only* (February 1938), pp. 91-96.

⁸Frontier Native, "Bill Longley and His Wild Career," in *Frontier Times Monthly* 3:9 (January 1926), p. 17.

⁹Paul I. Wellman, *A Dynasty of Western Outlaws* (reprint: New York, 1971), p. 296.

¹⁰Miriam Allen DeFord, *The Real Bonnie and Clyde* (New York, 1968).

¹¹Colonel Bill Todd, editor, "Publication Project of Sam Bass Centennial Commission (Round Rock, 1978).

¹²Paula Reed and Grover Ted Tate, *Sam Bass and Joel Collins, The Tenderfoot Bandits, Their Lives and Hard Times* (Tucson, 1988), p. 245.

¹³John Wesley Hardin Papers, Hardin to Supt. McCulloch, August 26, 1885, tss., Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin, file 2R31.

¹⁴John Wesley Hardin Papers.

¹⁵O.C. Fisher with J.C. Dykes, *King Fisher: His Life and Times* (Norman, 1966), p. xi.

¹⁶John Wesley Hardin, *The Life of John Wesley Hardin, from the Original Manuscript, as Written by Himself* (Scguin, 1896); C.L. Sonnichsen, *The Grave of John Wesley Hardin: Three Essays on Grassroots History* (College Station, 1979), pp. 58-59.

¹⁷James R. Parrish, *Between Loaded Guns* (Tyler, 1982).

¹⁸Richard C. Marohn, "John Wesley Hardin, Adolescent Killer: The Emergence of a Narcissistic Behavior Order," in *Adolescent Psychiatry: Developmental and Clinical Studies* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 271-296.

¹⁹William J. Helmer, *The Gun That Made the Twenties Roar* (Toronto, 1969); John Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun* (Baltimore, 1975).

²⁰The literature on Bonnie and Clyde is immense. The following is just a sampling of the materials which range from secondary accounts to recollections by former acquaintances which usually take on an air of hero worshipping. Two of the lawmen who took part in the ambush left accounts: Ted Hinton, *Ambush: The Real Story of Bonnie and Clyde* (Austin, 1979); H. Gordon Frost and John H. Jenkins, "I'm Frank Hamer" (Austin, 1968); see also John Treherne, *The Strange Story of Bonnie and Clyde* (New York, 1984); Miriam Allen deFord, *The Real Bonnie and Clyde* (New York, 1968); Web Maddox, *Black Sheep* (Quanah, 1975); Myron Quimby, *The Devil's Emissaries* (Cranbury, N.J., 1969); H. Gordon Frost, "Bonnie and Clyde," in *Guns and Gunfighters* (New York, 1982); and Jan I. Fortune, ed., *Fugitives. The Story of Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker. As Told by Bonnie's Mother (Mrs. Emma Parker) and Clyde's Sister (Nell Barrow Cowan)* (Dallas, 1934). Unpublished accounts of interest include Dr. Glenn Jordan, "And the Guns roared: the Death of Bonnie and Clyde;" Debra Sanborn, "The Barrows [sic] Gang's Visit to Dexter;" Vicki Murphy, "A Louisiana Steel Trap: the Death of Bonnie and Clyde;" Gorge F. Bain, "The Barrow Gang" (self-published pamphlet, 1968). W.R. and Mabel Draper, *The Blood-Soaked Career of Bonnie Parker* (Girard, Kansas, 1946).

²¹Willis and Joe Newton, as told to Claude Stanush and David Middleton, *The Newton Boys: Portrait of an Outlaw Gang* (Austin, 1994), p. xi.

²²Mitchel Roch, *Courtesy, Service, and Protection: The Department of Public Safety* (Dallas, 1995).

²³W. Eugene Hollon, *Frontier Violence: Another Look* (New York, 1974), p. 55.