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CONTENTS

"WON BY KINDNESS" VERSUS "THROUGH SAVAGES:" ALVAR NUNEZ CABEZA de VACA AND FRANCIS PARKMAN'S VIEWS OF NATIVE AMERICANS

by James B. Seymour, Jr. ..................................................................... 3

ALABAMA-COUSHATTA INDIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC, HISTORICAL, AND ARCHEOLOGICAL REFERENCES

by Timothy K. Perrtula ........................................................................ 11

THE TITUS HUNTERS: COMPANY D 11TH TEXAS INFANTRY REGIMENT WALKER'S TEXAS DIVISION

by John D. Perkins ............................................................................... 17

THE LAWFUL AND THE LAWLESS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF KILGORE

by Suzanne Baldon ............................................................................... 30

GENESIS AND FIRST THREE PASTORS OF CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH BEAUMONT, TEXAS, 1900-1908

by Ron Ellison ...................................................................................... 43

COOPERATIVE SCIENCE: ORIGINS OF THE WILLIAM JOHNSON McDONALD OBSERVATORY, 1926-1939

by Laura Wimberley ........................................................................... 54

HOW NOT TO BECOME PRESIDENT

by Max S. Lale .................................................................................... 64

IRVING KRICK, DALLAS RAINMAKER

by Marlene Bradford ........................................................................... 67

THE TRAINING OF THE WAAC's AT STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE TEACHER'S COLLEGE

by Karen Kaemmerling ....................................................................... 74

BOOK NOTES .................................................................................. 81

BOOK REVIEWS ............................................................................. 83
EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BOOKS REVIEWED

Winfrey/Day, The Indian Papers of Texas and the Southwest, 1825-1916, by Daniel J. Gelo

Southwestern Historical Quarterly, The Texas State Capitol, by Jim Steely

Francaviglia, The Shape of Texas: Maps as Metaphors, by W.D. “Bill” Clark

Dixson, Richland Crossing: A Portrait of Texas Pioneers, by Linda Cross

Matovina, The Alamo Remembered: Tejano Accounts and Perspectives and Matovina/ McDonald, Defending Mexican Valor in Texas: Jose Antonio Navarro’s Historical Writings, 1853-1857, by James Collins

Thompson, Juan Cortina and the Texas-Mexico Frontier: 1859-1877, by Marianne Hall-Little

Dusinberre, Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps, by Randolph B. Campbell

Thompson, Confederate General of the West, by Ralph A. Wooster

Hollandsworth, The Louisiana Native Guards, by Cary D. Wintz

Williams, Rebel Brothers: The Civil War Letters of the Truehearts, by Robert W. Glover

Wooster, Lone Star Blue and Gray, by David Stroud


Carson, Calling Out the Called: The Life and Work of Lee Rutland Scarborough, by Ron Ellison

Robinson, The Buffalo Hunters, by David J. Murrah

Wiggins, Torpedoes in the Gulf, by Don Willett

Roach, Collective Heart, by Max S. Lale

Ernst, From Cowboy to Outlaw - The True Story of Will Carver, by Chuck Parsons and Marianne Hall-Little

Miller, Bloody Bill Longley, by Chuck Parsons
Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Francis Parkman both explored the American Southwest before its settlement by Europeans. They encountered the Indians who inhabited these regions and described their meetings with them in personal journals. Although their excursions took place over 300 years apart, both viewed the Indians through the filter of the predominately European cultures they left behind. Cabeza de Vaca used his experiences in the New World to strengthen arguments promoting favorable treatment of Indians during the Spanish Conquest of the American Southwest. Francis Parkman found conflicting attitudes for his strongly held racial and social biases in his experiences. Conflicting attitudes within their societies shaped how each perceived Indians during their sojourns in the West.

Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was born to an aristocratic family, c. 1490, in the Andalusian town of Jerez de la Frontera, located near Cadiz. Although few facts exist about his personal education, the Spanish revival in scholarship and learning early in the sixteenth century presumably reached him. Humanism and the ideas of Erasmus dominated Spanish thought in this period. As a member of the elite, Cabeza de Vaca probably learned these ideas as part of his education. Because he belonged to the landed gentry, Cabeza de Vaca chose a military career. He served in various military excursions in Europe and distinguished himself in battle, which allowed him to secure a royal appointment as second in command of the Narváez expedition to Florida. As a result of this ill-fated expedition, Cabeza de Vaca lived among the Native Americans for seven years. He recorded personal observations about the Indians, which influenced Spanish policy towards them.

Cabeza de Vaca had many illustrious relatives, especially his grandfather, Pedro de Vera. Arriving in 1480, De Vera subjugated the Canary Islands for the Spanish crown. After conquering these islands, De Vera captured the native Guanche Indians through a subterfuge and then sold them into slavery. He staffed his residence in Spain with these servants. While growing up, Cabeza de Vaca visited his grandfather’s house and met the Indian slaves. Scholars believe that this experience influenced his opinion about Indians. Although he acknowledged their basic humanity, Cabeza de Vaca saw them as servants who needed constant supervision.

Overall Spanish treatment of the Indians dated from the Reconquista and relations with Moslems. The Reconquista inculcated certain beliefs into the Spanish psyche about war and the treatment of non-Christians. For Roman Catholic Spaniards, warfare contained overt religious connotations that stemmed from their experience in regaining the Iberian peninsula. Even though Spanish law was codified during this period, many Spaniards viewed loyalty to a military leader or sovereign as higher than written laws. Spain

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debated the Indian question beginning with Ferdinand and Isabella and continuing under the Hapsburg kings. The Spanish crown sought to redefine its authority and increase its power in the New World. The issue of Spanish treatment of Indians grew from royal aspirations for more power. Officials searched for firm legal, moral, and religious grounds to justify Spanish control of the Indians and to rationalize their excursions into the New World. 

The Spanish had difficulty in placing Indians within their cosmology. Three broad theories about the Indians attempted to explain their position. The first view maintained that the Indians were noble savages living in a state of innocence and simplicity. This view overlooked aspects of their civilizations, such as human sacrifices, astronomy, and complex cities such as Tenochtitlán, that belied the image of noble savage. The second theory presented the Indians as a distinct civilization with capable, well-educated people who enjoyed a highly developed culture, history, and economy. This theory undermined Spanish justifications for conquest because it regarded the Indians as equals. The third school argued that they were inferior to Europeans and lacked favorable qualities. This school justified Spanish practices in the New World, such as the encomienda system and conversion of the Indians, and received eventual acceptance at the royal court.

The belief in the natural inferiority of Indians gradually dominated Spanish policy in the New World. This proposal contained additional religious implications. Because Indians were rational beings, the Spanish believed that their refusal to accept Christianity justified their enslavement. This position reconciled Spanish religious, political, and economic reasons for colonizing and governing the New World. Many people adopted a more extreme position and argued that the Indians were natural slaves by virtue of their inability to receive the Christian faith.

Within the New World, Spanish domination of the Indians led to genuine abuses of power. These persecutions sparked protests that further incited debate over the natural condition of Indians and the nature of the Conquest. Father Las Casas, a Dominican friar, championed the Indians' cause. He cited advances in Indian culture and society as proving their inherent worth as human beings. He proposed a colonizing and proselytizing effort that would meet the Indians more as equals than the harsher system that the Spanish then employed. Las Casas relied in part on the writings of Cabeza de Vaca to substantiate his arguments about Indians' pliability for a more humane conquest. Cabeza de Vaca's account provided needed ammunition in the long-standing debate about treatment of the Indians.

Cabeza de Vaca wrote his chronicles to sway the monarch's opinion regarding the nature of the Conquest. He assumed a counter-conquest position. Cabeza de Vaca advanced the idea of a peaceful conversion of the Indians and regarded Indians as members of the Spanish empire. His account presented a more humane approach to Spanish control of the Indian population. He told his monarch that "to bring all these people to Christianity and subjection to Your Imperial Majesty, they must be won by kindness, the only certain way." Cabeza de Vaca argued that the Indians would become valuable members in the Spanish empire if they were treated humanely.
EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Cabeza de Vaca contrasted his humane view of conquest with the harsher confrontations that Indians experienced by other Spaniards. He wrote, “with [a] heavy heart” that “the inhabitants [of the Southwest] had fled to the mountains in fear of Christians.” He reported the “lavishly watered, fertile, and beautiful land, now abandoned and burned and the people thin and weak, scattered or hiding in fright.” He chronicled an encounter between Indians and Spaniards. The Spanish Christians “had come through razing the towns and carrying off half the men and all the women and boys.” The survivors “wandered around like fugitives” who preferred “death to a repetition of their recent horror.” Cabeza de Vaca disapproved of this waste of human life and agricultural potential. He maintained that the Indians would better serve the empire under their traditional sedentary lifestyle rather than as a scattered and terrorized population. 19

Cabeza de Vaca arrived at this conclusion through his seven years of wandering among the Indians in the American Southwest. After his shipwreck along the Texas Gulf Coast, the Malhado Indians took him and his companions in and fed them. After they understood the plight of the stranded men, “the Indians ... sat down and lamented for half an hour ...” He remarked that “it was amazing to see these wild, untaught savages howling like brutes in compassion for us.” 11 This example illustrates the dual nature of Cabeza de Vaca’s views of the Indians. He regarded them as wild, untaught savages or brutes, which reflected his aristocratic antecedents and his belief in the innate superiority of Spaniards. At the same time, the Indians impressed him with their compassion and empathy. This realization disclosed similarities between Indians and Christians and provided the basis for a more humane plan for conquest.

The strangeness of Indian customs colored the descriptions of Cabeza de Vaca’s earliest meetings with the Capoques and Han Indians. He related the practice of nipple and lip piercing of the Capoques and Han tribes. He recounted the rituals involved in the ceremonies that expressed mourning and celebrated marriage. He told how the Indians “have a strange custom when acquaintances ... meet or...visit, of weeping for half an hour before they speak.” He stated that although “they have other strange customs...I have told the principal and most remarkable of them.” Although he chronicled the unusual aspects of Indian life, he largely presented this information without judging Indians as inherently inferior because of these practices. 12

Coupled with these more exotic customs, Cabeza de Vaca recorded exemplary behavior of the Indians. He wrote that “these people love their offspring more than any in the world and treat them very mildly.” He praised the Indians as being “generous to each other with what little they have.” He described the general practice of monogamy, except for medicine men, whose “wives live together in perfect amity.” For Cabeza de Vaca, these examples proved the basic humanity of Indians and demonstrated their underlying benevolence. Because the Indians were generous and loving, the Spanish would conquer them more easily through application of these qualities rather than through harshness and cruelty. With these examples, Cabeza de Vaca hoped to demonstrate that even the most savage of the coastal Indians
possessed redeeming attributes that would permit peaceful conquest. He argued that the sedentary, agricultural Indians of the interior would prove even more amenable to nonviolent conquest than the coastal hunter-gatherers.\textsuperscript{13}

After his experiences as a slave and wandering peddler, Cabeza de Vaca entered a new phase in his relations with the Indians as a respected and powerful medicine man. Because they accepted him as a religious figure, he believed his experiences indicated the receptivity of Indians to conversion. He exhibited the power to heal after invoking the Christian deity. While traveling westward in search of other Christians, he and his companions observed the practice of gift-giving. His Indian companions entered a new village, took the household goods of the villagers, and left with their booty. Rather than becoming upset, the people of the plundered village joined Cabeza de Vaca’s procession in order to pillage the next village.\textsuperscript{14}

This trade practice potentially served as a peaceful means for the Spanish to confiscate goods, especially precious metals. Cabeza de Vaca implicitly believed in the untapped wealth of the New World. He wrote that “wherever we encountered mountains, we saw undeniable indications of gold, antimony, iron, copper, and other metals.” He asserted that “Indians...regard gold and silver with indifference, seeing no use for either.” These conditions gave the Spanish a method to obtain gold through peaceful trade rather than destroying villages and terrorizing the populace.\textsuperscript{15}

Cabeza de Vaca’s narrative served as ammunition for Las Casas, who wanted a more humane conquest of the New World. De Vaca believed that the Indians were “a substantial people with a capacity for unlimited development.” Peaceful conquest would exploit their potential and benefit both Europeans and the Indians. The fertile plains of the Southwest region, the tractability of the Indians, and their readiness to convert to Christianity buttressed arguments for humane endeavors to bring the Indians into the Spanish empire.\textsuperscript{16}

Francis Parkman presented a different view of the Indians in \textit{The Oregon Trail}. Parkman contended that “for the most part, a civilized white man can discover very few points of sympathy between his own nature and that of an Indian.” He further believed that, although Indians had souls, they remained “dormant; and no exertions of the missionaries, Jesuit or Puritan...have as yet availed to arouse it.” Parkman discounted the idea of peaceful coexistence between whites and Indians and dismissed as ineffectual the idea of converting them to Christianity as a method to subdue them. Parkman viewed Indians from an uncompromising racial and cultural prejudice resulting from his nineteenth-century New England culture. This bias permeated his account and caused him to overemphasize the negative qualities of Indians in his narratives. He differed from Cabeza de Vaca in recommending harsher methods to subdue Indians and in his essentially negative view of them.\textsuperscript{17}

Francis Parkman was born into a wealthy family on September 16, 1823, on Beacon Hill in Boston, Massachusetts. He enjoyed “the full quantum of ‘advantages’ in the way of wealth, social position, and social background that these natal circumstances suggest.” Both his father, the Reverend Doctor Francis Parkman, and his mother, Caroline Hall Parkman, came from long and distinguished lines of ministers. The Reverend Doctor Parkman served as
orthodox Unitarian minister of the New North Church in Boston. His parents
 taught Parkman that he and his family were the custodians of Boston culture
 and tradition. He attended Harvard and joined appropriate clubs for his social
 background, where he favored rational and scientific fields in his education
 and at one point studied horticulture. He decided to pursue the historical
 profession after attending law school. Parkman viewed himself as a member
 of a wise patrician class who would guide his generation of Americans. He
 thought that "progress was for the free, freedom was for those who were
 racially fit for it, and, above all others, the land of the fit was New England." 18

 Despite suffering from physical infirmities throughout his life, Parkman
 enjoyed camping and exploring the outdoors. The romanticism implicit in
 camping captured his imagination. Stories of Indian life and accounts of
 pioneers' exploits, such as The Leatherstocking Tales (c. 1800) by James
 Fenimore Cooper, reinforced Parkman's romantic notions about outdoors-
 men and the frontier. He accepted the national frontier myth and the ideal of
 self-reliance. Parkman considered himself as a hero figure and superimposed
 this image onto his rendition of his actual experiences. His life contained
 elements of romantic legend because he intentionally cultivated such images
 for himself. Parkman felt the urge to leave the rarified atmosphere of Boston
 culture and to experience personally the untamed wilderness. 19

 Parkman indulged this urge. He decided to travel the frontier region
 before his impending marriage to Catherine Bigelow. In his decision,
 "Parkman, a child of Unitarianism, ... turn[ed] to the fierce strenuousness of
 the hunting Sioux for a counterimage of human possibilities." He observed and
 recorded the cultures of different Indian tribes he encountered on his journey.
 These descriptions reflected Parkman's cultural biases of the Indians, which
 stemmed from his upbringing, education, and class. The Oregon Trail (1849)
 became a drama of cultural confrontation between civilized white society and
 savage Indian culture. Rather than learning from his experiences, Parkman's
 prejudices remained intact and he retained his Boston reticence and reserve
 throughout his journey. 20

 In his first meeting with Indians, Parkman described a Pawnee chief as
 having a ridge of hair "very much like the long bristles on the back of a hyena." He
termed the Pawnees the "first specimens that we met -- and very indifferent
ones they were -- of the genuine savages of the prairie." 21 Parkman predicted
that "Indians will soon be abased by whiskey and overawed by military
posts." 22 He presented the Indian woman Margot, a trader's wife, as "a female
animal" because of her slovenliness and ill-nature. Her husband, Reynal,
exuded an "image of sleek and selfish complacency" because he had "caught
not only...[the Indians'] habits but their ideas." From this description,
Parkman apparently considered Reynal contaminated by his close contact with
Indians. 23 The rest of the book continues this pattern of denigrating Indians and
those who adopted their customs.

 When he portrayed the Ogillallah village, Parkman called the residents
 "thorough savages." He believed that "neither their manners nor their ideas
were in the slightest degree modified by contact with [white] civilization." He
further contended that "they knew nothing of the power and real character of
the white men, and their children would scream in terror when they saw me." Parkman overlooked earlier confrontations between white men and these Indians, which might cause their terrified reaction. He also assumed that white men's character was innately superior to the Indians' nature. Parkman displayed an inability to understand that the Indians' behavior reflected finely crafted survival skills, which resulted in his describing them without understanding their culture. In the 1850s, many Indians did not consider their civilization inferior to white civilization and consequently failed to see valid reasons to adopt white ways. Parkman ignored these possible interpretations for his experiences that might also explain the Indians' response to white society.

Parkman used a generous amount of sarcasm to vilify Indians when he related a story about a successful buffalo hunt. After the buffalo had been "reduced to a heap of bloody ruins," the Indians consumed the meat. He asserted that "the surrounding group of savages offered a not very attractive spectacle to a civilized eye." They proffered choice morsels from the buffalo, but he "begged leave to decline" their "extempore banquet." He described sleeping accommodations among Indian children in similarly sarcastic tones. He awoke to find "one of the children crawling over me, while another larger one was tugging at my blanket and nestling himself in a very disagreeable proximity." To remedy this intolerable situation, Parkman "immediately repelled those advances by punching the heads of these miniature savages with a short stick which I always kept by me for the purpose."

Parkman made sweeping generalizations about the Indians' character and conduct. He ascribed "strange unbridled impulses" to them and contended that "nothing offers so strong a temptation to their ferocious instincts as the appearance of timidity, weakness, or security." He believed that "for the most part, a civilized white man can discover very few points of sympathy between his own nature and that of an Indian." Parkman found that despite "every disposition to do justice to their good qualities, he must be conscious that an impassable gulf lies between him and his red brethren." He thought that, after spending time with them on the prairie, a person "begins to look upon them as a troublesome and dangerous species of wild beasts." Parkman considered this natural gulf between Indians and civilized white society as impassable, so attempts to mingle the two cultures inevitably would fail. His negative descriptions of the traders and mountain-men, such as Reynal and Chatillion, who lived among the Indians, revealed his belief. Parkman found what he expected to find in the prairie, retained his disgust at the Indians' appearance, and emerged with his prejudices intact.

Parkman's chronicle provoked controversy among later historians as many sought to redress the misinformed stance of his writings. Others concentrated on understanding the motivations behind Parkman's preconceptions about Indians and frontier life. Francis Jennings argued that "one of Parkman's main objectives in all his writings was to make Indians seem like brute beasts without power of reason." Jennings argued that Parkman used every device available to him to make the Indians appear irrational and cowardly. He "convert[ed] the flesh-and-blood colonials and Indians into the abstractions of
civilization locked in conflict with savagery.” Parkman used this pattern to justify American persecution of Indians and to reinforce negative images of Indian life.31 Jennings believed that “there can be no doubt that [Parkman] knew exactly what he was doing” in his damaging portrayals of the Indians.32 Parkman’s adventures reinforced his cultural prejudices about Indians.

Philip Terrie believed that The Oregon Trail revealed Parkman’s “fascination...[with] distinguishing whites from Indians as well as ... whites who live among and act like Indians.” Terrie interpreted Parkman’s chronicle as a method of “discovery of ‘the other in ourselves’ [that] becomes possible (but not realized) through the process of ‘Indianization.’” Terrie faulted Parkman because he “never consciously rises above his culture’s racist insistence that Indians possessed certain predictable characteristics. He sees what he expects to see.” Terrie wrote that “Parkman’s raw fascination with the physical charms of Indian women appears repeatedly in The Oregon Trail.”33 He concludes that this attraction both tempted and repulsed Parkman because of his racial prejudices. Parkman’s experience on the Oregon Trail suggested that he and the Indians shared many commonalities in human nature that, “for this son of the Boston aristocracy, the implications of [which]...[were] too profound for him to confront.”34

The Oregon Trail by Francis Parkman and Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America by Cabeza de Vaca present two divergent views of Indian tribes in North America. Both were educated and came from the elite of their societies. Despite the similarities in backgrounds, their historical accounts depicted Indians radically differently. Parkman’s narrative emphasized the negative qualities of the Indians. He recorded the scorn with which he viewed them and what he regarded as their barbaric customs. Although he lived among the Indians and enjoyed their hospitality, he deplored their customs and practices. He left the prairie with his preexisting prejudices about the Indians not only intact but reinforced. In part, his narrative demonstrates the limitations of the travel account in ethnocultural evaluations. Despite his antipathy towards Indians, his account included valuable material about mid-nineteenth-century Indian life and customs.

Cabeza de Vaca’s account expressed a more sympathetic view of Indians. He lived with the Indians longer than Parkman and consequently had more contact with both their good and bad qualities. Cabeza de Vaca held a variety of positions among the Indians, ranging from slave to revered religious figure. His experience gave him a unique understanding of the Indians’ culture. Further, Cabeza de Vaca learned their languages and understood the Indians first hand. These considerations partially explain his more positive attitude.

NOTES

José Bernardo Fernández, “Contributions of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca to History and Literature in the Southern United States” (PhD. diss., Florida State University, 1973), pp. 30-31, 32-33, 34. De Vera’s ruse involved swearing to the Guanche Indians on the Host used in the Roman Catholic Mass that they would together go and enslave a neighboring tribe. When the Indians boarded the ships, they were clapped in irons and enslaved. When asked how he could justify such behavior, De Vera responded that he swore on an unconsecrated Host, which invalidated his promise.


*Huffman, “Two Sixteenth Century Chroniclers,” pp. 21, 23.


*Huffman, “Two Sixteenth Century Chroniclers,” p. 29.


*Cabeza de Vaca*, p. 123.

*Cabeza de Vaca*, p. 123.

*Cabeza de Vaca*, pp. 57, 57-58.

*Cabeza de Vaca*, pp. 61-63.

*Cabeza de Vaca*, pp. 61-63.

*Cabeza de Vaca*, pp. 103-106, 112-113,

*Cabeza de Vaca*, pp. 124-125.

*Cabeza de Vaca*, p. 120.


*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, p. 57.

*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, p. 149.

*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, pp. 95, 96.

*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, p. 149.


*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, pp. 161-162.

*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, p. 177.

*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, pp. 200-201.

*Parkman, Oregon Trail*, pp. 205-206.

*Jennings, “Francis Parkman,”* p. 310.

*Jennings, “Francis Parkman,”* pp. 311, 313, 316.


Daniel J. Gelo and Tammy J. Morales recently published a very useful annotated bibliography on the Alabama-Coushatta Indians, focusing principally on citations concerning the Texas and Louisiana Alabama-Coushatta populations. Their extensive bibliography, particularly the inclusion of the linguistics literature, provides a good sense of the various works that have been published in the last 100 years or so about the Alabama and Coushatta peoples, and the corpus of published works is characterized accurately "as a reflection of Indian-white relations." However, the bibliography is not comprehensive, especially with regard to certain recent anthropological, ethnohistorical, and historic archeological references that concern the Alabama-Coushatta.

In this paper, I provide forty-nine additional bibliographic references on the Alabama-Coushatta. A number of the references listed below are recent works—mainly archeological—published since the original version of the bibliography was published. The others, however, represent a spattering of anthropological, historical, and ethnohistorical sources published over the years that provide basic ethnographic information about the Alabama-Coushatta, and/or consider the Alabama-Coushatta, among many Native American groups living in Texas and Louisiana, within the context of colonial and Anglo-American interaction with Native Americans.

The archeological research on Alabama-Coushatta native history represents a significant new approach to understanding the Alabama and Coushatta peoples, as they were in Alabama, and after they migrated to Louisiana and Texas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gelo and Morales note only one pertinent work on historical archeology in their annotated bibliography, that being a short report written in 1969 on excavations in southeastern Texas at a looted cemetery containing probable mid-nineteenth century Alabama or Coushatta burials.

A number of Alabama and Coushatta Indian villages in Louisiana and Texas have been identified by archeological research since the 1970s and 1980s, and several researchers have considered where these villages were likely to be located based on historical documents. Among the villages identified to date are the early nineteenth century Alabama and Coushatta villages on the Red River in Northwest Louisiana— including the Coushatta village visited by the Freeman and Custis expedition in 1806—and the 1820s-1830s village of Long King in southeastern Texas. Archeological investigations also have been conducted at seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Alabama villages in the state of Alabama, most notably the village near the post of Fort
Toulouse on the Alabama River, built by the French in 1714 to guard their dominion in the southeastern U.S. and to carry on trade with the Native Americans [2, 8, 43, 49].

Other archeological studies have concentrated on documenting the types of European and native artifacts – including ornaments, containers, guns, tools, dishes, and other items – and animal remains found on historic Alabama and Coushatta sites [19, 20, 21, 38-40, 42, 45], for the purpose of determining "the extent of cultural contacts between Euroamericans, Texans, and the Alibamu-Koasati from an archaeological perspective." What these studies have shown is that the Alabama and Coushatta peoples were experienced traders and consumers of European goods [2], while also maintaining their native ceramic technology and maize-oriented culinary traditions well into the twentieth century and becoming successful herders of cows and pigs.

Another recent research perspective contributing new insights on the Alabama-Coushatta peoples has been the study of the modern material culture of the Alabama-Coushatta, most notably their basketry [28, 29], but also cane mats, spanish moss twisters, yarn sashes, beaded garters, leggings, turbins, and collars, silver pins, gorgets, brooches, and bangles, smoking pipes, cane whistles, gourd rattles, spoons and dippers, bows, arrows, bamboo blow guns, and stirring paddles [30-34]. The material culture items made by the Alabama and Coushatta show the vibrant and strong character of their traditional culture, as well as "a dynamic feel for cultural change."

There is much to learn about the history and lifeways of the Alabama and Coushatta peoples. Hopefully, the bibliography by Gelo and Morales published in a recent volume of the East Texas Historical Journal, and this supplement, will spark renewed archeological, ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and historical studies of the Alabama and Coushatta.

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NOTES


When the War Between the States began, the years of animosity, distrust, and angry rhetoric were transformed into action as young and old men rushed to enlist in military units. The oft-quoted phrase “rarin’ for a fight” accurately described the attitudes of many individuals on both sides. In the South, men from every state joined to defend their homes and beliefs. The men of Titus County in northeast Texas were no exception. While men from this county served in a number of different regiments, one particular group proudly bore the county name.¹

The Titus Hunters was the nickname for Company D, 11th Texas Infantry Regiment. The majority of the unit’s soldiers were residents of Titus County; the few who were not lived in adjoining counties. These men were members of a regiment raised by Oran M. Roberts, who later became governor of Texas. Roberts’ 11th Texas Infantry was a part of Colonel Horace Randal’s brigade in Walker’s Texas Division.²

Oran Roberts was born on July 9, 1815 in South Carolina. He graduated from the University of Alabama in 1836. After serving in the Alabama legislature, Roberts moved to Texas in 1840, where he was first a district attorney and later a district judge. In 1857 he became an associate justice on the Texas Supreme Court. He was elected president of the Secession Convention in 1861. When the war began, Roberts organized the 11th Texas Infantry Regiment. After being appointed a colonel in the Confederate Army, he commanded the unit until he retired on October 19, 1864, because of poor health.³

Company D of the 11th Texas Infantry Regiment was mustered into service on February 24, 1862, at Gray Rock in Titus County. The company left Titus County on March 3, 1862, and proceeded under orders to Camp Lubbock near Houston, arriving March 20.⁴

Roberts’ records show that he had a total of 1,338 men at Camp Lubbock in May 1862, over 240 of whom were sick; 690 others were absent, on detail, or on furlough, and only 408 were fit for duty and in camp. On May 14, 1862, Roberts wrote that for the last week, “we have been burying two, three, and four men a day” as a result of disease. Sadly, this was only the beginning of the fight against disease.⁵

Originally, Company D was known as Company G, and Captain William H. Christian was its commander. The 11th Texas Regiment left Camp Lubbock on May 30, 1862, and marched to Camp Clough near Tyler, Texas, where it arrived on June 20, 1862. The regiment was reorganized on June 23 under the provisions of the Conscription Act passed in April 1862. William Christian was relieved of his command and assigned to duty as staff adjutant. Captain Thomas H. Rountree was elected commander of Company G, which was

John D. Perkins lives in Fort Worth, Texas.
redesignated as Company D. Company D became known as the “Titus
Hunters” under Rountree’s command. He remained company commander
until the unit was disbanded at the end of the war.6

The Titus Hunters marched to Titus County and arrived at Camp
Carraway on August 7, 1862. Captain Rountree, First Lieutenant E. W. Giles,
Second Lieutenant Daniel Scurlock, and seventy-three enlisted men proceeded
on to Little Rock, Arkansas. A detachment of thirty-three enlisted men under
the command of Third Lieutenant M. H. Leake remained in Titus County to
procure and repair weapons before rejoining the unit.7

Although measles broke out in the regiment while the men were in Texas,
their time in Arkansas proved to be even more difficult. The 11th Texas was
one of the units of Walker’s Texas Division that camped at Camp Nelson near
Austin, in central Arkansas. Many men became ill and died there. One soldier
stationed at Camp Nelson wrote:

While we were encamped here there was a great deal of sickness amongst
the troops. Dysentery and fevers of various kinds made many victims. The
hospital was filled with sick. The sickness was owing a great deal to the
impure water we had to use. Fully 1,500 men died at Camp Nelson.8

The 11th Texas Infantry spent the winter of 1862-1863 at several
locations near Pine Bluff and Little Rock in central Arkansas. The regiment
moved to Louisiana in the spring of 1863 under orders by Lieutenant General
Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, to
strengthen the Confederate forces there. Company D muster rolls show that
the outfit was near Delhi, Louisiana, in May and June of 1863 as part of a
campaign to relieve Vicksburg.9

Major General Richard Taylor sent Walker’s Texas Division to attack the
Federal positions at Milliken’s Bend and Young’s Point. Both outposts were
located a few miles from Vicksburg on the west side of the Mississippi
River. The capture of these two Union camps, it was thought, would accomplish
several objectives. First, it would break Major General Ulysses S. Grant’s
communication and supply lines on the west side of the Mississippi; second,
it would provide an avenue of escape for John C. Pemberton’s Confederate
army if he was forced to abandon Vicksburg; and finally, holding those
positions would help the Confederates in their effort to resupply Vicksburg.
Unfortunately, Walker’s Texas Division arrived too late to be of help to
Vicksburg’s defenders.10

The plan of attack called for Brigadier General J. M. Hawes’ brigade to
destroy the Union camp at Young’s Point while Major General Henry
McCulloch led his brigade against Milliken’s Bend. Horace Randal’s brigade,
of which the 11th Texas Infantry was a part, remained at the Oak Grove
plantation a few miles away as a reserve force that could move to assist either
of the brigades.11

The expedition was a failure. McCulloch’s 1500-man brigade attacked
Milliken’s Bend early in the morning on June 6, 1863. Despite initial success,
the Confederates were unable to capture the outpost. The Federals held on with the help of supporting fire from a Union gunboat, and the Confederates were forced to withdraw.12

Hawes’ expedition was even less successful. His brigade of 1,403 men took seventeen hours to cover eleven miles, due to incompetent guides, according to Hawes. The long march and severe heat took their toll on Hawes’ men. When they finally arrived, the Confederates discovered Union troops, supported by gunboats, reinforcing the camp. The combination of exhausted men facing a reinforced position caused General Hawes to call off the attack.13

Confederate losses at Milliken’s Bend were forty-four killed, 131 wounded, and ten missing. Union troops lost 101 killed, 285 wounded, and 266 captured or missing. Neither Milliken’s Bend nor Young’s Point had been taken. To make matters worse, the attack would not have made any difference. By the time the assault took place, Grant had opened a new supply line on the east side of the river which rendered the attack on the west useless. Members of the 11th Texas, including the Titus Hunters, would have to wait before they could get into a battle.14

The campaign against Milliken’s Bend and Young’s Point is a good example of how the Titus Hunters and other members of Walker’s Division spent the war — marching long distances but seeing little action. The march from central Arkansas that eventually brought them to within a few miles of Vicksburg was typical of the Confederate effort in Louisiana, rushing troops from one point to another, attempting to meet every Union threat. These long marches earned the men the nickname “Walker’s Greyhounds.”15

The Titus Hunters did not see action until the Fall of 1863 when they joined with other Confederate forces to thwart Federal plans to invade Texas. After a failed attempt at Sabine Pass in September 1863, Union Major General Nathaniel P. Banks ordered a second expedition under the command of Major General William Franklin. This group was to proceed from New Orleans across southern Louisiana and enter Texas at the lower Sabine River. Confederate forces intercepted the Federals on October 9, 1863, and minor skirmishes and raids continued in the Vermillionville-Opelousas area until early November.16

The Battle of Bayou Bourbeau took place a few miles south of Opelousas on November 3, 1863. Major General Richard Taylor, commander of Confederate forces in western Louisiana, had ordered three infantry regiments to support Brigadier General Tom Green’s cavalry in his pursuit of the Union forces. One of these regiments was Roberts’ 11th Texas Infantry. Because this part of the state had been occupied previously by both armies, the Union troops were dispersed to help each unit to secure provisions. The dispersed disposition of Federal forces invited an attack.17

The Confederate forces moved to within a few miles of an infantry brigade commanded by Union Brigadier General Stephen Burbridge that was camped at Bayou Bourbeau. General Green organized a plan of attack and deployed his troops. The left wing of the Confederate line consisted of three
regiments of infantry: the 11th Texas with 355 men was placed on the far left; the 320 men of 18th Texas occupied the center; and the 15th Texas with 275 men took up its position on the right side of the left wing. A cavalry brigade under the command of Colonel A. P. Bagby and two sections of artillery occupied the center of the Confederate line. The right wing of the Confederate line was made up of Colonel J. P. Major's cavalry brigade.\(^{13}\)

The infantry on the left side of the line opened the attack about noon. The artillery then moved up and opened fire, and the Confederate cavalry on the right and center of the line joined in the furious attack. The Union troops broke under the pressure of the combined assault. Although the Confederate attack ended in victory, it was not without cost. The 11th Texas Infantry suffered four killed, fifteen wounded, and thirty-two missing. The Confederate losses were twenty-two killed, 103 wounded, and fifty-five missing. Union forces lost twenty-five killed, 129 wounded, and 562 captured or missing.\(^{19}\)

The next big fight for the Titus Hunters occurred in the Spring of 1864. The battles of Mansfield and Pleasant Hill on April 8 and 9, 1864, were the most important of all of the 11th Texas Infantry's engagements. This bloody two-day encounter was the key to halting General Banks' Red River campaign and preventing the capture of Shreveport and the invasion of Texas. Union plans called for a two-pronged attack on Shreveport, one from the south led by Banks, and the other coming from Arkansas and led by Major General Frederick Steele.\(^{20}\)

After weeks of falling back in the face of superior enemy forces, Major General Richard Taylor decided that he would make his stand just outside of Mansfield, approximately thirty miles south of Shreveport. He selected a defensive position “in the edge of a wood, fronting an open field eight hundred yards in width by twelve hundred yards in length, through the center of which the road to Pleasant Hill passed.” Taylor spent much of the day of April 8, 1864, deploying his troops and waiting for the Federals to strike. The 11th Texas Infantry was positioned on the left side of the Mansfield-Pleasant Hill road. General Taylor’s patience grew thin as the day wore on and the Union forces did not attack. Tired of waiting, Taylor ordered the Confederates to attack at 4:00 p.m.\(^{21}\)

Brigadier General Alfred Mouton's division, located on the Confederate left, opened the battle with a bloody but successful attack. Horace Randal's brigade, which included the 11th Texas and the Titus Hunters, was located to the right of Mouton’s division and went forward in support of Mouton’s flank. When the attack by the Confederate left was well under way, Taylor ordered the main body of Walker's Texas Division forward. “All down the line, as the gray chargers emerged from the pine woods into the clearing to strike at both ends of the confused blue line, the high-throated rebel yell rang out.”\(^{22}\)

Walker’s Texans were part of a successful flanking movement that forced the Union troops to fall back in confusion and many Union soldiers had to retreat or surrender. A second line of resistance was formed by the Federals and it held the attacking Confederates for a short time. Eventually, this line
also broke. "Overborne by numbers, outflanked on right and left, the Federals gave way in panic and utter rout." The Yankee soldiers threw down their weapons and knapsacks and ran and the Southerners exulted in their victory as darkness fell.

Total Union losses for the day were 113 killed, 581 wounded, and 1,541 missing. Confederate losses were approximately 1,000 killed and wounded. According to Colonel Horace Randal’s battle report, the 11th Texas suffered two killed, six wounded, and two missing.

The Confederates were not as successful in their maneuvers the next day at Pleasant Hill. Most of the day was spent moving troops into position and then giving the weary soldiers time to rest before the attack. About 4:30 p.m., with orders to outflank the enemy line, Brigadier General Thomas Churchill’s force of Arkansas and Missouri troops on the right side of the Confederate line opened the attack. At the sound of firing from Churchill’s men, Walker’s Division, located in the center of the Southern line, moved forward. Advancing in two lines across an open field, the Texans were struck by a murderous fire from Union troops. The first line of Walker’s Texans returned fire but was forced back after sustaining heavy losses. The second line of Texans was more successful and the Federal forces had to fall back.

Churchill’s attempt to outflank the Union army failed, and his men were outflanked and attacked by Federal troops under the command of Brigadier General A.J. Smith. Surprised by the previously unseen foe, Churchill’s Confederates were forced back. With their flank suddenly unprotected, Walker’s brigades also had to withdraw. Nightfall ended the fighting, and the Confederates pulled back several miles to regroup and care for their wounded. Even so, the Federal victory was tainted by General Banks’ decision later that night to withdraw from the region. “Tactically, the battle of Pleasant Hill was distinctly a Northern victory, although the retreat to Grand Encore turned it into a strategic defeat... An invasion was repelled.”

Union casualties at Pleasant Hill were just under 1,400 men; Confederate forces suffered 1,626 killed, wounded, or captured. According to its brigade commander, Colonel Horace Randal, the 11th Texas sustained losses of three killed, eighteen wounded, and none missing. One newspaper listed six casualties for the Titus Hunters in the recent fight. The Galveston Weekly News reported that the company from Titus County suffered the following losses: “Wounded – Sergeants P. D. Weatherford, slightly, thigh; McMosely, slightly, chin; Privates Joseph Wall, severely, arm; John Williams, severely, thigh; Wm Talbert, slightly, foot. Missing, Private John Douglas.”

The Titus Hunters and the 11th Texas Infantry had little time to rest and recover. After the battles at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill stopped the southern arm of the two-pronged Union campaign, the Confederates turned their attention to the threat from Arkansas. The men of Walker’s Texas Division left their camps near Mansfield on April 14 and marched to Arkansas where they would fight at Jenkins’ Ferry on the last day of the month. This costly and poorly-directed battle was a desperate attempt by the Confederates to destroy the retreating
Union forces that had been part of the aborted attack on Shreveport.  

Major General Frederick Steele’s Federal troops struggled with supply problems from the beginning of their expedition. The area was destitute because of previous occupation. Successful Confederate raids on Union supply columns in mid-April exacerbated the situation. As a result of these losses, General Steele lacked adequate provisions to sustain his army and was forced to retreat to Little Rock.  

Confederate forces under General Kirby Smith caught up with Steele’s retreating army at Jenkins’ Ferry, Arkansas, on April 30, 1864. One writer described this muddy area as “a nightmare to both armies.” The swampy expanse was made worse by eighteen hours of continuous rain. One soldier remembered the battlefield as “covered with water, from ankle to knee deep.”  

The Federal troops were huddled behind log breastworks. On the Union right was a creek with steep banks; on their left was an impenetrable swamp. The terrain limited the Confederates to a narrow alley in which to attack and this narrow approach offered no cover. While the Union forces crouched behind their breastworks, the Confederates’ only protection was a blanket of fog, which failed to stop the deadly bullets.  

Churchill’s division attacked first, about 8 a.m., but was unsuccessful. Brigadier General Mosby Parsons’ men were next, but they, too, failed. After they were repulsed, Walker’s Texas Division, which had just arrived on the scene, was ordered to attack. Walker’s three brigades, numbering over 4,000 men, launched a furious assault. The Federals delivered “a murderous enfilading fire” and the Texans were forced back with heavy losses, including all three brigade commanders, two of them with mortal wounds.  

Steele’s army held off the dogged Confederate attacks and withdrew across the rain swollen river. The Federals then destroyed the bridge to prevent pursuit. Losses at the Battle of Jenkins’ Ferry were high for both sides. Union casualties are listed at sixty-three killed, 413 wounded, and forty-five missing. Confederate losses are incomplete because there is no report from General Walker on his casualties. Alwyn Barr suggests total known Confederate casualties at 883. The 11th Texas Infantry had nine killed and thirty-nine wounded.  

The Titus Hunters did not fight in any other battles. For the remainder of the war, Walker’s Texas Division was generally based in the Camden-Monticello area in southern Arkansas and the Shreveport-Minden area of northwestern Louisiana. The last record of Company D is the regimental return of April 1865 when the 11th Texas Infantry arrived at Hempstead, Texas, on April 16, a week after Robert E. Lee’s surrender at Appomattox. Most soldiers in Walker’s Division left camp shortly after their arrival at Hempstead and made their way back home. Although Kirby Smith did not officially surrender the Trans-Mississippi Department until June 2, 1865, his command already had disintegrated. The Civil War was over.  

Records indicate that 154 men were members of the Titus Hunters at some time during the war. What were these men like? What were their
backgrounds? What did they do for a living? Were they wealthy or poor? Were they slaveholders? In order to answer these questions, information was gathered from the Compiled Service Records, the manuscript census for 1860, and county tax rolls.

The data were then evaluated with the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) computer information analysis program. The following material is the result of this study. Unless otherwise noted, all numbers come from the database that was compiled for this article. In addition, percentage figures were rounded to the nearest tenth.

While most of the Titus Hunters were not native-born, their place-of-birth statistics were generally similar to those of the overall state population. In 1860, Texas had a total population of 604,215, of which 421,294 were white. Titus County, located in the northeast corner of the state, boasted a population of 9,648; 7,209 of these inhabitants were white residents. According to the census for 1860, 153,043 white Texas residents were native-born. Of those born outside of the state, most were from Tennessee (42,265), Alabama (34,193), and Georgia (23,637).

Information on place-of-birth was found for 124, or 80.5 percent, of the 154 men in Company D. Of those soldiers located, the largest group, 23.4 percent, were from Tennessee; 18.5 percent were from Alabama; and 16.1 percent were from Georgia. Only 11.3 percent of these men were born in Texas. The following table provides a further breakdown of the data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The men’s enlistment ages were available in 139 of 154 cases. Those who joined the Titus Hunters ranged in age from 16 to 49. The average age was 26.5 years old. The largest number in one age group was the 14 men who were 24 years old. They represented 10.1 percent of the men whose enlistment ages were recorded. Next in line were ten 18-year-olds, ten 20-year-olds, and ten 23-year-olds who each made up 7.2 percent of the known cases. Bell Wiley found that approximately four-fifths of all Southern soldiers were in the 18-29 age grouping. In comparison, 70.5 percent of the Titus Hunters fell in that range. The following table provides more detail:
### ENLISTMENT AGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16-19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>59.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One other point on the topic of age is important. On April 16, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed a conscription law – the first of its kind in American history. The law stated that all able-bodied white male citizens between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five were liable to service for three years. According to the available material, Company D had fifteen men who were discharged from service for being too old under the conscription law. One was discharged for being underage. These discharges took place in April, June, and July 1862.\(^{38}\)

Information on the marital status of Company D’s men was available on 124 out of 154 records. Forty-six percent (57 out of 124) were single in 1860. Fifty-four percent (67 out of 124) were married.

The validity of the literacy data on the Titus Hunters is suspect. Only one individual was specifically identified in the census as illiterate. In contrast, James McPherson estimates that 15 to 20 percent of Confederate soldiers were illiterate.\(^{39}\)

Data on the enlistment date were available for 143 of the 154 soldiers. Just over 60 percent of the men who joined Company D enlisted on February 24, 1862, at Gray Rock, Texas. The second largest number who enlisted on a single day were the 31 men (21.7 percent) who joined on May 8, 1862:

### DATE OF ENLISTMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlistment Date</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 24, 1862</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 8, 1862</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remainder of 1862</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-1864</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the Titus Hunters were from Titus County; 126 of the 154 men in the unit were listed in the census. Of those 126, 96 percent, or 121 men, were on the Titus County census rolls. Five individuals were from adjoining counties. No county-of-origin information was located on the remaining 28 men.

As befitting their company’s nickname, most of the men in Company D also enlisted in Titus County. Records showed that 88 percent (136 of 154) joined the company at one of three locations in Titus County: Gray Rock, Mt. Pleasant, or Camp Carraway. Of the remaining 18 cases, five enlisted in other states, and two transferred into the company. No information was available on the remaining 11 men.

The Titus Hunters also had two men who transferred out of the company. Private John W. Shed transferred to Colonel Richard Waterhouse’s regiment.
19th Texas Infantry, on June 1, 1863. Lieutenant Moses H. Leake resigned from the outfit on October 26, 1864, to join the cavalry unit in which his two brothers served.

The Compiled Service Records indicate that four men from Company D were taken prisoners of war. Those men were M. Johnson, Aldevine Musgrove, Daniel Slaving, and T.T. Taylor. Additional information was available for one man, T.T. Taylor, who was captured on March 7, 1864, by the 65th Indiana Cavalry. He "took the oath," was released on March 10, 1864, and then deserted.40

Only four men of Company D were designated as "deserters." Besides Private Taylor mentioned above, Ervin Daffern deserted on January 12, 1863. Muster rolls do not indicate where this desertion took place. A.L. Fitzgerald deserted on September 10, 1862, at Camp Carraway in Titus County. James P. Davis was listed as a deserter from Hempstead on April 18, 1865. Considering the date and General Robert E. Lee's surrender nine days earlier, it hardly seems fair to list Davis as a deserter in the same sense as the others. Many men left Hempstead for home and did not wait for their units to disband officially. If complete records were available for all of the soldiers, they would likely show that many other men left the unit early once news of Lee's surrender reached Texas.

While many men came forward in February 1862 to join the Titus Hunters, the picture was different a year later. Company D was a smaller unit due to discharges for medical and age reasons, as well as the deaths caused by various diseases. The company lost 46 men – nearly 30 percent – between February 1862 and February 1863. None of those losses resulted from combat.

Until the twentieth century, disease was a more dangerous foe to a soldier than enemy weapons. Certainly this was true in the Civil War. There are several reasons for this. Many of those who joined the army were from rural areas. They had not built up an immunity to the various communicable diseases. Historian James McPherson observed:

The crowding together of thousands of men from various backgrounds into a new and highly contagious disease environment had predictable results. Men (especially those from rural areas) who had never before been exposed to measles, mumps, or tonsillitis came down with these childhood maladies.41

Poor sanitary conditions were also a factor. Often latrines were placed too close to the camps, or worse, located upstream from the camps, thus contaminating the drinking water. Soldiers sometimes relieved themselves whenever and wherever the need beckoned. As a result, widespread contamination of camps was not uncommon. The fact that campsites were used repeatedly exacerbated the situation. Camps became fertile breeding grounds for bacteria and viruses.42
FIRST YEAR CASUALTIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discharged-Age</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical discharge</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death from disease</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desertion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
<td><strong>29.8%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Compiled Service Records provided little information about combat casualties. Only two men, John Clift and Joseph Wall, were recorded as being wounded. Wall was wounded at Pleasant Hill. Clift’s records for the April 1865 regimental return state that he had been sick (wounded) in Titus County, Texas, on a Surgeon’s Certificate since May 1864. He could have received those wounds at Mansfield, Pleasant Hill, or Jenkins’ Ferry. Most information about combat losses came from newspapers.

Before the war, the soldiers from Titus County worked in a number of different professions. Occupational details were available on 124 men. Not surprisingly due to the rural nature of the area, the bulk of this group (82 percent) was employed in agriculturally related activities. Statewide, 69 percent of the household heads were engaged in farming in 1860. The following table provides additional vocational data:

PRE-WAR OCCUPATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>82.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Official</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regardless of their vocation, most of the soldiers of Company D were not affluent. The average value of real estate owned by the Titus Hunters was $1,233, although individual holdings ranged from $0 to $10,000. The median of $500, however, provides a more accurate picture of their economic status. The disparity in value of the men’s personal estates was even greater. Although the mean personal estate was $1,785, individual estates ranged from $0 to $28,000. The median personal estate was $500. These figures would suggest that most men in Company D were on the lower end of the middle-class spectrum.

In the same way, the value of the soldiers’ farms was diverse. The average cash value for their farms was $1,941, but the most valuable farm was worth $10,000. The median figure of $1200 was well below the average of $2,061 that Richard Lowe and Randolph Campbell found in their studies of the region. In addition, the Titus Hunters’ total taxable property ranged in value from $0 to $15,660. While the mean was $1,838, the median was approx-
imately $500. Clearly, most of the Titus Hunters were not wealthy.

### SLAVEHOLDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Slaves Owned</th>
<th>Number of Men Owning Slaves</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total 109</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total 21</strong></td>
<td><strong>17%</strong></td>
</tr>
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According to James McPherson, two-thirds of all white Southerners did not own slaves. Randolph Campbell supports that figure, stating that less than one-third of all Texas families were slaveholders. The Titus County tax roll listed 2,040 slaves in the county in 1860. Information about slave ownership for 122 of Company D’s 154 soldiers revealed that the vast majority of the men (82.8 percent) did not own slaves. In fact, only 21, or 17.2 percent, of the Titus Hunters (or their parents) owned slaves.

Most of the soldiers who did own slaves did not own many. Only six men or their families held ten or more slaves; eleven owned three or less. Only two had “planter-size” holdings of twenty or more slaves. In sum, the 21 slave owners owned a total of 109 slaves.

Much of what has been revealed in this analysis of the Titus Hunters corresponds to Bell Wiley’s study of Johnny Reb. As the average Confederate soldier was not a wealthy slaveholder, so, too, the men of Company D were common people who fought to protect their homeland and beliefs.

Today, nothing is left of the town where men from all over Titus County joined Roberts’ regiment in 1862. Only the Gray Rock cemetery remains, a quiet memory of the past. Men from Company D are buried in cemeteries scattered around Titus County.

### NOTES

1. Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1978), p. 15. The Titus County of Civil War days was larger than the present-day county. It was later divided, and part of it was used to form Franklin and Morris counties.

2. Walker’s Texas Division took its name from Confederate Major General John G. Walker who commanded the division from December 1862 until the summer of 1864 when he was ordered to assume command of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. For an interesting account of the Division’s activities written by one of the members, see Joseph P. Blessington, *The Campaigns of Walker’s Texas Division* (New York, 1875; repr., Austin, 1994).

3. Claude Elliott, “Oran Milo Roberts,” in Walter Prescott Webb, H. Bailey Carroll, and Eldon...
Compil ed Service Records, roll 344, company muster roll, February 24-April 30, 1862. The town of Gray Rock no longer exists. The Gray Rock cemetery is located south of Winfield, Texas, on the south side of Interstate 30.

Compiled Service Records, roll 349, O.M. Robert's service record. The 1,338 men includes soldiers from both the 11th Texas Infantry and from "Hubbard's battalion," which may refer to Colonel R.B. Hubbard of the 22nd Texas Infantry.


Compiled Service Records, roll 344, company muster roll, August 31, 1862. The exact location of Camp Carraway is unknown.

Blessington, *Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division*, p. 44. Austin, Arkansas, is approximately 24 miles northeast of Little Rock.

Terrence J. Winschel, "To Rescue Gibraltar: John Walker's Texas Division and its Expedition to Relieve Fortress Vicksburg," *Civil War Regiments*, 3 (March 1994), pp. 36-8. Delhi, Louisiana is approximately 40 miles west of Vicksburg.


Brown, "Brief History of Walker's Texas Division," pp. 53-4


Blessington, *Campaigns of Walker's Texas Division*, pp. 46, 112.


Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, pp. 137-41; Jane Harris Johansson and David H.


Johnson, Red River Campaign, p. 170.

Johnson, Red River Campaign, pp. 184-87, 190-94.


The Compiled Service Records are the result of a massive project undertaken by the U.S. War Department in 1903. These records usually consist of a variety of documents, such as muster rolls, medical records, rosters, and casualty reports.

Joseph C.G. Kennedy, Population of The United States in 1860; Compiled From The Original Returns of The Eighth Census (Washington, 1864), pp. 472-91.


McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, p. 430.

James McPherson, What They Fought For 1861-1865 (Baton Rouge, 1994), p. 14. Bell Wiley, Life of Johnny Reb, pp. 335-37, suggests that the majority of Confederate companies had from 1 to 20 soldiers who were illiterate.

Records for one other soldier, Private Caisson, stated he was a prisoner of war who died January 21, 1863 of typhoid/pneumonia at Gratiot Street Prison Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri. Because the 11th Texas Infantry had not been in action by this date, and due to the lack of any other documentation in his records, there is doubt whether he was a member of this unit.

McPherson, Battle Cry of Freedom, p. 487.


“Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, p. 50, categorize the middle-class as those having wealth in the $250-$9,999 range. In this article, the terms “mean” and “average” are used interchangeably. The median is the middle point that divides the values into two equal parts. All dollar amounts are rounded off to the nearest dollar.


“Campbell and Lowe, Wealth and Power in Antebellum Texas, p. 44, consider someone who owns twenty or more slaves a “planter.”

Kilgore was a small East Texas community founded in the latter half of the nineteenth century by pioneers to Texas. When settlers entered East Texas in the early 1800s, the area was inhabited by the Nadacos, a sub-tribe of the Tejas. In 1872, the International Great Northern Railroad established Kilgore as a railroad town and by 1882, there were 300 people living there.\(^1\)

Timber was harvested and sold, but the economy came to be based on cotton as the land was cleared. During the 1920s, the growth of cotton depleted the land and the Cotton Crash occurred at the end of the decade. Charles Robert Florey lost all his acreage, except for his homestead. His family had been in East Texas since 1870 and Charles had moved to Kilgore from a site near New London in 1910.\(^2\) He opened a general merchandise store and was generous in allowing credit. He bought cotton by day from the farmers and sold it by night to the highest bidder over the telephone. When the stock market crashed, the banks called in their loans and foreclosed on unpaid liens. Crim State Bank accepted thirty acres from Charles to clear his $5,000 debt.\(^3\)

The discovery of oil mitigated the Great Depression and the Oil Boom brought Kilgore into the modern era. The oil well known as the Lou Della Crim #1 came in on Sunday morning, December 28, 1930, and the population of the town immediately increased from “800 to 8000,” according to popular lore. In 1930, the census total for Gregg County was 15,778 and in 1940, during the oil production phase of the boom, that total was 58,027.\(^4\)

Due to the sudden population increase, the need for law enforcement became urgent. Charles’ son, Frank Hewett Florey, became a Deputy Constable for Gregg County in 1931 and worked with the police and sheriff’s departments. In June 1936, he became a Highway Patrolman, with the badge number of “one.”\(^5\)

One night, a Gladewater filling station operator, George Buckio, drew his gun on his neighbor, Joe Hawkins, during a discussion about the burglary of Hawkins’ garage. Buckio made Hawkins sit in a chair in front of him and held the garage owner at gunpoint. As reported by the Kilgore Daily News, “Hawkins’ partner telephoned the constable’s office and Deputy Constable Frank Florey answered. Florey walked into the filling station with the remark to Buckio: ‘I guess you know me!’ Buckio immediately cocked his pistol in Florey’s face. The latter turned and, as he dodged, he shot the lights out. Buckio had already fired once. Just then, Deputy Sheriffs Jess Florey and Stanley Bean walked up. Buckio fired at them.”\(^6\)

Shots were exchanged before Constable A. P. Farrar and George Casey arrived. Casey was warned as he walked in and ducked in time to avoid a shot. Buckio shot once more before the scene was quiet. The officers found him

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Suzanne Baldon is the granddaughter of Frank and Louise Florey and has a Master of Arts degree in Anthropology from the University of Texas at Arlington.
wounded in the hips. Charges were filed in court with Justice of the Peace Homer Glover.

Meanwhile, the next morning, Texas Ranger M.T. "Lone Wolf" Gonzaullas took Chester Doss, an oil field worker, to the justice court on charges of "an affray and rudely displaying a weapon," after Doss’ alleged hold-up of J.O. Evans of Shell Camp the previous night. Doss pleaded guilty and paid fines and court costs of $50.00 before his release.

During the boom, hijackings were common occurrences. Early one morning, after having worked all night, Frank was driving home and heard on the police radio that there had been a murder in Gladewater. A man had shot a waitress and his description was broadcast. Frank saw the man walking along the road, picked him up, took him back to Kilgore and put him in jail, before continuing home.

In the robbery of a Kilgore cafe, the perpetrator was an escaped convict from the Oklahoma penitentiary. When apprehended, he and his two companions had four six-guns, a sawed-off repeating shotgun, and a number of black jacks. The cafe owner, Harrison, robbed at gunpoint, took down the car license number as the hijackers drove away. Officers tracked them down and surrounded them so quickly that the desperadoes “dropped their guns without firing once.” Arresting officers were Constable Farrar, Justice of the Peace Leo Bradshaw, and Deputy Constables Johnnie Martin and Frank Florey. The arrests cleared up several crimes in Texas and Oklahoma, including the robbery of P.D. Kitchens, who identified William Carl, a.k.a. Bill Nelson, by the new shoes Carl was wearing. He had stolen them from Kitchens the night of a hijacking on the Kilgore-Gladewater Road.

Frank often performed his duties on horseback. He almost drowned while helping round up George Culver’s cattle during a flooding of the Sabine River and clung to tree branches for over an hour in the rushing waters. There was constant rain and the tales of mud became legends. Mules sank to their stomachs. “You can stand in the mud and get dust in your eyes” was a popular saying. Only one street was paved and enterprising persons would charge a dime per board for a pedestrian to walk on the “corduroy” streets. The bank had to be shoveled and hosed every day. Baths cost 25¢ to 50¢ at the barbershop. A huge but basically unorganized lawless element arrived with the boomers. Prostitutes walked the streets of the red-light district in their pajamas, a type of stylish clothing.

Much of the criminal activity during this Prohibition Era involved illegal beer and Louisiana Special whiskey. An astute detective, Frank spotted a "modern brewery" consisting of a "200 gallon copper still fired by a battery of high-pressure gasoline burners...located in a creek swamp six miles west of Kilgore in the direction of Gladewater at an old sawmill site." This was on a Sunday. Constable Farrar planned an attack for Monday and enlisted the aid of then Rusk County Deputy Sheriff Stanley Bean to lead the raid, with back-up from Frank, Constable Thomas from Precinct 4, and Texas Rangers Robert Goss and Jim Huddleston. The still was fired up and a run had just been started.
"when the raiding officers swooped down upon it, nabbing Clyde Bullock and G. B. Brown, who were detained as the alleged operators." They confiscated a number of fruit jars filled with mash.

"Lone Wolf" Gonzaulles offered a welcome assistance. He first came to Pistol Hill (now known as Laird Hill) disguised as an itinerant. It was a rowdy place where men said, “Get your knife out and fight fair.” After scouting the action, Gonzaulles cleaned up, mounted his horse Tony and rode into town as a Texas Ranger. Later, other rangers joined him and they boarded with Lou Della Crim. Frank invited them to his house for dinner and social visits.

The lawmen launched a major effort at corraling offenders. Prisoners were chained to a “trotline” outside, men by the neck and women by the ankle. To use the bathroom, they passed a bucket. Most heeded urgings to leave town upon release. Dishonest seeming men whose hands showed no signs of manual labor were asked to get out of town. The Baptist Church, which had been used as a dancehall, was used as a jail. Vagrants took up residence in the churches. One night during the Hot Oil Wars, arsonists burned the churches and several other buildings. General Wolters ordered a “shotgun quarantine.”

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The oil shifted in the Woodbine sand and ownership was based on the English common law of the “rule of capture.” Oil fields nationwide were facing economic ruin due to the lowered prices resulting from the excess production of East Texas’ high quality crude. In July 1931, a federal court stated that the Railroad Commission was constitutionally limited to conservation and could not control the field. Governor Ross Sterling, an oilman with Humble, declared martial law and sent in the National Guard. In December of 1932, the Supreme Court ended martial law in East Texas and the Railroad Commission took a tougher stance. They fought hot oil producers, who were using ingenious means to divert the crude, and shut down the field until January 1933. The producers blatantly ignored the allowable amount of oil flow. The Connally “Hot Oil” Act was passed in 1935 and it became a federal offense to transport or possess crude which could not be proven by record to have been legally produced. These hot oil stories are “colorful folklore with a sort of Robin Hood flavor” with the little independents battling against the majors and the sheriffs. There was a cynical view of laws concerning unenforceable regulations and the events peaked at the end of Prohibition in 1933. However, in 1932, 1500 legitimate oilmen, tired of the bootleggers stealing and keeping the price down, formed a vigilante committee, bought all the buckshot and shells in Kilgore, and spent two months blasting the bootleg pipelines.

Louise Florey, nee Taylor, had been named Miss East Tyler in 1925 and would later win the title of First Lady of Kilgore in 1979. During the Oil Boom, she was married to Frank Florey and had three small daughters. The family remained in Tyler because Frank did not consider Kilgore to be a safe place. However, transients seeking work in East Texas found boarding in Tyler. Louise and the girls slept on a bed in the kitchen and rented the other rooms in their duplex. In Kilgore, housing was scarce and boomers lived in piano
crates and cardboard boxes in Happy Hollow, which is now the site of Kilgore Park, the county offices, and the library. “Both sides of town were on the wrong side of the tracks.”

Eventually, the homeless broke out the windows of the Presbyterian Church. When the members arrived for the service, they found people living there. During the service, one man got up and said, “Brother, we’re going to stay.” After the churches were burned by vandals, Kilgore was known as “the city without any churches.” Louise’s church, the First Baptist, met in homes and schools before establishing a building at Happy Hollow in 1933.

Frank would stay with his mother in Kilgore on some nights and Louise would come visit. The family moved their home to Kilgore after the city founders incorporated and insisted on law and order. On February 20, 1931, Kilgore became a city and Malcolm Crim was elected mayor. The government was organized, city planning was initiated, and civic improvement progressed rapidly with the advantage of a system of taxes and the cooperation of energetic citizens, both newcomers and old settlers.

Louise’s memory of those first days in Kilgore is colored by the smoke from the oil field fires burning off the gas, especially one that lasted for weeks while the men battled both the fire and the mud. Often, Red Adair was called to come from Houston and put out the fires. Along with the oil came a plague of roaches brought by the boomers and mosquitoes brought by the rain. Confidence tricksters sold stuff called Sweet Dreams. Purchasers were told that if they spread the liquid all over their bodies, it would keep the mosquitoes away. Two men who tried it even poured it on their beds, but said that the mosquitoes swarmed worse than ever. There was an outbreak of malaria, typhoid fever, and cholera before the city utilities were installed.

During the days of the “Big Deals,” Louise worked at the Kilgore Hotel Coffee Shop as a cashier. The men would come in and drink coffee all day, sitting for hours to work on their leases and deals. Louise’s boss required that she sit and drink coffee with the customers when she was not busy. This practice kept the customers’ business in the shop, especially when someone would come in without a coffee drinking companion. Visiting with the customers gave Louise a chance to rest her feet, as well. Entertainment was provided by a rat named George who would walk the telephone lines outside and was never caught. People would go to windows and outdoors to watch his act. At night, the oilmen brought their families back to the coffee shop for dinner. During the war, the soldiers would come to eat and leave good tips for the waitresses. As a cashier, Louise did not share these tips, but she was very glad to have a job.

There were other women working during the Oil Boom, but there were not many socially acceptable jobs for women in those days and oil field work was male-oriented. Generally, the prostitutes lived with the “double standard,” visited by the men, but unaccepted by mainstream society. They ran from rural poverty to action and money, but were exploited and endangered by their livelihood, despite any good qualities of their personalities. They came with
their pimps to the oil fields, followed the workers and the money and plied an open trade.  

The prostitutes mostly stayed in one part of town on Commerce Street called the "red light district." Frank would never take Louise down that street, but she managed to go exploring there with friends. They saw the girls hanging out of the windows. Some of the pajamas the women wore were very nice and some were plain and simple. During martial law, the National Guard prohibited their wearing beach pajamas and the busy girls suffered a slump in business. The slump may also have been due to the stop in oil production. Later, as a welfare worker for Gregg County, Louise would help the prostitutes and roughnecks who had settled in Kilgore. Age, alcohol, and ill fortune had taken a toll from these people and their hard lives showed on their faces.

Odessa was a prostitute who did not ask for welfare, but sometimes she would send one of her employees to see "Mrs. Florey" for a little emergency assistance. Odessa managed the Pines Motel. As a child, this author believed that truckers stayed there because it was cheap to rent a room, but later realized that most of these men did not stay there all night. The Pines was owned by the brother of an East Texas politician. Odessa and her girls worked for the criminal element based in Houston. The girls worked at the motel for about a week at a time, before moving around the circuit that included Houston to the south, Kilgore to the east and the town of Odessa to the west. The motel kept a low profile with the public during election years, but continued to service the politicians.

Odessa saw West Texas in her dreams and remembered herself as a little girl who looked out the window of her farmhouse across flat country to a background of mountains with heavy clouds and snow sheeting around her home. In the foreground was a windmill and water tank. In the late 1970s, she asked this author to paint that picture for her and I did it in oils, as a favor to the woman who told me about her first time to take money from a man. There was a young man whose folks were wealthy. He wanted to date Odessa, but she knew that he would never marry her. She went out with him and he tried to woo her with pretty words and expensive gifts. She finally told him, "Look, don't bring me these gifts and string me along. Just give me money, instead, and we'll call it even." Odessa was pragmatic and lacked fancy tastes. She would turn down lobster, saying that it tasted like a tough old shrimp to her.

The judgment of the law strikes a stamp over some jobs, the judgment of morals imprints others, and sometimes the judgments overlap, but people are always willing to make a choice about their entertainments. Many people liked to go dance at Mattie's Ball Room, run by Mattie Castleberry, "Queen of the Honky Tonk." It was a large establishment that continued after the boom and boasted taxi dances and Big Name Bands.

Before the boom days, the church was the main center of social life for young people. They would meet to walk barefoot together, sometimes jumping
from one place to another to keep their feet from getting hot. Baptist and Presbyterian preachers took turns coming to Kilgore for the services. The Methodists had a preacher on Wednesday and Sunday, so everyone went there, except when their own preacher was in attendance once a month. John Vinson Florey, who was a pharmacist at Brown’s Drug Store, recalled an incident in which two women were tried by the Methodist Church for going to dances. They were found guilty and excommunicated. Further gossip was provided by two groups of women who fought over a change in the sanctuary. There was a nightly meeting that provided a show for three months. Those people with money usually were the most persuasive. When the Methodist Church was burned during the boom, the congregation voted to rebuild on the original site. However, a few people with money over-ruled the voting and won their demand to have the church built across the street.²⁶

According to Louise, there were even dances held on church property, with little socials and watermelon parties. Fiddlers provided music. There were “picture shows” and visits in each other’s homes. People gathered at Brown’s Drug Store for sodas. Louise always took her children and friends uptown to watch people.

A Kilgore News Herald editorial, dated July 24, 1947, stated that entertainment for one’s children and their friends should be available in the home in order to prevent juvenile delinquency. The minutes of the Kilgore Youth Advisory Board for that same date called for a Youth Center in Kilgore as “a place where the young people could enjoy music, explaining that criminals are not musical minded.” The article suggested that sports, dances, a snack bar and democratic meetings of young people should be made available. There was concern that some citizens would oppose the taxes to create the center “because dancing might be included in the program.” The minutes of the February 7, 1948, meeting revealed that the center was not to be funded by the city, county or federal grant. It was decided that the youths would ask civic clubs for support. As reported by subsequent Kilgore News Herald articles, the young people needed a place to get an evening Coke or play a game of pool without having to “kick aside the beer bottles and drunks to shoot a game.” The youth committee held a talent show, a boxing tournament and engaged in other money raising projects. The county agreed to provide $6 - 7,000.00 for the youths. The radio ministry of the First Baptist Church of Kilgore told the teens to come to church picnics and Vacation Bible School, and urged parents to help in planning “‘good times’ as will aid in developing Christian character.”

No one can speak of music and Kilgore without mentioning Harvey Lavan “Van” Cliburn, Jr., the world famous pianist. Louise’s daughters took piano lessons from his mother. At recitals, Mrs. Cliburn had Van play as the guests arrived, and her pupils were the featured artists.

It was during World War II, when so many of the men went to war, that women went to work in defense plants and in business. There is a very active Business and Professional Women’s Club in Kilgore. Louise was in the
Women’s Defense Corps during the war and worked in the coffee shop for two years. She became a welfare worker for Gregg County in January 1945, and held this job until her retirement in 1985. She continues to act as City Registrar.

In 1945, Louise’s boss, Jack Bean, told her not to worry about deciding to whom she should extend welfare assistance, because nobody would even ask for it unless they really needed the help. Welfare was not organized as it is now and pride prevented the acceptance of charity except in an emergency. However, welfare became more popular and Louise has case histories that go back four generations with some families. Some clients were unsuccessful boomers and some were new people bringing their families from another state to look for work in the oil town.

After World War II, Kilgore businessmen realized the need for diversification from the monopoly of oil as an economic base. Various manufacturers and distributors involved in industries ranging from clothing to toilet bowls set up shop in Kilgore and prospered. These businesses, along with oil field production, kept the town thriving. A lot of good people came in with the boom and stayed to build the town after the transients moved on. Schools had been built and teachers hired during the influx of population. Kilgore College had been founded in 1935 and the famous drill team, the Rangerettes, was organized in 1940 by Gussie Nell Davis.

It was into this enthusiastic atmosphere of development and education that Louise plied her profession. Kilgore was a part of a greater linkage network which joined the town to worldwide systems of commerce. It was founded by a railroad and unshielded from any sense as an East Texas isolate by the petroleum industry. There was a vitality and energy brought into Kilgore to supplement that of the original settlers. This energy was mirrored by the economic force of the black crude drawn out by the vibrating oil well pumps. There is the excitement of adventure that goes beyond economic goals in becoming involved with a vital growth force. Whether a person is pushed from a rural home by a need for money or pulled to town by the lure of economic opportunities, that person may still have a predisposition to participate in emotionally and politically stimulating environments. Economics may not even be the real motive. According to Belshaw, “When towns undergo rapid spurts of growth based upon immigration, the motivation for the immigration is not based entirely, and perhaps not even primarily, upon job-hunting in a simple sense. The primary motivation is to share in a new and exciting way of life.”

When I was a girl, I stood on my grandmother’s front porch to let the thump-thump of the oil well pumps flow through my feet and into my chest, like a giant heart beating, like the bass drum of a homecoming parade. It was a boom from the body of the earth and an unmanaged consumption of resources that has left Kilgore fifty years later sitting on top of salt water like that of the sea that covered the land many eons ago. But everyone had wanted to take out their piece. As one hot oil producer was heard to say, “It’s my oil, and I’ll drink it if I want to.” The independents had to pump it to pay for
pumping it, "displaying a fire and temper which shows them only one or two
generations removed from the hardy pioneers."

When needy individuals came to Louise, they had no pump left in them,
no jump start for that energy flow. Sometimes, they just needed a one time
stake, a break from the cycle of down and out, but there were other
circumstances that led families to request help often. One young teenager was
trying to keep her family fed. Her mother was gone and her father was an
alcoholic who drank up every bit of money he made. She got enough money
to buy a chicken for their dinner, but daddy came home drunk and urinated on
the food just as his children were about to eat. A twelve year old girl was raped
by her father and Louise helped her to face the courtroom. I was younger than
that girl as I sat at her father's trial and tried to understand how such a thing
could even be possible. I thought it was the poverty, because my observations
at that time had been of welfare cases. I admired Louise, who got up whistling
and happy every morning at five o'clock and was not crushed by the concept
of horror that could walk into her office door that day.

Louise brought her cases home with her. Itinerant wanderers found their
way to her table for a meal, until the police department insisted on relieving
her of issuing these invitations. Abandoned children and handicapped persons
found refuge at Louise's house while awaiting a hearing or permanent place­
ment. She worked with other agencies and with Kilgore Charities, founded in
1942, to insure the best response to each child's and adult’s problems.

Louise drove county patients to hospitals in San Angelo, Austin, Dallas,
Terrell, Rusk, Houston, Galveston, Tyler, Overton and Longview, making the
best seating arrangements possible in her car. These were the days of segrega­
tion and it was difficult to please everyone. If she had several white people and
one black one, she would put the black person in front with her and the white
people all together in the back seat. One day, Old Man Bulldog came out of
his shack to rage at Niney for putting Mrs. Bulldog in the back seat of the car,
while a "nigger" rode in the front. Years later, after Old Man Bulldog's death,
his wife described the event which killed him as having resulted from his
getting his head stuck "in 'twixt the bedstead and tater bin" for three days
while she was too drunk to unstick him.

Sometimes, the blacks and whites would converse during the trip to the
county facility, but when we arrived at the clinic, they would go to separate
waiting rooms, through separate doors, use separate drinking fountains and
separate restrooms designated as "Men," "Women" and "Colored." Many a
little white child of the Old South got a whipping for drinking from the
"Colored" water fountain, expecting that it should spout kool-aid or soda pop.

The well-to-do middle class of Kilgore were generous in giving charity
to the less fortunate and articles from the Kilgore News Herald, circa 1948-
1954, indicate the thoughtfulness with which they approached that responsi­
bility throughout the year. On holidays, various charitable organizations
donated and distributed baskets of groceries, clothing and gifts. Occasionally,
a group which only participated at Thanksgiving, Christmas or Easter, would
ask Louise for the name of a "worthy" family, then decline to give the children an Easter basket after discovering that one of the parents smoked, drank beer or patronized honky-tonks. Louise did not appreciate such a definition of "worthy," which punished little children for having parents who spent money on "frivulous" items instead of buying Easter bunnies for the kids. On the other side of the "worthy" coin was the thankless statement by one lady who received a Christmas basket of food: "Better late than never."

Louise was adamant that able-bodied persons should work and contribute to their own welfare and that of their families. However, she did not believe in a double punishment for children and often gained sponsorship for individual young people through charitable or business organizations. A 1948 editorial in the Kilgore News Herald stated that her duties included keeping "clean the face of society insofar as is possible," cited her for judging each case on its own merits, as people, whether "deserving or not," and called her a "bright spot in a very dark side of the Kilgore picture," as she handled situations which to most would be "bare, evil tragedy." Louise's clients were often "expected to happen in the normal course of events." The article gave examples and included the cases of a twelve year old fifth-grade mother with syphilis and a family of three children who were neglected by their mother while she did church work. This article and another from 1951 mention the rewards of placing babies with a "fine, upstanding...respectable and willing" young couple. The 1951 article reported that Louise was the "busiest woman in Kilgore."

There were no women's shelters. The police sent a woman and her child to Louise's house in the middle of the night for counseling after the woman's husband came home drunk and beat her. Louise also took her turn holding meetings of action groups in her home. One activity was to roll bandages for cancer victims.

The Kilgore Improvement and Beautification Committee was formed in 1967 and a clean-up campaign was instigated. Louise is still instrumental in this group and holds board memberships in almost every civic and community organization in the area. The KIBA planted flowers and began a program of awards to the prettiest yards and spots in Kilgore. Caroline Ross, the daughter of Ruth Florey and Sam W. Ross, sold "The World's Richest Acre" to the city, in cooperation with local merchants, for a nominal price. It is adorned with replicas of steel oil derricks. Another commemoration, the Kilgore Oil Museum, was opened in 1980 at Kilgore College.

The Kilgore Council of Garden Clubs sponsored the 1993 Azalea and Spring Flower Trail, routing traffic past a number of attractive attention grabbers. The hand-out material mentions the excellent recreational activities and facilities available for all ages. The pamphlet announces: "Kilgore has been a winner three times at the National Congress on Beautification for Civic Improvement, and twice won the Governor's Community Achievement Award."

In the spring of 1962, the "slant-hole" drilling scandal came to light. Leases were drying up and owners were slanting their pipes into the Woodbine Sand of their neighbors. The Railroad Commission investigated and
discovered 111 deviated wells. They severed 569 suspect wells from pipeline connections, though not all were guilty. It was the last great buccaneer effort by the Kilgore oilmen.\textsuperscript{31} There were 400 deviated wells found and most of the thieves were described as “pillars of the East Texas community...known for their philanthropies and regular church attendance.”\textsuperscript{32} Perpetrators used the audacious excuse that the underground water drive replaced the oil stolen from the east side of the field, so no one was hurt. Due to regulation loopholes, the thieves had made more money than the victims, who were operating legitimately. No civic stature was lost by the pirates, because it was once again a case of the little guys against the “big boys,” with “an undercurrent of admiration for men with the temerity to steal from the large oil companies.”\textsuperscript{33}

The Railroad Commission rules allowed a straight well to take migrating oil from neighbors, so why not use a crooked one? In Kilgore, taking oil from under the lease of a major company “was not considered a crime.”\textsuperscript{34} Agency control was difficult because the producers did not want to be controlled, though they had wanted that control in the 1930’s.\textsuperscript{35} In 1959, the conservation that was planned for the field should have boosted the yield from one billion barrels to an expected six billion barrels, which indicates the value of conservation measures.\textsuperscript{36} However, a common goodbye said during the slant-hole activities was, “See ya later, deviator.”\textsuperscript{37}

The oil sands of Kilgore are now depleted, but some wells have continued to operate in East Texas. The end of the power of the oil companies came with the Oil Crisis. We had enjoyed high oil prices at the end of the 1970s and real estate values were high in Houston, Dallas and Denver. The television show \textit{Dallas} was immensely popular. However, the United States was becoming more energy efficient, which lowered demand, there was a build-up of non-OPEC supply and oil inventories were dumped. By the spring of 1986, prices collapsed. There was more oil than market and OPEC was not regulating the procedure.\textsuperscript{38} The collapse was “devastating to the American oil industry” and created an economic depression in the Southwest and in the oil patch.\textsuperscript{39} Texas was in bad shape. Bumper stickers appeared which said, “Please God, just give me another boom, and I promise not to blow it this time.”\textsuperscript{40}

Now, where is the \textit{boom} and how are the lives of the people of Kilgore as we approach the twenty-first century? To what “Big Deals” does Kilgore pay homage? Diverse individuals had flooded Kilgore in the lure of excitement and profit. Has the lure of profit caused them to give up their individuality for standardization? As reported in a special supplement to the March 12, 1993, \textit{Kilgore News Herald}, the Kilgore Chamber of Commerce focused their 1992 banquet on a “Celebrate Kilgore” theme. Kilgore has been certified in the Lone Star City program, having met the following requirements:

1. An organizational structure for promoting economic development.
2. Commitments from business and government to promote economic development.
3. Training of a community individual in techniques of economic and industrial development.
4. Development of a community profile.
5. Development of a “plan of action” for economic development efforts.
6. A team of economic development professionals from outside the region to conduct studies.

The Chamber believes that it can influence economics and not let economics be something that just happens to them. In addition to manufacturers and distributors, Kilgore has the assets of education (Kilgore College) and tourism (the Oil Museum), downtown commemorative features and historical programs.

The attitude of Kilgore has always been one of cooperation. When Coke Wilkins, who became Justice of the Peace in Kilgore for many years, asked Sam Ross, early in the boom, why he did not get out of the mud and the slush and move to sunny California, Uncle Sam replied: “I earned my money here and I have decided to stay here and spend it with my friends.”

The April 11, 1993, issue of the Kilgore News Herald contains an article by reporter Sandy Warren that concerns the findings of Jim Semradek, a site selection consultant for businesses. Negative considerations for selection of the East Texas area include the global problems of the downsizing of industry due to economic conditions and heavy competition among firms, as well as the regional problems of high intra-state trucking and Texas Worker’s Compensation costs, low quality of the sites and buildings available and a location “south and west of the most active search area.” Work was suggested on transportation outlets, industrial training and supplementation of the excellent local leadership. Assets include the existing industry and the labor force, which was described as “dedicated, hard-working and non-union,” skilled and motivated, and possessed of a desire “to be involved in a participative management environment.”

The April 13, 1993, issue of the Kilgore News Herald blamed the depletion of the East Texas Oil Field for eating into the Gregg County tax bases. Two years previously, the loss to depletion was disguised by the inflated oil price resulting from the Persian Gulf War. A year later, the production allowable was raised from 86% to 100% following a court battle won by major oil companies from the independent producers. In 1993, the effects of the depletion had no disguise.

Kilgore is working hard to recruit industry and retail business, while promoting its best features. The April 1993 Chamber Notes of the Kilgore Chamber of Commerce displayed seven awards earned by Kilgore from the East Texas Tourism Association.

We have taken a brief look at the happenings in Kilgore and the attitudes of the residents during the past 100 years. From the quieter days of railroad, timber and cotton through the strident years of petroleum to the present time of depleted oil sands, the citizens have applied themselves to the work ethic or they have gotten out of town, sometimes by force. Assistance has been given to the unfortunate, but they, too, have contributed to the growth of the people
as a whole, either because their needs were temporary and they re-entered the mainstream, because they served as a counter point to the pretentious ones or because they allowed the opportunity for Kilgore to open its heart as a community.

Frank Florey died in 1957, after having retired as a lawman to run a cafe on the Longview Highway and receive visits from his family and many friends. Louise is still in the flow of business, having received accolades from the lawful and the lawless, the helpers and the helped, uncaring for the commotion of praise and just glad to have a job.

NOTES

3 No oil was ever found on the Florey property. When Mr. Crim later struck oil, he cancelled all his receivable accounts. John Vinson Florey, Sr. with the writer, Kilgore, Texas, 1993, and James Presley, *A Saga of Wealth, the Rise of the Texas Oilmen* (New York, 1978), p. 123.
5 During World War II, he followed General MacArthur onto Okinawa as a Military Police officer.
6 The *Kilgore Daily News* quotes are from undated newspaper clippings submitted by Louise Florey.
7 *Kilgore Daily News*.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., p. 28.
22 Roger M. Olien and Diana Davids Olien, *Oil Boom, Social Change in Five Texas Towns* (Lincoln, 1982).
42 EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION


"Ibid.

2Shirley Florey Green, General Welfare Work: Kilgore, Texas, Gregg County. Unpublished manuscript and scrapbook, 1951.

4Al Eason, Boom Town: Kilgore, Texas (Kilgore Chamber of Commerce, 1979), p. 73.


"Ibid., 2p. 84.


"Ibid., p. 91.


3James A. Clark and Michel T. Halbouty, The Last Boom (Texas, 1972), 285, and personal memory.


"Ibid., p. 755.

4Seen by author on vehicle bumpers on the road.

4Kilgore News Herald and family legend.
The earliest roots of Calvary Baptist Church, Beaumont, can be traced at least to 1900. This paper examines Calvary's origin and the ministry of its first three pastors and seeks to place these events into a proper historical perspective. The congregation's and pastors' early labors are delineated, beginning with the establishment of a Sunday School class that grew into a mission, which, in turn, became a separate church.

By March 1900, First Baptist Church, Beaumont, sponsored a Sunday School in the Cartwright Addition on the Southside of the city from which Calvary Baptist Church evolved. After becoming Cartwright Mission, it was organized as Grand Avenue Baptist Church in 1904, changed its name to Park Street Baptist in 1908, and finally to Calvary Baptist in 1924. The city's moral and spiritual virtues were nurtured by this congregation. The church, organized three years following the Spindletop oil boom of 1901 which brought thousands of workers to town, immediately found themselves involved in an unbelievable amount of mission work for their Lord.

By and large, Beaumont's inhabitants were content with contemporary conditions as the new century dawned. There was "a chamber of commerce, solid citizens, culture and magnolias." Its population was rather cosmopolitan, consisting of approximately fourth blacks, many Jewish merchants, and quite a few Italians. "Almost every other white man and most of the Negroes spoke a Louisiana patois." Nederland, located south of Beaumont, boasted a population of Dutch settlers. Although more Southern than Southwestern, Beaumont did have a few cowpokes. It seemed a pleasant place to live, with few animosities and prejudices, and could be well-described as a model American small town. Imperceptible changes were underway in December 1900 Beaumont, and the next month would bring monumental and rapid transformations in the city's life for which it could hardly have been prepared.

Prior to August 31, 1885, Patillo Higgins, a pistol-toting maverick, made his living with a team of oxen dragging logs out of the woods to the Neches River. On that eventful Monday morning, Higgins, drawn to the Beaumont Opera House where famous Texas evangelist W. E. Penn was preaching, found new life in Christ and was baptized that same evening into the membership of First Baptist Church. He became a Bible student, taught Sunday School, and cultivated a friendship with George W. Carroll, who, along with George O'Brien, helped finance Higgins' dream of finding oil three miles south of town. Although he drilled three dry holes, Higgins remained undaunted. Unable to secure additional local financing, he advertised in a manufacturing journal. A geologist, Captain Anthony F. Lucas and his partner I. M. Guffey of Pittsburgh, responded to Higgins' plea, furnishing more capital. This team's

*Ron* Ronald Coleman Ellison lives in Beaumont, Texas. A version of this paper was presented at the East Texas Historical Association in Nacogdoches on September 25, 1993. It received the 1993 Texas Baptist Historical Society's award in the unpublished paper category.
doggedness was rewarded with the Spindletop discovery.  

The Spindletop oil field was the “greatest economic boom to southeast Texas” after its “Lucas Gusher” blew in, just three miles south of town, on January 10, 1901. This spectacular event changed Beaumont forever. Thousands came to work in the oil fields and overnight Beaumont became a boom town. The town’s population of 9,427 in 1900 more than doubled to 20,640 during the next decade, with at least 10,000 additional people in Jefferson County. Instead of letting rooms daily, oil workers rented them by the hour; “chairs in hotel lobbies were rented for months in advance,” and food prices multiplied fourfold. To glimpse the strange sights in town, tourists by the hundreds rode excursion trains that ran between Houston and New Orleans. Oil flowed at the rate of 75,000 barrels per day, and in the first year the field produced 3.5 million barrels. Such a high yield affected not only Southeast Texas, but impacted the world price of crude, eventually driving it as low as three cents per barrel.  

Beaumont Baptists founded the First Baptist Church in 1872. Sixteen years later, on Friday, February 10, 1888, it and three other area churches organized the Southeast Texas Baptist Association (SETA), at First Baptist, Beaumont, so they could better minister to settlers along the Texas and New Orleans Railroad between Houston and Orange.  

In December 1898, prior to the upheaval precipitated by the oil discovery, First Baptist Church, with about 300 members, and the only Baptist congregation, was supplementing the salary of part-time colporteur, Miss Sue Cochran. Previously, the Texas Sunday School and Colportage Convention had recognized Southeast Texas as “ripe for harvest” and in May sent Cochran, an 1891 graduate of Baylor Female College (now the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor at Belton), to work as a “Bible woman” in Beaumont and Sabine Pass. In September 1898, she worked with the children at Sabine Pass Baptist Church and organized a Sunbeam Society which was “in a flourishing condition.” But Sabine Pass Church withdrew its support of $5 per month in January 1899, so First Baptist assented to pay this amount toward Cochran’s expenses. By the next January, First Baptist was impressed that Cochran had “earnestly[,] studiously and ... prayerfully discharged the duty laid upon her.” The congregation realized that the work in Beaumont and vicinity “demands her undivided time and attention and believing with the help of God and the cooperation of Christian people[,] many souls may be saved.” So, First Baptist, in conjunction with the state office, agreed to support Cochran full-time. She probably worked in the Cartwright Addition in the southern part of Beaumont as early as January 1900 or perhaps sooner. Cochran distributed Bibles and New Testaments there in February and by March had established a Sunday School; present-day Calvary Baptist Church had its genesis in this modest work. First Baptist rented a building for $2.50 per month in which the Sunday School met. Needing additional assistance for her mission endeavors, Cochran, in the October 1900 business meeting, sought aid from First Baptist for “at least eight families who were in need of help,” and “the night services were appointed as a time for a free will offering for the poor.” In spite of
tempestuous conditions in 1901, Cochran continued her services with the church until December 8.

Several major petroleum companies, such as Gulf (now Chevron), Humble (now Exxon), Mobil, and Texaco, emerged from the Spindletop field, and southeast Texas Baptists resolved to meet the spiritual needs of thousands of people employed in oil-patch industries. Their task was often complicated by company policies which required the plants to operate around the clock, an unprecedented practice in the area. This work schedule made it appear that most of the employers had "little or no regard for the Sabbath, ... [because] large numbers of men are forced to work on Sunday or be thrown out of employment."

During the initial year of the oil boom, Beaumont's First Baptist Church supported Cartwright and Magnolia missions and also spread the Gospel to the oil field workers. J.A. Smart served First Baptist as pastor from January 1895 until Cochran vacated her position in December 1901, when he resigned his pastorate and continued the work as the church's city missionary at three missions. Already he had been busy preaching in the first two missions and on Sunday afternoons at Gladys City, the oil field town where most of the roustabouts lived. Beginning in December 1902, the Baptist General Convention of Texas aided First Baptist in supporting three missionaries in the city. It encouraged the church to take "active and immediate steps to organize the Mission[s] at M[a]gnolia and in the Cartwright Addition into churches and to locate one of the three men ... at each of said Missions or prospective Churches." Also in December, First Baptist elected J. M. Roden to tend the Cartwright Mission, where he served through August 1903. The following month, First Baptist named Smart and Thomas Harold Feagin city missionaries. Smart ministered to the Riverside and Spindletop missions while Feagin, longtime missionary and moderator of SETA, cared for both Cartwright and Magnolia missions.

Feagin presented an interesting perspective of both missions' activities on January 31, 1903. His report to First Baptist indicated that while the collections were not "as good as was [sic] expected," the work at the missions was greatly improved. The congregations, showing more interest in the work and becoming better organized, led Feagin to anticipate "a great harvest in the future." He requested his home church members to show "an interest in all your prayers." The first details of the work exclusively at Cartwright Mission revealed that during November and December 1903, Feagin preached twenty-five sermons and delivered eleven other religious addresses, and received two members for baptism and seven by letter. Early in 1904, he opined that there was plenty of work to do which looked encouraging. Feagin was learning to love his people "more and more" and they appreciated his labor with them. He was "praying the Lord to lead me in my work that His Name may be glorified and many souls saved this year."

Sensitive to the needs of thousands of oil industry employees, First Baptist, Beaumont, apparently was sponsoring five missions in town and one
at Gladys City by 1904. On July 3 Feagin assisted in organizing Grand Avenue Baptist Church from those who worshiped at the Cartwright Mission. He stated that he established the church, consisting of fifty-one members, with the “assistance of Pastor McCall and the deacons of First Church.” However, First Baptist membership rolls indicate fifty-three members were granted letters to Grand Avenue on June 19 and three others were probably on the rolls by July 15.

Feagin, born in Ellistown, Mississippi, on October 6, 1857, after accepting Christ as Savior when sixteen years old, united with Mt. Gilead Baptist Church, Union County, Mississippi. Moving to Hempstead, Waller County, Texas, in 1876, he married Susan F. Dennard on November 24, 1878. Cross Roads Baptist Church in Collin County licensed Feagin to the ministry in April 1888. He probably relocated to Evergreen Association in 1889, and on Sunday, September 15, 1889, Friendship Church in Waller County ordained him. Feagin served as pastor of five churches from 1891-93 and also as associational missionary and colporteur for nine months in 1893. From 1893-95 he was missionary pastor at Third Baptist Church, Houston [by 1908 the Tabernacle Baptist Church], which was then in SETA. During 1895-1908, Feagin continued to serve his Lord as an outstanding SETA missionary, consistently bringing more souls into the kingdom than any other worker, while simultaneously ministering to several part-time congregations. He was reputed to be “one of the best missionaries in the State and did more to lay the foundation for the Baptist cause in Southeast Texas than any other man.” He presided as associational moderator from 1901-08 and held membership in the Masonic and Woodman of the World lodges. As Grand Avenue’s pastor, he felt the church had a great woman’s society, a good Baptist Young Peoples’ Union (BYPU), and the only other thing they needed was “to get the Baptist Standard [sic] into every home.”

Feagin had begun ministering to the worshippers at Cartwright Mission in September 1903, but following its organization as Grand Avenue Baptist Church, continued as pastor only three months. Joining after its organization, he likely preached there on a limited basis while serving as SETA missionary.

While still Grand Avenue Baptist’s pastor, and fulfilling his role as associational moderator, Feagin welcomed messengers to the SETA meeting in 1904 at First Baptist Church, Beaumont, on Thursday, September 22. As he presided, Grand Avenue Baptist introduced a petitionary letter seeking associational membership. Its request was granted and moderator/pastor Feagin extended the hand of Christian fellowship to its five messengers.

Feagin probably resigned his pastorate in September and during this month First Baptist pledged $300 to supplement the salary of Grand Avenue’s minister, conveying the care of the Riverside Mission to the new church. In October, Grand Avenue requested assistance in locating a new pastor, so First Baptist appointed a two-man committee to work with the congregation.

The call went to P.N. Bentley, who began his work on June 1, 1905. During the three previous years Bentley had ministered to the Deweyville
Baptist Church. Previously, he pastored at Henderson for four years and at Center for ten years. Bentley was born in Athens, Alabama, on November 27, 1846, professed faith in Christ at the age of twelve, and came to Texas. He was educated at Gilmer, studying under Professor Morgan H. Looney, and was a Confederate veteran. In 1885 Bermuda Church in Shelby County called Bentley to the work of the Gospel ministry. Bentley taught school several years while caring for various congregations. He, like Feagin, was a Mason and Woodman of the World. 21

Members of Grand Avenue Baptist Church welcomed their new leader and in a short time they were “coming together” in a way that made Bentley feel “quite hopeful in regard[s] to the work.” During his first month as pastor, he received six new members and the congregation observed the Lord’s Supper. Relationships with other city churches were good because, according to Bentley, “Perfect harmony and good will” existed between Grand Avenue Baptist and First Baptist as well as Second Baptist, which later became Magnolia Avenue Baptist Church, and there was no friction or ill feeling between them. The new minister looked forward to cultivating “a spirit of love, comity and co-operation with the other [city] pastors and churches.”22

Five weeks after Bentley’s arrival the church treated his family to a “pounding,” leaving them with a full pantry, which led the pastor to expect “the kindly spirit evinced by the night’s experience [would], grow and strengthen, and bring forth fruit to the honor and glory of God.”23 Bentley must have been an exceptional pulpiteer, at least in the mind of one member who claimed that his “pastor can preach anywhere; he is one of the best preachers in Texas.”24

The first revival the Baptist Standard reported during Bentley’s tenure continued for three weeks in November and December 1906. J.M. Wright of Lufkin preached the first two weeks, and John Mare, newly arrived SETA missionary, assisted Bentley during the final week. This effort left Grand Avenue Baptist Church “strengthened and edified” with nine new members.25

In July 1907 Elbert P’Pool from Central Baptist Church, Jacksonville, preached in a revival while J.W. Johnson of First Baptist Church, Beaumont, led the singing, resulting in a “glorious meeting” during which the congregation was greatly revived and thirty-one souls were saved. Bentley declared P’Pool “a gospel preacher of great power” who “showed himself wise and tactful in all that he did,” and recommended him to any church or pastor who needed help in a meeting.26

P’Pool, while back in town to supply at First Baptist Church in August, also held a series of services at Spindletop, that lasted about ten days. Following these preaching endeavors a “rapid succession” of meetings was scheduled in the city’s Baptist churches.27

Bentley was active in area meetings and Workers Institutes held on fifth Sundays, days set aside for general conferences. At this time the vast majority of churches held only half-time or quarter-time services each month, leaving fifth Sundays free, when apparently even full-time churches held no services.28
Grand Avenue Baptist Church's first deacon ordination was held on July 8, 1907. On that Monday evening, Thomas Brand, G.R. Buckner, and B.F. Simmons, none of whom were charter members, were ordained. With the addition of these men, Grand Avenue Baptist had five deacons; three were "young men full of energy and activity," while the other two were more mature and "will be able to supply the conservatism necessary to temper the energy of [the] young men." The pastor, pleased with his diaconate, hoped and believed they would "prove second to none in point of faithfulness and efficiency." 29

Bentley worked with the new deacons only two months. On Thursday evening, September 5, Guffey Baptist Church was organized at Spindletop with thirty-six charter members, all except one coming from Grand Avenue Baptist. And Bentley, who had preached at Guffey Baptist on Sunday afternoons for six months, accepted the congregation's call to serve as their first pastor.30

Bentley's tenure at Grand Avenue Baptist yielded a good harvest. From June 1905 to September 1907, some fifty-two people joined by baptism and approximately 107 by letter, raising the total membership from fifty to 167. Expenses for all purposes increased from $87.65 to $1,481 while ninety were enrolled in Bible Study with an average attendance of sixty by September 1907. Meanwhile, the pastor led various associational activities and worked as a part-time missionary from 1906-08.31

Grand Avenue Baptist quickly found a new leader because the Beaumont Daily Journal announced on Saturday, October 5 that "Rev. M.J. Derrick, the new pastor[,] will take charge of the work Sunday and will preach both services."32 Born in Mississippi in 1864, Derrick attended Mississippi College and Southern Seminary and was pastor at Yazoo City, Mississippi, from 1899 until probably 1906. Since November of the latter year, prior to his arrival in Beaumont, he had led the flock of First Baptist Church, Palacios. Derrick attended the September SETA gathering, where he observed, "Taking the work and spirit of the meeting together, it has never been ... [my] privilege to attend a better [assemblage]." He was further impressed that all the preachers were "earnest[,] good men."33

Later in October 1907 evangelist Len G. Broughton held a city-wide revival in which the First Christian Church and Baptist congregations collaborated. In lieu of evening worship on October 12 and 19, these bodies urged their members to attend the services in the auditorium under Duke's Hotel.34

Derrick, writing in an issue of the Baptist Standard in the spring of 1908, provided a perspective on Grand Avenue Baptist Church and the posture of Beaumont Baptists. After tending his congregation for six months, he acknowledged it was about the size of the Magnolia Avenue Baptist Church and described it "as noble a band as it has ever been our privilege to serve." He further noted that "There is the very best fraternal spirit among all our churches" and he dreamed of "great things to happen here for our redeeming Lord."35 The church "undertook [his] full support" when it called Derrick and paid him for two months, but "The panic [of 1907] came on" and they had to
apply for $15 per month as aid." Conditions improved, however, and by March 1908 all expenses were paid, they exceeded their missions goal, and membership stood at 175. Derrick felt that the church "goes to her utmost limit" and thus encouraged, disclosed plans to build a new house of worship. F.M. McConnell, one of Texas' leading pastors and evangelists, scheduled a meeting at Grand Avenue Baptist (renamed Park Street Baptist by April) on May 1 with one of its members, F.T. Outlaw, to lead the singing.

The spiritual awakening for which Derrick had prayed materialized. He preached in night services for a week prior to the scheduled revival, May 3-17. Overflow crowds compelled the members to build a tabernacle that would seat 600 people. McConnell's preaching was of "a high grade" and he was "safe, sound and consecrated." Likewise, Outlaw's singing was "very fine and much appreciated." During these three weeks, twenty joined by experience and baptism and nine affiliated by letter. During the eight months since Derrick began his pastorate, Grand Avenue/Park Street Baptist received fifty-three members and "the work is considerable [sic] on the up-grade." Notwithstanding this great revival, Derrick, for unknown reasons, doubtless vacated the care of his church in September.

When the association met at Beaumont's First Baptist Church in October 1908 a committee on nominations, comprised of one messenger from each congregation, recommended electing new officers since general missionary and moderator Feagin had lost his life in July. His tragic death had "so shocked and disheartened the Board that no effort was made to fill his place [prior to the annual gathering]."

Feagin, the faithful, dedicated, and assiduous SETA missionary was killed just as he concluded a Friday evening revival service at the China Baptist Church on July 3, precisely four years after founding Grand Avenue Baptist. He was "exhorting sinners to come forward and accept Christ," had "just finished shaking hands with a young man," and was almost ready to dismiss the congregation when lightning struck the stove flue. jumped to "the wire that conducted gasoline [sic] to the lamp directly under which he was standing, and killed him instantly and shocked many others."

Accolades for Feagin described him as "an earnest and consecrated minister" who "commanded the love and respect of his fellow ministers and of the public at large." Possessing only a limited formal education, he had studied the Bible diligently, employed all the helps possible, and consequently "was able to preach the gospel with acceptance to the most intelligent audiences." He had delivered the annual association sermon in 1894 at First Baptist Church, Orange. J.F. Dobbs, SETA missionary in 1908 who conducted Feagin's funeral, testified that he had "never been associated with a more true yoke-fellow, or a higher type of Christian manhood" and maintained that Feagin's "first thought in every transaction was the cause of Christ." Fifty-year-old Feagin was survived by his wife and children - five sons and one daughter, ages twelve to twenty-seven. His memorial service drew one of the largest crowds in Beaumont, and people expressed their appreciation for him.
by filling the spacious auditorium of First Baptist Church. After the Masons administered the last rites, they laid his body to rest in Magnolia Cemetery.

Just three and a half months after Feagin’s death, Grand Avenue Church’s second pastor also succumbed. Bentley, nearly sixty-two years old and pastor at Guffey Baptist Church, ended his life by taking poison on Saturday, October 17, 1908, only five days prior to the SETA annual assembly. His body was discovered in his Polley Hotel room in Center, which had been his home for ten years during a former pastorate.

Mrs. Tobe (Achsah) Hahn, Bentley’s daughter, drove him to the Beaumont train station on Friday morning. Planning to attend a Baptist meeting in Groveton, he instead changed his destination to Center. Some friends had noticed that Bentley “appeared to be laboring under a mental strain and depression,” but none knew its cause and he gave no “intimation of a purpose to terminate his life, if he entertained such an idea at the time.” However, prior to leaving Beaumont he withdrew his bank deposit and “appeared to the cashier ... to be laboring under suppressed excitement.” He wrote several letters at Center, which he mailed at 3:00 Saturday morning, and then apparently ingested the poison which caused his death between 4:00 and 6:00 a.m. In a letter to J. T. Norris, president of Center’s Farmers National Bank, Bentley stated “he had come to Center to lay down his burdens and wanted to be buried here simply and quietly,” but gave no other explanation for taking his life. He desired neither Masonic nor Woodmen of the World rites, although he was affiliated with both fraternities. His widow and four married daughters survived him.

Bentley “was widely known and loved by all who knew him or came in contact with his strong and pleasing personalities [sic].” He was an earnest, conservative, and consecrated minister. “He loved God and lost men” and expounded the Gospel “eloquently and forcibly,” denouncing sin as rebellion against God while appealing to the sinner “with the widest mercy and charity.” He preached the annual association sermon in both 1904 and 1905, and he often wrote anonymously to the press to address public questions and moral problems in a forceful and pleasing style.

Even though the lives of Grand Avenue Baptist Church’s first two pastors ended violently and rather close together, both Feagin and Bentley had contributed immeasurably to the growth of the congregation which had begun with the small Sunday School class that Sue Cochran started in 1900. They, along with Derrick, constructed a solid foundation for the church’s future expansion. By 1994 Calvary Baptist Church would be one of the largest congregations in southeast Texas, and it continues to spread the Good News of Christ throughout the region.

NOTES

1 Cartwright Mission became Grand Avenue Baptist Church in 1904, Park Street Baptist in 1908, and finally Calvary Baptist in 1924 according to the Baptist Standard [hereinafter cited as BS]: July 28, 1904, p. 12; March 26, 1908, p. 8; and March 13, 1924, p. 3. See also M.J. Derrick.
to J.B. Gambrell, April 21, 1908 (Baptist General Convention of Texas [hereafter cited as BGCT] Historical Collection, file #468, Roberts Library Archives, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Fort Worth, TX [hereinafter cited as SWBTS]). The earliest extant church minutes date from January 1930.


6Estep, *And God Gave the Increase*, pp. 67-70; Storey and Ellison *Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas*, p. 48.


8See Sue Cochran’s Correspondence and Reports, May 4, 1898-November 3, 1900 (BGCT Historical Collection, Roberts Library Archives, SWBTS); Estep, *And God Gave the Increase*, pp. 72-73; Eleanor Jones, *Forth From Her Portals: The First 100 Years in Belton, University of Mary Hardin-Baylor* (Belton, TX 1986), pp. 11, 42; Texas Baptist and Herald, May 21, 1891, p. 1; BS, September 22, 1898, p. 9; J.M. Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists* (Dallas, 1923), pp. 805, 925; SETA, *Minutes*, 1898, Tables; First Baptist Church, Beaumont, *Minutes*, January 7, 1899 (probably 1900), pp. 16-17; February 11, 1900, p. 12; March 11, 1900, p. 19; October 14, 1900, p. 14. The January 7 minutes probably should have been dated 1900 since that was Sunday and the other business meetings were held on Sundays during this period. The pages for January 7, 1900, are numbered 16 and 17; February 11, 1900, is p. 12; March 11, 1900, p. 19; May 13, 1900, p. 20; etc.

T.H. Feagin, pastor of Turtle Bay Baptist and Sweet Home Baptist Churches, highly complimented the work of Texas Bible Women in general and particularly Sue Cochran, who accompanied him and his family to these churches in May 1899, and ministered to the ladies and children as he preached. See BS, June 1, 1899, p. 9, for this interesting account that includes Feagin and Cochran, both of whose work was so historic in the founding and growth of Calvary Baptist Church.

This author researched the *Belton Journal* and the *Journal-Reporter*, 1898-1901, in the Texas newspaper collection at the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas at Austin and located no correspondence from Sue Cochran during the time she was a “Bible woman” in Beaumont.

9Linsley and Riensta, *Beaumont*, p. 82; Storey and Ellison, *Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas*, p. 48; SETA, *Minutes*, 1900, Tables; Michael Killien, telephone interview by author, Beaumont, August 29, 1994. Moreover, the Spindletop field enabled Sun Oil to grow from a small company into a major one.

10First Baptist Church, Beaumont, *Minutes*, January 7, 1899 (probably 1900), pp. 16-17; December 8, 15, 22, 1901, p. 29; May 8, 1902; December 9, 18, 1902; June 10, 1903; July 8, 1903; September 9, 1903; December 9, 1903; SETA, 1901, Tables; Storey and Ellison, *Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas*, pp. 49-50, 55-56; Estep, *And God Gave the Increase*, pp. 73, 223. See these last two sources for additional information on this period. George W. McCall served as pastor of Beaumont’s First Baptist Church from February 1902-February 1905.

11First Baptist Church, Beaumont, *Minutes*, p. 6 [after January 13, 1904]. This was a partial report [possibly because it was not yet the end of January] of Feagin’s work during the quarter ending January 31, 1903 [evidently 1904].

12First Baptist Church, Beaumont, *Minutes*, February 10, 1904, pp. 12-13; BS, February 18,
1904, p. 9. Feagin had collected $6.00 for Buckner's Orphans' Home, $5.00 on his salary, and $32.38 for Sunday School, paid out for literature and expenses. Seventy-five scholars were enrolled in six Sunday School classes with an average attendance of thirty-two.

\[\text{Estep, } \textit{And God Gave the Increase}, \text{ p. 73.}\]

\[\text{Estep, } \textit{And God Gave the Increase}, \text{ p. 74; BS, July 28, 1904, p. 12; Storey and Ellison, } \textit{Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas}, \text{ p. 50.}\]

\[\text{First Baptist, Beaumont, } \textit{Chronological Register and Record of Changes for the year Beginning December 9, 1903}, \text{ (n.p., microfilm); Minutes, June 19, 1904, n. p.; Estep, } \textit{And God Gave the Increase}, \text{ p. 74, stated that thirty-four members were granted letters to Grand Avenue on June 19. He must have obtained these names from the written account of the business meeting of June 19, because his membership roll lists reveal fifty-six persons who were most probably members of the new church by 15 July.}\]

\[\text{George W. Lasher, ed., } \textit{The Baptist Ministerial Directory} \text{ (Oxford, OH, 1899), p. 252; Collin County Baptist Association, 1886-90, Tables; Evergreen Baptist Association, 1889-94, Tables; SETA, Minutes, 1893-1908, Tables; BS, September 10, 1908, p. 10; Storey and Ellison, } \textit{Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas}, \text{ pp. 55-56; Beaumont Enterprise, July 4, 1908, p. 5; Beaumont City Directory, 1921-22} \text{ (Houston, 1921), p. 294.}\]

\[\text{BS, July 28, 1904, p. 12.}\]

\[\text{BS, September 15, 1904, p. 10; July 13, 1905, p. 12; February 15, 1906, p. 12; SETA, } \textit{Minutes}, \text{ 1904, p. 14; Storey and Ellison, } \textit{Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas}, \text{ pp. 55-56.}\]

\[\text{SETA, } \textit{Minutes, 1904, pp. 1-3, 14-22. Feagin, not listed as a charter member of Grand Avenue Baptist, evidently joined later. During its short life of less than three months as a church, July-September 1904, Grand Avenue had supported only activities within its fellowship and its building could seat 200 people. Although its membership totaled fifty-six by July 15, the 1904 SETA Tables indicate fifteen members had joined while none left. These fifteen could include the three who joined by July 15, which means that a minimum of twelve others joined for a total of at least sixty-eight members in September when the association statistics were compiled, not forty-eight as the tables indicate.}\]

\[\text{SETA, 1904, Tables; First Baptist, Beaumont, } \textit{Minutes}, \text{ September 7, 1904, p. 36; October 6, 1904, p. 40; October 16, 1904, p. 42.}\]

\[\text{SETA, } \textit{Minutes, 1906, pp. 21-22; 1907, pp. 28-29, 34-35; 1908, p. 22; Tables, 1902-08; BS, July 13, 1905, p. 12; Beaumont Enterprise, October 18, 1908, p. 2; Lasher, } \textit{The Baptist Ministerial Directory}, \text{ p. 67; Storey and Ellison, } \textit{Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas}, \text{ p. 56. After arriving at Grand Avenue Baptist Bentley received an associational salary supplement in excess of $100 for both 1906 and 1907.}\]

\[\text{BS, July 13, 1905, p. 12.}\]

\[\text{BS, July 20, 1905, p. 9.}\]

\[\text{BS, March 15, 1906, p. 9.}\]

\[\text{BS, December 20, 1906, p. 8.}\]

\[\text{BS, July 11, 1907, p. 9; August 15, 1907, p. 6; August 22, 1907, p. 7. Twelve of these additions came by baptism, two of whom were brother and sister, about fifty years of age. Offerings brought in some $213.}\]

\[\text{BS, August 22, 1907, p. 7.}\]

\[\text{BS, January 10-June 20, 1907, passim.}\]

\[\text{BS, August 1, 1907, p. 11; J.L. White, pastor at First Baptist, Smart of Magnolia Avenue Baptist, and Bentley comprised the presbytery. Smart read the Scriptures: Acts 6:1-6 and 1 Timothy 3:8-13 and White preached an impressive message detailing the deacons' duties and responsibilities, their relationship to the church and pastor, and the importance of their ministry. Smart then led in prayer after which the laying on of hands concluded the service.}\]

\[\text{BS, September 12, 1907, p. 8; March 26, 1908, p. 8; SETA, 1907, Tables. Forty-nine members lettered out of Grand Avenue Baptist in 1907, most of whom went to Guffey Baptist. Others may have left First Baptist, where sixty were lost by letter, twelve were "erased," and two}\]
excluded. Nonetheless, Grand Avenue Baptist boasted a net gain of sixty-seven, ending the church year with 167 members.

3Storey and Ellison, *Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas*, pp. 52-56, SETA, 1905-07, Tables. The closest figures to June 1905 are found in the September SETA annual minutes.


5*BS*, October 3, 1907, p. 10; March 26, 1908, p. 8; J.S. Rogers, *History of Arkansas Baptists*, (Little Rock, 1948), p. 238; Correspondence and reports between M.J. Derrick and J.B. Gambrell, December 15, 1905-April 21, 1908 (BGCT Historical Collection, file #468, Roberts Library Archives, SWBTS). Derrick received $15 per month from BGCT while pastor at Grand Avenue/Park Street Baptist Church.

6*Beaumont Daily Journal*, October 12, 1907, p. 6; October 14, 1907, p. 3; October 19, 1907, p. 6.

7*BS*, March 26, 1908, p. 8. See also M.J. Derrick to J.B. Gambrell, April 21, 1908 (BGCT Historical Collection, file #468, Roberts Library Archives, SWBTS). Grand Avenue Baptist changed its name to Park Street Baptist between March and April 1908 because Grand Avenue was renamed Corley Avenue and Park Street was the nearest major thoroughfare.


10*BS*, May 28, 1908, p. 14. A total of seventy souls made professions of faith in Christ; more were expected to join, while others likely would unite with other churches.

11*BS*, August 27, 1908, p. 3. See SETA, *Minutes*, 1908, and Tables for more information on this period. Even though the church supposedly became self-supporting on September 1, 1907, the association supplemented Derrick’s salary during 1907-08. Park Street Baptist gained forty-five members during 1908, but lost thirty by letter and erased ninety-four, for a net loss of seventy-nine, leaving only seventy-seven on roll. Some problems possibly prompted members to move from First Baptist, Grand Avenue/Park Street Baptist, and Magnolia Avenue Baptist churches, during 1907-08, which may have influenced Derrick to resign. However, the ninety-four members who were erased from Grand Avenue/Park Street Baptist could have been more important in bringing about Derrick’s resignation because they represented a considerable number of the congregation.

The Beaumont Enterprise, September 2-October 30, 1908, mentions Derrick at Park Street Baptist as late as September 2, p. 8. However, he is not included with the other ministers in conjunction with the city-wide Everybody’s Revival beginning on September 10 and lasting until October 12. Moreover, M.A. Love was called as pastor of Park Street Baptist according to the Beaumont Enterprise, October 17, 1908, p. 6.

12SETA, *Minutes*, 1908, Tables, passim.

13SETA, *Minutes*, 1908, pp. 18, 22; *Beaumont Enterprise*, July 4, 1908, p. 5; BS, July 9, 1908, p. 12; September 10, 1908, p. 10.

14*Beaumont Enterprise*, July 4, 1908, p. 5.

15*BS*, September 10, 1908, p. 10; *Beaumont Enterprise*, July 4, 1908, p. 5; Storey and Ellison, *Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas*, p. 221. In thirteen years of missionary work before his death, Feagin reported delivering 3,574 sermons and addresses, baptized 674 people, received 496 by letter, organized ten churches, and ordained three ministers and fourteen deacons. He made some 6,365 religious visits, collected $6,972 to construct churches, and married sixty-four couples.

16*Beaumont Enterprise*, October 18, 1908, p. 2.

17*Beaumont Enterprise*, October 18, 1908, p. 2; interview with Asa and Y-Etta Tatum, April 28, 1993.

18*Beaumont Enterprise*, October 18, 1908, p. 2; SETA, *Minutes*, 1908, pp. 18, 22; Storey and Ellison, *Southern Baptists of Southeast Texas*, pp. 56, 221.
During the Progressive era, several western states expanded and improved their public colleges and universities. Previous reliance on publicly funded state universities and a minimal system of high schools had hindered the region and it had not yet established its now renowned reputation for scientific study. In the two preceding decades, what scientific prestige the region enjoyed came mostly from privately endowed centers for oceanography and astronomy, particularly the University of California's Lick Observatory and the Harvard University-administered Lowell Observatory in Flagstaff, Arizona. Western historian Gerald Nash argues that "the strengthening of universities and scientific research centers in the West during the Progressive era provided the institutional framework for cultural experimentation in the future." In the 1920s, many scientists moved westward to take advantage of the comparative academic freedom of the new universities and of the more temperate climate. With discoveries such as that of the planet Pluto made in western observatories, the region began to make "a national impact on scientific research" on the eve of the Great Depression. Yet, the severity of the national economic downturn, coupled with the region's rapidly increasing population, strained public education facilities and threatened the future growth of this research.¹

In light of prevailing trends in the West between 1930 and 1940, the establishment of the University of Texas William Johnson McDonald Observatory seems an improbable development. The observatory's origins during the Great Depression suggests the possibility of federal assistance through direct funding or a provision of relief work. Ironically, this western research center arose in the throes of the Depression without the direct assistance of the New Deal. The observatory originated in a Cinderella story of sorts: originally the dream of one East Texan, the observatory eventually bound together Texans from every region. The development of the observatory presaged the western boom of "Big Science" by creating a new spirit of cooperation between two distinct university systems, the University of Texas (UT) and the University of Chicago.

Early in the twentieth century, the University of Texas, like many other western public universities, found itself with limited funds. Particularly during the governorship of James E. Ferguson (1915-1917), UT faced great obstacles in obtaining adequate funds to provide a basic curriculum, let alone any for enhancement of the university's research capabilities. Loudly decrying the influence of academic "elites," Governor Ferguson preferred spending educational funds on elementary and high school programs, particularly in the rural areas of Texas. The election of Miriam Ferguson to two year terms (1925-1927; 1933-1935) did not improve the university's position. Soon after her

Laura Wimberley is a graduate student at Texas A&M University.
first election, “Ma” Ferguson, acting for her husband, “appointed three new regents, all more or less hostile to the old board” appointed by Governors William P. Hobby and Pat Neff. The old board had sought to expand the university’s reputation through a broadening of both the curriculum and research capabilities.

From its founding, UT sought national recognition as “a university of the first class” as promoted in the state Constitution of 1876. Despite this lofty aspiration, the university often felt like a step-child in comparison to the nation’s major research universities. One primary goal of UT administrators was the development of an astronomy program. Interim President John William Calhoun wrote in 1924:

Among the pressing needs of the University of Texas is an astronomical observatory. When the University opened in 1883 it was planned to add astronomy to the curriculum at an early date, but no courses in astronomy were given until 1889; and there is at the present time not even a student observatory on campus... much less a research observatory with a large telescope such as are possessed by the Universities of California, Wisconsin, and Chicago.

Due to the lack of funds, this goal seemed just as unattainable in 1924 as it had been for the past forty years.

Luckily for the university, a “fairy godfather” granted their wish two years later. William Johnson McDonald, an eighty-one year old bachelor banker from Paris, Texas, died on February 6, 1926. Leaving behind an estate valued at $1.5 million, McDonald composed an unusual will bequeathing $15,000 to each of eight heirs, and setting aside $1,500 for his own grave. McDonald left about $1 million of the remaining estate to UT “to erect and equip, or to aid in erecting and equipping, an astronomical observatory for the promotion and study of the science of astronomy.” Naming the school’s Board of Regents as trustees of the “William Johnson McDonald Observatory Fund,” McDonald put no limits on the use of the fund.

Shocked University of Texas administrators had no prior knowledge of the bequest but hailed the gift as “one that will provide for scientific research not possible otherwise.” Dean Harry Benedict quickly announced plans to build an observatory larger than California’s Lick Observatory. McDonald’s bequest seemed especially puzzling since he had expressed no interest in UT prior to his death. The university newspaper the Daily Texan reported, “Mr. McDonald, so far as is known, had never visited the University and it was not known that he was especially interested in its welfare.” UT President W. M. W. Splawn had met McDonald in Paris in 1914, but did not recall discussing a bequest. One member of the Dallas Astronomical Society, Dr. A. D. Laugenour, claimed that the Society’s members had influenced McDonald to leave the bequest through their activities, although McDonald never joined the organization.

Regardless of this speculation, McDonald most likely decided upon the bequest after his experiences at Harvard University in 1895-1896. While taking courses in botany at the university, he also visited the Harvard College
Observatory and soon took up astronomy as a hobby, reading books and purchasing a small telescope. Years later, McDonald told a friend that "astronomy is a wonderful science, but it is neglected by the colleges...They [the Northeast] have a lot better colleges than those in this section, because the rich people give the schools more money. And it takes a lot of it." He quietly decided to make use of his wealth to promote astronomy in his native state.  

Regardless of McDonald's noble intentions to further the study of astronomy, his other legatees resented his gift to the university. The family contested the will's validity in March 1926, claiming that McDonald had not been of sound mind. The case went to court five times, and UT fought back under the representation of Texas Attorney General Claud Pollard. The university brought in notable astronomers from around the country who testified that an interest in astronomy "did not necessarily indicate instability." After three years the courts probated the will on March 21, 1929 with $1.26 million set aside for UT. Court costs and a separate out-of-court settlement reduced the amount available to UT to about $900,000. State Senator Charles R. Floyd of Paris previously had maneuvered Senate Bill 254 through the legislature to exempt the observatory fund from state inheritance taxes in 1927, saving the university an estimated $60,000 to $80,000.  

In spite of the challenge to McDonald's will, the University of Texas received offers of land and suggestions about the proposed observatory from across the state immediately after the bequest in 1926. The far Southwest Texas community of Alpine sent a "Claims of Alpine" letter to the UT regents on February 25, 1926 to suggest Brewster County. The San Antonio Express suggested a home for the observatory southwest of that city and El Paso lobbied for nearby Mount Franklin. The Austin Chamber of Commerce requested private donations of 320-acre tracts of land west of Austin for the observatory. The Chamber received offers of twelve sites around the city, including Mount Barker, Cat Mountain, Jollyville, Anderson Mill, and Oak Hill. Despite these and other offers, university trustees chose to delay site selection until they legally secured the funds. Once the court ruled that the university could have $900,000, the path seemed clear to select a site and begin construction. However, in January 1930, University of Texas President Harry Benedict made known his dissatisfaction with the prospect of a $900,000 observatory; he announced that the university would wait ten years to build the observatory and put the money "on interest" in the meantime.  

The unstable financial climate of the times may have influenced Benedict's decision. The stock market crash of 1929 and the pervasive Depression which followed affected nearly every American, and greatly constricted the available funds for universities. State appropriations for higher education decreased by an average of thirty percent; most western universities responded by "reducing their faculties, and by cutting salaries of those who remained." The Great Depression uprooted many Texans, sending them far afield in search of employment while communities scrambled to employ and feed their citizens. Benedict was understandably cautious about utilizing the bequest for a project which might appear frivolous in the context of the times.
As economic depression took its toll across the country, the Yerkes Observatory at the University of Chicago determined that it did not have the funds to build a previously planned observatory in the southern United States. The astronomers preferred a southern latitude which would allow them to see more of the sky than possible at northern observatories. After some investigation, the Yerkes administrators discovered that the University of Texas had the money to build an observatory, but could not afford to staff it. The Yerkes administration theorized that cooperation between the University of Chicago and the University of Texas could provide a solution to both of their problems and allow the two institutions to proceed with their development in spite of their respective financial restraints. After several discussions, Texas and Chicago reached an agreement to jointly build and staff an observatory, officially announcing this agreement at the meeting of the International Astronomical Union at Harvard in 1932.

Otto Struve of the Yerkes Observatory later explained the universities’ motivation for cooperation:

The cost for up-to-date equipment for astronomical research has steadily increased during the last hundred years. ... It is obvious that few, if any, of the existing American universities will be able to keep pace with this rapid increase in cost of astronomical instruments. ... There can be no doubt that the spirit of rivalry of our universities in striving to possess the largest or most powerful telescope in the world has brought about an overproduction of telescopes that now rank as small or moderate in size, and a consequent division of effort which might have been more usefully coordinated.

Since the advancement of astronomy must depend upon large and expensive equipment, the most natural course would be one of cooperation between several institutions in the construction and operation of one large instrument in place of several small and inefficient ones. This simple fact has been realized for a long time. The astronomical agreement between the University of Chicago and the University of Texas is, to my knowledge, the first definite attempt in this direction. The agreement owes its inception to the active interest and whole-hearted co-operation of the two presidents, Dr. Hutchins of Chicago and Dr. Benedict of Texas, and its completion to the broad-minded and progressive attitudes of the governing boards of the two institutions.

The Chicago-Texas agreement marked the first cooperative effort by two American universities on such a large research project. Struve attempted to dispel potential problems between the cooperative team and other observatories by writing “to the heads of all important observatories to acquaint them with [the] plans and to invite their comments and suggestions...[he] knew that there might be resentment if the Chicago-Texas agreement were kept secret.”

The Chicago-Texas agreement earmarked the McDonald funds for construction of the observatory while Chicago’s Yerkes astronomers staffed it. UT contributed about $10,000 per year to the thirty-year project and Chicago contributed $6,000 per year. The two universities agreed to name Struve as the director and left selection of the observatory site to the scientific community.

The two universities allied themselves uneasily until the completion of
McDonald Observatory and its dedication; neither felt entirely comfortable in
this new academic partnership. In characteristic mistrust of northern
involvement in the state, a few of the University of Texas regents appointed by
Governor Miriam "Ma" Ferguson questioned the nature of the agreement and
the direction of the project by the Yerkes astronomers. The University of
Chicago in turn feared that the University of Texas would take advantage of
the astronomers' knowledge and funds for establishing the observatory and
then end the contract. Despite their joint misgivings, the observatory plans
went quickly into motion.16

The first item on the observatory agenda remained site selection. The
University of Texas continued to receive suggestions on the observatory's
location from all over the state. In addition to earlier suggestions from El Paso,
Austin, San Antonio, and Alpine, the City of Marfa suggested Mount
Livermore in the Davis Mountains. Sul Ross State College President H. W.
Morelock offered to build a road up Mount Ord or any other place in Brewster
County, and the plains around Amarillo also came into the picture as Chicago
joined Texas in the venture. The UT regents faced a tough political decision in
selecting the observatory site because larger population centers around the
state pressed the university to select their cities.

Initially, the University of Texas desired a site close to its Austin campus.
They felt El Paso was also easily accessible, but Fort Davis and Alpine seemed
too remote to them. But the mountains surrounding these smaller towns gave
them a comparative advantage over most other options. Most scientists
insisted that the site needed an altitude of 6,000-7,000 feet and that for
maximum image quality the atmosphere should be stable and transparent.
Astronomers desired an area with a low population density at least two miles
away from any house or street lights, and well away from the rumbles of trains
and other noise. Additionally, they looked for a region with a dry climate and
many cloudless nights.17

Struve sent C.T. Elvey and T.G. Mehlin, Jr., of Yerkes on a field expedi­
tion in June 1932 to find a site. The team tested sites across Texas and in
eastern New Mexico, including Jollyville, the Davis Mountains, College Hill
in Austin, the Hueco Mountains and Mount Franklin near El Paso, and El
Capitan in the Guadalupe Mountains. After comparing their tests to similar
tests taken at Mount Milson and Lowell observatories, Elvey and Mehlin
recommended the Davis Mountains region. They chose three of the peaks for
further study: Black or Spring Mountain, Blue Mountain, and Little Flat Top.18

These Davis Mountain sites easily met the scientists' criteria. The popula­
tion in the surrounding Jeff Davis County was comparatively low at 0.8 people
per square mile, and the nearest town in the county, Fort Davis, had a popula­
tion of about 700 people. Each mountain stood over 7,000 feet and remained
distant from street lights, trains, noise, smoke, and the dust of civilization. The
area had an extremely dry climate and boasted of 300 days of sunshine per
year. The three mountains had good altitude, clear atmosphere, and were on
the appropriate latitude. The Yerkes experts declared that "the Davis Mountain
peaks afford unsurpassed visual conditions and the proportion of clear nights is much higher there than at Williams Bay,” the home of the Yerkes Observatory outside Chicago.19

Struve came to Fort Davis to verify the information. He developed a congenial rapport with the people of Fort Davis who acted as his guides and visited his campsite. Struve rejected Spring Mountain due to its limited rocky areas (needed to build such a large edifice) and rejected Blue Mountain due to its greater exposure to weather at the edge of the Davis Mountain range. He felt Little Flat Top would be adequate, but preferred two other nearby sites, Flat Top and U Up and Down Mountain. Struve reasoned that U Up and Down was five miles nearer to Fort Davis than the other mountains under consideration and that the chances of finding water would be better there.20

Struve chose a site 6,809 feet above sea level and ten miles northwest of Fort Davis at 104° 1.3' W longitude, 30° 40' N latitude. This particular mountain stood forty miles from the nearest railroad, sixteen miles from any street lights, and had more foliage to keep the dust and radiation down than the other peaks. The area also boasted dead silence in the evenings. However, the land was held under trust by Mrs. Violet Locke McIvor of Concord, New Hampshire, who leased the U Up and Down Ranch to local rancher Walter W. Negley.21

In an effort to persuade McIvor to donate the mountain for the observatory, local businessman W.S. Miller of Fort Davis proposed that the U Up and Down mountain be renamed Mount Locke (after McIvor’s grandfather) and sent the name to the U.S. Commission on Geographical Place Names.22 McIvor appreciated the sentiment, but had already donated 200 acres for a state park and was reluctant to give any more land to the state. She suggested that the university obtain 200 acres from someone else to use for the state park and swap the parcels. Judge Edwin Fowlkes agreed to give 200 acres from his ranch on Little Flat Top for use as a state park, and the swap was made. Within twenty-four hours of receiving the deed to the McIvor property on April 17, 1933, the Texas Legislature passed a bill to build a road for Mount Locke.

While the UT Board of Regents had not yet given its official approval of the site, the people of the Davis Mountains area met the news of the land deal with enthusiasm. Fort Davis residents began to assist the project without any authorization from the university. In addition to W. S. Miller arranging and providing collateral for the land swap, the county commissioners quickly began to survey and build the road in April 1933. Another rancher, J.W. Merrill, had surveyed the land and ran lines around the property, and Sul Ross College in nearby Alpine donated a classroom and office space for the astronomers’ use. The observatory already had brought work to the area without the site having been selected officially. After visiting Mount Locke, the regents gave their official approval of the site on August 9, 1933.23

The university awarded the Warner & Swasey Company of Cleveland a contract to build the observatory on September 8, 1933. Warner & Swasey estimated the cost for the construction of the observatory and the world’s second largest telescope at $325,000. The 5000-pound telescope boasted an
eight-two inch diameter mirror made of the new Corning “special heat-resisting glass” now known as Pyrex. Reflecting the newest technology, the mirror had an aluminum and chromium coating instead of the traditional silver because these rugged metals do not need constant recoating and possess a high reflecting power. The twenty-six-foot long reflector telescope was supported by two piers which required 450 tons of concrete and ten tons of reinforcing steel. A seventy-one-foot high structural steel cylinder surmounted by a rotatable hemispherical dome of sixty-two feet in diameter housed the telescope.

The Warner & Swasey contract immediately stimulated the local economy and served as a Depression-era safety valve in Brewster, Jeff Davis, Presidio, and Pecos counties. A State Highway crew constructed the 8,000 foot road to the observatory, and drillers from Fort Stockton searched for usable water. A sub-contractor, Paterson-Leitch Co. of San Antonio, hired workers to build the concrete and steel piers and lay the foundation.

During 1933, construction workers included four men from San Antonio, four white men and seven “Mexicans” from Fort Davis, two men from Valentine, two white men and four “Mexicans” from Alpine, one man from San Angelo, and two men from Dallas. The men performed jobs as various as acting as foreman, carpenter, carpenter helper, shot firer, surveyor, hauling materials and equipment, or excavating. A second count in 1935, found that the construction workers included three men from Marfa, three men from Fort Davis, eight men from San Antonio, three men from Alpine, and five men from Ingleside, Waco, and Junction. These Texans worked as haulers, steel workers, steel welders, riveters, painters, and carpenters.

The project coordinators from Chicago and Cleveland referred to all of these workers as “local.” Workers brought their wives and children with them and lived either in tents on Mount Locke or with families in the area. Often these were the first jobs they had obtained in two to three years. Paychecks resulted in great excitement: in 1935, Barry Scobee wrote, “They were being careful of their new curiosities – cents and dollars. Some men laughed like kids and kissed their first checks. One steel worker showed his first check to this writer with a grin that was all but drowned in tears.” In a separate project, Dallas State Senator Thomas Love arranged for relief labor to finish the last fifty miles of the Scenic Loop Road past Mount Locke. Not all work was done on-site. Paterson-Leitch Co.’s Cleveland branch made a full-size drawing of the dome structure and built a wooden model of the dome to guarantee quality workmanship. The dome was assembled in Cleveland, taken apart, shipped in several pieces to Texas, then reassembled at Mount Locke.

Although astronomers began using a small twelve-inch telescope at the observatory site in October 1934, and the new eighty-two inch telescope in March 1939, the formal dedication and opening of the Observatory took place on May 5, 1939. A festive atmosphere permeated the dedication. Invited state and university dignitaries rode a chartered train from San Antonio to Alpine, and the Texas State Radio Network broadcasted the proceedings. The dedication ceremony was held in conjunction with a meeting of the American
Association for the Advancement of Science at Sul Ross College in Alpine. Notable astronomers from all over the world presented significant scientific papers on astrophysics and other matters during the three-day conference. Prior to the dedication ceremony, the Warner and Swasey Co. hosted a rodeo barbeque at the nearby Prude Ranch.²⁸

In a cruel twist of fate, rain, thunder, and lightning punctuated the dedication speeches. The weather could not dampen the spirits of the attendees. Several speakers claimed that the McDonald Observatory’s telescope gave astronomers the greatest range of any current telescope – with one exclaiming “it can see all of the sky but the 30° immediately around the South Pole.” Each asserted that the observatory was at the best place for astronomy research in the entire country. The orators praised the deceased Benedict for selecting the site most conducive to scientific research rather than bowing to pressures exerted by the larger communities in the state. Several speeches also stressed that the observatory did not receive taxpayer money for construction or for operation except through university funds. The speakers and the press coverage also reflected a sharp awareness of current world events, praising the observatory as “a symbol of freedom of man’s mind to explore the boundless areas of truth without any restriction whatsoever.”²⁹ A New York Times editorial expounded on this idea:

All is not lost in a world which can turn from strife to the heavens and profit by the serenity with which the manipulators of McDonald’s great eye go about their business of plumbing space and poking into stars. In fact, the serenity makes one wonder what would happen to some of the dictators if they were translated to Mount Locke for a few weeks and permitted to sweep the heavens with one of the finest telescopes ever constructed. Suns so big that a thousand like our own could be dropped into any one of them, space measured in terms of millions of light-years, novae bursting out suddenly and perhaps giving birth to planetary systems like our own — such spectacles reduce this earth to the importance of a speck of dust on a plate-glass window. It is humility that the dictators need, and no science is so effective a humiliator as astronomy.³⁰

The McDonald Observatory soon brought renown to the University of Texas through discoveries such as the new moons around Uranus and Neptune, evidence that Mars’ polar caps are frost and change seasonally, and proof that Saturn’s rings consist of rocks and ice-covered boulders. Today the Observatory is best known through its popular radio program, Star Date.³¹

The establishment of the McDonald Observatory does not fall neatly into the development of “Big Science” in the West because of its private funding and non-military purpose. The “Big Science” projects did not develop in the West until about the time the observatory was dedicated (“The Manhattan Project” was conceived in 1939), and many did not blossom until well into the defense effort for World War II and afterwards.³² But the size and status of the observatory in housing the world’s second largest telescope suggest that the McDonald Observatory serves as a precursor for the “Big Science” projects and the continued growth of science in the West.
The cooperation of the University of Chicago and The University of Texas gives the development of the observatory added significance. This appears to be the first attempt at an inter-university partnership, particularly between private and public institutions. The curious nature of this cooperation becomes evident in the partners' cautious approach to the agreement and careful handling of its development and announcement. The scientific and academic communities accepted the partnership with grace, despite a tradition of university rivalry, and well may have received inspiration for future collaborative efforts from the Chicago-Texas team.

McDonald Observatory resulted from the cooperative efforts of university officials, scientists, and citizens who built on the secret dream of one East Texan to further a science he loved in a state he treasured. William Johnson McDonald made the funding of the observatory possible, but the people of Jeff Davis and Brewster counties facilitated its placement in the Davis Mountains and particularly on Mount Locke. The University of Texas gained its long-sought observatory and an opportunity to continue its ascent to the status of a "first class" university in 1939. Texans celebrated with the university: they believed that McDonald Observatory would bring "renown to Texas in the world of science." In their eyes, Texas was "attaining cultural maturity," and a big boost from Paris' William Johnson McDonald helped give the state that opportunity.

NOTES


4Chairman of the Board of Regents, "Acceptance of McDonald Observatory," Addresses Made at the Dedication Exercises of the William Johnson McDonald Observatory on Mount Locke, Jeff Davis County, Texas: May 5, 1939, Dr. Edward Randall presiding (Austin, date unknown, presumably 1939), pp. 28-29.

5David S. Evans and J. Derral Mulholland, Big and Bright: A History of McDonald Observatory (Austin, 1986), pp. 165-169.


7Paul M. Batchelder and Mamie Birge Mayfield, "Biography of William Johnson McDonald, 1844-1926," in The University of Texas, The University of Texas Contributions from the McDonald Observatory, Fort Davis, Texas, Number 1 (Austin, date unknown, presumably 1940), p. 8; D. L. Byrd, "McDonald Observatory," in Paris News, 1981, as included in Louise Floyd Meyers, comp., Legislative History of Charles R. Floyd, Paris, Texas (Austin, date unknown, presumably 1989), p. 8; placed in the Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center on March 12, 1990; Houston Post, May 5, 1939. In the 1890s, elite men began seeking immortalization by means of endowing observatories; Lick insisted that he be interred inside the telescope at his namesake observatory. McDonald may have been influenced by this as well.

8Austin American Statesman, March 16, 17, 23, 1926; Evans and Mulholland, Big and Bright, pp. 12-20.

9Texas State Journal, 40th Legislature, Regular Session, 1927, 200, 552, 1927; Meyers, Legislative History of Senator Charles R. Floyd, unnumbered pages; Ira P. Hildebranch of The University of Texas School of Law to The University of Texas President W.M.W. Splawn, January
Alpine Avalanche, February 18, 25, 1926. The Alpine Chamber of Commerce, at the suggestion of Superintendent of Alpine City Schools William Melton, had hoped to establish an observatory in the area prior to the McDonald bequest. State Senator Benjamin F. Berkeley carried the “Claims of Alpine” letter to Austin; Editorial, San Antonio Express, February 15, 1926; Daily Texan, March 9, 1926; Austin American Statesman, March 11, 1926; Daily Texan, March 11, 1926; Evans and Mulholland, Big and Bright, 20; New York Times, January 26, 1930.


The McDonald Observatory pamphlet for the University of Chicago, quoted in Barry Scobee, “Beginnings of the Great McDonald Observatory,” West Texas Historical and Scientific Society No. 5 (December 1934), pp. 18-19.


Struve, “The Birth of McDonald Observatory,” p. 320; Evans and Mulholland, Big and Bright, p. 27.

In the early speculation, it was falsely reported by the Austin American Statesman on March 4, 1926, that there would be two observatories built: a student observatory in Austin and another in the Davis Mountains for planetary research; Austin American Statesman, March 4, 11, 1926; Alpine Avalanche, March 4, 1926.


Accounts of the naming of the mountain vary. Evans and Mulholland claim that the name was submitted to the commission. However, locating any reference to such a commission or its records stumped the reference librarians in the Government Document Repository of Sterling C. Evans Library. Scobee credits W. S. Miller with popularizing the name.


New York Times, September 8, 10, 1933; October 20, 1934.


Austin American Statesman, May 3, 5, 6, 7 (pictorial), 1939; Daily Texan, May 4, 6, 10, 1939; Big Bend Sentinel, May 5, 12, 1939; Houston Post, May 5, 1939; Editorial, New York Times, May 6, 1939.

Addresses Made at the Dedication; Austin American Statesman, May 3, 5, 6, 7 (pictorial), 1939; Daily Texan, May 4, 6, 10, 1939; Big Bend Sentinel, May 5, 12, 1939; Houston Post, May 5, 1939.

Dick Stanley, “Comet to shed light on McDonald Strengths,” Austin American Statesman, September 14, 1983, included in Meyers, Legislative History of Senator Charles R. Floyd; The University of Chicago Press, The William Johnson McDonald Observatory of the University of Texas, Fort Davis, Texas (Chicago, 1940), pp. 25-27.


Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964), pp. 48, 52.

HOW NOT TO BECOME PRESIDENT

by Max S. Lale

President Rayburn? It could have been.

That President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944 did not choose as his final vice president "Mr. Sam," the venerable Speaker of the House of Representatives, may have been because three Marshall brothers could not agree politically.

Marshall was not unaccustomed to political attention. Only three generations earlier the city had been the residence of two Texas governors, Edward Clark and Pendleton Murrah. It was the residence of two Texans in the United States Senate, J. Pinkney Henderson and Louis T. Wigfall, and it had sent to the House of Representatives Lemuel D. Evans, the Know Nothing candidate who sneaked into the Congress on another wave of skepticism, later to become a consultant to the Lincoln White House.

The Marshall brothers, three of seven born to William and Willie Henry (Boothe) Blalock, were Horace, Jesse, and Myron Blalock, members of a pioneer Harrison County family who settled a few miles south of Marshall (near Grange Hall).  

Widowed shortly after the birth of her seventh son, Richard, the mother inculcated in her brood the virtues of self-reliance and responsibility. Beginning with Horace, each child helped the younger siblings gain an education and stature in the community.

Fiercely protective and loyal within the family, the seven brothers yet stood on principle in matters politic, even if this meant violating family loyalties. Horace was a former Marshall postmaster and old-school Democrat turned Texas Regular. Myron was a near-icon of the compromise wing of the Southern party. Jesse, the only self-avowed Republican in Marshall, added a certain piquancy to the political mix.

Horace, with younger brothers "helping," had hawked vegetables and melons from a wagon on the residential streets of Marshall as a means of keeping the family afloat. With his assistance and that of succeeding brothers, his generation came to include two other notable attorneys in addition to Myron. They were Jack, of Houston and Washington, D.C., and Richard, student body president during his years at The University of Texas and later Myron's partner.

Schooled by heritage and culture in the conservatism of the Southern Democratic Party, the two Blalock brothers who influenced the outcome of a presidential election took divergent paths in their interpretation of party principles. The effect of this division reached a climax in 1944 when the Texas party split into pro- and anti-Roosevelt factions.

It was a painful dilemma, especially inasmuch as brothers Horace and Myron, along with another brother, Bryan, lived as near neighbors in a middle-

Max S. Lale, a past president of the East Texas Historical Association, lives in Marshall and Fort Worth.
class neighborhood in the south part of Marshall. Jesse, as a Republican, played no overt part in the intra-party squabble and lived apart from the other siblings, and Richard, the youngest and most affluent member of the family, lived in an up-scale home somewhat removed from the three-brother neighborhood.

Given Myron Blalock’s background, his was perhaps the most painful experience. He had served in the Texas House of Representatives from 1913 to 1918. After World War I, he had been appointed chief justice on the Texas Court of Civil Appeals in Texarkana. He had served as Democratic national campaign committeeman in Texas during the 1936 and 1940 presidential campaigns. At the convention in 1936 he had opposed the successful move to repeal the two-thirds rule for nominations, believing that repeal would diminish the role of Southern states. Because he was acceptable to both Roosevelt factions, he was chosen as national committeeman from Texas from 1944 to 1948.

Led by a group of rich and powerful men who opposed President Roosevelt, the Texas Regulars (as the dissidents were called) eventually forced a split delegation to the national convention. Horace, though not rich, as were the dissident leaders, served as senatorial district campaign chairman despite living in the same small northeast Texas town along with one of the most powerful fourth-term loyalists, his brother.

In the weeks leading up to the convention, “word leaked from the White House that Roosevelt favored Rayburn for the presidency,” according to Anthony Champagne, Dallas political scientist and author of Congressman Sam Rayburn. In this detailed study of Rayburn’s hold on the Fourth District, Champagne set the stage for the disappointments of 1944. In an introduction to the volume, Carl Albert cited as reasons for Rayburn’s stature his colleague’s “acting dynamically while holding the balance between the interests of his district and the broader ones of the nation as a whole.”

Albert, later a Speaker of the House from the black hat, Little Dixie district across Red River from Rayburn’s, had observed and studied at first hand his mentor’s style and methods.

Champagne noted that Edward Flynn, the political boss of the Bronx and former national Democratic chairman, “thought Rayburn a good choice for the office.” There even had been a booklet for Rayburn at the 1940 convention.

All things considered, Myron Blalock believed that an unprecedented fourth term for an obviously dying president was justified. Brother Horace did not.

The prospect in Roosevelt’s mind of losing Texas because of a party split, with two Marshall brothers at the center of the contention – and one of them the national committeeman from the state – was too much. And Harry Truman go the nod!

There is a postscript to the story which remains a tantalizing mystery.

In Bonham, Rayburn’s home town, there still are some who are unaware that the first contribution to the Rayburn Library was a $10,000 check which the congressman received from Collier’s magazine for public service. I once
heard the Speaker comment unfavorably, in no uncertain terms, about the disparity between the absence of government funds for "his" library and Truman's library.

Other gifts followed, however. Champagne notes that Rayburn's old friend in Marshall, Myron Blalock, contributed $50,000, which Richard Blalock, his youngest brother and law firm partner, once acknowledged to me he had delivered in $1,000 bills.

Was this an apology to Rayburn for the roles he and his brother had played in making Truman president instead of Rayburn? In the absence of confirming documentation, we may never know.

In any case, when Myron Blalock died in 1950, Rayburn flew in for his funeral, sitting in isolated grief on the first pew of the First United Methodist Church in Marshall.

Sam Rayburn's shot at the White House already had experienced its own funeral.

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4In this connection, it should be noted that Rayburn, in the fall of 1941, spoke from the floor of the House in favor of extending the national service "draft" act, originally adopted for only one year, a proposal which carried by one vote only months before Pearl Harbor.
Throughout the history of the southern Great Plains, the scarcity of rainfall has been a subject of great concern to its inhabitants. A 1943 dendrochronological, or tree-ring, study indicated that since 1539 the region had endured thirteen prolonged droughts. Etched into the history of the area are the dustbowl years of the late 1880s and the 1930s, but in spite of recurring dry spells, Texans failed to plan for future shortages. This neglect was all too apparent during the 1950s when several years of diminished rainfall brought the severest drought in Texas history.

Texas farmers and ranchers were accustomed to periodic droughts, but urban residents traditionally had remained unaffected. The 1950s were different, however. While stock raisers listened to the bleating of starving sheep and the bawling of thirsty cattle, city mothers endured pleadings of their children to play in the sprinkler or fill their wading pools, and neither could satisfy the cravings of their charges. Many towns had failed to keep up with the demand created by rapid growth and increased per capita consumption. Both large and small communities faced rationing or the emergency acquisition of water. Among metropolitan areas Dallas suffered the greatest hardship. Its experience represented what one authority considered the "classic example of the failure to anticipate drought in semi-arid lands."

Located on the unpredictable Trinity River, the North Texas city of a half million people depended upon surface reservoirs for most of its water. In June 1950 construction began on a new municipal purification plant that would have doubled the supply upon completion, but when heavy earth-moving equipment was diverted to the Korean War effort, the project became a casualty. Dallas was forced to haul water from its dwindling reserves to newly annexed communities. In 1951 when only 23.37 inches of rain fell, well below the yearly average of 32.14, Mayor R. L. Thornton appealed to citizens to conserve the precious natural resource. To curtail use the city increased the rates 20 percent.

During the summer of 1952 Dallas reeled from record heat, and the first nine months of the year brought only 14.35 inches of rain. On October 16, Lake Dallas, the city's main reservoir, was at 11 percent of capacity, the lowest point in its twenty-five year history. According to the Army Corps of Engineers, the remaining twenty thousand acre-feet would last only four months. A two-month extension might be gained by using White Rock and Bachman lakes, but water from these sources could only be sterilized, not filtered, before it entered the mains. To meet the crisis a desperate city government pursued traditional means.

Initially the city council enacted severe restrictions. Citizens could not water lawns, wash cars, or fill swimming pools, but curtailment of consumption was not sufficient. Additional sources of water were imperative. Engineers

Marlene Bradford is a doctoral candidate at Texas A&M University.
recommended the drilling of three deep wells at a cost of one hundred thou-
sand dollars each, work that would take six months to complete. Council mem-
bers then suggested tapping either Fort Worth's Eagle Mountain Lake or the
Red River, but estimated costs for both projects were prohibitive. The council
finally proposed an emergency measure, construction of a small dam on the
West Fork of the Trinity River, but public outcry against use of this sewage-
polluted steam caused withdrawal of the plan. In the meantime, the clergy
couraged their flocks to seek God's help. Bishop Thomas Gorman ordered
priests in the diocese to offer prayers for rain at mass and public services until
further notice, and Catholic school children began their day with the same
supplication. Rayburn Floyd, president of the Dallas Baptist Conference,
invited all faiths to join in petitioning God for drought relief.

Circumstances found these efforts wanting. The new month brought a
dishheartening report from the United States Weather Bureau. When only 0.05
inches of rain fell in October, Dallas was 13.45 inches below normal for the
date, and the national long-range forecast called for subnormal precipitation in
the Southwest during November.

The grim outlook decreed another approach. Beset by dwindling water
and funds, the Dallas city council instructed City Manager Elgin Crull to
contract with Irving P. Krick's Water Resources Development Corporation
(WRDC) of Denver, the country's largest commercial weather modification
firm. Krick's methods were not untried in Texas. During 1951 and 1952 he had
conducted seven cloud-seeding projects in the Panhandle, South Texas, and the
Waco area.

A graduate of the California Institute of Technology and chair of its
department of meteorology from 1933 to 1948, Krick had gained fame through
his long-range weather forecasting successes. Not only had he served as
weather consultant for Western Airlines, Hollywood film makers, and the
White House, but also during World War II he had been instrumental in
determining appropriate dates for the North African and Normandy invasions,
the Allied crossing of the Rhine, and bombing missions over Germany.

After the war Krick and several members of Cal Tech's meteorology depart-
ment further developed principles and methods for rain-enhancement based upon
the work of Nobel Prize winning chemist Dr. Irving Langmuir and his assistant,
Vincent Shaefer, and formed WRDC to handle commercial weather modification
programs in the United States. Following experimental operations in California,
Arizona, and Mexico in the late 1940s, the weather modification company's first
clients were wheat farmers in the Horse Heaven Hills of eastern Washington
where annual precipitation was about seven inches. In June 1950 Krick seeded
two storms by spreading silver iodide particles from an airplane. Rains in excess
of two inches fell on the area. Since the normal June rainfall was less than one-
half inch, Krick claimed credit for a 430 percent increase. News of this apparent
success spread rapidly across the country and initiated an expansion of cloud-
seeding projects throughout the western United States. By June 1951 the area
under contract to WRDC was more than three hundred million acres.
Krick determined that the use of airplanes to spread silver iodide was too costly and the results too sporadic to be profitable. To replace aircraft, his company patented a ground-based generator, a steel box about the size of a floor-model television, which contained a tiny fire-brick furnace. Operators fed the fuel, foundry coke impregnated with silver iodide dissolved in acetone, into the crucible where it burned at twenty-five hundred degrees. A battery-operated fan blew air through the furnace to create an updraft and diffuse the minuscule particles into the prevailing wind. Moisture in the atmosphere would condense around the speck and eventually fall as raindrops. Crucial to the success of an operation were the location and operating times of the generators. When a locality contracted with WRDC, the technical staff searched weather records, estimated the number and types of storms that would pass over the area each month, and used the company’s long-range forecasting services to select the most desirable dates for seeding. Technicians installed a network of generators at distances of fifty to two hundred miles from the target. In the Denver control center meteorologists constantly received current conditions and rainfall measurements from government weather service teletypes, radar observations, and conversations with operators in the field. When a storm formed, they determined its track, consulted large maps covered with multicolored tabs marking generator locations, and notified operators in the path to start the seeding. The operations manager for a particular area followed the storm on the ground with a mobile generator which he used if the clouds changed directions. The plan was to diffuse smoke crystals over the target area to induce the atmosphere to release as much moisture as possible.

City Manager Crull warned that Krick’s organization did not promise to make rain, only to increase the amount that would fall under natural conditions. This proposal, he concluded, was a case of “hell if we do and hell if we don’t.” Should the Dallas government not hire Krick, citizens would criticize it for not doing everything possible, and, if rains did come, some would say rain was bound to fall anyway. The initial six-month cloud-seeding program, which cost $36,505, began on November 22. Arnold Janicek, Krick’s meteorologist in charge of the Dallas project, stood ready to activate generators located in Texas at Seymour, Anson, Ranger, Valley Mills, Stonewall, Mexia, and Tyler and in Oklahoma at Durant and Rush Springs.

When citizens of Mount Pleasant, a small town some 125 miles east of Dallas, received showers in late November, they credited the rainmaker. They dropped dimes into a jar at the Alps Cafe and forwarded five dollars to the Dallas Morning News to help defray the cloud-seeding expense. Those who benefitted, they believed, should be willing to pay.

During the initial contract period generators belched silver iodide into the North Texas skies for 871 hours on twenty-two different occasions. When Krick reported the results of the first six months’ work to Crull and Water Superintendent Karl F. Hoefle, they were amazed at his figures. From January 1 to June 1, 1953, the water supply in Lake Dallas increased 363 percent. By contrast, Fort Worth’s Lake Bridgeport rose 19 percent while its Eagle Mountain Lake experienced a 5 percent loss during the same period. Rainfall over most of
the Dallas watershed ranged from 110 to 135 percent above normal. Krick concluded that so great an increase in the Dallas reservoir compared with other area lakes could not be accidental. He suggested that Dallas would profit greatly from a five-year seeding program, especially if neighboring Fort Worth were included. Crull decided to postpone a decision on this option until fall, when weather conditions would be more favorable for seeding.15

By October 1953, the level of Lake Dallas had declined to a nine-month supply. In response the city council signed a second contract with Irving P. Krick, Inc., of Texas, a subsidiary of WRDC. This time the cost was fifty-two thousand dollars for one year, with the city to retain the right to cancel on thirty days’ notice. As the project proceeded, nineteen generators operated for 1376 hours on forty-three different days. Results were not as dramatic as those of the previous operation, however. While Krick could report that seeded areas received seventeen to twenty-five inches more rainfall than surrounding parts of Texas, reservoir levels remained relatively stable. After discussions with Miss E. A. Finley, Krick’s representative, on October 1, 1954, Crull announced that Dallas was not interested in renewing the contract because to date no increase in the city’s water supply had occurred.16

Relief continued to withhold its blessing. During the first four months of 1955 the levels of Lakes Dallas and newly-built Garza-Little Elm decreased 35 percent, and the rising rainfall deficit stood at six inches. To compound difficulties, consumption had increased 31 percent from the same period in 1954. On May 15, at the urging of citizens and Mayor Thornton, the city council entered into a third contract with Krick. The terms were similar to the previous agreement. Dallas would pay fifty-two thousand dollars for one year of cloud-seeding, but had the option of extending coverage to three years at a 15 percent reduction.17

This time results were impressive. On May 18 the target area received rainfall amounts of from three to over seven inches. Paul Caubin, Krick’s general manager, attributed 30 percent of the resulting captured runoff to the seeding.18 During May and June, as 11.57 inches of rain fell on Dallas Love Field, hope grew that the drought was ending. On June 24, 1955, the Morning News published excerpts of a letter to Crull from Robert L. Krier, Krick’s meteorologist on the Dallas project. The weather modification company representative reported that cloud-seeding was responsible for the large amount of rain.

The third contract period produced twenty-five inches of precipitation, or 20 percent more than surrounding unseeded localities received. On May 9, 1956, just days before the end of the agreement, Caubin addressed the White Rock Civitan Club and took credit for 50 percent of the runoff into Lake Dallas during the seeding periods. In the Journal American Water Works Association of October 1956, Krick lowered the figure slightly. He stated that sixteen good operational storms, defined as those that produced significant rise in lake levels, reflected a 40 percent increase in precipitation when the Dallas watershed was compared with adjacent drainage basins. If runoff from these storms were
212,950 acre-feet, cloud-seeding was responsible for 85,180 acre-feet (40 percent of the amount), or 27.7 billion gallons. Had Dallas obtained this water from wells, the cost would have been over two million dollars, as compared to the approximately one hundred thousand dollars spent for seeding.\textsuperscript{19}

Although skeptical, the Dallas city council voted eight to one on May 14 to renew the agreement for a year. In a prepared statement Mayor Thornton said that the council realized that results of cloud-seeding could not be exactly determined, but that the public would justly criticize them if they did not use every available means to maintain the city’s water supply. He explained that since the fee was paid from water department funds, additional taxes were not necessary. Renewal would cost thirty-five thousand dollars, twenty-one cents per meter connection per year. In conclusion, the mayor acknowledged the council’s belief in God and prayer, but he was also sure that God expected elected officials to be resourceful in serving their constituents.\textsuperscript{20}

Krick’s firm installed forty-four additional generators which covered wide areas of Oklahoma and North and West Texas. However, Dallas derived little benefit from this fourth and final experiment with weather modification. Constituents who considered cloud-seeding either a sacrilege or a sham exerted pressure to terminate the agreement. On October 22, 1956, the council voted unanimously for cancellation at the end of November and promised those who crowded the chamber that they would take all reasonable measures to refill the reservoirs. They reasoned that they could not see any useful purpose in continuing seeding of clouds until more normal weather conditions returned. Mayor Thornton added that this conclusion followed the realization that the drought could persist and storms needed for seeding had not materialized in several months.\textsuperscript{21}

Throughout Krick’s association with Dallas his activities were a popular topic. \textit{The Dallas Morning News} of July 7, 1956, featured the story of two Southern Methodist University professors who provoked much laughter at the weekly Lions Club luncheon at the Hotel Adolphus. Aware that Morton Winthrop and George Bevel from Krick’s organization were scheduled to address the gathering, Dr. J.M. Clauch drew attention to his dusty umbrella and Dr. D. W. Starr was conspicuous in a raincoat. The speakers graciously participated in the gag, presented their remarks on cloud-seeding, and enjoyed the last laugh. As the luncheon crowd prepared to leave the hotel, they stepped back from the healthy rain that fell.

But not everyone viewed weather modification in a humorous light. Throughout the entire operation objections to Krick and his tampering with nature filled the editorial pages of the \textit{Morning News}. One reader felt that if gratitude for rain were directed toward God, rather than Krick, the city would receive more precipitation.\textsuperscript{22} Another stated that running a cloud-seeding generator was taking power out of God’s hands,\textsuperscript{23} while a third called God the “official rainmaker” who would give Dallas all the rain it needed if only the city would live according to His gospel.\textsuperscript{24} An editorial on September 15, 1956, noted that a check of letters to the editor for the preceding few months showed
85 percent were against Krick and for prayer.

Some citizens objected to the cost. One Dallasite wondered why the city could pay fifty thousand dollars for an unsuccessful rainmaker and not afford better police protection. Another suggested that the council might better purchase an "old-fashioned money-making machine," while a third reader complained that the eighty-five thousand dollars dedicated to a project that failed to produce rain should have been applied elsewhere. Perhaps an article of November 16, 1956, best expressed the prevailing attitude when it called Krick the "most maligned and misunderstood man in modern Dallas time."

While public opinion appeared to run heavily against cloud-seeding, some citizens did offer praise. The pastor of the First Baptist Church of Ranger felt the earth was meant to be developed, and scientific production of rain was no worse than building a dam across a stream. One reader expressed the opinion that "God helps those who help themselves," and Krick was only following that precept. A concerned Dallas resident wanted to convert the old Dallas public library building into offices for Krick and give him a twenty-year contract, and a San Antonio reader praised the contract and said the cost would be negligible in comparison with potential benefits.

Throughout the four years of cloud-seeding in Dallas the Morning News supported the council's endeavor to overcome the water shortage. An editorial of May 18, 1955, considered the fifty-two thousand dollars a small price for filling the city's fifty-million dollar reservoirs. Furthermore, the council was justified in renewing the contract, even though results from previous agreements were not conclusive. A few weeks later the newspaper voiced the opinion that those who said Krick could not make it rain could not prove it, while the runoff received from seeding corroborated his work.

NOTES

2. Thomas M. Hatfield, "Drought and Texas Cities," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 40 (October 1964), p. 46.
6. The costs for the Red River tap were estimated at $500,000 to $600,000 and the Eagle Mountain Lake project at $750,000.
9. In 1951 WRDC contracted with Border Livestock Association (South Texas), Brooks-Jim Hogg Counties, Coastal Bend Weather Improvement Association (Corpus Christi area), and Central Texas Rain Increasing Corporation (Waco area). In 1952 WRDC contracted with Texas-Oklahoma Weather Improvement Association (Panhandle area), West Texas Weather Improvement Association (South Plains-Permian Basin area), and Panhandle Weather Improvement Association.


Dallas Morning News, November 12, 1952.


Dallas Morning News, November 22, 1952-May 22, 1953 for City of Dallas" (Denver, 1953), pp. 2-5; American Institute of Aerological Research, "Report on Cloud Seeding Operations for the City of Dallas, Texas" (Denver, 1956), pp. 5-8. These reports are in the author's possession. In 1978 the offices of WRDC burned. The only reports salvaged were a few personal copies of seeding operations in Dallas which Dr. Krick graciously presented the author. Because Texas had no weather modification laws until 1967, no state records are available for the period under consideration.


Dallas Morning News, November 19, 1953.

Dallas Morning News, October 18, 1953.

Dallas Morning News, November 17, 1952.


Dallas Morning News, September 13, 1956.

Dallas Morning News, September 13, 1956.


During World War II for the first time the American military experimented with incorporating women into each branch of service. Although women never comprised more than two percent of the United States military during World War II, women soldiers dramatically broke from the traditional American women’s sphere. The Army led the armed forces by seeking congressional approval for an all-female corps. On May 14, 1942, Congress passed the Women’s Army Auxiliary Corps Act, designed to enroll 150,000 women between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five for non-combat service. Oveta Culp Hobby, wife of former Texas Governor William P. Hobby, became a colonel and the first director of the WAACs. Army women assisted with the overall war effort and increased manpower by releasing men for combat. Army commanders wanted to use the existing knowledge, skills, and special training of the nation’s women—particularly secretarial skills.

Although Congress quickly rejected a proposition to draft women, a huge voluntary recruiting campaign began in a society that traditionally viewed the military as a masculine field. However, poor recruiting statistics resulted from the ambiguous auxiliary status, competition from other services, high paying war jobs, poor organization and discriminatory philosophy of the recruiters, the negative attitude of male GIs, and slander campaigns targeting WAACs. In September 1943, Congress granted WAACs full military status, changing the organization’s name to Women’s Army Corps, lowering the entry age to twenty, and giving WACs pay, allowances, benefits, and privileges equal to men. At the height of expansion in 1943, sixty thousand women had enrolled in the WAAC, and the Army ran five basic training centers and many specialty schools for them. WAACs, including those trained at WAAC Branch No. 1, Army Administration School at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, worked at eighty-three Army posts, camps, and stations in the United States.

Becoming a soldier was a difficult task, especially in a man’s army. The purpose of basic training for WAACs, originally a four-week program, was to provide women a broader outlook on life, an understanding of complex organizations, self-discipline, and skills to cope with military life. At bases such as Fort Des Moines, Iowa; Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia; Daytona Beach, Florida; Fort Devens, Massachusetts; and Camp Ruston, Louisiana, women received basic and some specialized training. To the surprise of many commanders, training women presented few problems. Trainers initially emphasized military hazing which tried to make a woman a soldier the first day and hurt morale. The Army soon learned to postpone “yuck” duties such as KP—“Kitchen Police”—which entailed cleaning grease traps, scrubbing floors, and emptying G.I. cans (trash cans). Women ate the mess hall’s tasteless, heavy food that caused eighty-two percent of the WAACs to gain an
average of six pounds. At boot camp, the Army introduced women for the first time to poor-fitting uniforms, crowded barracks, and rigorous Army life.

In 1944 basic training for women included 288 hours of classes, and the Army instructed WAACs in military practices such as squaring corners of the bed, drill, physical training, and inspections. WAACs received five times more instruction in army organization, four times more in military courtesy and articles of war, and one third as much drill and PT as men. Women and men in basic took the same number of hours in Map and Aerial Photography Reading and Chemical Warfare. Unlike men, women took required classes in indoctrination, administration, and supply. Since WAACs were noncombatants, they took no combat courses, whereas men took 153 hours of such courses. WAACs, however, participated in gas mask drills, tear-gas chambers, guard duty, and a short forced march. Although the basic training experience for a woman differed from that of a man, WAACs fully experienced Army life.

After basic training, the Army provided instruction for WAACs in tasks that were acceptable for women soldiers. The prominent areas of service were administration, motor transportation, kitchen duty, and communications. In March 1943, WAAC training programs of various kinds opened at twenty-eight colleges. Specialty training at universities was common for women assigned to the Army Service Forces. In May 1943, sixty-four percent of the WAACs worked in army administration. The clerk's course taught mostly paperwork skills in classes that included Touch Typing, Correspondence and Filing, Company Records and Reports, Personnel Administration, and Finance. The Army located five administration schools at colleges in the southwest. WAAC Branch No. 1, Army Administration School, the first of its kind in the United States, opened at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, Nacogdoches, Texas, on February 15, 1943. Although many women had worked in administrative positions as civilians and felt the Administration School only delayed field duty, they were enrolled in a six-to-eight-week course to train in military administrative procedures.

Due to a drop in enrollment, the new president of Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, Dr. Paul Boynton, encouraged the Army to open an administrative school for the WAACs on his campus. World War II brought a dramatic drop in enrollment because many men and women had left to participate in the war effort. Boynton thought that the presence of the WAACs would keep the school from closing. Opened on February 12, 1943, the Administration School was the first of its kind in the nation and added to Texas' contributions to the war effort. The Administration School in Nacogdoches was the first to have permanent WAAC enlisted personnel and to be partly run by WAAC officers. Forty enlisted WAACs and twenty-one officers were stationed at SFA. Also, WAAC Branch No. 1, Army Administration School, was the first which operated directly under a branch of the Regular Army, the Adjutant General's Office.

The officers and the SFA band met the first 250 WAAC students on February 12, 1943, at the Southern Pacific Station in Nacogdoches. After the WAACs detrained, the WAACs, led by the band, marched two miles in
military formation through the business section of town and out Mound Street to the college. At the dispensary, they received a short physical, which included a vaginal examination. The first class brought "that little louse," the crab, with them. The second class humorously called themselves the "Flashlight Brigade," because medical technicians examined them every few days until no eggs appeared. According to the Army, during basic training at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, the women had slept in the bunks of infected soldiers and contracted the louse.

On February 15, 1943, the formal opening and dedication ceremony took place in the Aikman Gym. Lt. Col. Albert L. Price, assistant commandant to the adjutant general, told the audience that in order for the women to be respected they must do their jobs better than the men they replaced. Price told the WAACs they had to maintain a "spirit and fire from within" to prove the corps' validity. President Boynton welcomed the WAACs "to hard work" and told them to "drink deeply from the many springs of human friendship" they would develop in the WAAC and while they stayed in Nacogdoches. Directly after the ceremonies, the female soldiers proceeded to classes.

Although the college housed and fed the WAACs, an Army staff instructed them. The headquarters consisted of military personnel who executed all administration and clerical duties. The Army stationed experienced commanders and qualified WAAC officers at the school. Twenty-one officers came from the adjutant general's department, and twenty-one WAAC officers and forty enlisted women comprised the staff. All together 700 persons, including civilian personnel, constituted the staff, which maintained a strict operating procedure for an efficiently run school.

There were five main offices at WAAC Branch No. 1, Army Administration School. The commanding officer was Lt. Col. Thomas M. Childs. The Adjutant, Cpt. Alford T. Hearne, directed all administrative matters concerning personnel, including recording maintenance and official correspondence. The academic department, directed by Maj. John C. Woodbury, planned instruction, arranged class schedules, and taught the WAAC students. Cpt. Ellen M. Bailey, assistant education director, was the highest ranking female officer at the school. The quartermaster, Cpt. Hiram Clark, handed procurement of supplies and kept records. Maj. James Wolfstein's medical department, which utilized fifty people, including WAAC enrollees, enlisted men, and civil service employees, dealt with health and sanitation. The enrollees, who were part of the permanent headquarters company, were assigned such duties as post sergeant major, mail clerks, correspondence clerks, mimeograph operators, chauffeurs, and x-ray technicians.

At Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, the first class of 250 trainees (Company A) graduated on March 24, 1943, and eleven more classes followed, with the final class graduating on January 26, 1944. The school's capacity was 600 students, with 300 students graduating every three weeks until the course was expanded to an eight-week program in June with an increased emphasis on clerical training. The first class was Company A, Class 1. The next class was
Company B, Class 2, and the next class was Company A, Class 3. Thus the classes were lettered alternately A and B but numbered consecutively.

Four large classrooms were prepared in the basement of the Austin Building, and each room seated 150 students. Students completed eighty-seven courses ranging from one to twenty-six hours on sixty subjects. The classes focused on personal management, business management, and management of records. Students learned skills in typing, military correspondence, and report preparation. The methods of instruction included student participation, visual aids, and teacher demonstrations. Women who graduated from the Administration School served in the Army Service Forces in clerical positions.

The WAACs essentially remained separate from the civilian students at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College. Civilian students moved to private homes and boarding houses, while WAACs lived in the dorms. Compared to basic training accommodations, the housing accommodations at SFA seemed plush. Double decker beds were put in the dorms, and the first group of WAAC trainees were housed in Gibbs Hall; others stayed in the former boy’s dorm, presently Wisely Hall, and in the remodeled Women’s Recreation Building. The school added another floor to the men’s gymnasium, converting it to a dormitory, where each room accommodated six women. In that dorm one bathroom served two bedrooms, with a sink and a show stall in every room. Offices were put in the basement of the science building, presently the Chemistry Building, and a one-room post exchange and housing for noncommissioned officers was located in the Women’s Recreation Center.

The WAACs ate in the school’s cafeteria where civilian cooks prepared the meals. Male student waiters served each WAAC company in two shifts. The civilian cooks, however, were not appreciated by newcomers who were not accustomed to the Southern diet, which included many fried foods. The northern WAACs thought the cooks used too much grease and seasoning. One student refused to eat “strange looking hominy grits.”

When WAACs arrived in Nacogdoches, they brought a new aspect of World War II to a small Texas town and college. After a short adjustment period, the conservative, East Texas community accepted the visiting female soldiers, whose money helped sustain local businesses. On the verge of closing, Stephen F. Austin welcomed the Army’s business which helped the college survive an economic crisis. Some members of the community opened their homes to the WAACs. For instance, Lena and Leon Aaron welcomed the Jewish girls into their home to observe Passover. However, Clarice Pollard, a member of Class 4, recalled that the girls could not help but giggle as Mr. Aaron read the Hebrew passages with a Texas drawl. Organizations and clubs planned events and social activities for the WAACs, and churches welcomed the women into their congregations. Through public subscription, on May 15, 1943, the community opened a USO in downtown Nacogdoches for noncommissioned WAACs and visiting service men. Lt. Col. Childs recognized the work of the War Recreation Council, and he stated that the facility demonstrated the “spirit of cooperation” between the community and the military.
Although many women had positive recollections of SPA and Nacogdoches, Sybil Lightfoot, a member of the first class, recalled that the townspeople listened to ugly rumors about the WAACs. When she attended a Catholic service, the priest welcomed them and then verbally attacked them about the Army’s custom of issuing contraceptives, which the WAACs actually never received. In Lightfoot’s opinion, the townspeople thought WAACs were all camp followers, issued new nylon stockings and diaphragms, and were pawns of the Axis powers who provide information to the enemy. However a member of the second class recalled, “People always treated us very well,” and she remembered farmers picking up WAACs as they walked to town. Pollard’s impression of the community after her arrival in Nacogdoches was the “glow of a gracious reception and a view from the campus of graceful plantation-style homes, there was an atmosphere of wealth, spaciousness, and lush greenery.” Her most significant impression of the WAAC at SPA was the “awareness of that special aura surrounding a colorful Texas town and the Teachers College, where everything, then in short wartime supply, was shared with a great-hearted spirit that made the ‘little’ seem unendingly abundant.”

The WAACs maintained a busy daily schedule to complete the large number of courses during a short period of time. The women rose at 6 a.m. and had seven hours of classes, two hours of supervised study, and one hour of drill. They received one hour of free time during the day. Lights went out and taps played at 10:30 p.m., except on Saturday and Sunday. Commanders held the Saturday bed check at midnight. The WAACs got Sundays and holidays off. For public display, the WAAC held All-Retreats, close order drills, parades, and ceremonies at the Lower Birdwell Field three times a week, with commanders reviewing WAACs on Friday. Unlike other posts, WAACs at Branch No. 1 were not required to do KP or laundry.

WAACs found many activities to occupy their free time. They attended the local movie theater, organized baseball games among WAAC companies, swam at Fern Lake, and strolled to town for shopping and visiting. Lt. Col. Childs found that the women were “just as interested in beauty parlors as before.” However, trips to town were difficult in the Texas heat, because women wore full dress uniforms with all buttons buttoned, ties tied, and hats on their heads. When the WAACs were off duty, they could wear civilian clothes, but the Army encouraged them to appear neat. The headquarters also granted WAACs at the Administration School leaves to visit local towns and cities. Many traveled to see boyfriends, parents, and other family members in Shreveport, Houston, and Dallas.

The WAACs unified and busied themselves with class activities. WAACs elected members to hold offices and to run weekly class meetings on Monday nights. The positions included president, vice president, athletic coordinator, welfare chairman, and social representative. The athletic coordinator planned sports activity schedules, including baseball and basketball games, horseback riding, and golf. The welfare or “gripe” chairman tried to keep the WAACs happy and content. The students also published the first newspaper of WAAC Branch No. 1 on February 27, 1943. The WAAC classes made the mimeo-
graphed service newspaper called the "Tag Echo" only for the WAACs stationed at the school. The articles in the newspapers had information on WAACs stationed at SFA, the school's staff, and current events.

A WAAC talent show, planned by the social representative, was staged before each graduation by the WAACs to demonstrate appreciation for the community and for the entertainment of the next class. The first WAAC variety show drew one of the largest crowds ever to Nacogdoches High school, some 2,000 people. The shows became town attractions and involved community members in the WAAC program. Preparations began at least three weeks prior to the performance. The shows generally had a theme and included skits directed and performed by WAACs. Performing a variety show the night before graduation became an integral part of the ceremonies.

Twelve classes graduated from WAAC Branch No. 1 at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, and residents of Nacogdoches were invited to the ceremonies. Graduation included a processional, the National Anthem, an invocation, a musical interlude sung by WAACs, a graduation address, valedictory remarks by the president of the WAAC class, a benediction, and a recessional. The invocation and benediction were performed by various church leaders of the community. Principal speakers included Brig. Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge, the commanding general of all army administration schools; Col. Joseph S. Harbinson, a veteran of World War I; Dr. William Alton Birdwell, President Emeritus of Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College; and A. J. Thompson, Mayor of Nacogdoches.

After the WAACs completed their courses, they were marched back to the train station and went to their next posts located across the nation and throughout the world. Many women were stationed at Army Air Corps fields, where they served in a secretarial capacity. Some women received commissions and went to OCS at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. Others served overseas such as Lt. Marjorie Stewart, who traveled to Paris and Munich. Women who were trained at WAAC Branch No. 1 contributed to the overall war effort and served their nation with pride at many locations in the United States and abroad.

More than 2,000 women completed training at WAAC Branch No. 1, Army Administration School and lived in Nacogdoches. As the specialty schools became less practical, the Army consolidated training and enrolled women in coeducational classes. The practice of separate WAC administration schools had begun to lose support among army commanders as the costs exceeded the benefits. At many training facilities, cadre outnumbered students four to one. The class sizes had continued to grow smaller, pointing to failures of the WAC recruiting efforts. Rather than run small WAC schools, women attended regular army noncombat specialist schools. After only one year of service, WAAC Branch No. 1 closed in 1944, and the WACs, who possessed the skills, energy, and knowledge that made them valuable assets to a modern army left Nacogdoches.


'Nacogdoches Daily Sentinel, "With the WAAC," May 29, 1943.


'Mrs. Howard Briscoe Michaels letter to Tommie Jan Lowery, February 2, 1992.


'The Pine Log, March 6, 1943, WAAC Branch No. 1 Scrapbook, Special Collections in Steen Library, Stephen F. Austin State University.

'Redland Herald, "First Army Administration School for WAAC Training Opens at SFA," February 11, 1943, WAAC Branch No. 1 Scrapbook, Special Collections, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University.

'Bertha Treadwell, "First Unit of WAAC Trainees Arrive in City," February 13, 1943.

'Sybil Lightfoot letter to Stephen F. Austin History Department.


'Sybil Lightfoot letter to Stephen F. Austin History Department.

'The Pine Log, "Variety Show Draws One of the Largest Crowds Ever at NHS," March 27, 1943, WAAC Scrapbook No. 1, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University.
What follows is the editor’s musings on several publications that have arrived:

*The New Handbook of Texas* (Texas State Historical Association, 2/306 Sid Richardson Hall, University Station, Austin, 78712), was released in the summer of 1996, and is the publishing event of the year in Texas. I remember the release of what is still known as “the supplement,” or Volume 3 of the old *Handbook*, directed by L. Tuffly Ellis and edited by Eldon Branda, in the 1970s. Work began on the “new” *Handbook* soon afterward, with Ellis as editor and Tom Cutrer as managing editor. Ellis was replaced by Jim Pohl temporarily and Ron Tyler permanently, and Cutrer by Doug Barnett, but the vision remained constant: capitalize on the fame and usefulness of the original *Handbook* and do an even better job. I remember a number of Executive Council meetings where Ambassador Ed Clark and Frank Smith – the two “angels” of the project – reported on fund raising. And the agonizing: would it ever be published? The answer is not only “yes,” but “bravo!” Now in six volumes, with thousands of additional entries, revisions of older ones, and wonderful illustrations, the “New Handbook” is a marvel and handy help for anyone wanting to check anything that deals with Texas. And this time, the project continues through computers to update and revise constantly. Congratulations to all concerned.

*Texas War Horses* (published by the author in Tyler, Texas: 1995), by F. Lee Lawrence is an expanded version of his presidential address to the Texas State Historical Association on March 9, 1979, and the result of much pleading from friends that he make it available in print. Lee’s long-time interest in horses in general and specifically in “war horses” is unbridled, pun intended – his, more than another work since J. Frank Dobie’s *Mustangs*, reminds us of the value of such animals in all of man’s interaction with nature and with each other in Texas and the Southwest. The horses remain the focus of the book. *Texas War Horses* is arranged into these divisions: The Anglos Confront a Horse Culture; Indian Horse Warriors; Speed and Stamina; From Mustangs to Thoroughbreds; Stallions, Mares, and Geldings; Rangers Rode All Kinds; Early U.S. Cavalry Horses in Texas; Texas Cavalry in the Confederacy; The Postwar Frontier; Texas Horses by the Thousands in the Boer War; and A Vanished Breed – End of an Era. Each is an interesting essay, with the participation of Texas horses in the Boer War providing the most unusual information. You can’t buy this one in stores because it is a private printing, but it is to be hoped that eventually it will be reprinted for public distribution.

Allan J. Lichtman’s *The Keys To The White House: A Surefire Guide to Predicting the Next President* (Madison Books, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Maryland 20706, 1996, $22.95) is an explanation of how to handicap presidential elections. The first two chapters are an explanation of the “keys,” or thirteen questions regarding the incumbent party, which are subjective questions and do not involve quantification in any way. Failure on as many as six of the thirteen dooms the incumbent party. Subsequent chapters provide
evidence of the successful application of the keys retroactive to 1860, and, the one you want to know about the most: "How To Bet In '96." You ought to have to read it yourself, but here is Lichtman's conclusion from page 182: President Bill Clinton had flunked four keys at the beginning of the election year, but "Barring an economic reversal, a humiliation abroad, or dramatic Whitewater developments, he will almost certainly be reelected...." This will appear after the election, so we can judge after November if the keys worked this time.

*Moses Austin and Stephen F. Austin* (Hendrick-Long Pub. Co., Box 25123, Dallas, TX 75225), by Betsy Warren, is a "two-fer" for juvenile readers. Better said, it is a history of the founding of Anglo Texas through the lives of the Austins. Warren credits David Gracy, biographer of Moses Austin, and draws equally heavily on Eugene C. Barker for information on Stephen F. Austin. The history is good; old timers who know the story will note transitions that omit much, but there is certainly enough here for juveniles. The illustrations, also by Warren, complement the text well.

Jean L. Epperson's *Historical Vignettes of Galveston Bay* (Dogwood Press, Rt.2, Box 3270, Woodville, TX 75979) is a tribute to the bay and human interaction in its vicinity. The book opens with a history of the bay; Part II is a series of "Stories From Around The Bay" about ships, adventures, and especially citizens who lived or had some experience associated with the area. Illustrations are used throughout.

The growing literature on historic sites got better with the publication of *Civil War Battlefields And Landmarks, With Official National Park Service Maps for Each Site* (Random House, New York, NY 10022, $25), edited by Frank E. Vandiver. Michael Golay and Elizabeth Miles Montgomery wrote most of the coverage of the battle sites, and contributing editor Susan Bernstein wrote one chapter. Using Pea Ridge as an example of content, there is an essay on the battle, illustrations such as modern photos and period paintings, the official park map, and sidebars on the military park and on Native Americans in the Civil War. Vandiver's introduction and coverage of twenty battle sites are presented. A Reference Section includes theater maps, essays on soldiers and generals, strategy, statistics, a chronology, and a bibliography. Good for planning a trip to any sites covered or for a sketch of each battle.
BOOK REVIEWS

The Indian Papers of Texas and the Southwest, 1825-1916, edited by Dorman H. Winfrey and James M. Day (Texas State Historical Association, 2/306 Sid Richardson Hall, University Station, Austin, TX 78712) 1995. 5 Vol. Set. Introductions. Illustrations. Maps. Indexes. Total Page 2031. $95.00. Hardcover.

The publication of the original Texas Indian Papers in four volumes in 1959-1961 met with wide acclaim. Winfrey’s and Day’s presentation of some 1100 primary documents from the Texas State Library was cherished for its excellent editing and the convenience it provided researchers. In 1966, the work was reprinted by Pemberton Press with a more expansive title and a fifth supplemental volume that included 276 letters from the Executive Department. The present version is a facsimile of the 1966 edition, now long out of print and considered rare. With this very affordable reissue, Texas State Historical Association furthers the aim of the state archivists to make the sources widely available while protecting the delicate originals.

Official reports, treaties, gift lists, letters, drafts, receipts, and occasional (and occasionally odd) illustrations are reproduced. Volumes and periods covered include: I, 1825-1843; II, 1844-1845; III, 1846-1859; IV, 1860-1916; V, 1846-1859. The letters in the fifth volume add dimension to a crucial period, but the ending date of 1916 for the collection is mainly a technicality, as there are only a few items after 1880. Volumes are indexed separately with few faults. A new introduction by historian Michael Tate reviews Indian-white relations in Texas from 1821 to 1875.

As Tate suggests, the papers can be read with profit consecutively, as a narrative. And if Texas is indeed a state of mind, nowhere are the throes of conscience more in evidence. Contradictory attitudes on the Indian question are epitomized in the writings of Sam Houston and Mirabeau Lamar and discernible throughout. Metaphor-rich oratory on paper and the mundane details (e.g., “One coffee Biler [sic] for Bowles”) are equally informative and compelling in their own way. Few areas in frontier history are blessed with such a rich resource.

Daniel J. Gelo
University of Texas at San Antonio

The Texas State Capitol, Southwestern Historical Quarterly (Texas State Historical Association, 2/306 Sid Richardson Hall, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712) 1995. Index. Black and White Photographs. P. 166. Paper Cover. $13.95. (TSHA Members $11.86)

Since its completion late in 1994 at a cost of $186 million, the Texas State Capitol restoration and underground extension project has gratified legislators, thrilled visitors, and astonished state employees as the historic-preservation event of the century. All recent hoopla associated with the project’s completion and subsequent re-occupation of the building repeated similar reaction more than a century ago when an equally impressive barter of three million acres in West Texas paid for this singular state office building, dedicated with great celebration in 1888. A composite story of the original architecture, art, furnish-
ings, and personalities of the Capitol is relayed in this handy publication from TSHA, a reprint of six essays that first appeared in its *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* issue of October 1988 and April 1992.

The late Will Robinson’s essay, “The Pride of Texas...,” sets a stage for this series with an overview of the 1882-1888 Capitol’s predecessors in Austin. He briefly explains the legislation, land swap, and other arrangements that let post-Civil War Texans to envision “a new permanent Capitol that would project a fitting image for the Lone Star State” (p.6). The resulting building’s Renaissance Revival style and symbolic interior arrangements, Will wrote, place it among world-class monuments to government, as in the U.S. Capitol at Washington, and to religion, as in St. Paul’s Cathedral in London. Bill Green explains in “A Question of Great Delicacy...” how “parsimonious state officials” (p. 44) contributed to a late nineteenth century wave of architectural competitions to identify a designer for their proposed edifice. The responding gang of artisans and master builders – in 1881 mostly Texans of recent or future transplant – is traced through their origins and later accomplishments. The only competitor with demonstrated experience on a state capitol (Michigan), non-Texan Elijah E. Myers, is investigated by the late Paul Goeldner in “The Designing Architect...”. Tracing Myers through business correspondence and client records, Paul summarizes that the Texas Capitol’s architect “was a talented, dishonest, hard-working, spiteful, clever, unbalanced, self-assured, self-destructive hypochondriac” (p. 61).

Aberdeen, Scotland, historian Majory Harper reveals in “Emigrant Strikebreakers...” one tumultuous year in the Capitol’s six-year construction schedule. In 1886-1887 the public marveled at massive granite walls rising from Austin’s capitol hill, primarily because approximately eighty professional stonemasons and their tool smiths had been transported illegally from Scotland to work alongside convict laborers in shaping the trademark Burnet County stone. Emily Fourmy Cutrer, in “The Hardy, Stalwart Son...,” brings considerable knowledge of Texan artist Elizabet Ney and her contemporaries to focus on objects of art placed inside and outside the Capitol after its completion. Lionizing statuary by Ney and others, plus exhaustive paintings by William Henry Huddle and Henry Arthur McArdle and others, are explained through their intended symbolism and the context of an era when the Capitol was new and the Texas Revolution and the Civil War remained fresh in constituents’ minds. Current Capitol Curator Bonnie Campbell, in “Furnishing the Texas State Capitol,” paints the startling picture of an empty building upon dedication in 1888, a hollow condition relieved throughout the following year and enhanced during many subsequent legislative appropriations. Bonnie’s research provided a crucial framework for re-furnishing the Capitol during its five-year restoration, as the building’s early chairs, draperies, carpets, and countless other amenities found their way back through a process of both reclaiming originals and replicating historic designs.

Unfortunately, no introduction is appended to acknowledge completion of the recent restoration/extension, to update the authors’ resumes, or to relate a few recent Capitol episodes such as discovery of the long-lost governor’s desk. And it is a shame that the editors did not commission an additional article on this building’s extensive but little-remarked structural and ornamental ironwork, most of which emerged from East Texas ore smelted and fabricated at the Rusk Penitentiary. Numerous promotional, educational, and
commercial publications on the Capitol have appeared in recent years, many with extensive offerings in old and new photos of our beloved temple of democracy. But nowhere (yet) will the student of this venerable birthright find so much information, compiled by such informed scholars, as in this TSHA reprint of its Quarterly articles.

Jim Steely
Texas Historical Commission


Richard Francaviglia clearly sets out for the reader his purpose in studying the Texas map icon in the five questions he poses on page seven. The reader is then taken on a delightful and in-depth trek through honky-tonks and department stores, graveyards and Texas communities, museums and theme parks, and a myriad of other places until it seems you can’t have a romantic evening at a snug hideaway anywhere in Texas without being under constant surveillance by the shape of the Texas icon in one form or another. He makes some strong points to justify his subtitle, if it needs justification, and in so doing the reader slowly realizes the many hours of research that has gone into the production of this 118-page book.

As an aside, I thought one peculiar aspect of the research that turned up was the limited use of the icon in the border town areas such as El Paso, Galveston, and Nacogdoches. His bibliography is very complete and runs the gamut from scientific map-making books to personal interviews with people throughout Texas and beyond. He gives deep insight into the metaphor use of the Texas icon, and includes an interesting portion of the history and physical and cultural geography of Texas as well. One interesting point he makes is the difference in the crazy quilt pattern of surveying East Texas counties versus the rectangular survey pattern of West Texas counties.

Francaviglia has written an interesting book on a subject that is not generally known except, perhaps, in a sublime sense – one of the authors’ points. His initial questions and many others are answered in depth.

This little book should be in every Texana collection, not as kitsch but as part and parcel of Texas.

W. D. “Bill” Clark
Nacogdoches, Texas


The first years of statehood brought many to Texas and joining the crowd was the Dr. William Dixson family from Indiana. Richland Crossing, written by Dixson’s great-grandson, is a book about this family from their first days in Texas to the 1890s. After nearly half a century of research and genealogical
work, many family letters were used as the basis for this book.

The Dixson family was probably a typical pioneer family who moved to Texas during the year of statehood and learned to deal with the consequences of a primitive society that included Indian problems, land disputes, secession, issues on slavery, the Civil War, and the volatile years of Reconstruction and changing times. Interwoven in each of these and bracketed off in some form, are significant historical events of national and state significance which help the reader place the family in perspective to these events. Some are simply facts of certain events and others may be from one to three pages of mini-history lessons on a topic which sets the stage for how this affected the Dixson family in Texas. Family letters reveal life within a small community in Navarro County around Pigsah Ridge.

The second half of the book deals with one family member, a cousin of gunfighter fame, John Wesley Hardin. As Hardin’s story is retold from a family perspective, the reader understands how sociological jurisprudence has affected today’s viewpoint of what history was. To portray history through today’s standards is not always an objective viewpoint. Based on the Dixson correspondence and the interpretation of the writer, it seems they, more often than not, excused each incident of Hardin’s career. However, the author does question the family version often, and in his “Dedication” he explains his concern by quoting Oliver Wendell Holmes, “Heredity is an omnibus in which all our ancestors ride, and every now and then one of them puts his head out and embarrasses us” (p.7).

This is an excellent source and usage of family letters, giving a distinct flavor to genealogy, traits, occupations, and hardships of a family from birth through death. There are many illustrations, including photos, sketches by the author, and newspaper articles. An Epilogue catches the reader up on what happened to family members discussed in the first section. The author uses many secondary sources (books, newspapers, and periodicals) and primary sources in the form of interviews. Of the eight interviews listed, six were descendants of the Dixson family. Considering the author, from his own admission, is not a writer, this is an interesting and informative book.

Linda Cross
Tyler Jr. College


Anyone interested in the history of Texas is obviously aware of the Siege of the Alamo and what it stands for. Also well worn are the names of its three famous heroes – William B. Travis, Davy Crockett, and Jim Bowie – and the hundred and eighty-odd men who died with them. One would think that the hash
Not so. The Alamo Remembered is a long needed addition to this fateful chapter in Texas history. Through land depositions filed long after the fall of the Alamo and turn-of-the-century newspaper interviews with survivors of the Siege, Timothy M. Matovina has compiled information about the Tejano part in the fall of the Alamo that I, for one, was not aware of. For example, the history books err in reporting only the 180 some defenders to die at the Alamo, totally ignoring at least a dozen or more Tejanos who also died in the mission’s defense. Also brought to light is the number of women and children who managed to survive the attack.

Of equal value is Defending Mexican Valor in Texas, which contains the 1853-1857 historical writings of Jose Antonio Navarro, who was not only a signatory of the Texas Declaration of Independence from Mexico, but took a hand in the drafting of the Texas Constitution. In these writings, Navarro did his best to bring forth the true heroism of the Tejano as Mexico fought for its freedom from Spanish rule. He also made known the role of the Tejano in the formation of Texas as a state. Were it not for Navarro’s writings, it is quite likely that the Tejano would be all but forgotten in the history of Texas.

Both of these books are small when compared to the tomes that have been written about Texas history. However, this does not diminish their importance in properly reporting the history of a state such as Texas. Scholarly historians will likely label them “revisionist” history, while today’s Tejano probably sees it as little more than “setting the record straight.” Of course, in their own ways, they are both the same thing.

These two books are both well edited and highly readable, and I highly recommend them as additions to your library.

James Collins
Aurora, Colorado


Juan Nepomuceno Cortina was the most famous of the “bandidos,” as termed by the Texans, or a famous hero of some living on both sides of the Rio Bravo, depending upon the perspective from which one views his life. That he dominated the politics on both sides of the border is unquestionable.

J. Frank Dobie called Cortina “the most striking, the most powerful, the most insolent, and the most daring as well as the most elusive Mexican bandit, not even excepting Pancho Villa, that ever wet his horses in the muddy water of the Rio Bravo.” To many on both sides of the border, Cortina was settling old wrongs and returning “Grandmother’s cattle to their rightful owners.” He was admired by a multitude, “befriended” by such men as “Rip” Ford, and made countless enemies on both sides of the Rio Grande.

The ten pronouncements of Cortina are each preceded by an introduction by Thompson which explains the historical context in which they were printed and circulated in both Mexico and Texas. The introduction to the book and the
individual introduction before each pronouncement are most valuable to one’s understanding of this period of history.

As Thompson says “He helped exterminate the last remaining band of Karankawa Indians, shot the Brownsville marshal, ambushed Texas Rangers, captured the U.S. mail, defeated the Matamoros militia, battled the U.S. Army, harassed the Confederate Army, ambushed French Imperialists, attacked Mexican liberals, and fought anyone who dared get in his way. He defied one Mexican president, revolted against a second and fell victim to the political intrigues of a third.” That paragraph alone gives a concise sketch of Cortina. He was far more than a nineteenth century Robin Hood but was also less than the evil incarnate that other writers and historians have labeled him.

There has never been a definitive biography of Juan Cortina, but Jerry Thompson is presently finishing his research. If Juan Cortina and the Texas-Mexico Frontier is a foretaste of the biography, it can only be another award winner.

Marianne Hall-Little
Yorktown, Texas


Slavery on the rice plantations of low-country South Carolina and Georgia differed notably from the Peculiar Institution elsewhere across the South. For example, rice country slaveholdings typically were much larger than those elsewhere, and climate and working conditions took a terrible toll in slave lives. Bondsmen from that region, when interviewed during the 1930s, often referred to their time in the rice swamps as “dark days.”

Fittingly perhaps, William Dusinberre’s study of the rice plantations is as distinctive as the region it examines. Believing that slavery was even more horrific than is generally admitted, he seeks to personalize both the slaves and their masters and move to a general picture of the institution by detailing particular cases. Thus the heart of his book is an examination of three planters—Charles Manigault, Pierce Butler, and Robert Allston — who left records providing an in-depth view of their plantation operations and the lives of everyone involved. The three case studies are followed by a relatively brief general summary.

Much of the book is good reading, especially because it is heavily biographical. At the same time, however, the story is relatively formless and somewhat repetitious as it deals with the same aspects of slavery on different plantations. Readers seeking a succinct account of rice plantation slavery in the low country will not find it here.

Dusinberre demonstrates a thorough grasp of the historiography of slavery and reaches sweeping conclusions within that context. For example, he rejects the heart of Eugene Genovese’s work by arguing that “The masters were profit-seeking agricultural capitalists, not paternalists; and callousness toward their slaves marked their rule” (p. 436). And he cautions against the optimism of historians who have emphasized how slaves built a culture of their own to resist the demoralization of bondage. Overall, Them Dark Days is a
good illustration of the many stimulating approaches that still may be taken to
the study of the antebellum South’s Peculiar Institution.

Randolph B. Campbell
University of North Texas

*Confederate General of the West*, by Jerry Thompson (Texas A&M University
Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1996. Foreword.

Over the past twenty-five years Jerry Thompson of Texas A&M Interna­
tional University (formerly Laredo State University) has gained deserved
recognition as one of the most knowledgeable authorities on Civil War military
operations along the Rio Grande. Through a series of works including *Colonel
John R. Baylor, Sabers on the Rio Grande, Vaqueros in Blue & Gray, and
Mexican Texans in the Union Army*, Thompson has done much to enlighten
readers about the significant but often neglected campaigns in this area.

Civil War enthusiasts will be delighted with this paperback edition of
Thompson’s biography of Henry Hopkins Sibley, first published in 1987, who
commanded Confederate forces in the New Mexico campaign of 1862.
Thompson presents an unflattering picture of Sibley, one of those Civil War
generals whose education, training, and experience should have made him
successful in the war. Sibley proved to be a major disappointment as a
Confederate commander. As Frank Vandiver points out in his introduction,
Sibley was “a model misfit in war,” and “a sad knave, a man put by fate where
he could do his worst” (p.xi). Thompson agrees, describing Sibley “as one of
the worst generals to serve the southern Confederacy” (p. xix).

Few Confederate officers had more pre-Civil War field experience than
Sibley. A graduate of West Point, he served in the Seminole Wars, the Mexican
War, Texas and New Mexico Indian campaigns, and the Mormon War. He
invented and patented a tent that was used by the army for many years.
Unfortunately, stubborness, an argumentative nature, poor health, and a
fondness of alcohol characterized his military career. As commander of the
Texas Confederates in the New Mexico campaign he made a series of errors
that resulted in disaster. Similar mistakes made later in the bayou country of
Louisiana cost him his command and ruined his reputation.

This is a carefully researched and thoughtful volume. Since half of the
book relates to Sibley’s experiences with the frontier army, the work will be of
interest to western historians as well as Civil War readers. Excellent maps and
clear photographs enhance the text.

Ralph A. Wooster
Lamar University

*The Louisiana Native Guards*, James G. Hollandsworth, Jr. (Louisiana
University Press, P.O. Box 25053, Baton Rouge, LA 70894-5053) 1995.

In the weeks following the Southern attack Fort Sumter the free blacks of
New Orleans rallied to the defense of their homes, families, and incidentally
the Confederacy, and organized the Louisiana Native Guards. James G. Hollandsworth traces the history of this military unit through the Civil War. He maintains that the experiences of the Native Guard and the black soldiers who comprised the unit, from its antecedents within the Confederate Army, through its years in the Union Army, and its political involvement in the postwar years, reflected attitudes toward African Americans during the period of Civil War and Reconstruction. While he opens his narrative against the unique pattern of race and race relations in mid-nineteenth-century New Orleans, Hollandsworth argues convincingly that ultimately the experiences of the Native Guards more closely reflected the patterns of race relations throughout mid-nineteenth-century America than those in New Orleans. As a result the Native Guards, and their later incarnations, the Corps d’Afrique and units of the United States Colored Troops, spent far more of their time and energy combating the racism of the Union army and its officers that they did fighting the enemy. Furthermore, as Hollandsworth notes, their war-time experiences brought veterans of the Native Guards into the forefront of the struggle for civil and political rights in postwar Louisiana.

Hollandsworth thoroughly and clearly describes the history of the Louisiana Native Guards. He bases his study on a careful analysis of secondary sources and a close reading of contemporary newspapers, military documents, and correspondence from Northern and Southern soldiers. The result is an informative and enlightening look at both race and life in the military from the perspective of an early black military unit.

Cary D. Wintz
Texas Southern University


Since the Civil War Centennial there have been several score of published collections of soldiers’ letters. Some were good, others were humdrum but all have contributed to the bibliography of that tragic period. Now another, uniquely different collection has been added.

Rebel Brothers contains the combined letters of two brothers from Galveston, Texas, who served in the Eastern Theater. Very caste conscious of their upper class circumstances and open in their opinions of the stations of others, they were well educated, articulate, and served the Confederacy well. Their letters are exciting reading.

Charles Trueheart, in company with other blades from the University of Virginia, became an artillerist in the famed Rockbridge Battery, a part of “Stonewall” Jackson’s Corps. His letters describe well the individual’s viewpoint of the sanguinary battles and campaigns of the Shenandoah Valley and of the James Peninsula. His previous medical studies got him assigned to hospital duty at Lynchburg, Virginia, and later, to Chimborozo Hospital in Richmond. Here, he continued his medical studies and eventually was appointed assistant surgeon in General A.P. Hill’s Corps, in time to witness the horrendous battles of the Spring of 1864 where he wrote of the human-wave
assaults of General U.S. Grant and the attendant slaughter.

One of Trueheart’s more interesting letters describes his personal encounter with “Marse” Robert himself on the Darbytown Road where a battle was in progress. Charles was busy in an advanced aid station when General Lee asked him whether two wounded Rebels whom Lee had seen on the road had been treated. This, and what followed, gives us a glimpse of the human side of the “Marble Man” whom the disciples of Professor T. Harry Williams should note.

Brother Henry’s letters conclude the last half of the book, and perhaps are more exciting reading than Charles’. He gives us another first hand account of the Battle of Galveston and other coastal events until he went east and became a part of McNeill’s Partisan Rangers. This group operated more or less independently in the Shenandoah Valley and in Northern Virginia, often behind enemy lines. Their exploits makes one wonder why McNeill has not received the same renown as Colonel John Singleton Mosby. Both were the only legally authorized Partisan units in Confederate service. Henry’s letters gives the impression that the Rangers supplied themselves well from captured federal resources. In one letter Henry promised Charles that he would bring him the next good federal horse he captured, which in time, he did.

This book is recommended for libraries, both collegiate and public, as well as for those who are interested in Texana and or the Civil War. Edward B. Williams has done a thorough and outstanding job in researching and editing of the letters and events surrounding the lives of the Trueheart brothers.

Robert W. Glover
Shiloh Ranch


Ralph Wooster has provided students of the Civil War with an excellent book which spans the period from secession to surrender. By selecting articles from journals such as the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, East Texas Historical Journal, and Military History, each chapter is an in-depth view of a specific subject. The work begins with “Riddle of Secession,” followed by the “Embarrassing Situation” of General David Twiggs, who wore a blue uniform with a gray heart. Texans rush to the colors in “Rarin’ for a Fight.” Nor are Unionists forgotten as two chapters deal with them, one covering the homefront and the other dealing with Texans serving in the Union army. Black Texans are remembered in “Slaves and Rebels” and “A Texas Cavalry Raid: Reaction to Black Soldiers.”

Subjects often overlooked are covered as well, such as “Texas and the Confederate Army’s Meat Problem.” The book also includes well-known units such as Hood’s Brigade, Dick Dowling’s artillerymen, and John S. “Rip” Ford’s Cavalrymen. There are difficult-to-find details such as the range of coastal defense cannon and the number of companies in the 2d Texas Cavalry (Union).

The book is a delight to read, and the photographs selected are outstanding. Most of the pictures are not images seen in other works, but rare photographs of common soldiers such as Private Japhet Collins of the “Batrop
County Rawhides,” armed with Colt’s Navy revolvers and a Bowie knife typical of the Texas fighting man.

*Lone Star Blue and Gray* lives up to its title and will not disappoint the most astute student of Texas and the Civil War. Wooster’s work is recommended highly for anyone wanting as complete a picture as possible in one book of the Texas experience during the Civil War.

David Stroud
Kilgore College


This is a reprint of a volume first published in 1969. It chronicles the long and exciting life of Khleber Van Zandt, who was the son of Isaac Van Zandt, a participant in the Texas Revolution. The younger Van Zandt was born in 1836, the year of Texas independence, and he died in 1930, the first year of the Great Depression.

Khleber Van Zandt graduated from Franklin College in Tennessee and was admitted to the bar in Texas in 1857. During the Civil War he led an infantry company fighting in Tennessee and Mississippi. He was captured and exchanged in 1862, then saw further action at Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge. He became ill and left the army in 1864.

In 1865 Van Zandt moved to Fort Worth where he became a merchant, railroad promoter, and rancher. He and three partners organized the Fort Worth National Bank in 1884, and he was president of that institution until his death.

Van Zandt was married three times and had fourteen children.

The late Sandra Myers did an able job of editing and annotating this little volume. The second printing is a fitting memorial to her career.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.
Midwestern State University


Glenn Carson, assistant professor of religion and campus minister at Charleston Southern University, traces Lee Rutland Scarborough’s extraordinary life, 1870-1945, quite adroitly in this second volume of a series on Texas Baptist leaders.

Scarborough, one of Texas’ and Southern Baptist’s greatest exponents, by emphasizing missions and evangelism sought to “call out the called,” by helping those whom God had called to respond to that “call.” Carson delineates Scarborough’s background, activities, and achievements: born on
July 4, 1870, in Colfax, Louisiana; cowboy in west Texas; B. A. at Baylor in 1892; Phi Beta Kappa and B. A. at Yale in 1896; pastor at Cameron, Texas Baptist Church; studied at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; again pastor at Cameron Baptist Church; pastor at First Baptist Church, Abilene, 1901-08; professor, evangelist, and longest serving president of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary (SWBTS) at Fort Worth 1915-42; director of the Southern Baptist Convention’s (SBC) $75 Million Campaign, 1919-24; New Denominationalist; the J. Frank Norris controversy; transferred ownership of SWBTS from the Baptist General Convention of Texas (BGCT) to the SBC in 1925; president of the BGCT; president of the SBC; and vice-president of the Baptist World Alliance. Scarborough died on April 10, 1945, and was buried in Fort Worth.

Scarborough excelled in all that he did. Carson’s thorough coverage, research into primary sources, ability to reveal Scarborough’s thoughts and heart, and his objective to portray him as a truly eminent man of God in many areas is certainly realized.

If you enjoy an inspirational biography along with more information about Texas and Southern Baptists, this work will interest you. This reviewer looks forward to Eakin Press’s third volume on outstanding Texas Baptists.

Ron Ellison
Beaumont, Texas


The Buffalo Hunters is a wonderful overview and introduction to a subject that has been overlooked by serious scholars, so overlooked, in fact, that Robinson’s brief study may as well be called the definitive work.

Buffalo Hunters provides a narrative, easily readable account of buffalo hunting on the Great Plains of North America from the activities of French fur traders of the 1700s through the great slaughter of the 1870s. Especially interesting is his description of the role of Buffalo Bill Cody as a buffalo hunter and guide for the visiting Grand Duke Alexis Alexandrovich, son of the Russian Emperor Alexander II, who visited the plains for a hunt in 1872.

Robinson also handles the battle of Adobe Walls in nice fashion, although he overlooks the controversies surrounding the battle, choosing rather to tell the story in a smooth-flowing narrative. This book, though largely based on published memoirs and secondary accounts, makes a nice contribution to Great Plains history by placing buffalo hunting and hunters in a context. Most of the main characters, including Buffalo Bill, Custer, J. Wright Mooar, Billy Dixon, and Quanah Parker, have a niche in the narrative. Brief photo essays follow each chapter and include rare reproductions of George Robertson’s 1874 photography. As popular reading or as a beginning point for serious study of buffalo hunting, The Buffalo Hunters will well serve the reader.

David J. Murrah
Texas Tech University

On April 30, 1942, World War II came to Galveston. That day U-507 entered the Gulf of Mexico and sank a small Allied freighter. For the next nineteen months German submarines sent fifty-six Allied ships to the bottom and produced a frenzy of military construction on the Gulf Coast. Over half a century has passed since Galveston stood on the edge of war. The memories have dimmed and many hairs have grayed, but a few symbols remain: Fort Crockett houses a marine biology center; Battery Hoskins supports a large hotel complex; and the blimp hanger at the Hitchcock Naval Air Station, once the largest wooden structure in the world, is abandoned.

Melanie Wiggins captured this exciting period in Galveston’s history in her well written and researched book Torpedoes in the Gulf Galveston and the U-Boats, 1942-1943. This forgotten facet of East Texas history comes alive with a fast-moving narrative that contains fascinating stories about mysterious German spies, daring U-Boat commanders, and intrepid Allied seamen. The author also documents the efforts to defend Galveston Bay from a German naval attack. Although many of these preparations now seem comical (anti-aircraft battery “ears” and aircraft sound detectors), they instilled a sense of security in Texans who believed that an invasion was imminent.

Torpedoes in the Gulf is an excellent addition to the Texas A&M University Press’ Military History Series. Students of maritime, military, and East Texas history will find this book a joy to read.

Don Willett
Texas A&M University at Galveston

Collective Heart, editor Joyce Gibson Roach (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1996. P. 222. B&W Photos. $15.95. Paperback.

For a reader of a certain age and personal involvement in the struggle, this anthology by civilians of World War II memories may be as instructive as the war stories told to non-combatants. No first-person accounts here of derring-do (except for an attack against a Japanese operations base in Mexico by el Alacran, alias ex-Texas Ranger Captain Rufus C. Van Zandt), only, for the most part, how young adults, youngsters, and children remember 1941-1945.

Joey Roach, as editor, sets the tone in her introduction: “All the writing testifies to the truth that once there was a time when we did something together... something right according to our own collective understanding of right; that it was necessary to participate in global war and to offer the natural resources of the state, including our sons and daughters, no matter what history might teach us later” (p. x).

Included are accounts by some of Texas’ best known authors and folklorists. “Collective Heart” is a collection of both factual and fictional narratives reflective of those critical years of the century. Jim Corder remembers growing up on Cleckler Street in Fort Worth. Emler Kelton remembers The Best Christmas. Ab Abernethy remembers an errant gun cover
on the Harkness, and Hazel Abernethy remembers how it was in Nacogdoches.

Editor Roach also has included fictional accounts by such stalwarts as James Ward Lee, Fran Vick, Judy Alter, and Robert Flynn, all as revealing of Texas' war mood as the factual narratives themselves. Has it all been that long ago?

Don't look here for doctoral sources. Content yourself with how it was in that rapidly disappearing past. This is a good one for the bedside table.

Max S. Lale
Fort Worth and Marshall

From Cowboy to Outlaw-The True Story of Will Carver, by Donna B. Ernst. (The Sutton County Historical Society, P.O. Box 885, Sonora, Texas 76950) 1996. P. 42. Softcover. $20.00.

Donna B. Ernst has done more research on Will Carver's early life and criminal career than any other; with this work, and her previously published Sundance, My Uncle (1992), she becomes the leading authority on members of the Wild Bunch. The result of her latest research is available from The Sutton County Historical Society in a small but attractive soft-cover booklet. Although the biography is slim, within its pages are virtually all the facts available about this Texas cowboy who chose the life of a long rider and who became famous as a member of Butch Cassidy's train and bank robbing gang.

One is often tempted to determine why a person chose the outlaw life rather than a more peaceful but less colorful one. Ernst does not claim to be a psychologist but does suggest that after Carver's wife died from complications during pregnancy, his grief was "...believed to have been the catalyst which sent his life into the realm of the outlaw" (p. 4). Ernst does not make this a justification but offers the suggestion that tragedies leading to recklessness and despair could be why Carver chose the criminal lifestyle. The predictable result was the gunfight in Sonora, Sutton County, when, resisting arrest, he was killed by county law officers on April 2, 1901.

Ernst is familiar with the voluminous printed material on the Wild Bunch but has uncovered new and exciting information from primary sources which earlier historians overlooked. Newspaper accounts, family Bibles and letters in possession of family descendants, and court records help make this work a model of historical research. In addition to the new information on Carver, Ernst provides new information on his family and presents a chronology of his criminal activities and a genealogy which traces the family back to Michael Carver, born in 1721. Much of this information will be new to outlaw buffs.

The book has important photographs, some not previously published, which are produced in a large format. The quality of the photographic reproduction is disappointing, but that is the only significant weakness in this production. The Sutton County Historical Society has published the book to provide us with a full biography of its most famous son. Proceeds will enable the Society to continue their efforts at historical preservation in the county.

Chuck Parsons and Marianne Hall-Little
Yorktown, Texas

Of the desperado-gunfighters of the Old West, Bill Longley’s name has always been just a bit below John Wesley Hardin and Ben Thompson. The trio started their careers in much the same way, fighting against the hardships of Reconstruction until the law caught up with them. Hardin and Thompson became heroes, of a sort; Thompson was even elected city marshal of Austin, but Longley never really captured the public’s imagination.

Longley began his criminal career during Reconstruction and boasted of killing many more men than the record shows. It was the killing of Wilson Anderson in Lee County for which he was executed at Giddings on October 11, 1878.

Although not writing his autobiography as Hardin did, or having an attorney-biographer as Ben Thompson did, Longley left enough of a paper trail for a determined researcher to follow. Official records in Texas archives and the United States military (yes, Longley did become a U.S. soldier!), a few letters Longley wrote after his imprisonment, and other sources provided the basic source materials for Rick Miller to sharpen his detective skills. It was an elusive trail indeed, but where previous writers on Longley created events to fill in gaps, Miller did not. Speculation is of little value with this character and there will always be gaps.

Bell County attorney-historian Rick Miller has gathered an unbelievable amount of information on Longley, his family, and his times. His military experiences have never before been discussed in any detail (he joined the United States Cavalry in 1870 in the Territory of Wyoming), and his “adventures” in the territory fighting Indians also are discussed in detail.

Among other important discoveries is the material on Lou Shroyer, one of the few men who gave Longley a tough test of his shooting ability. Miller discovered a photo of this brave character, one never published before. There are numerous other photographs which appear for the first time within this book.

But Bloody Bill Longley is not merely the recitation of events in the life of a desperado in the 1870s. Miller provides an in-depth analysis of why Longley did not become as famous as Hardin and Thompson. He also discusses the social upheaval of the times which produced such characters as a Longley, or a Hardin, or a Cullen Baker. He has amassed all the surviving material on Longley, whether written by himself or contemporaries, and analyzed it from the standpoint of historical accuracy. Much was determined to be created by either Longley himself or later authors.

Longley was not a noble character, but he certainly was an interesting one. For the outlaw-lawman buff this work is a must as it presents much new information about a significant western character. It is Miller’s third book: The Train Robbing Bunch and Bounty Hunter (detective Jack Duncan) preceeded Bloody Bill Longley.

Chuck Parsons
Yorktown, Texas
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