

REPRESENTATIONS OF TEXAS INDIANS IN TEXAS MYTH AND MEMORY: 1869-1936

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

My dissertation illuminates three important issues central to the field of Texas Indian history. First, it examines how Anglo Texans used the memories of a Texas frontier with “savage” Indians to reinforce a collective identity. Second, it highlights several instances that reflected attempts by Anglo Texans to solidify their place as rightful owners of the physical land as well as the history of the region. Third, this dissertation traces the change over time regarding these myths and memories in Texas.

This is an important area of research for several reasons. Texas Indian historiography often ends in the 1870s, neglecting how Texas Indians abounded in popular literature, memorials, and historical representations in the years after their physical removal. I explain how Anglo Texans used the rhetoric of race and gender to “other” indigenous people, while also claiming them as central to Texas history and memory. Throughout this dissertation, I utilize primary sources such as state almanacs, monument dedication speeches, newspaper accounts, performative acts, interviews, and congressional hearings. By investigating these primary sources, my goal is to examine how Anglo Texans used these representations in the process of dispossession, collective remembrance, and justification of conquest, 1869-1936.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Since 1962, the Texas Historical Commission has worked to designate historically significant landmarks across the state of Texas. These locations include battle site memorials, monuments, and historic buildings, among others. In 2018, according to the commission's website, the total numbered over 16,000 markers.¹ These landmarks are important in framing the historical narrative of the state. They serve as a window onto what many Texans have deemed historically significant and operate as markers of Texan cultural, social, and political identity. They are instructive for visitors, as well as Texans, in understanding public sites seen as worthy of recognition and remembrance.

Despite all these markers, the state of Texas and the history of the state remain an enigma. As you dig deeper, you uncover profound ironies and contradictions. A deep pride, oftentimes rooted in myth and collective memory rather than fact, permeates the mindset of many of the residents of this state. That pride also belies other issues including an obsession with the state and its history, which espouses a brand of exceptionalism running contrary to actual historical facts. Walter Buenger correctly notes that this process hinders a more nuanced understanding of the state's history. Buenger remarks, "Assertions of exceptionalism... offered a comforting balm that eased the alienation and fears of the present, aided in the acquisition and maintenance of power, and justified current public policy."² Often, these sites, imbued with myths, and historical reminiscences gloss over larger issues concerning violence, conquest, and

¹ <http://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/recorded-texas-historic-landmarks>, accessed, March 25, 2019.

² Walter Buenger, "Texas Identity: Alternatives to the Terrible Triplets," in *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell*, ed. Richard B. McCaslin, Donald E. Chipman, and Andrew J. Torget (Denton, Tex: University of North Texas Press, 2013), 5.

racism over time. By taking this approach, Texans have eased the burden of a southern past and the ramifications involved in a history fraught with violence, segregation, and conquest. Simply put, they downplay the role of slavery, Indian removal, and the violent lynching of black Americans and Mexican Americans during the Jim Crow era and instead celebrate the Texas Revolution as well as *winning the West*.³

At times, Texas historians resemble a closed group, with occasional blinders on to the national narrative; their projects often miss the broader context of U.S. history. In addition, Texas historians have waged debates about the cultural and social makeup of the state. Is it western or southern? Significantly, what is the importance of those descriptors in understanding the state's past, burdened with the aforementioned aspects of history?⁴ Others have commented on the practice of exclusively writing Texas history and the risk in doing so, because it only perpetuates aspects of the exceptionalism that courses throughout the collective mentality of Texans.⁵ This exceptional belief trickles down, and is part of educational institutions, as many Texans will relate to taking Texas history in middle school, as well as having the state's history as a requirement in college.

These aspects of the state have always intrigued me. I can relate to being in the position of defending Texas, bragging about Texas, and marketing Texas to the outside world. This tradition – that many Texans uphold – stems from a historical record that is rooted in constructed memories of the state. This dissertation examines several collective memories and myths of primarily Anglo Texans and uncovers several important moments that instilled and ingrained a

³ Randolph B. Campbell, "History and Collective Memory in Texas: The Entangled Stories of the Lone Star State," in *Lone Star Pasts: History and Memory in Texas*, ed. Greg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 278.

⁴ See Ty Cashion, "What's the Matter with Texas? The Great Enigma of the Lone Star State in the American West," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 55, no. 4 (Winter 2005) and Randolph B. Campbell, "History and Memory in Texas: The Entangled Stories of the Lone Star State," in *Lone Star Pasts* and *An Empire for Slavery*.

⁵ Buenger, "Texas Identity," 3.

pride in Texas in the public mindset, a process that took place through the construction of memorials, monuments, museums, as well as the celebration of the state itself in the form of a centennial commemoration.

This dissertation examines the state of Texas from 1869-1936, during which time momentous changes such as Reconstruction, westward expansion, and the Great Depression affected Native Americans, Anglo settlers, and the state itself. Through the analytical lens of race and gender, I examine several significant events that shaped the ways in which Anglo Texans collectively remembered the conquest of Texas across the state, primarily the Texas Panhandle.

In this study, I present five case studies that demonstrate how race and gender functioned in collective memories of Texas during this period. *First*, I contend that the use of almanacs to attract immigrants to the state fomented the practice of writing about Texas and its inhabitants. These almanacs are full of racial and gendered prose that illuminates how Anglo Texans represented Native Americans and the state. *Second*, historical recollections and oral histories provided by Anglo pioneers from the 1900s shed light on how residents chose to remember specific aspects of Texas history and the ways in which race and gender appeared in their responses. Of this phenomenon, I argue *third*, that Charles Goodnight's 1916 bison hunt represents a performance that involved a collective, community event to memorialize an earlier era. This event speaks volumes to the ways in which Anglo Texans chose to remember the *Wild West*, and the place of Native peoples within it. Specifically, I assert, *fourth*, the memorialization of Adobe Walls and the construction of the Plains Panhandle Historical Museum in 1933 provide an insight into the use of public space, as well as collectively remembering the dispossession of Native land in ways that suited the purposes of Anglo Texans. I contend *fifth*, and finally, that

the Texas Centennial Celebration in 1936 serves as a window onto collective mentalities of Anglo Texans as they sought to brand and represent the state to the outside world. I argue that representing and branding Texas was an exercise in ushering in the belief in Texan exceptionalism that continues into the present. The celebration also signified a renewed interest in Texas history that is likewise ongoing.

This study is significant for several reasons. First, it connects several theoretical approaches and methodologies used in the historical profession. This entails investigating and analyzing history through the lenses of race, gender, to understand how these concepts manifested in collective memory. This approach offers historians an opportunity to gain a fuller understanding of how commemorated and memorialized events shaped Texas history. Too often, studies rely on the examination of race, racism, and racial discourse without consideration of the gendered dynamics during a particular moment in time. My intersectional approach involves examining how Anglo Texans remembered, memorialized, and celebrated past events through the lens of race and gender. For example, remembering the settlement of a county and an individual's role as the first white woman or white man to organize the county suggests that there is much at stake in these historical reminiscences including the shaping of a narrative and the power dynamic that it contributed to throughout the state's history.

Second, this dissertation is significant because it connects Texas to the broader history of the United States including westward expansion, race relations, public memory, and centennial celebrations. As Buenger posits, commemorating historical events like the battle of the Alamo allowed Texans to identify as “enthusiastically American.”⁶ While he is correct, this dissertation follows the process of the transition from a collective southern identity, to eventually American and western identities. This process involved seminal events that mirrored larger forces taking

⁶ Buenger, “Texas Identity,” 7.

place across the United States such as Indian removal, immigration, westward expansion, and worlds' fairs. In addition, this dissertation demonstrates that Texas is not unique, but uniquely understudied as an element of the larger story of the United States and contributes an important analysis of the operation of race and gender in collective memory as they concern westward expansion and Native Americans.

Third, and lastly, this study is important because many of these themes continue into the present. Assertions of Texan exceptionalism are alive and well, as is the practice of selective memory when it comes to certain portions of the state's history. Civic leaders highlight it in their speeches and school systems utilize it in their classrooms. Politicians have threatened secession, advertisements have urged others to come to Texas because of its unique charms and benefits, and schoolchildren continue to learn about the martyrs of the Alamo. These narratives contribute to a sanitized version of the past that chooses to downplay and ignore a history premised on a violent reality. For example, an ongoing debate over a state historical marker in Porvenir, Texas illuminates the contentious power struggle over a violent massacre that took place against Mexican Americans by a vigilante force in 1918.⁷ The debate persists as local residents continue to fight to undermine the language used in the marker that recognizes and commemorates the violent act.

My dissertation connects these themes of historical memory and Texan exceptionalism by investigating the relationship between race and gender in shared memories specifically across the Texas Panhandle from 1869-1936. The Texas Panhandle remains a particularly understudied region of the state. This study aims to reintegrate the Panhandle into Texas history by uncovering how race and gender operated in shaping the memory of Native Americans, Anglo

⁷ Daniel Blue Tyx, "Who Writes the History? The Fight to Commemorate a Massacre by the Texas Rangers," *The Texas Observer*, <https://www.texasobserver.org/who-writes-history-the-fight-to-commemorate-a-massacre-by-the-texas-rangers/>, accessed March 25, 2019.

pioneers, and the frontier, as well as the construction and dedication of public monuments.

These monuments were created to be and to continue to serve as permanent reminders for the Anglo Texan population to celebrate conquest and the *winning of the West*. They are shrines to the completion of westward expansion, and of bringing *civilization* to the Panhandle of Texas.

When Americans recall their exact location during a seminal event, they are practicing a facet of collective memory. This exercise evokes a communal mentality, although during the event itself, they may not have shared the immediate experience together. Often times these collective memories are generation-defining moments that shape years, decades, and society itself. Notable collective memorializations that come to mind include those involving Pearl Harbor, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and the destruction of the World Trade Center. Historians have referred to this cultural practice as events that create a “coordinator of identity.”⁸

Understanding such practices is crucially important to this dissertation as it draws from collective and public memories. When communities – or the entire nation – engage in collectively remembering the past, their constructed memory is often fraught with inconsistencies, inaccuracies, and biases that serve a larger purpose. In *Places of Public Memory*, the editors posit, “Public memory embraces events, people, objects, and places that it deems worthy of preservation based on some kind of emotional attachment.”⁹ For example, “remembering” the Alamo is a source of pride for many Anglo Texans and yet, many important details are blurred. These include the strategic blunder of defending the position, the overarching

⁸ Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, “Introduction” in *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas*, ed. Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hays Turner (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 2.

⁹ Gregg Dickinson, et al, “Introduction,” in *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, ed. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 7.

goal of the Texas Revolution, the southern-slaveholder mentality that drove much of the push for independence, and the minimization of Tejano/a involvement in the conflict.

Collective and public memories can take the form of dedications to monuments involving speeches, public celebrations, and performances such as Wild West shows. According to Light Townsend Cummins, “memory is a primary component of group identity, something that speaks to the very essence of why and how one defines being Texan, especially the Anglo-American aspects of myth, mystique, and memory.”¹⁰ Such memories can assuage societal guilt, reinforce particular narratives, and uphold existing institutions. This is important in considering the ways in which Anglo pioneers collectively remembered events throughout the Panhandle. These individuals also reenacted, celebrated, and commemorated events that drove home a belief that the process of taking Native land and space was a necessary part of civilizing and transforming the West, which served as a justification for past actions and events such as Indian removal.

In this project, race is a key feature for understanding Anglo Texan actions during westward expansion into the Panhandle as well as their collective remembrances years later. Although the concept of race and the definition of race changes over time, it is important to define it. I follow Kathleen M. Brown’s definition of race: “the social meanings attached to physical appearance.”¹¹ Such “social meanings” are important because they manifested as Anglo Texans justified Indian removal and settlement of Native land because of alleged Indian racial inferiority. Europeans and then Anglo Americans utilized this justification and repeated this policy across the North American continent. In constructing public monuments and memorials,

¹⁰ Light Townsend Cummins, “History, Memory, and Rebranding Texas for the 1936 Centennial,” in *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell*, ed. Richard B. McCaslin, Donald E. Chipman, and Andrew J. Torget (Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 2013), 5.

¹¹ Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 4.

Anglo Texans solidified their belief in the justness of conquest at the expense of Native people, who they viewed as racially inferior and undeserving of the land.

Indeed, according to Reginald Horsman, most Anglo Americans held a belief in their own racial superiority by the 1850s. He argues, “[A] new racial ideology could be used to force new immigrants to conform...and it could also be used to justify the sufferings of blacks, Indians, or Mexicans.”¹² This is significant because the belief influenced how local writers discussed Native Americans in Texas. Studying how race functioned in Texas contributes to a layered understanding of how representations of Native people and the frontier operated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is also important to see how Anglo Texans navigated changing views on race as they wrote booster literature for Europeans during peak immigration in the late 1800s. In writing about favorable immigrants from what they considered white, European nations, Anglo Texans contributed to the construction of a racial hierarchy across the state that continued the subjugation and oppression of Native people, African Americans, and Mexican Americans.

Another important tool I utilize in this dissertation is gender analysis. Historians have employed gender analysis in several ways and I am particularly interested in how individuals utilized gender ideologies – both masculinity and femininity - in their rhetorical practices. My approach follows the definition provided by Joan W. Scott in *Gender and the Politics of History*. According to Scott, “Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power.”¹³ For instance, when white Texan women asserted that they were the first to inhabit and *civilize* a county in the Panhandle, they were asserting a gendered perspective on colonization

¹² Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 5.

¹³ Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 42.

and settlement. Similarly, when white Texan men recounted aspects of conquering the frontier and making it safe for white womanhood, they were espousing aspects of settler masculinity.

There are also intersectional overlaps in utilizing the analytical tools of race and gender throughout this dissertation. This sociological theory of intersectionality originated in Kimberle Crenshaw's work, which sought to, "Address the marginalization of Black women within not only antidiscrimination law but also in feminist and antiracist theory."¹⁴ The use of this analytical tool of intersectionality has evolved since its inception, and I employ it as a means of understanding how Anglo men and women used their racial and gendered standing to assert power in their recollections of the colonization of the Texas Panhandle.

Several other terms used in this dissertation are also worth defining. I use the terms Native American and Native people interchangeably to refer to indigenous populations across Texas and the United States. I use specific tribal designations as well and recognize that these are often also products of European and Euroamerican colonialism. I also use the term Indian when discussing events and figures in a historical context.

I use Anglo and white Texans interchangeably as well. These two, historically contingent terms are an important framework for considerations of race in this dissertation and it is important to note that racial classifications are geographically, socially, and culturally contingent. Such racial contingency means that several ethnic identities such as Scottish and Irish were viewed differently in the West. For example, Americans in Arizona viewed orphaned Irish Catholic children from the eastern United States as white because of the different racial demographics in the West, even though they were regarded as "less white" in New York City.¹⁵

¹⁴ Devon W. Carbado, Kimberle Crenshaw, Vickie M. Mays, and Barbara Tomlinson, "Intersectionality: Mapping the Movements of a Theory," *Du Bois Review* Volume 10, no. 2 (2013), 303.

¹⁵ Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) 118-119.

While Mathew Frye Jacobson marks the 1920s as the beginning of “monolithic whiteness,”¹⁶ I argue that Texas, and the western United States was different in this regard. This dissertation is not a whiteness study, but it is important to recognize the ways in which Anglo Texans deployed ideas of whiteness, particularly when framing available land and existing populations in the *Texas Almanac Series*. Historians such as Barbara J. Fields, Neil Foley, David R. Roediger, and Peter Kolchin have debated the merits and usefulness of such analysis. Fields, for instance, argues that whiteness studies run the risk of providing ethnic nuance to whites while flattening ethnic blacks.¹⁷ Neil Foley posits that poor whites faced racial discrimination in Texas from other whites. However, it is important to note that there is a class-based element to this marginalization.¹⁸ Notably, ethnic identities remained relevant in Texas, but when it concerned attracting “white” European immigrants, the frontier, and westward expansion, whiteness was more encompassing than in other regions in the United States.

I use pioneer and settler to describe immigrants and emigrants who came to Texas and remained over time. The term “settler” is problematic because it suggests that the person in question brought settlement, order, peace, religion, and civilization to a region that was otherwise lacking in those characteristics. However, it is an important term in helping to frame how Anglo Texans thought about their role in transforming the Texas Panhandle. For the purpose of this dissertation, the pioneer symbol is instrumental because Americans lauded and celebrated the notion of a pioneer across the continent, including in Texas. Although I use settler colonialism sparingly, this term is appropriate for the actions taken in the state. It differs from

¹⁶ Mathew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 93.

¹⁷ Barbara J. Fields, “Whiteness, Racism, and Identity,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 60 (Fall 2001): 48-56.

¹⁸ Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

conventional colonialism in that, instead of an extraction of resources with a minimal colonial presence, it involves the widespread populating of a region. According to Margaret D. Jacobs, “Settler colonialism has had staying power... [and] remains an ongoing process.”¹⁹ These settler colonists displaced the existing indigenous population through violence or other nefarious methods. Lastly, instead of eventually vacating a “colony,” they transformed the previously Native space, erected monuments, and wrote histories with the implication they were the rightful and original owners of the land.²⁰

My study primarily focuses on the ways in which Anglo Texans configured racial representations of Native Americans, as well as their constructed narratives in the forms of memorials and monuments to create a version of history that cast them as rightful owners of the state. At times, I reference Anglo Texan representations of Mexican Americans and Black Texans in my dissertation. However, my study seeks to illuminate and focus solely on Anglo Texan actions because of the implication of casting a critical eye on settler colonialism in action in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Future studies must endeavor to determine how Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Black Texans responded to and resisted these ongoing colonizing efforts. The following pages address how Native people were affected by Anglo Texan memorialization efforts and the role collective remembrances played in developing a lasting narrative of the state’s history.

Furthermore, I quote extensively from primary sources that are oftentimes steeped in racial, racist, and misogynistic language. When using these examples to strengthen my argument, I utilize *italics* to place my emphasis on the significance of the discourse, rather than “scare

¹⁹ Margaret D. Jacobs, “Reproducing White Settlers and Eliminating Natives: Settler Colonialism, Gender and Family History in the American West,” *Journal of the West*, 56, no. 4 (Fall 2017): 14.

²⁰ Jean O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

quotes.” This tactic offers greater readability, accessibility, and avoids creating cumbersome passages that confuse the reader. Frequently these terms include, but are not limited to, *savagery*, *progress*, *taming*, *civilization*, and *winning the West*.

In *Beyond Texas Through Time*, Pekka Hämäläinen’s historiographical essay on Texas Indians alludes to future directions of scholarship and poses the question, “How are Texas Indians remembered outside academia – in museums, monuments, and schools?”²¹ In previous decades, historians made significant inroads with their methodologies, approaches, topics, and theoretical frameworks concerning the research and writing of Native American history. Following the advent of new social history from the 1960s and 1970s, historians made important shifts in their coverage, influenced by the Civil Rights era, and transformed the world of Native American historiography. Yet, regarding Texas, some questions remained largely unanswered. This literature review traces the development of Native American historiography in relation to studies in memory, public history, and Texas history.

In the early twentieth century, Progressive Era historians, influenced by Frederick Jackson Turner’s “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” wrote histories of Native Americans as a means of understanding the development of the United States. Significantly, Turner and his adherents suggested that the repeated process of confrontations with the wilderness, the frontier, and Native people helped create a unique American identity.²² This approach is significant because it framed the westward expansion of the United States as a process, replete with evangelical zeal, and a civilizing mentality based on the beliefs of Manifest

²¹ Pekka Hämäläinen, “The Emergence of a New Texas Indian History,” in *Beyond Texas Through Time: Breaking Away from Past Interpretations*, ed. Walter L. Buenger and Arnaldo de Leon (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 79.

²² Francis G. Couvares, “Introduction to U.S. Historiography,” in *Interpretations of American History: Volume 1 Through Reconstruction*, ed. Francis G. Couvares, Martha Saxton, Gerald N. Grob, George Athan Billias (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2009), 7.

Destiny. In the context of the 1890s, it also spurred discussions about American expansion overseas, including the claiming and exploitation of foreign territories as an empire.

Understanding this early historiographical trend is also important in this dissertation because Turner's thesis and the subsequent work of progressive historians influenced many of the primary sources I investigate, including the speeches about and newspaper accounts of historic events.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s and bolstered by the various Civil Rights movements, historians altered their patterns of scholarship. This newer generation utilized a "bottom-up" approach by focusing on marginalized groups. Out of this new social history emerged important subfields in Native American historiography. Resoundingly rejecting Turner's frontier model, these historians engaged new primary sources including anthropological studies, archaeology, and most importantly, indigenous sources. This school included Robert Berkhofer's *White Man's Indian* and Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, among others.²³

Influenced by these new directions in scholarship, historians of the 1980s-1990s made significant contributions to American Indian history. These included New Western historians who continued the process of using new methodology, theoretical frameworks, and approaches in their scholarship. Broadly speaking, these methodologies took three overarching approaches, which involved reading back into colonial records, multidisciplinary use of a variety of sources, and drawing heavily from indigenous sources. Of course, many authors utilized several or all of these approaches in their scholarship. This is significant, because these approaches demonstrate

²³ Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Random House, 1978), Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt and Rinehart, 1970).

ways of viewing history without a written record.²⁴ Examples include Richard White's *The Middle Ground*, Theda Perdue's *Cherokee Women*, Patricia Nelson Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest*, and James Brooks's *Captives and Cousins* among others.²⁵

For example, Richard White interpreted French colonial records in ways that emphasized misunderstandings, adaptation, and accommodation by both French and Indians in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815. White's *The Middle Ground* utilized ethnographic sources to read into how Algonquian people interpreted French actions.²⁶ Using Jesuit records and ethnographic sources that detailed cultural practices of groups such as the Miami, White reached new conclusions about practices of sexual relations and exchange. Had the author only engaged Jesuit sources, White might have concluded that Algonquian women sold themselves into prostitution in order to obtain French goods for their village. Instead, White's reading suggests that these Algonquian women acted as "a bridge to the middle ground" enabling a facilitation of trade and exchange for their people.²⁷ This deeper probing sheds light on an understanding of Native history that highlights indigenous peoples' central involvement, decision making, and shifting power dynamics.

Significantly, historian James Brooks used contemporary customs of Native people in New Mexico to explain the lasting relationship between Mexicans and Indians, forged over

²⁴ Eric Wolf, *Europe and The People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) and Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1995).

²⁵ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change 1700-1835* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), Patricia N. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: the Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

²⁶ White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*; Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: 3 Volumes* (Academic Press, 1974, 1984, 1989). Wallerstein's theory examines how nation-states utilized resources thereby creating a core-periphery model in which the core extracts material from the periphery.

²⁷ White, *The Middle Ground*, 65.

several centuries of interaction, violence, and exchange. For example, Brooks described the sacred ritual of “Los Comanches,” performed by descendants for generations.²⁸ Thinking broadly about cultural practices and the ways in which they are rooted in history allowed Brooks to create a widened source base that deeply analyzed reciprocity and exchange throughout the Texas borderlands.

These recent monographs reflect the change in scholarship in the field of Native American history. As authors read back into European and American sources to attempt to gain a Native perspective, they drew from a wider source base, and they utilized indigenous accounts in their works. These efforts are important in framing the methodology used in this dissertation that turns a critical eye on the colonizers and understanding their actions and justifications.²⁹ While this is only a cursory overview of the changing patterns of scholarship, the remaining literature review concentrates on sources and fields directly related to this study including collective memory, public history, and Texas history. In several instances in this dissertation, I utilize an approach that reflects a rereading of primary sources such as state almanacs, speeches, and Native voices concerning Wild West shows and participation in the Texas Centennial celebration. Utilizing these primary sources in new ways sheds light on the broader themes I connect throughout this study including the language of conquest and colonization, racial and gendered discourse, and the memorialization of public sites in order to project an Anglo Texan control over historical memory.

Historians, stretching across disparate fields, have continued to investigate how memory affects historical scholarship, public attitudes, and the process of memorializing the past.

²⁸ James Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 3.

²⁹ Kim TallBear, *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 12.

Included in this field is the analysis of public monuments and sites of history as places where historical narratives are developed, perpetuated, and used for different purposes. These are often contested sites seeking to promote a certain viewpoint or narrative. Often times, this narrative falls in line with the larger context of the United States and can eschew facts leading to contentious debates in the present.

For example, John Bodnar's *Remaking America* explains how public monuments shape the national conversation about the past. Bodnar argues, "The shaping of a past worthy of a public commemoration in the present is contested and involves a struggle for supremacy between advocates of various political ideas and sentiments."³⁰ The author elaborates on the use of national symbols and explains how these monuments convey patriotic messages that resonate with a collective memory of many U.S. citizens.

According to Bodnar, the pioneer stands out as one particular symbol that many Americans believe was at the root of westward expansion. He suggests that "pioneers stood for ordinary people... [involved] in starting families and local communities."³¹ In other words, monuments celebrate these individuals for "civilizing" an area that was previously presumed to be devoid of civilization and furthering progress through farming and agriculture – symbols of western, Anglo development. This is certainly applicable in Texas where institutions such as the Plains-Panhandle Historical Museum represent a site that serves to honor the inhabitants of the region on their efforts to transform the Panhandle, making it suitable for "civilization."

In his seminal work, *Race and Reunion*, historian David Blight explains how the issue of race and collective memory connected both Federal and Confederate Civil War veterans, years later. For instance, Blight argues that Northerners and Southerners largely reunited after the

³⁰ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13.

³¹ Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 33.

Civil War, yet downplayed the issues of slavery and race, instead focusing on reconciliation. For example, Blight highlights the practice of former Confederate generals giving speeches to Northern audiences, noting that “Twelve years after Appomattox, a former Confederate general and voice of the Lost Cause explained to his Yankee audience, many of whom were Union veterans, that the South’s vindication was the nation’s triumph.”³² This process of collectively remembering – and forgetting – is an important topic of analysis in this dissertation. The phenomenon extends beyond Civil War memorials and includes monuments and museums that honor pioneers, battles with Indians, and westward expansion in the Texas Panhandle.

One reason that these sites conjure such angst and debate is the fact that many of these locations connect some people with a sense of pride and others with a reminder of oppression, violence, and hatred. These reminders show such publicly contested sites with many seeking to celebrate heritage while others demand removal. David Lowenthal explores this phenomenon and explains several ways that heritage can “warp” history.³³ For example, Lowenthal elaborates on the exclusionary practices of memorials. He argues, “Heritage restricts messages to an elect group whose private property it is...passes on exclusive myths of origin and endurance, endowing us alone with prestige and purpose.”³⁴ Utilizing this exclusivity, patrons of these sites reinforce a narrative that downplays certain messier aspects of their history including facets of slavery, ethnic cleansing, and revolution. Yet, these sites remain polarizing and prompt calls for removal or defense of the monument.

The Civil War memorials and current debate over monument removal are relevant to this dissertation, and the concept of memorialization that Lowenthal and Blight explore remains significant. Historians of Native American studies have begun to analyze memory, race, and

³² David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Harvard: Harvard Press, 2001), 91.

³³ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” *Journal of History and Memory* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 5-24.

³⁴ Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” 8.

public history as well. For example, historian Erika Doss delves into the obsession that the United States has with memorials and historical sites. Doss examines the role of Native people in the collective memory of the nation as well as contested sites across the West. Doss defines this obsession as “memorial mania” and describes it as, “an obsession with issues of memory and history and an urgent desire to express and claim those issues in visibly public contexts.”³⁵ Importantly, Doss illuminates the significance of memorials and the ways in which groups of people use the sites to perpetuate existing myths, tropes, narratives, and contests over the past. This dissertation demonstrates that Texas is rife with these sites and that many Texans remain firmly committed to memorializing rugged pioneers and “savage” Indians.

Using the memorial at Little Bighorn and the newly completed monument to Crazy Horse as case studies, Doss argues that even though the U.S. military lost the Battle of Little Bighorn, they “won ownership of the land where it was fought, along with its historical interpretation and cultural management.”³⁶ In recent years, the site has expanded its focus and has attempted to incorporate a deeper and broader understanding of the context and events that transpired. For instance, the site managers included a large iron framework of Native Americans riding horses and revised the official message to promote patriotism and unity following the Indian Wars on the Great Plains. However, Doss points out that the marker still carries racial assumptions and supports the view that such places are “sites where violent Euro American martyrs fought to the finish against uncivilized and displaced Mexicans and Indians.”³⁷

However, Doss missed an opportunity to expand on the suggestive meanings behind this new display at the memorial site. How did this new display change the existing narrative? The message risks downplaying the ethnic cleansing that took place across the Plains by emphasizing

³⁵ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 2.

³⁶ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 330.

³⁷ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 337.

a “clash of cultures” that eventually developed into a nation of unified people with patriotic sentiment. Instead, the issue of race and land dispossession at the site could educate future visitors about violent history across the continent. Secondly, the use of a monument that depicts Crazy Horse appears to stem from a national attempt by memorial builders across the United States to reconcile the past by incorporating this Lakota man as one of their own. By claiming Crazy Horse’s narrative, these builders and subsequent visitors interpret the memorial much differently than the historical record suggests. This dissertation seeks to expand such arguments and illuminate the ways in which collective memories of the frontier across Texas and Native Americans intertwined in a multitude of contradictory ways throughout the Panhandle.

In other respects, historians have recently investigated the practice of claiming *nativeness* through collective memory. This component of research draws on settler colonial studies that examine the ways in which colonialism played a role in land dispossession. As noted above, settler-colonialism relates to how Native people in North America continue to live under colonial control, because unlike many African nation-states, the Americans did not leave the continent, but instead *settled*.

One historian, Jean O’Brien, examines this practice in the context of settlers making claims to indigeneity in colonial New England. Her book, *Firsting and Lasting*, explores the ways in which colonial New Englanders staked out claims to indigeneity through the writing of local history, public monuments, and collective memory. In doing so, New Englanders dispossessed Native people not only of their land, but also their history throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³⁸ In addition to local histories, O’Brien draws on pamphlets, poems, commemorations, celebrations such as Independence Day, and monument dedication speeches.

³⁸ Jean O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 2-4.

I argue that this methodology offers an important examination of how Euroamerican colonists favorably memorialized settler-colonialism as well as how it operated. The adage of winners writing the history is applicable in this example. By forming a creation myth and establishing their own brand of indigeneity and belonging, colonists were able to wash away the sins of removal and eradication. The strategy is relevant, because after the Civil War, Anglo Texans followed this same format as the United States resumed its policy of westward expansion. This dissertation demonstrates that Anglo Texans consciously constructed public monuments and dedicated historical sites in an effort to memorialize a past that honored the exploits of Anglo pioneers, which continues in varying degrees in the present.

Similarly, James Joseph Buss's *Winning the West with Words* examines how white Americans celebrated the establishment of local towns and cities through the process of collective memory. Buss examines the various ways that local communities heralded the *progress* of Manifest Destiny across the lower Great Lakes region of the American continent.³⁹ For example, Buss explores the roles of race and gender in the process of conquest, and notes that the formation of collective memory "echoed the language of conquest."⁴⁰ In addition, Buss contrasts the ways in which local communities remembered pioneers while forgetting Indians. The same process occurred throughout Texas in newspapers, almanacs, and through the construction and dedication of public monuments. The Panhandle of Texas and the state as a whole is ubiquitous with memorials and historical markers that likewise echo the language of conquest and dispossession. These echoes contribute to the larger narrative and memorialization

³⁹ James Joseph Buss, *Winning the West with Words: Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011).

⁴⁰ Buss, *Winning the West with Words*, 171. This process is very similar to the analysis provided by Jean O'Brien. Other historians have evaluated the role of memory with specific events and specific groups. These include Ari Kelman's study of the Sand Creek Massacre in *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013). and Boyd Cothran's *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

of Texas as a conquered frontier and of *winning the West* that many hold as a crucial aspect of being *Texan*.

The role of collective memory and historic memorials might be even more prominent and contentious in Texas. With historic landmarks such as the Alamo, many individuals have fought for and against the ways in which Texans have represented their past. Several historians have made inroads in this field, including the formative collection of essays entitled, *Lone Star Pasts: History and Memory in Texas*. Editors Greg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hays Turner compiled the collection of essays regarding how memory, myth, and history operate in Texas.⁴¹ Significantly, these editors argue that collective memory in societies “serves as a coordinator of identity.”⁴² This identity often perpetuates a myth of Texas centered on white/Anglo colonization, the *taming* of the frontier, and the victory over Mexico during the Texas Revolution in 1836. This myth shapes perceptions and reinforces preconceived notions for students, educators, legislators, and tourists about the state’s past.

This myth of Texas, largely created by a collective memory and mentality of Anglo Texans, was present in the state much earlier than the 1920s. For instance, in the months leading up to secession in 1861, pro-secessionist Texans turned to the memories of the Texan Revolution to cultivate support for their current social and political needs. According to Andrew F. Lang, “These tactics employed by Texans – romanticizing the state’s past, memorializing various symbols...were crucial components of a functioning identity.”⁴³ This notion of a “functioning identity,” predicated on a memorialized past, is extremely important because it demonstrates that

⁴¹ Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, “Introduction” in *Lone Star Pasts: History and Memory in Texas*, ed. Greg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner (College Station, Tex: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 2.

⁴² *Lone Star Pasts: History and Memory in Texas*, ed. Greg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner (College Station, Tex: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 2.

⁴³ Andrew F. Lang, “Memory, the Texas Revolution, and Secession: The Birth of Confederate Nationalism in the Lone Star State,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Volume CXIV no. 1 (July 2010): 28-29.

as early as 1860, Anglo Texans began the process of memorialization to serve current needs such as building support for secession from the United States. After the conflict, and the *conquering* of the West, it would be an easy and similar transition to begin to memorialize pioneers and historic sites across the Texas Panhandle from 1890-1936.

One particular contribution about Texan collective memory by Randolph Campbell strengthens the foundations of this dissertation. In Campbell's essay, the author argues that a "memory surge" occurred in Texas. Campbell states, "This memory emphasizes all things western and allows Anglo Texans to escape from their essentially southern heritage."⁴⁴ This included celebrating the *winning* of the West as well as downplaying the southern heritage of Texas. By emphasizing aspects of western history such as the frontier, cattle drives, and battles with Indians, Anglo Texans lauded this celebratory history and used these memories to craft a western identity. In doing so, they could escape the guilt of slavery and the Civil War. Campbell suggests, "Thus, when modern Texans in cities...hearken back to the days of movie westerns that portrayed their state as a land of cowboys, rustlers, and gunfighters, they are drawing on a collective memory that...is not the essence of Texas. The cold history of being southern is not as pleasing as the warm memory of being western."⁴⁵ However, Campbell does not expand on the darker elements of that "warm" memory of the West. This dissertation contends that these constructed memories helped mask the violence of conquest and Native American removal throughout the state.

The "warm memory" of being western drives a large portion of this dissertation as well. In the following chapters, I demonstrate that Anglo Texans used the production of historical

⁴⁴ Randolph B. Campbell, "History and Collective Memory in Texas: The Entangled Stories of the Lone Star State," in *Lone Star Pasts: History and Memory in Texas*, ed. Greg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, (College Station, Tex: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 278.

⁴⁵ Campbell, "History and Collective Memory in Texas," 279.

narratives, collective memory, and myth throughout the state to perpetuate a representation of Texas that followed the major narrative of peaceful Anglo settlers who moved to an empty wilderness to prosper. However, local Indians threatened the existence of these pioneers and were subsequently expelled from the region. In the following years, Anglo Texans created a myth that placed themselves at the center of the state, and characterized the violence as having been instigated by Native people.

Through the naming of various entities, pioneer celebrations, battle commemorations, and the dedication of monuments, Anglo Texans sought to claim what they believed was a rightful heritage and ownership of the land. In an important article, Joel Martin examines the role of racial representations and the memory of Native Americans throughout southern United States history. Martin's essay traces the significance of Native Americans in white southern culture and history. The author argues that these racial representations change, but the political significance remains the same. White southerners used Indian imagery in a variety of ways to claim ownership of the land, to rest at ease with the violence of removal, and to rationalize racist policies under Jim Crow.⁴⁶ For instance, during the antebellum era, "Whites came to believe that no actual Indians remained in the South but used Indian names with abandon to designate landscape features and invoke the memory of their martial spirit with respect."⁴⁷ This same policy of naming and memorializing sites occurred across Texas. By naming public lands, roads, cemeteries, counties, rivers, and schools, white colonizers sought to use these names as a reminder of the past and the people that they conquered. Importantly, Martin argues:

⁴⁶ Joel W. Martin, "My Grandmother was a Cherokee Princess: Representations of Indians in Southern History," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 129-147.

⁴⁷ Martin, "My Grandmother was a Cherokee Princess," 134.

“Indian names enabled southerners to claim an archaic connection between themselves and the land...An Indian name made it seem as if the new town had been there forever, as if it was all right for whites to be living there... In a deep sense, southern whites were claiming Indian ancestors, even as they repudiated contemporary Indians and denied them their birthright. The actual living Indian had been exiled; the fictive dead Indian was romanticized.”⁴⁸

By keeping Native American representations available and present, it allowed Anglo Texans to create and perpetuate a myth that continues to resonate with people across the state into the present. In the present, this myth materializes in forms of negative representation of Native Americans as mascots of high schools and universities, popular culture references, and the appropriation of Native identity through phenomenon of “playing Indian.”⁴⁹

Historians in the growing field of public history have also examined the ways in which public sites, museums, societies, and educational efforts coincide to manufacture a particular narrative of the historical record. Regarding museums, for example, author Kim Lawson examines how museums and academic institutions operate as sites of ongoing colonization for Native Americans.⁵⁰ Specifically, Lawson argues that museums provide a only a snapshot of Native dress, tools, or other objects with only a small bit of context, meaning that the viewers are responsible for framing and understanding the display through their own cultural biases. Lawson also focuses on the use of Native texts in the classroom and identifies two potential pitfalls in using these sources. The first risk is that students will interpret Indian sources as, “they’re just like us, almost part of the American identity” and the second risk, is perpetuating them as an

⁴⁸ Martin, “My Grandmother was a Cherokee Princess,” 138.

⁴⁹ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: CT.: Yale University Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ Kim Lawson, “Politics of Display: The Museum, the Academy, and the Framing of American Indian,” *Journal of Utah Science*, (2011).

other and seeing them through a prism of continued colonization that perpetuates an exoticism with Native people firmly entrenched in the past.

Across the state of Texas, there are numerous county, city, and even state museums communicating various aspects of the state's past. The question of these museums in Texas remains a pressing topic as well. For instance, the Bob Bullock State History Museum in Austin had previously come under scrutiny for its bland narrative that downplayed the role that people of color played in its state history. Although the museum has undergone revision, Walter Buenger writes in "The Story of Texas? The Texas State Historical Museum and Memories of the Past," that a glaring omission concerns the violent conflicts that characterized the Texas past. Cursory examinations of slavery, racial animosity, and lynching do not provide a meaningful understanding of what actually happened across Texas. Buenger argues, "They simplify and alter the image of the state to give the paying public what they believe it wants."⁵¹ However, the characterization that the museum chooses to portray reinforces a particular identity and silences other stories and views.

Similarly, in *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities*, a group of scholars collaborated on a collection of essays that addresses the role of the museum in a nation's history. For example, David E. Kyrig elaborates on the significance of a museum and its specificity to a region. Kyrig argues, "Reasons for visiting museums are often strongly linked to a sense of place, whether one's own community or one that sparks curiosity."⁵² In addition, he asserts that museums and their visitors often "root"

⁵¹ Walter Buenger, "The Story of Texas?: The Texas State Historical Museum and Memories of the Past," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 105, no. 3 (January 2002): 480-493, 491.

⁵² Amy K. Levin, "Why Local Museums Matter" in *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities*, ed. Amy K. Levin and Joshua G. Adair (New York: Altamira Press, 2007), 2.

people and identities to a specific location. This argument is applicable to Texas museums as well. For example, the Plains-Panhandle Historical Museum in Canyon, Texas offers visitors a chance to experience the lives of pioneers and to explore the Panhandle region of Texas. It fosters a sense of pride in the community as well as a sense of belonging and *nativism*. This specific museum is analyzed in Chapter Four, including the letters that requested funding and recognition as well as speeches given during its dedication ceremony. In these primary sources, I examine the racial and gendered language involved in creating memorialization of this site.

Historians such as Pekka Hämäläinen, James Brooks, Gary Anderson, Juliana Barr, Brian DeLay, and F. Todd Smith have significantly contributed to the historiography of Native Americans in Texas. Their studies address issues such as Native empires, ethnic cleansing, and how Native people responded to Anglo westward expansion. These historians successfully provide nuanced examinations of tribes such as the Karankawas, Comanches, and Kiowas throughout Texas.

However, the conclusion in many of their books is the final expulsion of Native people from Texas. For instance, F. Todd Smith's *From Dominance to Disappearance* ends in 1859, Gary Anderson's *Conquest of Texas* ends in 1875, and Pekka Hämäläinen's *Comanche Empire* concludes in the 1870s. Intentional or not, these end dates suggest that the Native experience ends in Texas following the Red River War. While these authors successfully covered their respective topics, I argue that this trend might be part of a larger methodological problem in the field. Indians *disappear* in these histories as they are driven from the landscape, or are murdered, but the story does not end in 1875. I also argue that these authors fall into a historiographical trap by ending the story with conquest and removal. How did colonizing forces in Texas remember this history? How did these Anglo Texans portray Native Americans and

what is currently at stake? Far from disappearing, Texas Indians abounded in popular literature, memorials, historical representations, and appearances at special events in the years after the majority were physically removed.

Pekka Hämäläinen proffered this suggestion in the historiographical essay cited earlier in this introduction.⁵³ Hämäläinen posits, “If Texans insist on depicting Indians in certain ways – menacing, nomadic, unchanging – is it simply to justify their dispossession, or is there something else, something distinctly Texan, behind it?”⁵⁴ This dissertation delves into these thematic challenges posed by Hämäläinen and explores the ways in which myth and collective memory operate *during* and *after* the physical removal of Native people from Texas.

Exploring the ways in which myth and collective memory operated in Texas better informs historians about the process of memorialization utilized by every generation to suit current political, social, and cultural needs. Lang’s examination of secessionist language that invoked memories of the 1836 revolution against Mexico demonstrates that Anglo Texans began this process early in their state’s history, and continued it well after the Civil War. However, in the early 1900s the memorializing in the Texas Panhandle turned to a history of frontier violence, pioneers, and battles with Native Americans. Lang argues, “Texans embraced a usable and selective memory of the republic that launched a trend of wildly patriotic actions and speeches based on freedom, glory, and liberty.”⁵⁵ In this dissertation, I argue that Anglo Texans routinely turned to a “selective memory” when it came to newspaper accounts, historic recollections,

⁵³ Walter Buenger and Arnolde DeLeon, *Beyond Texas Through Time: Breaking Away from Past Interpretations* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2011). Pekka Hämäläinen’s essay in this edited collection is entitled, “The Emergence of a New Texas Indian History.”

⁵⁴ Hämäläinen, “The Emergence of a New Texas Indian History,” 79.

⁵⁵ Andrew F. Lang, “Memory, the Texas Revolution, and Secession: The Birth of Confederate Nationalism in the Lone Star State,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 114, no. 1 (July 2010): 24.

dedication speeches, and monument construction. At stake in this process was the creation of a narrative that justified the violent removal of Comanches and Kiowas from the Texas Panhandle.

Another important aspect of examining Native representations over time in Texas involves how immigrants and emigrants viewed Indians in popular literature that addressed justifications for removal. For example, Barbara Rozek's *Come to Texas: Attracting Immigrants*, traces the various parties responsible for encouraging large numbers of immigrants to the state. Texas received an enormous number of immigrants as well as emigrants, resulting in a dramatic population explosion in the nineteenth century. For example, from 1860 - 1880, the state population witnessed a 163 percent increase.⁵⁶ Rozek analyzes the varying agencies both public and private that encouraged this immigration. In addition, she traces the methods used in these booster publications as well as the rationale behind attracting immigration.

Rozek's study opens the door for important questions involving race, representations, and collective memory. However, Rozek does not cover the racial and gendered implications involved in the rhetoric of enticement. What did Anglo Texans in positions of power hope to accomplish by producing this print material? The study also needed to devote more attention to Texas Indians. The thought of Indians in the region still resonated strongly with Anglo Texans even though disease, warfare, and violent removal had reduced their numbers by the time of the Civil War. How did this booster material portray and represent Native people? By ignoring the Indian presence, authors risk extending the colonial project of making Indians *disappear*. My work seeks to correct this absence of Indians in the analysis of representing, and promoting Texas to the outside world in promotional literature such as the *Texas Almanac Series*.

Chapter Two explores promotional material depicting Texas after the Civil War, from

⁵⁶ Barbara Rozek, *Come to Texas: Attracting Immigrants, 1865-1915* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003).

1869-1873. As noted above, demographically, Texas experienced a post-war population explosion as immigrants and emigrants came to the state. This was largely accomplished through the publication and dissemination of Texas almanacs that promoted the state to the outside world. One publication in particular, the *Texas Almanac Series*, is an important resource for this dissertation. The pamphlets weighed in on politics, race, folklore of Texas and Texans, as well as Native Americans, the frontier, and myths. This booster literature influenced how individuals viewed the state of Texas and Native Americans. Specifically, the almanacs reference the *bloodthirsty savages* who still resided in the region. For the purposes of this dissertation, this resource reveals how Anglo Texans relayed information about the state and drew on stereotypical images to promote non-Indian settlement of Texas, thereby aiding in the expulsion of Native people.

Through a broader lens, these almanacs are an important window onto ideas about race, racism, and gender in the 1860s and 1870s. They allow historians to connect Texas to the broader story of the United States including westward expansion, Reconstruction, and immigration. The almanac authors weighed in on the black labor force in Texas as well as the desire for white, European immigrants. The most important element of analysis of this booster literature is that the authors of these almanacs wrote about Indian removal while it continued to unfold across Texas. They were actively engaged in writing Native Americans out of Texas – portraying them in ways that justified the violent removals.

Chapter Three begins in 1876, when remaining Comanches and Kiowas had been driven from Texas and forced onto reservations in Indian Territory by the U.S. government. The almanacs from the previous chapter were a driving force to populating Texas with immigrants, as well as the collective efforts to demonize Native Americans in the newly-organized Panhandle

region. This chapter covers the ways in which early Anglo settlers reminisced about the Panhandle and their experiences in the wake of the Indian Wars across the southern plains.

In the early twentieth century, university students interviewed many of these residents, and transcribed their recollections for the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum. These historical reminiscences are significant because they shed light on the thoughts and memories of these early settlers including how they interpreted aspects of race and gender in the late nineteenth century. These memories offer a gentler, cleaner explanation of Indian Removal in Texas. According to Joel W. Martin, Anglo Americans “Needed to legitimate this invasion and did so by retelling the history of conquest as either inevitable or humorous.”⁵⁷ Martin’s observation is very pertinent, for instance, as Anglo-Texan residents humorously retold the story of the “Great Indian Scare” at an old settler gathering, years later.

Lastly, the chapter examines the life of a noteworthy Panhandle rancher and pioneer, Charles Goodnight. In 1916, Charles Goodnight promoted a “bison hunt” on his ranch and invited hundreds of spectators to the event. This bison hunt is an instructive example of how collective memory, myth, performance, race, and gender functioned for Anglo Texans and Native people. The performance proved nostalgic for Anglo Texans and Native Americans alike, as Panhandle newspapers covered their participation in the hunt and speeches – both Anglo and Native American – given to the crowd afterwards.

This chapter also reveals the broader context of U.S. history from the 1880s-1916. During this period, Native Americans experienced sweeping changes in federal Indian policy, including the 1887 General Allotment Act, or Dawes Act. This act was part of a broader strategy

⁵⁷ Martin, “My Grandmother was a Cherokee Princess: Representations of Indians in Southern History,” 135.

of detribalization and a forced cultural assimilation campaign.⁵⁸ The Dawes Act led to a significant loss of Native land, “In the United States as a whole between 1887-1934, tribal landholding was reduced from some 138 million acres to about 48 million acres.”⁵⁹ Amid these catastrophic challenges, Native men and women turned to performances that depicted events from westward expansion. The bison hunt was illustrative of the Wild West shows that had been pervasive across the nation and represented an opportunity for Native Americans to assert their voices through these performances and speeches given afterwards. The bison hunt as well as the historical reminiscences reflects the nostalgia that gripped Americans after the putative closing of the frontier in 1890. Americans, fueled by an apprehension regarding the closing of the frontier as well as the advent of increased industrialism, turned to stories of the West, cowboys and Indians, and nature to espouse their masculinity and femininity during a new century. This embrace of the West also served to distance white Texans from the history of slavery and the Civil War, while simultaneously justifying western expansion, conquest of Native land, and the tenets of white supremacy, but did not entirely foreclose the space for Native expression.

Chapter Four analyzes the years after the bison hunt from 1916-1933. During this time, two crucial events contributed to the formation of Texas myth and the shaping of collective memory in the Panhandle. Olive K. Dixon, the wife of the late Billy Dixon, wrote and published a biography of his life and adventures. Billy Dixon was an infamous Indian fighter and scout who had lived and worked throughout the Texas Panhandle. After he passed away in 1913, Olive Dixon also began the process of memorializing his past exploits through the construction of a monument that commemorated his involvement in the Second Battle of Adobe Walls. Her efforts led to a lasting memorial and a celebration of the battle. This process combined public

⁵⁸ Colin G. Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* 5th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012), 413-418.

⁵⁹ Calloway, *First Peoples*, 424.

history, myth, as well as how white Texans represented Native Americans and the frontier. The language used in writing this narrative spoke of “brave” Texans defending their *homeland* from invading Indians. This subtle shift changed the nature of the event itself by casting Texans as the rightful owners of the Panhandle.

The second event involved the efforts of Panhandle residents to construct a museum to serve as a cultural shrine in the region. By analyzing the correspondence asking for financial assistance as well as the speeches given to commemorate its opening, we can better understand how Anglo Texans remembered the past including frontier violence and interactions with Native people through the lens of race, gender in historical, collective memory.

This chapter serves as an important contextual bridge to larger themes in the United States. Americans sought to memorialize past events such as the Civil War and westward expansion throughout the early twentieth century. These sites served as places of community memory and represented an effort to solidify aspects of white supremacy.⁶⁰ Anglo Texans created sites such as the Adobe Walls monument in the midst of increasing immigration across Texas as well as a changing social and cultural makeup in the state. For instance, by 1930, “an estimated 695,000 Texans of Mexican descent resided in the state.”⁶¹ In addition, part of this memorialization of a frontier past stemmed from the changing population statistics, which found 40 percent of Texans living in urban settings.⁶² In the Panhandle, Anglo men and women represented an effort to celebrate the *taming* of the frontier, transforming the wilderness into civilization, and framing Anglo Texans as the original inhabitants of the land.

⁶⁰ David Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 270-273. See also Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2003).

⁶¹ Robert A. Calvert, Arnoldo De Leon, and Gregg Cantrell, *The History of Texas Fifth Edition* (Malden, MA: Wiley and Sons, 2014), 254.

⁶² Calvert, De Leon, and Cantrell, *The History of Texas*, 240-241.

In the conclusion, Chapter Five covers the Texas Centennial Exposition in 1936. This statewide celebration is important for understanding the evangelical zeal revolving around the promotion of Texas. Students across the state were encouraged to submit essays with local histories from their respective counties, which promoted a lifelong interest in the state. In addition to these essays, speeches from the event help inform historians about the larger national scope of westward expansion and American identity.

The process of funding the exposition is also an important source for understanding the use of language covering the history of Texas. Senators and others lobbied Congress for funding and drew on many of the existing tropes discussed in earlier chapters of this dissertation. In addition, newspaper accounts relayed important aspects of the celebration and encouraged visitors to attend the main exposition in Dallas to learn about the state.

The Centennial is an important bookend to this dissertation because it reflects continuity from the 1860s involving the promotion of the state and the interest Anglo Texans had in highlighting their home during the Great Depression. By tracing the evolution of Anglo-Texan representations of Native Americans and the state itself through the lens of race, gender, and collective memory from 1869-1936, we can more fully understand the role of representations in solidifying an Anglo-Texan hold on the history of the state through historical reminiscences, folk stories, oral histories, and the construction of monuments, memorials, and museums. This hold was highlighted and advertised during the 1936 centennial celebration and depicted the culmination of decades of conquest and the creation of memories that underscored these efforts.

CHAPTER II

CHANGES IN BOOSTERISM AND TOURISM, 1869-1873*

In October of 1872, Gustav Loeffler had the distinct honor of addressing the rumor of flying snakes in Texas. Of course, there were no flying snakes, but as the head of the Bureau of Immigration, Loeffler's goal was to promote immigration to Texas.⁶³ The state government tasked him with several responsibilities including communication with the outside world, alleviating fears, answering questions, and encouraging immigration to Texas. One of his challenges concerned the widespread impression that Texas was wild, harsh, exotic, and unforgiving. Loeffler was in a position in which he had to dispel these rumors and he voiced his frustration, writing, "The simple fact of such stories being circulated shows with what sort of prejudice and stupidity, and with what gross falsehoods...this Bureau has to battle."⁶⁴

Loeffler continued, highlighting a piece of correspondence with a British immigration agent to reinforce his point. The British agent informed Loeffler that, "people there are told that Texas is an awful place, the people have to work at night on account of the excessive heat...and the *flying* snakes, which have a special liking to bite Englishmen."⁶⁵ The bureau superintendent hoped to use his platform to correct these "falsehoods" and portray the state in a way that encouraged widespread immigration. In particular, the Texas Immigration Bureau noted that

* Part of this chapter is reprinted with permission from "Prairie Dogs, Flying Snakes, and Ferocious Indians: Emigrant's Guide to Texas" by Tyler Thompson, 2015. *Journal of South Texas*, Volume 29, 68-78, Copyright 2015 South Texas Historical Association.

⁶³ The Constitution of 1869 called for funding appropriations to facilitate immigration to Texas. The Texas legislature called on the governor to appoint a superintendent and Loeffler began in 1871 and served as the superintendent of the bureau until 1874. The appropriations "empowered [Loeffler] to use tax revenues to write material describing Texas as a destination for the immigrant." Barbara Rozek, "Texas Bureau of Immigration," Texas State Historical Association Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mdt1p>, accessed, April 10, 2017.

⁶⁴ *The Texas Almanac of 1873 and Emigrant's Guide*, 105.

⁶⁵ *The Texas Almanac of 1873 and Emigrant's Guide*, 105. Italics are Loeffler's.

they sought immigrants from European nations and specifically referenced Germans.⁶⁶ This specificity was part of a larger project involving the inclusion and exclusion of certain racial groups in Texas. Utilizing print literature full of reports and advertisements was the obvious path to attract racially *suitable* newcomers to Texas.

Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, Anglo Texans simultaneously advertised the stability, safety, and development of the state while also cautioning visitors and reminding their audience of potential threats such as Indian captivity and the primitiveness of the frontier. This effort to capitalize on potential immigrants and also enthrall their audience with tales of Indian raids demonstrates that white Texans had conflicting views about their state and sought to position Texas in a positive light while making gestures toward their accomplishments associated with Indian removal. This chapter examines the initial moments of this process involving representing Indians and Texas with booster literature. Anglo Texans recollected some of these accounts of captivity and violence in the *Texas Almanac Series*. For example, a contributor named Joel W. Robinson relayed the story of Indians killing two individuals, Mr. and Mrs. Gocher, on the frontier. In a section entitled, “Historical Reminiscences,” he wrote, “The Indians went up on the creek and killed Mr. Gocher and his wife on the Gocher tract, and carried their two children into captivity.”⁶⁷ This inherent contradiction situating violent captivity stories while tracking the *progress* and *civilization* demonstrates the contradictory ways in which Anglo Texans sold the state.

In addition, while projecting the stability and progress of the state, Anglo Texans also laid the groundwork for future state mythology by emphasizing the uniqueness of a frontier past,

⁶⁶ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant's Guide*, 37. The 1869 edition also noted a “cordial” invitation was extended to all nations of Europe, 97.

⁶⁷ Joel W. Robinson, “Historical Reminiscences,” *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 166. Interestingly, the author also touches on the experiences of other Robinsons and their deaths at the hands of Indians. This certainly influences his retelling of these instances of violence and captivity.

the success of the Texas Revolution, and the sturdy pioneers who accomplished these feats. With this strategy in mind, white Texans consciously transitioned from a Southern past to a Western identity and representations of indigenous people and histories played a central role in this process. Simply put, they associated Indians and the frontier with the West, and slavery and the Civil War with the South. Despite the dangers implied by the former, Anglo Texans worked to disassociate themselves from the latter.

Initially, Anglo Texans portrayed the state as a place in need of transformation. This transformation involved both the physical and historical regeneration of the state. Later, Anglo Texans represented the state as a promised land, free of Indian *impediments* and open for business. Railroad companies, lawmakers, and publishers were complicit in these efforts. They utilized travel literature, almanacs, and visual resources to entice immigration and investment in the state. These various tactics served as extensions of the project of settler colonialism in which Indians were simultaneously *necessary and unnecessary* in the myth-building surrounding Texas.⁶⁸ Various groups portrayed Texas (with Indians) as exotic, wild, adventurous, and yet, eventually (without Indians) modern, evolving, and civilized. Interestingly, this romanticism and perception continues in the present day. Major cities across Texas celebrate their modernity, while aspects of the *Wild West*, cowboys, and Indians remain central to the imagery and historical memory of the state. This theme is also important because white Texans simultaneously made efforts to distance themselves from a southern identity, rooted in the Confederacy and slavery, and comparably bereft of Indian imagery.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ This concept of settler colonialism and its use in describing the evolving relationship between Indians and the United States fleshes out throughout the chapter. Settler colonialism is an important framework and it differs from conventional colonialism. In the settler model, colonists remained, transformed a given region, and made concerted efforts to rewrite and control the history of the area.

⁶⁹ For example, Fort Worth continues to marshal western imagery and a western identity. The *Fort Worth Star Telegram* motto, “Where the West Begins” is an instructive example. Dallas, on the other hand, projects an image of modernity with a “big city” mentality like New York City; the city nickname is “Big D.”

These portrayals were present across different industrial publications in Texas. Railroad companies produced pamphlets that represented some of these facets of Texas, which pulled at the heartstrings of nostalgic readers and enticed potential immigrants. Walter Buenger highlights this contrast in *Texas Through Time*. According to Buenger, nostalgia played a fundamental role in how the groups have represented the state and its industries.⁷⁰ Key industries such as the railroad often contributed to, drew from, and marketed this nostalgia. Buenger argues, “There is a tendency in the writing on Texas industry to focus on one element of a specific industry,” and to “Recapture, defend, and celebrate a more romantic, primitive, and pristine past.”⁷¹

Almanacs were another important form of print culture in which Anglo nostalgia for a romanticized past was narrated and commodified. Anglo Texans produced dozens of almanacs in the 1860s and 1870s, many of which contained vital information about the state with the intent of soliciting potential immigrants. This information included county descriptions, available land, historical reminiscences, and resources available in the state. These almanacs also functioned as an extension of the mission that Anglo Texans sought to accomplish by branding and portraying the region – and its Indians – to Texans and the outside world. Other publications throughout this era also contained deeply symbolic imagery and representations of Indians in Texas history. By strategically *including* and *excluding* Indians in these published accounts (depending on the description they utilized), white Texans framed the state in a way that continued the project of Anglo settlement, even long after the Civil War. The representations located in these almanacs served as a bridge, connecting the frontier past with the increasingly modern present.

The material and methods the Bureau of Immigration and local industries, like the railroad, used to market Texas to the outside world depicted the state and its Native inhabitants

⁷⁰ Walter Buenger and Robert A. Calvert eds., *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 310.

⁷¹ Buenger and Calvert eds., *Texas Through Time*, ” 310.

in ways that would attract potential settlers, but also betrayed a complex re-telling of the region's history. This chapter examines the inherent contradictions in the themes and philosophy of representing the state and Native people. Anglo Texans sought to highlight their proud frontier spirit and the *winning* of the West, while simultaneously heralding the culmination of Manifest Destiny. This involved sharing the rugged and violent past of Texas, while emphasizing future prospects including *civilization* efforts, progress, and an influx of immigrants that the state deemed racially *worthy*. Texas Indians remained at the heart of this inherently contradictory representation. The promotional literature was needed to contrast the "savagery" of Texas before white pioneers *civilized* it.

Another significant aspect of this strategy was the effort by Anglo Texans to distance the state from the defeat of the Confederate South and instead embrace the victory of conquering the western frontier. For example, Randolph B. Campbell notes, "The fact that Texas had a line of frontier settlement and saw Indian warfare throughout the era of Civil War and Reconstruction doubtless contributed heavily to the state's image as part of the West."⁷² This distancing meant embracing the frontier and Indian wars, and downplaying slavery and the Confederacy. According to Gregg Cantrell, "A society remembers its past by constructing a version of history that serves current needs."⁷³ Anglo Texans, in the shadow of the defeat of the Confederacy, re-imagined their past and the demise of Reconstruction, collectively embracing a frontier spirit and the *winning* of West Texas as central defining characteristics.

⁷² Randolph B. Campbell, "Statehood, The Civil War, and Reconstruction" in Walter Buenger and Robert A. Calvert eds., *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 174.

⁷³ Gregg Cantrell, "The Bones of Stephen F. Austin: Memory and History in Progressive Era Texas" in Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, Gregg Cantrell, *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 41.

This is significant, because Texans now remember and celebrate the victory of conquering the West instead of the psychological defeat of losing the Civil War. In the following years (and the subsequent chapters in this dissertation), Anglo Texans again mobilized this strategy of representation and reconfiguring identity through the reenactment of bison hunts, the dedication of monuments, the construction of museums across North Texas, and lastly the centennial celebration that commemorated one hundred years of *progress*.

This project of retooling Texas history – as it unfolded across the Panhandle – while creating a Western identity is an incredibly significant moment in the larger context of Texas and the United States. Anglo Texans consciously made the efforts to attract racially *desirable* immigrants from European nations while displacing the existing labor force comprised of Black Texans and Mexican Americans.⁷⁴ This concerted effort involved the final removal of Texas Indians as well. Anglo Texans wrote this booster literature and constructed histories and representations while Indian battles continued across the Panhandle. During 1870-1900, Anglo Americans and Texans formulated racialized hierarchies, which further marginalized individuals who they had previously viewed as a *suitable* labor force under slavery. For example, writers in the *Texas Almanac Series* often lamented the presence of Black Texans as a labor force, “the abolition of slavery having rendered unavailable more than half the negro labor previously depended upon.”⁷⁵ In addition, U.S. immigration policy underwent structural changes that limited immigrants based on racial assumptions of superior and inferior *stocks* of people – a process continued in the twentieth century. As previously mentioned in Chapter One, I use the definition of race as, “the social meanings attached to physical appearance.”⁷⁶ This definition

⁷⁴ Rozek, *Come to Texas*,” 4-7.

⁷⁵ *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, “The Labor Questions in Texas,” 207.

⁷⁶ Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 4.

plays out in the *Texas Almanac Series* as Anglo-Texan authors depicted racially *savage* Indians who were misusing the available land for racially acceptable immigrants. This chapter is a window onto these larger forces involving race, gender, immigration, Indian removal, and American westward expansion after the Civil War.

This construction and reconstruction of racial hierarchies is a hallmark of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century United States. Matthew Frye Jacobson elaborates on this process in *Whiteness of a Different Color*. As Americans encountered a massive influx of immigrants in the late 1800s, their views and assumptions about *fitness* began to evolve, and it led to exclusionary immigration practices. For instance, Jacobson argues, “The political history of whiteness and its vicissitudes between the 1840s and the 1920s represents a shift away from one brand of bedrock racism to another—from the unquestioned hegemony of a unified race of ‘white persons’ to a contest over political ‘fitness.’”⁷⁷ This exact process occurred in Texas as well. Anglo Texans attempted to populate the state with emigrants and immigrants deemed worthy of the opportunities and abundant resources. They were explicit in this project and sought to marginalize or remove non-white individuals based on the justification of these racial assumptions. For example in 1872, a writer in the *Texas Almanac* wrote, “Motiveless and shiftless, the negro will drift down the current time until he entirely disappears.”⁷⁸ The great irony of course, is that only a few years before, white Texans and other southern slaveholders were willing to go to war to protect this valuable labor source. This multi-sited racial project involved removing remaining Comanches and Kiowas, suppressing freed people, and signaling to specific “white” immigrants the opportunities for settlement.

⁷⁷ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 42-43.

⁷⁸ “The Labor Questions in Texas,” *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 208.

After the Civil War of 1861-1865, many Americans returned to the collective endeavor of westward expansion. Prior to the conflict, emigrants had expanded into newly created states such as California, Oregon, and Texas. This migration further exacerbated the question of the expansion of slavery into the West, which had previously maintained a precarious balance between free and slave states. When Congress passed the Homestead Act in 1862, it set in motion massive waves of both emigration and immigration that accelerated in the decades after the war.

The Homestead Act served as a significant source of encouragement for American emigration throughout the country. The act, “Provided that any adult citizen who headed a family could qualify for a grant of 160 acres of public land by paying a small registration fee and living on the land continuously for five years.”⁷⁹ Improvements in technology such as the steamship and railroad also facilitated immigration to and through the United States. In addition, ten million immigrants arrived from foreign nations from 1865-1890.⁸⁰

The Homestead Act also had significant ramifications for Native American tribes across the West. These years brought incredibly difficult challenges for Native people as they fought to maintain their homelands and resist U.S. expansion across the North American continent. The railroads brought American emigrants and foreign immigrants, including the bison hunters, to the plains, dramatically altering the American West. Bison hunters killed millions of bison, which severely affected the livelihood of tribes including those in Texas, such as the Comanches, Cheyenne, and Kiowas. Many Native nations retaliated by raiding American homesteads and attacking settlers. The United States’ military and local militias engaged these tribes in a series

⁷⁹ “The Homestead Act” in *The Reader’s Companion to American History*, Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 510.

⁸⁰ Jon Bodnar, “Immigration” in *The Reader’s Companion to American History*, Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, eds., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 534.

of battles from the northern plains to the Panhandle of Texas, collectively known as the “Indian Wars.”⁸¹

Eventually, the federal government enacted a policy known as the Dawes Severalty Act in 1887. This act once again changed the relationship between the federal government and Indian tribes. The impetus behind the Dawes Act was an attempt to eradicate Indian cultures, break up the reservation system, and eventually, forcibly assimilate Native people into U.S. society. Government officials viewed the reservation as the main impediment to this process of forced cultural assimilation. The Dawes Act broke up tribal holdings of land and allotted individual sections to Native families. This process entailed a strategy that sought to remove Native people from their close knit familial and kinship connections and introduce them to aspects of white, American society. This new policy in the 1880s also forcibly took Native children from their tribal homes and brought them to Indian boarding schools in an attempt to “kill the Indian and save the man.”⁸² While not aimed at physically exterminating Indians, Americans designed these reforms as a tactic of forced assimilation and cultural erasure.

In addition, the Union and Central Pacific railroad companies completed the transcontinental railroad in 1869, meeting in Promontory Point, Utah. The railroad companies

⁸¹ The duration of these battles lasted from 1860-1890 and affected thousands of Native people. In 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant implemented a “peace policy” with Native inhabitants living on the plains. Under this policy, the U.S. government utilized missionaries and the church to bring “an element of humanitarianism to Indian affairs.” However, the miserable conditions on reservations stemming from government corruption severely affected the lives of Native people. The corruption also threatened a loss of Indian identity, and many Native Americans refused to acquiesce to these demands. These demands stipulated that Indians had to give up their nomadic lifestyles centered on hunting and raiding and embrace agricultural practices. A series of battles and military engagements continued throughout the following decades between Native tribes and the American military as Indian tribes resisted this policy.

⁸² These schools wrought destruction on cultural and physical facets of Native children and were a tragic and horrific experience for those involved. Native children actively fought back by running away, feigning ignorance, and retaining aspects of their cultural identities secretly with other children. Historian David Wallace Adams analyzes the ways in which Native children had their lives transformed by these schools. These reformers attempted to educate Native children and eradicate the tribal aspects from their lives. By 1900, there were over twenty thousand Indian children forcibly enrolled in these schools. See also, David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 22-27.

represented the first “big business” in the United States, and grew substantially during the second half of the nineteenth century. The importance of the railroad on the cultural, social, and economic development of the United States cannot be overstated. The railroads ushered in a pivotal change in the mindsets of Americans as well as a change to the physical landscape throughout the West. Walter Prescott Webb’s classic study, *The Great Plains* expands on the significance of the railroad, “there can be no question that the railroads transformed American life on the Plains. They made changes in American civilization there comparable to the changes made by the horse in the life of the Plains Indian.”⁸³ Much of the writing and advertising of railroads in Texas centered on developing “civilization” and ushering in *progress* while also serving as an aspect of ending the Indian presence. It is also instructive that Webb wrote *The Great Plains* in 1932 on the eve of the Texas Centennial, which I discuss in the final chapter. The technological advancement and progress across Texas certainly influenced Webb’s analysis leading him to simultaneously acknowledge the future of the railroads and situate Indians in the past.

During the era of Reconstruction, the state of Texas experienced changes brought by shifting governments as well as the continued Indian threats throughout the western territory of the state. Comanches and Kiowas took advantage of a distracted military that had focused on the eastern theatre during the Civil War and had led raids throughout West Texas. At the same time, Governor Edmund J. Davis created the Bureau of Immigration to entice immigrants to choose Texas as a new home. This effort sought to facilitate eventual white settlement throughout West

⁸³ Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), 8. See also, John F. Stover, *American Railroads* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). Since these two classic studies, there has been a wealth of railroad literature covering numerous facets of the industry. For example, Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nothing like it in the World: the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), David Haward Bain, *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Viking Publishers, 1999), and Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011).

Texas, ideally displacing the remaining Comanches and Kiowas. Overall, stimulating immigration to Texas was largely successful. The non-Indian population increased from 604,215 in 1860 to 1,591,749 in 1880.⁸⁴

Another reason for the encouragement of white immigration was the effort by the Texas government to suppress the Black population. Throughout Reconstruction and the subsequent “redeemer” governments, the Texas legislature enacted “black codes” that restricted and oppressed the lives of Black Texans. Racial animosity and violence against the newly freed black population increased and white Texans turned to foreign labor as a means of limiting black mobility across the state.⁸⁵ This was an effort by “redeemer,” white supremacist governments to undo the progress of Reconstruction and control the racial demographics of Texas. This violent subjugation often took the form of extrajudicial killings and William D. Carrigan, author of *The Making of a Lynch Culture* argues that earlier generations in Texas had also practiced forms of mob violence against Mexicans, Texas Indians, and enslaved people. These actions created a sense of history of practice and historical memory, all of which were underscored by lynching in the post-Civil War era.⁸⁶

In addition to the violence and terror that Black Texans faced, Mexican-Americans and Tejanos faced similar violence, often times at the hands of Texas Ranger units. According to Michael L. Collins, author of *A Crooked River*, “While Anglo-Texans exhibit great pride in their Ranger tradition... Tejanos remember [them] as mounted demons to be feared, men who

⁸⁴ Barbara Rozek, *Come to Texas: Attracting Immigrants, 1865-1915* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 101.

⁸⁵ Robert A. Calvert, Arnoldo De Leon, and Gregg Cantrell, editors, *The History of Texas Fifth Edition* (Malden, MA: Wiley and Sons, 2014), 149. See also William D. Carrigan, *The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836-1916* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

⁸⁶ William D. Carrigan, *The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836-1916* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

terrorized people of Mexican heritage.”⁸⁷ This is an important point, because Anglo Texans celebrated their remembrances of *heroic* Texas Rangers during the Texas Centennial in 1936, which I address in Chapter Five.

In addition to the extralegal violence, Barbara Rozek notes that Anglo Texans actively published booster material to replace the available black labor force with a white, immigrant labor group. She remarks, “By raising up the call for supposed hard-working white immigrants, the press could ‘put down’ by comparison the failure of blacks to work hard in their freed status. To compare the two...was to praise the one while devaluing the other.”⁸⁸ Against this contextual backdrop, Anglo Texan publishers distributed almanacs to encourage widespread immigration to Texas. The goal of these publications was two-fold: limit the existing population of freed African American people and populate Texas with new racially *suitable* groups of immigrants to continue the process of Indian removal.

One tactic that Anglo Texan boosters used to promote *desirable* immigration to Texas was the publication of state almanacs that provided detailed information about the current affairs in the region. Through the portrayal of the physical landscape, the negative representations of Native people, and the retooling of Texas history, the authors and publishers of these almanacs intended to present Texas in a favorable light to potential emigrants/immigrants. Interestingly, even as boosters sought to minimize an existing Indian threat, Texans also consumed exciting stories of harrowing white capture and captivity by tribes such as Comanches throughout this era.⁸⁹ For example, Rachel Plummer had her captivity account published in 1838 and Theodore

⁸⁷ Michael L. Collins, *A Crooked River: Rustlers, Rangers, and Regulars on the Lower Rio Grande, 1861-1877* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 7.

⁸⁸ Barbara Rozek, *Come to Texas: Attracting Immigrants, 1865-1915* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 6.

⁸⁹ For instance, Scott Zesch details the stories of captivity that Texans consumed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Scott Zesch, *The Captured: A True Story of Abduction by Indians on the Texas Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).

Babb had his narrative published in 1923. These two accounts suggest that the genre was popular across multiple generations.

This concerted effort, combined with other material factors, stimulated immigration in Texas. Immigrants arrived in great numbers throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition, the U.S. military forced the surrender of the remaining Comanches and Kiowas in the Panhandle by 1876 and relocated the bulk of their people to reservations in Indian Territory. In the following decades, Anglo Texans continued to market the state through colorful imagery, referencing the available land using biblical symbolism and calling it a place of paradise. Anglo Texans situated the reminders of Native Americans in battle memorials, pioneer recollections, Wild West shows, and bison hunts – all of which the following dissertation chapters examine. This change over time represents the desire white Texans had to consume dramatic accounts involving Native people, but firmly signal to the outside world that Indians had been defeated and the Indian threat pacified. Anglo Texans walked a fine line in building this historical account about their state. On one hand, Indians were central to the mythical lore that interested people in Texas and were essential for depicting it as part of the western frontier and not a southern state. On the other hand, Anglo Texans sought to demonstrate to the outside world that they conquered the Indians and the state was ready for investment, development, and progress. Anglo Texans constructed, marketed, and sold the narrative that they had *won* the West, while preserving the exotic allure of the state's frontier past.

Newspaper offices, like *The Galveston News* were one of the main sources disseminating this mythologized booster narrative. The company printed an annual *Texas Almanac* from 1857-1873. According to historian Stuart McGregor, Willard Richardson served as the editor behind

the creation of the almanac.⁹⁰ The series functioned as a report on the economic development of the state to attract emigrants and immigrants. After 1865, the editors changed the title to *The Texas Almanac and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*.⁹¹ The publishers were adamant in bringing new immigrants to Texas to populate the receding frontier and develop the state. Another extension of this influx of immigrants included the construction of railroads across Texas. McGregor notes, "The interest of the publisher of the *Texas Almanac* in bringing population to Texas is revealed also in the great amount of space the publication gave to railroad construction."⁹² This effort was two-fold. As Anglo Texans worked to remove remaining Native tribes, relocating them to Indian Territory, they hoped to develop the state with railroads, immigrants, and commerce. By incorporating the railroad, Texans mirrored the strategy used by U.S. companies and subsidized by the United States government as the transcontinental railroad cut across the continent by 1869. Texas and the American nation juxtaposed Indians and the railroad as anti-modern and modern, savage and civilized, past and future.

In a coordinated and concerted effort, local Texans contributed historical accounts and provided statistics for these almanacs. According to McGregor, "There is much local history in these accounts...They wrote pridefully [sic]...with an intimate knowledge and an expression of detail."⁹³ McGregor postulates that publication ended with the emergence of Governor Richard

⁹⁰ Stuart McGregor, "The Texas Almanac: 1857-1873," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 50, no. 4 (April 1947): 419-430. In addition to economic development, the editor, Willard Richardson also used the series as a channel for politics. McGregor notes that Richardson was politically opposed to Sam Houston and several of the almanacs contained pieces that promoted Mirabeau B. Lamar and "assailed" Sam Houston. Houston even cited the series in 1860 after losing re-election for the U.S. Senate. McGregor estimates that 75,000-100,000 copies were printed from 1857-1861.

⁹¹ McGregor, "The Texas Almanac: 1857-1873," 419-430.

⁹² *Ibid*, 422.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 422.

Coke in 1873. McGregor notes, “Texas had passed the economic crisis of readjusting to a nonslave [sic] agricultural economy.”⁹⁴

According to McGregor, the express purpose of the series changed over time, and became a significant resource to attract emigrants from other regions of the United States as well as immigrants from abroad. Accompanying this transition was a rhetoric that underscored the improvements brought to Texas. An aspect of this language involved the discourse of colonialism and conquest through a racial and gendered perspective. Throughout these almanacs, examples jump off the page in which local Texan writers and publishers contributed segments that advertised available land for white men and individuals from European nations. They also underscored this availability by highlighting the savagery and misuse of the land by remaining Native Americans, thereby justifying settler possession and Indian dispossession.

Indeed, Native Americans figured prominently in the editions after 1869 as Texans continued to push westward across the state. According to McGregor, “The *Almanac* was a unique manifestation of frontier spirit and purpose.”⁹⁵ This “frontier spirit” was pervasive throughout this series and made apparent in language that served as a device to dispossess Native populations through printed media.⁹⁶ Anglo Texans utilized the print medium in which they held the power to influence outsiders and could strategically represent Native people in an unfavorable light to potential immigrants.

One such approach in the *Texas Almanac* was to depict the physical landscape of Texas and project the eventual disappearance of Native people to encourage outside immigration.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 428-429.

⁹⁵ Stuart McGregor, “The Texas Almanac: 1857-1873,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 50, no.4 (April 1947): 429.

⁹⁶ Reprinted with permission from “Prairie Dogs, Flying Snakes, and Ferocious Indians: An Emigrant’s Guide to Texas, 1869-1873,” by Tyler Thompson 2015, *Journal of South Texas*, 29, no. 1 (Fall 2015): 68-78, copyright 2015 Dr. Alberto Rodriguez, and the *Journal of South Texas*.

Authors justified the eventual white settlement of regions across Texas by stating that Indians had failed to capitalize on the opportunities and natural resources. For example, from a passage in the 1869 edition, the author noted, “The counties of north Texas have many fine valleys and rich lands, but the counties are also exposed to Indian depredations.”⁹⁷ The authors highlighted the potential of the landscape were it not for the remaining Indians in Texas. In addition, the authors who lamented the wasted land across Texas drew from a vast and available history of conquest across the North American continent. Writers routinely discussed the potential land that was in need of transformation and “improvement.” This had been a strategy used by European colonists dating back to the seventeenth century along the Atlantic seaboard.⁹⁸

Such rhetoric of possible and profitable land use continued as Americans pushed westward into Texas. Specifically in the almanacs, authors wrote of the vastness of Texas land and the availability of resources.⁹⁹ This message strongly resonated in Texas. For example, the authors of the almanacs promoted crops such “grapes...peaches, pears, and apricots” in El Paso County.¹⁰⁰ Such passages invoke the familiar biblical prose that promises “milk and honey” in the Promised Land. By marketing the physical landscape of Texas, and the widespread natural resources, white Texans sold immigrants on the extraordinary economic potential of the state. By doing so, Anglo Texans were hopeful that these immigrants would populate the western portion of the state, and eventually displace the remaining Comanches and Kiowas.

Several other entries expressed that Texas was abundant in land and agricultural potential, and that the current population – Indians – had wasted the vast available resources.

⁹⁷ *The Texas Almanac of 1869 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 92, UNT Portal to Texas History.

⁹⁸ For example, William Cronon refers to the early Europeans who viewed, “landscapes in terms of commodities.” William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 22.

⁹⁹ Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 33. This language reflected aspects of Cronon’s argument that Euroamericans were “struck by what seemed to them the poverty of Indians who lived in the midst of a landscape endowed so astonishingly with abundance.

¹⁰⁰ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 106-113, UNT Portal to Texas History.

For instance, the 1871 edition utilized county descriptions that wrote in the hopes that immigrants would bring improvement to the land and drive away the remaining Indian presence. In Brown County, the author noted, “[The] population is very small, as [the] county is new and on the frontier, exposed to Indians...though there are some very good farm lands.”¹⁰¹ This enticement at the end of the county description served the purpose of projecting a future in which Brown County would flourish with the presence of “civilization” and the disappearance of Indians and thus the frontier.

The author of entries on El Paso and Gillespie Counties in the same issue utilized the rhetoric of Indian removal as well, while selling the physical landscape and resource-rich region. The author of the county descriptions attempted to downplay the Indian presence and promote the benefits and resources of Texas. For example, the El Paso County description read, “Wheat is of superior quality. This is perhaps the finest grape county in Texas...Peaches, pears, and apricots are also raised. The only inhabitants are a few roving bands [of] Indians, who occasionally depredate upon the river valleys.”¹⁰² Interestingly, these 1871 descriptions underscore the efforts by Anglo Texans to remove the current inhabitants and replace them with a demographic they found suitable for the development and progress of the state. These descriptions read as if Texas was on the cusp of civilization, having almost completed the project of Indian removal. These almanacs reveal the state project to supplant a perceived racially inferior group in favor of a new group and complete the goal of removal they had started decades before under President Mirabeau B. Lamar, during the Texas Republic.

The strategic use of the term *roving* is significant as well. By contrasting nomadic, *roving* Indians with potential white settlers who develop *civilization* through farming, the

¹⁰¹ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 97, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁰² *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 106, UNT Portal to Texas History.

construction of Euroamerican style homes, and introducing cattle instead of bison, the authors clearly distinguished the perceived racial disparities between the two groups. The writers cited problems with the existing indigenous population and justified the expansion of Anglo immigrants at the expense of these tribes in this conscious strategy. This *roving* term is a blanket designation intended to justify Indian removal. This was also the same strategy used to describe the Black population as *shiftless* and *motiveless*. Both groups were thus characterized as incapable of developing and undeserving of possessing Texas land.

The 1871 Gillespie County entry demonstrates that the author appealed to immigrants with promises of resources such as livestock and grapes, while cautioning, “The Indians have occasionally committed depredations upon the inhabitants.”¹⁰³ This author’s approach implied that the economic potential in Gillespie County outweighed the persistent *impediments* to *civilizing* the frontier. In addition, the imagery of cattle and wine stood in stark contrast to racial representations of wasteful Indian *savagery* across Texas. Livestock represented the replacement of bison, the lifeblood of the Comanches, and wine represented refinement and civilization. These concepts necessitate analysis as well. Livestock and wine were alternatives to *savagery* throughout the frontier. By replacing bison herds and Indians, Anglo Texans participated in the *civilizing* of frontier regions and sought suitable European immigrants to assist them.

In an especially vivid advertisement, the author of the 1871 Hamilton County description referenced the notion of the physical landscape resembling a biblical paradise. The description read, “The climate is delightful, the air pure and bracing, the scenery picturesque, with rolling prairies dotted over waves of timber.”¹⁰⁴ However, the author tempered this description with a

¹⁰³ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 113, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁰⁴ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 115, UNT Portal to Texas History.

caveat; “Its settlement has been delayed for want of protection against the Indians,”¹⁰⁵ and suggested that immigrants shoulder the burden of *improving* and *civilizing* the Texan frontier. Immigrants may have recognized this racial discourse and the fact that they had a responsibility to demonstrate *civility* and to distinguish themselves from existing *barbarous* tribes and people.

Indeed, these encounters with *barbarous* Indian nations were framed by the growing involvement of the United States among foreign peoples and destinations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as the country sought to capitalize on empire building. Matthew Frye Jacobson, for instance, examines the ways in which travel literature and promotional material, much like the *Texas Almanacs Series* and other pamphlets, connected indigenous populations with the past, the landscape, and primitivism. Jacobson argues, “Exotic lands became lovely commodities...by rendering indigenous peoples as mere fixtures of that landscape, the very language and logic of a travelogue effaced the ‘natives’ as sentient agents in their own right.”¹⁰⁶ Jacobson argues that these travelogues effectively posited that these Native people were part of the past and thus had no rightful place in the present or future.

In a similar vein, the county descriptions of the physical landscape within Texas almanacs served as recruitment propaganda to expel and displace remaining Texas Indians. This appeal surfaced in the Wichita and Wilbarger County entries: “Were it not for the Indians, these and other neighboring counties, now without a civilized inhabitant would long since have been settled by stock raisers, furnishing thousands of cattle for market annually.”¹⁰⁷ By highlighting the potential of the landscape, promoting immigration, and citing the remaining Indian obstacle, this county promoter spoke directly to an audience interested in advancing *civilization*. The hope

¹⁰⁵ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 115, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁰⁶ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad: 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 110.

¹⁰⁷ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 159, UNT Portal to Texas History.

was that such descriptions would muster support for advancing Texas industry, agriculture, and the economy as a whole. It was no coincidence that the author referenced the cattle industry given the context of the 1870s. Cowboys and ranchers, in cooperation with the newly completed trans-continental railroad, led cattle drives across the state to sell beef in lucrative northern markets. Cattle trails across Texas such as the Goodnight-Loving Trail were instrumental in this process and would later come to prominence in popular memories of the state's history. I examine the effort of Charles Goodnight to capitalize on the historic memories of Native American bison hunts and the *Wild West* in chapter three.

A second tactic involved the writers of the *Almanac Series* projecting aspects of an evolving racial ideology and a gendered discourse, which framed the ways that immigrants and other readers discussed and interpreted Texas. Authors routinely referred to the available land as ideal for white or Anglo men. For example, southwest of Fort Worth, in an advertisement for Hood County, the author cautioned readers and potential immigrants, "This is emphatically a white man's county."¹⁰⁸ This intersection of racial and gendered writing drew heavily from existing tropes regarding notions of Manifest Destiny. Originally propagated in the 1840s, the belief that Americans had an obligation to expand across the continent, bringing *civilization* and taming *savagery* had deeply taken root. Anglo Texans continued this tenet in the subsequent decades. Although years before the 1924 Immigration Act, these almanacs foreshadowed a racial language that served as a precursor to eventual federal laws including the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.

The almanacs serve as an excellent resource for applying racial and gendered approaches to studying historical records, providing historians new perspectives for interpreting the past. More recently, historians, drawing from social science methodology have utilized an

¹⁰⁸ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 120, UNT Portal to Texas History.

intersectional approach. From Chapter One, I use the concept of intersectionality to examine how race and gender operated as a power construct. This strategy involves looking through multiple prisms including race and gender, ethnic identity, and class. Using this intersectional approach, my analysis reveals that almanac authors were concerned about the existing racial demographics in Texas, and sought to promote what they believed to be appropriate racial inclusions and exclusions. In addition, their language emphasized a gendered perspective in which desirable settlers were sturdy, resourceful, enterprising, civilized white men who could tame the frontier and render it safe for white women and children, who would further domesticate the wild terrain. This perspective was present in their county descriptions and reinforced the ideology of the era that involved Manifest Destiny, the conquest of the continent, and the spread of empire.

Often times these racial and gendered approaches overlapped in their language and statements centered on Texas. This intersectional analysis provides historians with a nuanced understanding of how white Texans regarded race and gender with respect to natural world and the state of Texas. It also shows how these views influenced important aspects of society including politics and immigration from 1860-1890, an important moment of transition in U.S. history in terms of how men and women operated within gendered constructs. Increasing industrialization, the closing and *conquering* of the frontier, and the prospect of foreign wars changed how men and women interacted regarding gender roles. For example, as Monica Rico argues in *Nature's Noblemen*, men of this era sought to assert "hegemonic masculinity" over nature and in the face of a changing society.¹⁰⁹ This changing society emphasized urbanism, industrialism, and a loss of the *primitive* frontier spirit. Sensing the newfound importance of

¹⁰⁹ Monica Rico, *Nature's Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Conn.: Yale University Press, 2013), 12.

rugged masculinity, authors of these almanacs reinforced notions of a “white man’s country” and celebrated their heroic victory over primitivism.

In addition, Gail Bederman also exposes this desire, and anxiety-fueled approach in *Manliness and Civilization*. Bederman notes that the rates of self-employed men dropped in the last decades of the nineteenth century resulting in a fiction created about the “masculine ideal.”¹¹⁰ The West was central to this fiction. The fiction maintained that Anglo men proved themselves throughout repeated encounters with a rugged, harsh frontier, and that urban dwelling made them weak. Men were not alone in these assertions; the following chapter examines how women mythologized their role in *civilizing* the frontier by bringing a *woman’s touch* and proudly proclaiming they were the first white woman in a given county in the Texas Panhandle.

Many of the county descriptions reflected this racial and gendered language. After framing the county as suitable for white men, the Hood County advertisement continued its criteria for immigration. The description stated, “We are ready to extend a welcome hand to the immigrant without regard to his nation, politics, or religion.”¹¹¹ The stark contrast in the Hood County advertisement illuminates the theme of this chapter. There is a contradictory message embedded which simultaneously called Hood County ideal for white men, but then also notes that the county welcomes people from diverse backgrounds. This inherent contradiction symbolized the technique used by Anglo Texans to highlight modernism, progress and civilization, while also alluding to the violent frontier that white men had conquered and tamed.

With these advertisements, the hope was that white Texans could selectively populate the state with immigrants who racially fit their ideal in the 1860s and 1870ss. The authors were also explicit with this prerequisite. For instance, the authors of the 1869 and 1871 editions urged the

¹¹⁰ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), xi.

¹¹¹ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 120, UNT Portal to Texas History.

populating of Texas by Europeans and specifically Germans. They pledged, “We will here state emphatically ... that no matter what will be the religious or political opinions of immigrants to Texas, they will be sure of a cordial welcome and kindly reception [to] any nation of Europe.”¹¹²

In addition, the almanacs highlighted the Germans, in particular, as an immigrant group that had achieved success on the frontier, “We allude to the Germans especially because they are among our most industrious, thrifty, and successful farmers.”¹¹³ This passage is important because it reflects Matthew Frye Jacobson’s explanation about how Americans viewed Germans through a racial lens. According to Jacobson, Germans fared better than other groups such as the Irish because, “By longstanding tradition in the high discourse of race, the Anglo-Saxon and the Teutonic traditions were closely aligned.”¹¹⁴ This demonstrates that many white Americans, including Anglo Texans, had developed a racial status quo in which certain groups were afforded racial belonging while others were excluded. By seeking this increase in immigration, the state sought to diminish the remaining Indian presence as well; presumably, growing the Anglo population, which would eventually populate remote counties and further push the frontier from Texas. This would secure the boundaries of Texas and complete the process of Indian removal that Texans had started, nearly forty years before.

Racist language that served to marginalize Indians was also present in the 1872 edition of the *Texas Almanac*. A contributing author, Henry C. King, submitted a segment that decried the persistent violence of the frontier and the failure of the federal government to handle the Indian threat.¹¹⁵ King was a local member of the Democrat Party who had run for several political

¹¹² *The Texas Almanac of 1869 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 97, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹¹³ *The Texas Almanac of 1871 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 37, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹¹⁴ Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 46-47.

¹¹⁵ “Sheep Husbandry in Texas,” *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, UNT Portal to Texas History. King later served on a committee on Indian Affairs in the Texas state legislature. Texas State Historical Association, “Henry C. King,” tshaonline.org, accessed January 19, 2018.

offices. The irony is palpable; a Democrat from a former Confederate state demanded increased federal involvement in state affairs. King's letter highlighted the violent confrontations of frontier Texas, and urged immigrants from European nations to help alleviate the problems. King lamented, "Our gaze... reveals a hideous carnival of licensed butchery of white people by these red savages; of rapine and devastation kept up incessantly along hundreds of miles of the borders of Texas."¹¹⁶ Framing the problem around these racial aspects, King drew from existing tropes concerning barbarism, savagery, and civilization. This dichotomy placed white European immigrants on the side of progress, and urged them to assist in the process of Indian removal. On the other side of progress, according to King, were the remaining Indians. To King, they represented savagery, backwardness, and a lack of civilization and the author hoped to convey that message to his readers. These two contrasting sides are significant, because King and other Anglo Texans sought to create a state with settled colonists who shared their mentality. *Wandering* Indians had no place in Texas. This dichotomy reflects the larger ideology of American expansionism in which settlers forcibly removed or eradicated existing indigenous populations.

One irony of the call for federal troops is noted by Ty Cashion. He remarks, "With Reconstruction came frontier folk begging for federal troops to 'occupy' their land...it was often the Ninth and Tenth Cavalries made up exclusively of African American soldiers."¹¹⁷ The role of black troops against Native Americans speaks to the larger complexities of race, nationalism, and identity in the nineteenth century. A former Confederate state came to support the presence of African American troops in the suppression of Native people along the Texas frontier.

¹¹⁶ "Sheep Husbandry in Texas," *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 44-45, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹¹⁷ Ty Cashion, "What's the Matter with Texas? The Great Enigma of the Lone Star State in the American West," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, 55, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 12.

King's contribution also underscores the continued contradictory position taken by representations of Native peoples in print media. After describing the widespread violence, King noted, "This great unoccupied wilderness, lying within the lawful limits of the State of Texas, will not long be barred against civilization. The stream of immigration from the other states and from Europe has already reached the frontier. It will not rest here, but surging onward, will sweep all barriers from its path."¹¹⁸ This is significant, because King described Texas as violent, with Indian atrocities, but also as an unoccupied wilderness devoid of people. This theme resonates throughout much of this representational history. Writers described the dehumanizing, *barbaric* Indians, but then wrote them out of existence by noting that the land was available, vacant, and in need of transformation.

The final tactic used in the almanacs involved the retooling of historical accounts including famous Texans and their relationship with certain tribes as well as the decline and disappearance of other Indians. This approach also involved revising Texas history for potential immigrants, signifying key moments in the creation of settler and collective memories of Texas that will also be explored in the subsequent chapters while minimizing other realities.

In some instances, almanac passages highlighted Indian involvement in Texas history, but framed their participation in ways that underscored the natural resources of the region while negating the lasting physical presence of Native people. For example, according to the 1873 *Almanac and Emigrant's Guide*, the interim President of Texas, and later Vice President of the Republic, David G. Burnet spent "nearly ten years among the Comanches on the upper waters of the Colorado."¹¹⁹ According to the author's account, living among this tribe served to cure

¹¹⁸ "Sheep Husbandry in Texas," *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 45, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹¹⁹ "Life Among the Comanches," *The Texas Almanac of 1873 and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, 159, UNT Portal to Texas History.

Burnet of a lingering illness. The author posited that, “He [Burnet] slept without shelter through the vicissitudes of the season and subsisted entirely on wild game. The food, the exercise, and climate of that delightful and invigorating region repaired the wastes of disease, renewed his physical energies and restored him to vigorous health.”¹²⁰ In this example, the almanac authors recognized the Comanche presence and the benefits of living in their environment; however, they also explained that it was the Texas climate and not the Comanches that were ultimately beneficial. By situating well-known white Texans within such historical contexts, authors attempted to accomplish several goals. They wanted to advertise the resources and benefits of Texas and excite readers with the notion of frontier living, while reassuring them that the eventual absence of the Comanches would benefit immigrants. This strategy meant immigrants could see themselves thriving in an area free of Indian *impediments*.

The eventual disappearance of Indian *impediments* jumps off the pages of the 1872 almanac. In a section entitled, “The Last of the Alabamas,” the author explicitly informed potential immigrants that the Alabama tribe was fading, and would eventually disappear following the deluge of white expansion. The dilemma that the writer faced, however, was that the Alabamas were *still present* in Texas as they wrote this passage. Grappling with this contradiction, the author nevertheless reassured readers that, “While they evidently desire no social comingling with the whites, the conduct of the Alabamas is extremely peaceable, even inoffensive.”¹²¹ In addition, to drive home their point, the author explicitly explained the concept of how a *superior race* conquering the frontier played a role in Indian removal. The author stated that the white race “in its march to power, has despoiled them of their possessions, drove them from their romantic hunting-grounds...and which is now pursuing the poor Indian to

¹²⁰ “Life Among the Comanches,” *The Texas Almanac of 1873 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 159, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹²¹ *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 174, UNT Portal to Texas History.

the precipice of his doom.”¹²² This overt passage does not soften or mince words. This author explained that the practice of ethnic cleansing involved removing Indians and having them *disappear* as a new racial group replaced them across Texas.

Lastly, the writing and reinventing of Texas history appears in passages such as “Frontier Legends” by contributor J. Eliot and “Historical Reminiscences” by Joel W. Robinson. These passages contain well-known stories such as Cynthia Ann Parker’s capture and captivity by the Comanches in 1836. J. Eliot also told the story of a brief skirmish between two white men and two Indians on the Texas frontier. Eliot did not miss the opportunity to relate the story to a symbolic contest between the races. As the fight became hand-to-hand combat, Eliot noted, “The combatants struggled for life; finally the white man prevailed, and though powerful, the son of the forest was overpowered.”¹²³ There is significant and noteworthy material in this passage to unpack. Eliot’s story, whether true or not, represents larger issues concerning a contest of races, the prevailing white man over the “son of the forest.” This symbolic struggle was a signal to readers that white Texans had been successful in conquering the rugged frontier. Also, in this struggle, Anglo Texans had to display *primitive* qualities such as hand-to-hand combat, yet in the end, they conquered both nature and the Indians, and continued with the process of *civilization*. This narrative of popular history is crucial because through it Anglo Texans justified their conquest *and* rationalized their racist beliefs about Indians and their alleged inferiority. Potential immigrants read these stories and understood that white Texans established a racial hierarchy and it was important to fit within this framework in a positive way.

¹²² *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 174, UNT Portal to Texas History. I have included the quote in its entirety because it is such a significant and damning example: “While they evidently desire no social commingling with the whites, the conduct of the Alabamas is extremely peaceable, even inoffensive, toward that race which, in its march to power, has despoiled them of their possessions, drove them from their romantic hunting-grounds, given them by the Great Spirit, and which is now pursuing the poor Indian to the precipice of his doom.”

¹²³ *The Texas Almanac of 1872 and Emigrant’s Guide to Texas*, 163, UNT Portal to Texas History.

The *Texas Almanac and Emigrant's Guide* of the 1860s-1870s is an instructive primary source that illuminates the contexts of immigration and Indian removal, as well as racial and gendered ideologies mobilized by Anglo Texans in the second half of the nineteenth century. It reflects the need white Texans had in creating a historical memory of the state that emphasized the violent *winning* of the West and removal of Indians, but also the values of civilization, advancement, and progress. Balancing these themes, the authors of the almanac series laid the framework for eventual discussions about the *fitness* of nations, a hierarchy of civilizations, and the potential need to accept and then transform “barbarian virtues.”¹²⁴

This chapter has highlighted the strategies used by Anglo Texans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to cultivate an image of the state. In the context of the 1860s-1870s, Texans participated in the process of westward expansion and Indian removal. Utilizing print literature to disseminate their message, white Texans reached out to potential immigrants to encourage a massive influx of people to the state. As Americans continued to expand westward, and the U.S. military continued the process of forcing Indians onto reservations, Texans too, participated in removal and utilized print media in the process.

In literature such as the *Texas Almanacs*, Anglo Texans struck a balance between depicting the adventurous, wild, untamed, and masculine nature of the state, while also implying progress toward eventual advancement, industry, and *civilization*, themes that recur in subsequent chapters. Laura Lyons McLemore poignantly describes the very contradiction of myths that Anglo-Texan authors grappled with as they wrote to their audiences. McLemore states, “Perhaps this dualistic tendency accounts for the difficulty in pinpointing the source of Texas mystique: the contradiction between progress and pastoralism, piousness and iconoclasm,

¹²⁴ Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 144-145.

isolationism and community, materialism and asceticism.”¹²⁵ This same “Texas mystique” held true for representations of Native Americans as well. Indians in Texas were necessary and unnecessary in the process of collectively portraying and remembering the history of the region and marketing it to potential settlers. Anglo Texans needed images of Indians to cultivate a western identity rooted in conquering the frontier, yet simultaneously, they viewed actual Indians as inhibiting development in the state, necessitating their replacement by a population worthy of residency.

The booster literature published in Texas was largely successful; more than two million people resided in Texas by 1890. In the 1880s alone, Texas received “38,000 foreign born settlers.”¹²⁶ But, 1880s also continued a violent era in Texas history. Texas Rangers patrolled the borders of Texas, engaging Mexican Americans and Tejanos in violent encounters, and most of the remaining Comanche and Kiowa bands had been forced to Indian Territory.¹²⁷ In the following chapter, other primary sources from the early twentieth century highlight how Anglo Texans shared nostalgic remembrances from their collective pasts to memorialize the West and the “taming” of the frontier. These examples include reminiscing about a great Indian scare, recollections of interactions with Native people across the Panhandle, and a 1916 bison hunt that signaled important messages about modernity, authenticity, race, gender, and memory.

¹²⁵ Laura L. McLemore, *Inventing Texas: Early Historians and the Lone Star State* (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 95.

¹²⁶ Robert A. Calvert, Arnolfo De Leon, and Gregg Cantrell, *The History of Texas Fifth Edition* (Malden, MA: Wiley and Sons, 2014), 181-182.

¹²⁷ Calvert, De Leon, Cantrell, *The History of Texas*.

CHAPTER III

COLLECTIVE MEMORIES OF THE TEXAS FRONTIER, 1891-1916

On January 29, 1891, Mrs. Johnson heard a gunshot, followed by screams, and then several more successive gunshots. From her home in the Texas Panhandle, she saw smoke on the horizon. Convinced it was a Comanche raid, Mrs. Johnson took her children and fled, alerting neighbors and residents along the way.¹²⁸ This event triggered the infamous “Great Indian Scare of 1891,” about which old-timers reminisced in the following years at local celebrations where collective memories were forged and shared. The memories of this event are one example of how Anglo Texans collectively constructed, and commemorated the history of settlement throughout the Panhandle. Their recollections and narratives stemmed from efforts to justify the conquest of the region, as well as to ease the harsh memory of colonization that forced remaining Comanches and Kiowas into Oklahoma Territory after the Red River War.

From 1891-1916, Anglo-Texan representations of Indians, the state of Texas, and the concept of the western frontier transformed over time. In the previous chapter, the *Texas Almanac Series* served as an instructive resource to analyze how Anglo Texans portrayed Native people in ways that justified their conquest and dispossession. These representations centered on the racial discourse of *civilizing* the frontier, bringing desirable immigrants to the region, and addressing fears of Indian attacks. At the heart of this mission was the effort to *improve* Texas with a population they deemed desirable in terms of race and ethnicity. This chapter analyzes the subsequent change over time and highlights oral histories of the Panhandle, the Great Indian Scare of 1891, and Charles Goodnight’s 1916 bison hunt as moments indicative of racial and

¹²⁸ B. Byron Price, “The Great Panhandle Indian Scare of 1891,” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, 55 (January 1982), 127-143.

gendered representations of Native Americans by Anglo Texans, in the era after the cessation of the *Texas Almanac Series*.

In the historical context of 1890-1916, anxious Americans struggled with an identity crisis because of greater industrialization, widespread immigration, and questions over racial ideology, including a growing adherence to white supremacy. This chapter also addresses how these factors shaped collective memories for Anglo Texans in the region. By crafting common narratives, Anglo Texans solidified a collective mindset that categorized Native people as invaders and continued a colonial project that elevated Anglo settler-colonists as rightful owners and defenders of the region. This project required the physical absence of Native Americans, but white Texans needed to retain the memories and recollections of Indians as they continued to shape narratives about themselves and the state.

The Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum in Canyon, Texas was shaped by and contains many of these collective memories of Anglo Texan colonization. It is located twenty miles south of Amarillo and houses a vast collection of material related to the southern plains.¹²⁹ This research center is part of West Texas A&M University and includes historical, archaeological, paleontological, and anthropological material. The archives contain numerous oral histories pertaining to early Anglo Texan colonists who immigrated to the Panhandle. In the 1930s and 1940s, university students interviewed inhabitants and transcribed their stories of their lives.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Many consider the Panhandle of Texas part of the Great Plains. As Carl and Jon Williamson note, “The unique landscape known as Caprock Country is found along the eastern edge of the Great Plains where the flat plains have eroded away to form steep bluffs with white limestone rims at the top.” Carl and Jon Williamson, *Caprock Country: Last Frontier of Texas* (Amarillo, Tex.: Whitney Russell Printers, 2014), 3.

¹³⁰ In addition to these interviews, the archival center contains WPA oral history accounts. In the 1930s, President Franklin Roosevelt called for a variety of new administrations to try to alleviate the economic downturn that plagued the United States. One of these organizations, the Works Progress Administration sought out authors, writers, historians, and artists for projects such as transcribing oral histories of people from diverse backgrounds.

During the Works Progress Administration’s attempt to stimulate the economy, workers recorded oral histories such as the stories formerly enslaved people, and individuals that Comanches had taken during raiding throughout

The language used in these interviews is worthy of further investigation because often times, they reveal racialized and gendered themes, provide telling intersectional accounts of Panhandle colonization, and lend themselves to intersectional analysis. These accounts, memoirs, and recollections also show another aspect of settler-colonialism in the Texas Panhandle. The Texas Panhandle was the latest acquisition of land for the Texas government and in August of 1876, the Texas legislature created twenty-six counties totaling 25,610 square miles. This territory was the last portion of Comanche and Kiowa homeland that Quanah Parker and other Native Americans fought to maintain during the Red River War of 1875.

Much like the almanacs of the preceding chapter, the following oral histories demonstrate that American men and women viewed the Panhandle and the Texas frontier as a region in need of transformation. This transformation took the physical form of building fences, churches, homes, and towns. In addition, it took the figurative form of claiming indigeneity and wresting the history of the region from Native people through the practice of collective remembrance. These accounts underscore a theme throughout this dissertation that the memories Anglo-Texan colonists were rooted in a racial and gendered understanding of the world. Several interviews highlighted the significance that their white womanhood brought to the region. For example, a student named Naveta Farnsworth recorded the “Memoirs of Mrs. John Pundt” of Canadian, Texas and submitted the paper for “History 412” in 1940. Farnsworth noted that Mrs. Pundt provided the interview and was a “typical pioneer woman.”¹³¹ This oft-used phrase reflected

Texas. See Robert A. Calvert, Arnolde De Leon, and Gregg Cantrell, *The History of Texas Fifth Edition* (Malden, MA: Wiley and Sons, 2014), 301.

¹³¹ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, “Memoirs of Mrs. John Pundt,” transcribed by Naveta Farnsworth, July 22, 1940. There are several years of student papers in this collection. The department head of history, L. F. Sheffy appears to have created this assignment for his class. The university was formerly known as West Texas State Teachers College (WTSTC).

Anglo-Texan beliefs about the nature of pioneers and their transformative actions across West Texas.

The PPHM oral histories fed into the revised creation story of Texas and grounded white Texans as the stewards of the region. Early settlers reminisced about their encounters with Comanche and Kiowa people as well as the harsh environment of the Panhandle. These varied experiences provide a nuanced understanding of how Anglo Texans viewed and remembered Indians as well as the region itself. Racial and gendered rhetoric filled many of the interviews and conversations with the students. These examples operated as a form of nostalgic remembrance by placing the Anglo-Texan experience as the moment of civilization and the end of *savagery* on the plains of North Texas. In addition, the shared memories and experiences helped craft a collective memory that elevated Anglo-Texan settlers as rightful heirs of the land.

Several prominent historians have studied similar notions of racial and gendered rhetoric and policies constitutive of settler colonialism. For instance, Margaret D. Jacobs argues that a strong notion of American motherhood increased in the early twentieth century. Drawing from concepts of gender roles, Jacobs asserts that various nation-states viewed the world in gendered terms of masculinity and femininity and many women sought to further expand their role in society by identifying as mothers of nations.¹³² Jacobs argues that this effort by women was an attempt to exert influence based on womanhood and femininity and participate in a public sphere such as politics. This concept is evident throughout many of the interviews involving white womanhood on the southern plains of Texas.

¹³² Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 88. See also, Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* and Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*.

In addition, as noted in Chapter Two, Gail Bederman argues in *Manliness and Civilization* that men and women from the Civil War to World War I created a gendered fiction about masculinity in American society that was rooted in assumptions about white, racial superiority.¹³³ According to Bederman, white, American women participated in this as well, supporting and affirming the belief in the superiority of white civilization over *lesser races*. The arguments of Jacobs and Bederman shed light on the ways in which Panhandle women utilized notions of white women's civility to describe their role in *civilizing* or domesticating the Panhandle.

Indeed, gendered constructs were at the heart of several PPHM recorded conversations regarding early pioneers to the Panhandle. One student, Cecil Briggs, transcribed an interview with Mrs. Flora Henry Parker Baggarly, entitled, "The First Woman in Happy, Texas" that involved placing Baggarly as a feminine icon who transformed Texas through her gendered role.¹³⁴ Born in 1874 in Odessa, Missouri, Baggarly moved to Texas along with many other emigrants seeking opportunity. She and her husband arrived in Texas in 1906 and she proudly recounted her role as "the only woman in Happy."¹³⁵ Her sense of herself transcended traditional gender roles women faced as homemakers. For instance, Baggarly worked in a granary as a "secretary treasurer, stenographer, bookkeeper, and station agent."¹³⁶ In addition, Baggarly served as a doctor for expectant mothers in neighboring towns.

Baggarly's leadership during the initial period of colonization in the Texas Panhandle underscores how early twentieth-century women perceived their role in *domesticating* the

¹³³ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹³⁴ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, "The First woman in Happy, Texas: Mrs. Flora Henry Parker Baggarly," transcribed by Cecil Briggs, July 8, 1938.

¹³⁵ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, "The First woman in Happy, Texas: Mrs. Flora Henry Parker Baggarly," transcribed by Cecil Briggs, July 8, 1938, pg 2.

¹³⁶ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, "The First woman in Happy, Texas: Mrs. Flora Henry Parker Baggarly," transcribed by Cecil Briggs, July 8, 1938.

frontier. While Baggarly transcended conventional gender roles by assuming positions of leadership within the local community, the nature of her interview suggests that she was also proudly aware of the significance of being the first woman in the Panhandle.

Of course, Baggarly was not the “first” woman in the Panhandle. Many Native women made their homes in the region, and quite possibly others such as women of Mexican and Spanish descent participated in explorations of the region. In addition, unwilling participants such as enslaved women of African descent potentially crossed portions of the Panhandle. However, Baggarly’s statement defines her belief that a white woman’s presence changed the dynamic of the region and signaled the moment of *progress* on the plains. This dynamic shifted the racial and gendered makeup of the land and Baggarly viewed this as a defining moment of *civilization* pushing back against a backdrop of perceived savagery. My intersectional analysis thus utilizes race and gender to understand Baggarly’s assessment of her own role. White American women transformed the *uncivilized* regions of Texas.

Another interview by student H.M. Biggers discussed the transformation of Texas and the violent removal of Native people. While the previous interview focused on gender roles, this account reinforced racial stereotypes regarding Native people. Biggers interviewed M.A. (Uncle Al) Green in 1936. Green fought in the Battle of Adobe Walls in 1874 and participated in several other skirmishes against the Comanches.¹³⁷ Green’s rhetoric was markedly different than Baggarly’s and demonstrates the change in perceptions over time about Indians (Baggarly was born in 1874 while Green was fighting Indians in the Panhandle). For instance, the interviewer writes, “Mr. Green [had] seen Texas grow from a frontier of Indian and buffalo with few settlers

¹³⁷ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, “An Interview with M.A. (Uncle Al) Green,” transcribed by H.M. Biggers, July 4, 1936.

to one of the great states in the union.”¹³⁸ This excerpt draws on the oft-used trope regarding the transformation of the Texas landscape from a wilderness to an exceptional land of industry and *progress*.

Moreover, Biggers noted that Green experienced a transition from the time when he would “no longer feel the fear of attack from the wily savages.”¹³⁹ Green’s account similarly signaled the achievement of white progress through the *taming* of the West. Green recognized his role as a participant and harkened back to the *obstacles* in the path of progress in his interview. In this case, the *obstacles* were remaining Native communities. The language used by the interviewer, Biggers, is also instructive for analyzing rhetoric laden with concepts of the frontier and *savage* Indians. Writing in the 1930s, Biggers reinforced racial stereotypes, and perpetuated discourse concerning the imagery of the Texas frontier. This imagery centered on perceptions of a *Wild West* with *savage* Indians and a location that needed the touch of white, womanhood to *civilize* the area.

In addition, Green elaborated throughout the interview on his other experiences with Indians, including an event in which Texas Rangers shot two Native men, brought their bodies to town, and displayed them for local women. According to Green, the women desired to see the dead men, and Green portrayed the Indians as interlopers into the *civilized* settlement in the Panhandle. Perhaps the insistence by the women to view the deceased Native men was an attempt to rationalize their fears of the *uncivilized* other on the plains. By viewing the dead men, these white women had a chance to see first-hand how their presence aided in the *civilizing* of

¹³⁸ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, “An Interview with M.A. (Uncle Al) Green,” transcribed by H.M. Biggers, July 4, 1936.

¹³⁹ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, “An Interview with M.A. (Uncle Al) Green,” transcribed by H.M. Biggers, July 4, 1936.

the frontier. On the other hand, perhaps Green fabricated the women's desires to mask his own complicity in such a display.

Most importantly, Green proudly claimed that he was the only remaining survivor of the Battle of Adobe Walls. The interviewer recounts Green's role in the battle, and mentions Billy Dixon, the most famous participant. Interestingly, the interviewer noted, "The attack was a result of smoldering resentment on the part of the Indians against the encroachment of the white men on their hunting grounds and the ruthless slaughter of the buffalo."¹⁴⁰ This exchange between the interviewer and the interviewee sheds light on the use of early oral histories that contributed to the imagery of gunslingers, cowboys, and Indians by the nature of the questions posed. In this completed interview, the interviewer might have been using the celebrity of Green to reinforce the popular conceptions about the Battle of Adobe Walls and the collective memory of the event.

The final oral history considered in my analysis involves a notable difference in Anglo perceptions about Native people. The account of Cora Miller Kirkpatrick recalls the role of Quanah Parker in a Panhandle family's history. Kirkpatrick struck a different tone regarding Native people, including one account that detailed several interactions with Quanah Parker throughout the 1880s. Although Anglo Texans continued to harbor views of Native people as racially inferior, the encounter between Comanches and the Kirkpatrick family highlights a different picture. For instance, Kirkpatrick recalled the trading post on the Red River where Comanches would bring items from the reservation to trade with Texans including "pieces of calico...which was lucky for us as it was a hard matter to get material for our dresses."¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, "An Interview with M.A. (Uncle Al) Green," transcribed by H.M. Biggers, July 4, 1936.

¹⁴¹ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, "Memoirs of Miss Cora Miller Kirkpatrick" July 1938.

In addition, as noted, Kirkpatrick also discussed her family's encounters with Quanah Parker. For instance, Kirkpatrick reminisced about Parker visiting her father's farm with his "squaws." Kirkpatrick remembered that Parker would bring fresh antelope meat for her family, and although the account lacks the larger context of this exchange, perhaps it was rooted in Comanche cultural practices of reciprocity, trade, and treaty making. On the other hand, perhaps this encounter was Parker's continued attempt to assert his influence throughout the Panhandle region and to provide for his people.

In a telling encounter, Kirkpatrick recounted how her father asked Parker about the policy of Indian removal. Parker instructed the white man to sit down on a log. The Comanche chief continuously sat closer to Mr. Kirkpatrick, eventually pushing the man off the log. According to Kirkpatrick, Parker said, "White man no good to Indian; push him off land...like that."¹⁴² Interestingly, this story might serve several purposes for the reader. Was Kirkpatrick relaying this story later in her life as a means of rationalizing conquest and dispossession? Perhaps the interviewee attempted to convey a gentler side in which she appeared to have an understanding of what Parker and other Comanche people experienced on the southern plains. On the other hand, it is possible that Parker's words were instructive for these residents, and he voiced sadness and frustration over the loss of his homeland. Parker may have recognized that by voicing his opinions, he too participated in collective remembrance and he wanted to provide a Comanche counterpoint to the Anglo narrative.

Later in the interview, Kirkpatrick discussed moving to Hall County with her husband, and similar to other Panhandle interviews, proudly noted that she was the "first white woman" in

¹⁴² Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, "Memoirs of Miss Cora Miller Kirkpatrick" July 1938.

the county and the only one for several months.¹⁴³ This assertion by Kirkpatrick and seen earlier in Baggarly's account suggests that race and gender were both at play in this environment. Women of the early twentieth century utilized notions of white womanhood as they pushed for a larger, stronger voice in the public sphere.

Women such as Flora Baggarly and Cora Kirkpatrick put this belief into practice, reinforcing their views on womanhood and being the “first” women to occupy and *civilize* a county in the Texas Panhandle. These oral histories demonstrate that a central aspect of Anglo-Texan collective identity involved stories about Native people, including racialized and gendered accounts that engaged existing tropes about savagery, civilization, and the touch of womanhood in *taming* the frontier. In addition, these oral accounts are indicative of larger forces at play in the long history of interaction between whites and Native Americans. These accounts brought notions of Indians to the surface that fit squarely with the national identity of Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. This identity revolved around the closing of the frontier, of finishing the mission of Manifest Destiny, and of *civilizing* Native populations as part of a national project.

In the years after the Red River War of 1875-1876, Panhandle residents collectively shared the memory of the gripping fear of an Indian attack. In 1891, a series of events produced a “comedy of errors” that rattled residents, reminding them of a past reality involving their precarious existence on the plains.¹⁴⁴ Smoke from a campfire, gunshots, shouts, and a “lonely

¹⁴³ Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum and Archives, Oral Histories, “Memoirs of Miss Cora Miller Kirkpatrick” July 1938.

¹⁴⁴ B. Byron Price, “The Great Panhandle Indian Scare of 1891,” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, 55 (January 1982): 28.

and frightened wife” escalated these fears, and word quickly spread that Comanches and Kiowas had returned from Indian Territory to exact revenge on white Texans.¹⁴⁵

The exacerbated fears resulted from the general awareness of the history of conquest and removal that Anglo Texans had participated in since the 1820s. When Mexico granted American *empresarios* such as Moses and Stephen F. Austin land contracts, a deluge of southerners from the United States moved to Texas. In the following decades, these colonists brought many of the same sentiments regarding the violent expulsion of Indians to Texas. After all, these same southerners were intimately familiar with the federal policy of Indian removal that had resulted in the forced relocation of the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles from the southern United States to the trans-Mississippi West. One account from the “Great Indian Scare” actually acknowledged that the Panhandle was in fact the home of the Comanches. James Terrill Christian remarked that word had traveled about the Ghost Dances on reservations, and “we thought their native home was in Palo Duro.”¹⁴⁶ James Christian recognized that the Anglo Texans had in fact taken land and homes away from the Comanche people and the distant Ghost Dance taking place in the northern plains was enough to serve as an ominous threat to white civilization.

During the Republic of Texas period, 1836-1845, Native Americans faced new threats from the new Anglo nation. The Texan President Sam Houston had attempted a peace policy with Indian tribes in Texas, but his successor, Mirabeau B. Lamar, advocated a policy of ethnic cleansing.¹⁴⁷ For example, in an 1838 speech to the Texas Congress, Lamar stated that white

¹⁴⁵ George Turner, “Settlers Provided Their Own Hazards in Last Panhandle ‘Indian Uprising,’” *Amarillo Globe News*, (Amarillo, Texas), December 15, 1972. See also, Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).

¹⁴⁶ Panhandle Plains Historical Museum and Archives. 1927 Account of the “Great Indian Scare” by James T. Christian Panhandle Plains Historical Museum and Archives.

¹⁴⁷ Gary C. Anderson, *Conflict in Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1821-1875* (Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 2005). Houston served from 1836-1838 and Lamar served from 1838-1840.

Texans must follow through with a “prosecution of an exterminating war against their warriors; which will admit of no compromise and have no termination except in their total extinction or total expulsion.”¹⁴⁸ This policy resulted in continued warfare against Native people throughout the nineteenth century in Texas.

After the U.S. Civil War, the United States government returned to a policy of westward expansion, and fueled by the sentiment of Manifest Destiny, Americans pushed westward, precipitating conflict with Indians tribes and used the military to spearhead these expeditions. American settlers also continued emigrating to the West, increasing the chances of conflict over land and territory. As noted, in Texas, the Red River War of 1874-1875 had effectively pushed remaining Comanches and Kiowas from the state, giving Anglo Texans access to the land and resources of the Panhandle.

In light of this history of conquest, news of an impending Indian raid sparked well-known fears. Across the Panhandle, local communities barricaded themselves in cellars and churches, and stockpiled ammunition to prepare for a fight. However, no Indians were present, no raids materialized, and the only injuries occurred through clumsiness and negligence fueled by anxiety over the imminent attack. For instance, a woman dropped her child while fleeing on horseback and another panicked resident fell down the stairs of their home.¹⁴⁹

These fears came in the wake of news about the Ghost Dance, a religious ceremony held by members of the Lakota Sioux on the northern plains. The message of the Ghost Dance spread from the Southwest, furthered by a prophet named Wovoka.¹⁵⁰ Wovoka preached that

¹⁴⁸ Mirabeau B. Lamar speech to Texas Congress, December 20, 1838. Texas State Library and Archives Commission, <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/exhibits/indian/war/lamar-speech-1838.html>, accessed July 18, 2017.

¹⁴⁹ B. Byron Price, “The Great Panhandle Indian Scare of 1891,” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, 55 (January 1982), 127-128.

¹⁵⁰ Colin G. Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2012), 356-358.

participating in the dance would send white people away and bring back the bison. “Many Lakota embraced the Ghost Dance as a religious response to the harsh conditions on the reservation,” notes Colin G. Calloway.¹⁵¹ On December 29, 1890, the Seventh Cavalry slaughtered members of the Ghost Dance movement near Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota. The Sioux doctor, Charles Ohiyesa Eastman, was present at Pine Ridge reservation and provided a harrowing account of the aftermath, noting the numerous bodies, the wounded, and the destruction.¹⁵² Eastman later recounted, “It took all of my nerve to keep my composure in the face of this spectacle, and of the excitement and grief of my Indian companions.”¹⁵³ News of the “Indian uprising” spread across the nation, and residents of the Panhandle feared that a similar event might occur due to their proximity to reservations in Indian Territory.¹⁵⁴

These anxieties underscored a collective memory of the Southern Plains that emphasized murderous Indians and a hostile environment in need of Anglo transformation. Byron Price’s article on the 1891 scare provides an overview of the event and meticulously details the numerous oral history accounts.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, Price’s essay falls short in terms of an analysis of collective memory. The collective memory, the anxieties, and the continued representations of Native Americans that fueled this event require further investigation. Moreover, old-timers recounted the Indian Scare of 1891 and humorously recalled the ways in which they responded to the *crisis*. For example, Price notes, “Often repeated at cowboy

¹⁵¹ Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History*, 356-358.

¹⁵² Mark A. Nicholas, “Charles Ohiyesa Eastman Sees the Devastation of Wounded Knee,” in *Native Voices: Sources in the American West* (New Jersey: Pearson Publishing, 2014), 106-107.

¹⁵³ Nicholas, “Charles Ohiyesa Eastman Sees the Devastation of Wounded Knee,” 106-107.

¹⁵⁴ B. Byron Price, “The Great Panhandle Indian Scare of 1891,” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, 55 (January 1982), 128.

¹⁵⁵ Price, “The Great Panhandle Indian Scare of 1891,” 127-143.

reunions and old settlers days and in reminiscences the story of the Great Panhandle Indians Scare was soon ensconced in folklore.”¹⁵⁶

By sharing this experience and these memories, Panhandle residents replayed a history that shifted claims of indigeneity away from the Comanches and Kiowas and instead placed Anglo Texans as the rightful owners of the land. One witness even referenced the American Revolution in his description. J.C. Paul recounted how a rider came into town, “acting the part of Paul Revere” to inform residents of the threat of a coming Indian attack.¹⁵⁷ This reference implicitly placed the Indians as invaders of a homeland just as the American revolutionaries had seen the British military as invaders. These Indians became the invaders and the Anglo Texans transformed into the *native* inhabitants of the Panhandle.

Another aspect of this annual observance also allowed residents to situate Native people in the past and turn the tables by casting Indians as the invaders and outsiders to the region. Remembering the Great Indian Scare in which settlers and their descendants replayed a scenario that simultaneously separated and connected them to the past strengthens this notion. Crucial to this historical amnesia was recognizing that Anglo Texans were *settled* in the region and that they faced a threat from outsiders. This collective remembrance served as a method of “firsting,” by which Anglo Texan residents noted that they faced invading Indians, rather than vice versa. In doing so, these Anglo settlers justified the removal of Indians from the region. According to Jean O’Brien, European colonizers and Americans had repeated this process throughout the history of contact with indigenous communities. For example, in the aftermath of King Philip’s War in 1675-1676, colonists constructed local histories, which cast them as

¹⁵⁶ B. Byron Price, “The Great Panhandle Indian Scare of 1891,” *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, 55 (January 1982): 143.

¹⁵⁷ J.C. Paul account of the Great Indian Scare of 1891, Great Indian Scare Box, Folder MS-INT, Plains-Panhandle Museum and Archives.

“heroic...[and] featured constant vigilance against a ‘savage’ foe.”¹⁵⁸ New England colonists used this event as a moment of collective memory to pass down to future generations in which they perceived themselves as the protectors of the region.

This shared remembrance also reinforced the collective identity of Anglo Texans. In an important analysis of change over time, public sentiment changed regarding Native Americans. Despite their removal to Indian Territory, Comanche reprisals still gripped settlers of the Panhandle in 1891, exacerbated by contemporary events involving Wovoka and the Sioux; this event stands in stark contrast to the memories Panhandle residents would later share about the event in the 1920s. In those later years, in an almost jovial manner, residents remembered their panic and fears and in doing so, embraced an identity that placed them as the rightful owners of the Panhandle. The nostalgia for the 1891 events allowed Anglo-Texan residents to rationalize and assuage their old fears, proving their irrationality, and using humor of a collective memory during their old settlers’ meeting where stories were shared about the past.

In another event, a staged bison hunt with Kiowa men demonstrated how Anglo Texans thought about Native people and their history on the Plains. This transition from fear to celebration is a notable point of change over time regarding settler views on Native Americans in Texas. Their nostalgic remembrance demonstrates how Texans began to embrace a western identity, flattened issues of Indian resistance to invasion, and enjoyed events such as reenacted buffalo hunts conducted by the very people who had previously struck fear in Panhandle communities.

On October 7, 1916, the famed Panhandle resident and rancher, Charles Goodnight, staged a “Wild West Show” involving a buffalo hunt by “real Indians.”¹⁵⁹ Goodnight invited

¹⁵⁸ Jean O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 34-35.

guests and provided ticketed invitations throughout the Panhandle. The cattle rancher networked with several Kiowa people from Oklahoma to hunt a bison for the crowds. Goodnight was interested in authenticity, and for many white Texans, Native Americans were central to *authentic* representations of Texas and the West. After the physical removal of Native people from the state, Anglo Texans continued to represent and remember Indians in ways that justified their physical absence. These representations included the belief that Native people belonged in the past and that those surviving had only just begun to reach the precipice of civilization and advancement. In addition, these Wild West shows allowed audience members to reinforce the belief that they had witnessed a staged event of the past that strongly resonated with them in nostalgic ways while simultaneously affirming that they had made significant progress across the Panhandle by bringing *civilization* as colonizers. In effect, this allowed them to marvel at the *progress* brought to the Southern Plains.

The central figure behind the organization of this performance, Charles Goodnight, was born in 1836. The well-known cattle rancher lived through the U.S. Civil War, participated in the violence of the Texas frontier, and experienced rapid industrialization at the turn of the twentieth century. William T. Hagan, a Goodnight biographer, remarks that Goodnight was an instrumental figure, playing a “pivotal role in the development of the Texas Panhandle.”¹⁶⁰ The Texas rancher made his money in the burgeoning cattle industry during the second half of the nineteenth century and according to many accounts lived an exciting life.¹⁶¹ Early in his life, Goodnight served in the Texas military along the frontier and later made cattle drives to the Navajo Reservation at Bosque Redondo. Throughout these experiences, Goodnight encountered

¹⁵⁹ *Claude News* (Claude, Texas), October 13, 1916, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁶⁰ William T. Hagan, *Charles Goodnight: Father of the Texas Panhandle* (Norman: Oklahoma Press, 2007), xiii.

¹⁶¹ For instance, Larry McMurtry loosely based *Lonesome Dove* on the exploits of Charles Goodnight.

Native Americans in multiple contexts including the battlefield as well as in business negotiations over cattle and land. After amassing wealth in the livestock industry, Goodnight built a ranch in the Texas Panhandle near Palo Duro Canyon in 1876.¹⁶²

In 1879, a group of Comanches and Kiowas killed several of Goodnight's livestock and the rancher later met with Quanah Parker to try to negotiate a solution.¹⁶³ Although forced onto reservations in Indian Territory following the Red River War, Comanche and Kiowa bands continued to cross into Texas to hunt for bison and cattle. Goodnight agreed to provide the starving Comanches and Kiowas two steers a day until they returned to Indian Territory.

In 1887, Goodnight sold a bison to the Kiowa tribe for their religious ceremony, the Sun Dance, and created another connection with Native Americans. These early experiences left an impression on both Goodnight and the Kiowas, and late in his life, the Texan decided to stage a Wild West show, highlighting events and activities that resonated with residents of the Panhandle. William Hagan argues that Texans such as Charles Goodnight were "proud of their role in opening Texas's last frontier."¹⁶⁴ Part of this pride stemmed from the *conquering* of a *wild* frontier full of Indians with cultural practices they perceived to be rooted in the past. Coupled with this conquest was the near complete destruction of the American bison herds.¹⁶⁵ The 1916 bison hunt demonstrates the interest Anglo Texans had in their history by commemorating a frontier experience with Native Americans while marveling at and embracing their own collective progress and advancement in the region.

According to a writer in the *Claude News*, Goodnight's show was one of the largest and most significant events of the year. The author noted, "people from all parts of the Plains,

¹⁶² Hagan, *Charles Goodnight*, 25-27.

¹⁶³ Hagan, *Charles Goodnight*, 45-47.

¹⁶⁴ Hagan, *Charles Goodnight*, 114.

¹⁶⁵ Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2000).

Oklahoma, Arkansas, New Mexico, Kansas, and other states” attended the event.¹⁶⁶ This newspaper account also reported that between three and five thousand people participated in this frontier commemoration. Goodnight seemed to be quite the entertainment coordinator; he organized the event and even invited guests with printed tickets for the show. These tickets read, “We ask the Honor of Entertaining You as a Special Guest at the Buffalo Barbecue, Col. Goodnight’s Residence, Goodnight, Texas.”¹⁶⁷

One spectator observed that in addition to the wagons and buggies that filled the ranch, “between 762 and 790 autos” arrived as well.¹⁶⁸ The vehicles that lined portions of the Goodnight ranch must have created quite an illuminating contrast between the perceived primitivism of the bison hunt and the modernity evident in the presence of automobiles. Implicitly, this stark contrast created a scene where spectators could relish in their advancement while enjoying the nostalgic stirrings of the past.

Late that afternoon the guests filled a one hundred and sixty-acre tract of land and Goodnight turned the bison loose. Several Kiowa men, identified by the paper as “Horse,” “Kiowa George,” “Luther Sahmont,” and “Mookeen” chased the bison armed with bows and arrows. Although modern rifles were available, the use of *primitive* technology again spoke to the nature of the event. This use of older weaponry demonstrates an interest in authentic representations of the past. If the Kiowa hunters had used rifles, what would this mean for the white spectators? Perhaps the white spectators would view the Native men as inauthentic. This desire for authenticity highlights the representations that Anglo Texans had regarding Native people, and raises the issue of modernity and primitivism. Had the Kiowas utilized rifles, it

¹⁶⁶ “Col. Goodnight Entertains his Many Friends with a Real Buffalo Chase by Indians,” *Claude News* (Claude, Texas) October 13, 1916, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁶⁷ Plains Panhandle Historical Museum, Canyon, Texas. Charles Goodnight Papers.

¹⁶⁸ *Claude News* (Claude, Texas) October 13, 1916, UNT Portal to Texas History.

would have created a dissonance for viewers that had implicitly fixed Indians as unchanging primitives from the past.

The newspaper article also noted that a “movie man” followed along with a rifle for safety precautions in a Ford automobile as they filmed the hunt. The rifle proved superfluous as the Kiowa men brought the bison down after a brief chase. Afterwards, they butchered the bison and Goodnight sold meat to the guests. The paper noted that several prominent residents attended and that the Kiowas gave speeches following the exhibition.

George Hunt, from Lawton, Oklahoma gave an initial speech “for the Indians” in English while Mookkeen gave a speech with the assistance of an interpreter.¹⁶⁹ Mookkeen’s speech addressed everyone in the audience as friends, “regardless of nationality” because of their shared belief in Christianity.¹⁷⁰ The newspaper writer also provided the transcribed speech from George Hunt. Hunt expressed his gratitude for Charles Goodnight offering the opportunity for a buffalo hunt. He also recounted the event from forty-five years earlier in which Goodnight provided a bison for the Kiowa Sun Dance. Hunt noted that the act of kindness “is still remembered among the Kiowas and will be remembered as long as Kiowas live.”¹⁷¹ George Hunt also promised to visit the Goodnight’s final resting place once they passed away “in loving memory of them... I want to be remembered as Col. Goodnight’s friend.”¹⁷² The newspaper article ended with some final details regarding the event including the wives of the Kiowa men who hunted the bison as well as the fact that they all resided in Oklahoma.

¹⁶⁹ *Claude News* (Claude, Texas) October 13, 1916, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Claude News* (Claude, Texas) October 13, 1916, UNT Portal to Texas History. Evidently, Charles Goodnight and George Hunt remained friends. In a letter from Goodnight to Hunt on November 22, 1929, the rancher informed Hunt that they were planning to butcher some bison and offered for Hunt to come and take portions of meat back to his people. In the last portion of the letter, Goodnight offered, “There are a good many common heads left on the yards, if you went over there you could get quite a number... Seems to me the tripe would be very fine for your people. I mention this as I thought it might interest you. Your Friend, C. Goodnight.” Charles Goodnight Papers, Box 2Q74, Literary Productions, Miscellaneous.

Another Panhandle paper, *The Daily Herald*, provided a more poetic account of the event, and perpetuated the narrative of a now closed frontier, with settlers re-enacting the past, and constructing a collective memory. The writer remarked that the Kiowa leader George Hunt was educated in the best schools offered by the “Great White Father.”¹⁷³ In fact, the title of the article, “Indians Enjoy Their Last Buffalo Chase” reminded readers that the bison had succumbed to hunters, as well as the effects of colonization, and that white Texans had forcibly removed Native Americans from the region. In addition, the paper remarked on more than one occasion that the Kiowas present had learned the skills of farming and agriculture, perhaps signifying that the *civilizing* techniques had improved the lives of the Kiowas of Lawton, Oklahoma. The author used George Hunt as an example, stating, “He is busily engaged in making Indians into farmers and mechanics, and preparing them for the professions of their pale-faced brothers.”¹⁷⁴ In all likelihood, George Hunt was the product of one of the Indian boarding schools.¹⁷⁵ In the early twentieth century, these remarks are deeply relevant to the sentiment that a hierarchy of races was present and that as the United States had encountered new groups of people, and important aspect involved categorizing and racializing these groups to fit the theory of Social Darwinism. As the previous chapter referenced, this bison hunt took place against the backdrop of widespread immigration, encountering new groups of people, and the process of formulating a perceived racial hierarchy. By identifying that the Kiowas had been educated in the best schools, these newspaper editors were participating in the process of categorizing Native people within the existing racial hierarchy.

¹⁷³ “Indians Enjoy Their Last Buffalo Chase” *The Daily Herald* (Weatherford, Texas) October 24, 1916 Volume 17, No. 248, page 3, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ By 1900, there were over 21,000 Native children enrolled in these schools that sought to “kill the Indian and save the man.” David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 25-27.

Interestingly, the author of *The Daily Herald* noted that the Kiowa people involved in the event felt emotional stirrings of collective memory as well. He asserted, “To these [Kiowa] it brought back to them vivid recollections of the escapades of their younger days.”¹⁷⁶ The author’s insistence that nostalgia was at play implies that Native participants accepted these activities as rooted in the past. Instead of highlighting the possibility of progressing forward, the writer relegated the Kiowas solely to their past. In an ironic twist, the newspaper accounts were content with Anglo Texans using the hunt as a collective nostalgic journey, while still embracing modernity, yet, they needed the Native participants remain stagnant in the past as authentic representations to convey the significance of the bison hunt.

The author concluded the article by commenting on the Goodnights as some of the first pioneers who were “sturdy characters” in the Panhandle. It was also noted that Goodnight’s bison herd was quite the accomplishment and had in fact, “been kept together purely and fully as a matter of patriotism and public spirit.”¹⁷⁷ Remarkably, the conservation of the bison had become a matter of American patriotism, although the prior generation had actively participated in the slaughter of these herds, partly as a means of destroying the livelihood of Comanches and others across the Plains. For example, American military leaders such as William Tecumseh Sherman, Philip Sheridan, and Ranald Mackenzie believed that destroying the herds was a logistical solution to breaking the will of Comanches to fight and avoid reservations. Pekka Hämäläinen reinforces this, asserting, “The army set out to deprive the Comanches of shelter and sustenance by destroying their winter camps, food supplies, and horse herds...this kind of total

¹⁷⁶ “Indians Enjoy Their Last Buffalo Chase,” *The Daily Herald* (Weatherford, Texas). Vol. 17 No. 248, page 3, October 24, 1916, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

warfare was against entire populations was an established practice.”¹⁷⁸ This transformation is significant because Americans shifted their thinking regarding the bison. Rather than hunt the animal to extinction, Americans in the context of the Progressive era remarkably began efforts to preserve the species. This evolution involved a national nostalgia about the frontier past and connecting the bison herds to that moment in time.

Goodnight’s buffalo hunt provides a notable example of commemoration, memory, and historical authenticity in constructing narratives of Anglo-Texan identity. By invoking these memories of *real* Indians hunting bison on the plains, Goodnight and the onlookers commemorated this moment while reveling in the transformation of the Texas Panhandle. This exhibition was akin to recognizing their generation’s efforts to *civilize* and *tame* the West. In *Lone Star Pasts*, authors Randolph Campbell, Walter Buenger, and Gregg Cantrell among others emphasize such attempts by early Texans to justify their actions. Signaling the West, Native Americans, and bison, Campbell argues, “This memory emphasizes all things western and allows Texans to escape from their essentially southern heritage.”¹⁷⁹ This southern heritage was rooted in slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. In 1916, with other states having commemorated the fifty-year anniversary of Gettysburg three years prior, Panhandle Texans sought to distance themselves from memories of the Civil War and instead looked to the West.¹⁸⁰ This Wild West Show reflected an attempt to practice this distancing. According to Gregg Cantrell, “Texas emerged in the public consciousness of the Progressive era as a quintessentially western and

¹⁷⁸ Pekka Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 332-335. Notably, the Texas Historical Commission marker honoring Mackenzie notes that he was responsible for “ferreting out the Comanche.” See also, Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 128-129 and S.C. Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon* (New York: Scribner, 2010), 262.

¹⁷⁹ Gregg Cantrell, Elizabeth Hayes Turner and William Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas* (College Station: Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 278.

¹⁸⁰ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2001), 6-9.

American state.”¹⁸¹ This collective memory and celebration was a distancing of a southern past that instead focused on a triumphant western experience characterized by the conquering of the frontier and Indians that was firmly entrenched in the cultural history of American expansion.

Jean M. O’Brien also alludes to this practice in her above-referenced book, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*. As noted, non-indigenous local communities often emphasized “firsting” by claiming ownership and rightful control over the land through storytelling and commemoration. For instance, O’Brien argues that for New England, “The collective story... insisted that non-Indian peoples held exclusive sway over modernity, denied modernity to Indians, and in the process created a narrative of Indian extinction that has stubbornly remained in the consciousness and unconsciousness of Americans.”¹⁸² Similarly, Goodnight’s buffalo hunt helped root Texas colonizers as original proprietors of the land. The newspaper accounts made it abundantly clear that *sturdy pioneers* had cleared the path to civilization and that the bison hunt was a chance for modern Anglo Texans to relive an era prior to *civilization*. For example, the *Randall County News* elaborated on the movie crew that was present and noted, “Goodnight and his wife were among the first on the plains.”¹⁸³ This claim meant that history and civilization began with the moment of white settlement, not with events that occurred prior to Euroamerican contact. By commemorating past events through this reenactment, Anglo Texans collectively placed themselves as agents of *progress* on the Plains while in their minds, Native people remained situated in the past, and

¹⁸¹ “The Bones of Stephen F. Austin: History and Memory in Progressive-Era Texas,” Gregg Cantrell, Elizabeth Hayes Turner and William Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas* (College Station: Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 67.

¹⁸² Jean O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xiii.

¹⁸³ “Moving Picture Treat of Local Event: Last Buffalo Hunt,” *Randall County News* (Canyon City, Texas), March 29, 1917. Although the actual hunt occurred October 7, 1916, it appears that this paper produced the story after the film was available.

were denied modernity, even though they disputed their own demise and participated in performances such as the bison hunt and gave speeches afterwards.

Lastly, the staged bison hunt raises issues regarding authenticity. Goodnight's insistence on using *real* Indians suggests that Native people who had transitioned away from a nomadic plains lifestyle were in effect inauthentic. O'Brien argues that this remains a central issue for Native communities. She notes, "Deemed inauthentic if they did not comply with the expectation that they be persistently ancient, the collective project of local narrations cast Indian peoples as teetering on the brink of extinction if they did not relegate them explicitly to the past by declaring them extinct."¹⁸⁴ The second newspaper author highlighted this tension, discussing how the Kiowa people involved had made progress toward the "pale-face's" way of life.¹⁸⁵ Writers and spectators recognized that this transition was the culmination of more than two centuries of colonization against Native Americans.¹⁸⁶

The 1916 bison hunt in the Panhandle is an excellent example of this anxiety over American, as well as Texan, identity. Philip Deloria also analyzes issues with authenticity in *Playing Indian*. Although the central aspect of his study concerns cultural appropriation, Deloria comments in several passages that white Americans face "unease" when it comes to questions of identity. Similar to O'Brien's argument, Deloria contends that Americans define themselves by what they are *not*, and by placing other things, people, and places in opposition to their collective identity, they are able to imagine what they constitute as a people. Anglo Texans sought to commemorate the bison hunt, the West, and *authentic* Native people in the midst of a rapidly changing world. In the context of continued industrialization and the backdrop of World War I,

¹⁸⁴ O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 4.

¹⁸⁵ "Indians Enjoy Their Last Buffalo Chase," in *The Daily Herald* (Weatherford, Texas) Vol. 17 No. 248, page 3, October 24, 1916, UNT Portal to Texas History.

¹⁸⁶ Of course, the argument can be made that the moment of contact in 1492 resulted in attempts at colonization.

Anglo Texans might have longed for memories of a *simpler* time when they fought to conquer and *win* the West.

For example, as noted, immigration to Texas increased significantly from 1865-1915. In part, the increase was a result of Anglo-Texan efforts to entice foreign immigrants. As noted above, Rozek argues that Texans sought out a white, European labor force. This was largely because white Texans wanted an alternative to African American labor and strove to subjugate that portion of the population in a permanent second-class status through Jim Crow era laws as discussed in Chapter Two.¹⁸⁷

Racial issues were ever present in Texas in the 1910s. For example, a few years before the Goodnight hunt, in 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt dismissed one hundred and sixty-seven members of the Black Twenty-Fifth Infantry for alleged actions such as inciting violence following racial animosity by the local citizens in Brownsville.¹⁸⁸ In addition, Anglo Texans lynched approximately three hundred and thirty African Americans from 1880-1930. Most notably, thousands of citizens witnessed the torture and burning of Jesse Washington in Waco in 1916.¹⁸⁹ These atrocities highlight the racial tensions that permeated across Texas concurrent with the 1916 bison hunt.

Simultaneously, the Kiowa men and women who participated in the festivities pushed back against the narrative of colonization. For instance, although forced to hunt the bison in a traditional cultural manner, their performance and speeches helped the Kiowa individuals “re-appropriate” an event that Anglo Texans sought to exploit through their own representations.

¹⁸⁷ Barbara Rozek, *Come to Texas: Attracting Immigrants, 1865-1915* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 10.

¹⁸⁸ “Brownsville Raid of 1906,” The Handbook of Texas Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pkb06>, accessed February 16, 2017.

¹⁸⁹ Robert A. Calvert, Arnoldo De Leon, and Gregg Cantrell, *The History of Texas Fifth Edition* (Malden, MA: Wiley and Sons, 2014), 250-251.

This serves as an example of Native people fighting to reclaim their identity and is a central point raised by Philip Deloria in *Playing Indian*.¹⁹⁰ However complicated, the Kiowa participants carved out their own commemoration through the hunt, and exerted their influence and voice through their speeches given afterwards.

In addition, concepts of gender might have perpetuated these anxieties over industrialization and international conflict embedded in the bison hunt. For example, in the early twentieth century, Progressive historians were firmly entrenched with the belief that a hierarchy of civilizations existed. These historians drew from Fredrick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, which suggested that Americans and American men truly became themselves in the West along the frontier separating savagery and civilization.¹⁹¹ Modern historians such as Kristin L. Hoganson have argued that gendered roles and the discourse of gender was a key theme in the thought processes and speeches of Americans at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁹² This is significant because the bison hunt reenactment of 1916 on the Goodnight ranch suggests that these early twentieth-century Texans expressed anxieties over the end of the frontier era and sought to espouse masculinity through witnessing a bison hunt, reminding them of the conquest and victory they or their forbears achieved over Plains Indians in the late nineteenth century. The mass eradication of the bison enabled these settler colonists to further their masculine dominance through its reenactment, while they recognized that this conquest was representative of their *superior* manhood.

Gail Bederman analyzes the effects of the change in American society during the early twentieth century. Specifically, Bederman examines how notions of gender and masculinity

¹⁹⁰ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 20.

¹⁹¹ Francis G. Couvares, ed., *Interpretations of American History Volume One* (New York: Simon and Schuster Press, 2000), 8.

¹⁹² Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 200-201.

transformed for American men. Goodnight's bison hunt is indicative of Bederman's argument. Bederman contends, "Invoking discourse of civilization in a variety of ways, many Americans found a powerfully effective way to link male dominance to white supremacy."¹⁹³ At stake in the bison hunt was an opportunity for white Panhandle residents to show case white modernity and the triumph of civilization by contrasting it with elements of the past, namely Indians hunting bison. In the context of the early twentieth century, the bison hunt meant that Panhandle residents were interested in remembering the frontier because it created them into civilized men and women who had transformed the frontier. They fought *savagery* and triumphed, replacing it with white civilization.

Womanhood was also a key element for Panhandle residents reflected in a eulogy for Charles Goodnight's wife, Mary Ann, written in 1926 by Phoebe K. Warner and entitled, "Mother of the Panhandle."¹⁹⁴ Warner eulogized, "We could not have found a better mother for our new country...the first woman to come to our big, wild, new country...never grew so weary and so lonely that she left it for others to conquer."¹⁹⁵ By instilling a remembrance of "firsting" and the gendered facets of Mary Ann's presence, Warner reinforced the idea that a white woman was instrumental in *civilizing* the region and justified the need to *tame* a wilderness. In doing so, she effectively erased generations of Native, Hispanic, and African-descended women who came before.

In another nostalgic entry titled, "She Saved the Buffalo," author Annie Dyer Nunn praised the life and work of Mrs. Goodnight and her contribution to the revival of the bison herds. In this essay, Nunn followed the Goodnights' arrival to Palo Duro Canyon, and made certain to clarify that this was the first "white woman" in the region. According to Nunn, Mary

¹⁹³ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 23.

¹⁹⁴ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Austin, Texas. Charles Goodnight Papers, Box 2Q74, "Mother of the Panhandle."

¹⁹⁵ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Austin, Texas. Charles Goodnight Papers, Box 2Q74, "Mother of the Panhandle."

Ann Goodnight recognized that the slaughter of the bison herds would bring about the extinction of the species. Nunn remarked that Mary Ann had successfully taken several bison calves from the canyon floor and raised them. Nunn also suggested that Mary Ann saved the bison because of their centrality to the “history of West Texas.”¹⁹⁶

In addition to reflecting on the passing of the bison, Nunn’s essay seemingly laments the loss of the Comanches as well. Nunn laments, “For centuries, no one knows how far back, the buffaloes had inhabited the country. Like the Plains Indians they ‘belonged.’”¹⁹⁷ This passage reflects the idea of settler colonists across the Panhandle lamenting the passing of Native people and harkening back to memories of their existence on the Plains. There is an element of romanticism noted in their passing according to Nunn. She finished her essay on a positive note regarding Mary Ann Goodnight, however, Nunn noted that Goodnight was the “first white woman to settle the Panhandle...and [instrumental in] saving the buffalo for Texas.”¹⁹⁸

Charles Goodnight’s death in 1929 again raised these representations and stereotypes. One author paid homage to the famous rancher in the *Dallas News*, and drew from the list of available tropes regarding the West, Native people, and the onward push of white civilization. The writer praised Goodnight and mourned his passing, “[Goodnight’s] footsteps marked the path blazed for a new civilization to follow in routing the old untamed West.”¹⁹⁹ After signaling the transformation of the landscape, the author also alluded to what had been present before, mentioning how “death echoed from the Comanche’s war whoop...the buffalo reign as monarch of the plains and vanish almost.”²⁰⁰ Finally, the author raised a gendered element involving

¹⁹⁶ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Austin, Texas. Charles Goodnight Papers, Box 2Q74, “She Saved the Buffalo.”

¹⁹⁷ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Austin, Texas. Charles Goodnight Papers, Box 2Q74, “She Saved the Buffalo.”

¹⁹⁸ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Austin, Texas. Charles Goodnight Papers, Box 2Q74, “She Saved the Buffalo.”

¹⁹⁹ Plains Panhandle Historical Museum, Canyon, Texas. Charles Goodnight Papers, newspaper clippings, “Goodnight,” *Dallas News* (Dallas, Texas), December 14, 1933.

²⁰⁰ “Goodnight,” *Dallas News* (Dallas, Texas), December 14, 1933.

Goodnight, highlighting the fact that the rancher's "rugged youth and manhood" were devoted to developing the frontier.²⁰¹ This eulogy is another reminder produced by Anglo Texans to ground their past to the Panhandle as a place they transformed and to evoke memories that justified their colonization and conquest of the region.

From 1891-1916 local histories featured stories of Native Americans in the Texas Panhandle. Indians appeared throughout the oral histories of early pioneers, narratives of the "Great Indian Scare," and Charles Goodnight's bison hunt. The memories perpetuated and celebrated by Anglo Texans reinforced a lasting narrative of the Southern Plains. These memories centered on the celebration of *clearing* a frontier containing Comanches and other Indians. These memories also fondly recalled a false alarm in which local towns across the Panhandle prepared for a supposed Indian attack that never came. Years later, *survivors* of the Indian scare collectively remembered the ordeal as a comical absurdity. This use of memory and of making light of the threat of Indians through comedy was another chapter in writing a history of Texas that cemented white Texans as the purveyors of the land and rightful owners of the region. By sharing oral histories and recalling past events, non-Native Texans sought to create a sense of purpose and indigeneity on the plains. This effort led to the realization of an indigenous identity for Texans that continues in a fictive, but nonetheless powerful sense to this day.

Similarly, Charles Goodnight's bison hunt invoked the power of collective memory for local residents. The hunt represented an occasion to celebrate the past, replete with cowboys, Indians, and bison. The pageantry of the event enthralled spectators as they recalled a long-gone era of the Plains. Interested in authenticity, Goodnight asked the assistance of Kiowa men and women from the neighboring Oklahoma reservation and guests watched as these Native people hunted bison across Goodnight's ranch. This event also shed light on the socioeconomic context

²⁰¹ Ibid.

of the early twentieth century. Automobiles surrounded the ranch, a camera crew filmed the event, and the newspapers covered the show as well. Lastly, the Native people involved including “Kiowa George” and Luther Sahmont used the event to address the onlookers and to participate in collective memory as well. George recounted the generosity of Goodnight and his lasting legacy among the Kiowa people. The events of these decades laid the groundwork for future generations in terms of memory, representation, and folklore surrounding the history of interaction between Native people and Anglo Texans throughout the Texas Panhandle.

CHAPTER IV

MONUMENTS AND MUSEUMS, 1924-1933

In the decades after the Civil War, white Texans turned to statues, memorials, and monuments to create a permanent legacy of their collective history. These historical sites were scattered across the state and honored Confederate soldiers as well as those who participated in the Texas Revolution. In 1881, for example, Temple Houston gave a speech eulogizing and honoring the participants of the Battle of San Jacinto. Temple, the son of Sam Houston, urged the audience to consider the significance of erecting monuments, and stated, “The decay of monuments, the forgetfulness of the departed greatness, are sure precursors of a nation’s fall.”²⁰² Temple’s words struck a chord with the audience. Throughout the history of both the United States and Texas, monuments and memorials served as places of public memory that perpetuated a lasting narrative that continued to undermine marginalized groups such as African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans and mirrored other discursive and commemorative efforts discussed in previous chapters.

Houston’s commemorative speech was rooted in a discourse of memorializing and honoring past heroes. For instance, he mentioned that the “pioneers were the heralds [sic] of a new civilization,” and exhorted listeners to “revere the memory of your forefathers, follow their examples, obey their teachings, and then the deeds commemorated by [this] monument have not been performed in vain.”²⁰³ Anglo Texans honored past citizens and violent events through the

²⁰² Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History, Charles Goodnight Papers, General Correspondence, Folder 9, Temple Houston Speech 1881. A copy of this speech remained in Charles Goodnight’s papers and probably provided some influential impetus in the rancher’s later efforts to create a Wild West Show. Perhaps this speech at the San Jacinto monument suggests that Goodnight thought about memorializing the past and the significance it provided to previous and future generations.

²⁰³ Charles Goodnight Papers, General Correspondence, Folder 9, Temple Houston Speech 1881.

construction and dedication of monuments, museums, and the pageantry involved in celebrating Texas history from an Anglo Texan perspective. Sites such as the Alamo continue to hold reverence in the mind of the public. In the Texas Panhandle, Anglo Texans also turned to memorials and museums to construct their own memories unique to the region.

This chapter explores and examines how Anglo Texans created monuments, such as the Battle of Adobe Walls memorial, and museums, such as the Plains Panhandle Historical Museum, to collectively shape and celebrate their shared pasts in ways that justified the conquest and dispossession of land taken from Native people. Furthermore, these sites created lasting depictions of Native Americans, and promoted an enhanced Anglo-Texan identity, a brand that continues to support a powerful and seductive narrative of the region's history. Such efforts to construct historical monuments and museums underscore the labor of Anglo Texans to write a history of the Panhandle that cast them as both original inhabitants and, conversely, as conquerors of a wild, untamed frontier. Simultaneously, their efforts cast Native Americans in a negative light, representing them as wild invaders and savage people who remain statically unchanging and embedded in the past. Racial and gendered discourse was central to both these efforts and this chapter examines the ways in which these elements influenced and continues to influence the meaning and function of these sites.

Museums across the United States are incredibly popular and frequented by tourists, students, and locals alike. Often overlooked are the reasons for their existence and the lasting identities and memories they perpetuate. Many times, museum interests intersect with local communities, nation-states, and other groups. According to Michel-Rolph Trouillot, they highlight select voices while silencing others.²⁰⁴ They represent historical snapshots, and can

²⁰⁴ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 52-53.

eschew larger issues, particularly troublesome events that challenge the narratives that they seek to uphold. For example, historian and curator Paul Chaat Smith argues that for Native people, the National Museum of American Indians serves as “a place of memory, memorial, hope and grief; a place where questions are as important as answers and no facts are beyond dispute; and a place that honors the Indian past and the Indian future.”²⁰⁵ By contrast, many museums follow a national narrative that reveals what Smith refers to as, “the ability to turn past embarrassment into pride, crime into virtue, to mostly erase history and when that doesn’t work, wear its troublesome details as a badge of honor.”²⁰⁶ The creation of museums and their local narrative contribute to the production of popular history and collective memory in Texas that continue to exert powerful influence across the state for residents and visitors alike.

In addition to museums, historical monuments also serve to uphold a narrative that binds a community and a location together. Monuments come in varying sizes and forms serving as reminders of the past. Often created and constructed in the midst of turmoil, uncertainty, or periods of momentous societal change, monuments speak uniquely to different groups. In addition, the historical context of specific monuments often signifies a deeper story that establishes its origins, potential controversy, lasting legacy, and meaning for various groups of people. For example, the Bob Bullock State History Museum in Austin, Texas prides itself on representing the stories of Texans. Yet, in an article entitled, “The Story of Texas?: The Texas State Historical Museum and Memories of the Past,” historian Walter Buenger argues that a majority of the timeline presented involves the nineteenth century, and that Anglo – Texan

²⁰⁵ Paul Chaat Smith, *Everything You Know about Indians is Wrong* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 62.

²⁰⁶ Smith, *Everything You Know about Indians is Wrong*, 139.

identity is rooted in a past rife with a celebratory air of conquering of others.²⁰⁷ The larger question remains: to which Texans does the museum refer and who qualifies as a Texan?

Monuments, memorials, and museums serve as sites of remembrance, and are what some authors have referred to as places of public memory.²⁰⁸ Moreover, these sites are “activated by concerns, issues, or anxieties of the present,” sites deemed “worthy of preservation based on some kind of emotional attachment.”²⁰⁹ Erika Doss raises the issue of underlying anxiety in her study, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Doss refers to the widespread use of monuments in the United States as “memorial mania,” and specifically highlights the ways in which the practice affects historically oppressed populations and in the case of Texas, continues to provide viewers with a violent, yet triumphant past. Visitors to these sites participate in the process of collective remembrance that perpetuates and rationalizes the constructed, historical narrative.

Although Doss uses the examples of the Crazy Horse and Battle of Little Bighorn monuments, her argument resonates strongly with indigenous history in Texas. According to Doss, Americans possess the “heightened urge to memorialize [that] certainly stems from vastly expanded understandings of who ‘counts’ in American history.”²¹⁰ For instance, the Battle of Adobe Walls monument pays homage to the white Texans who fought against Quanah Parker’s Qauhada Comanches in 1874. The initial “counting” at the Adobe Walls site involved Olive K. Dixon, the widow of Billy Dixon, the famous Indian scout who had fought at Adobe Walls. Olive Dixon wanted her husband’s memory to continue through a public monument for future

²⁰⁷ Buenger, “The Story of Texas?” 480-493.

²⁰⁸ *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, ed. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010).

²⁰⁹ *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*. ed. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 6-7.

²¹⁰ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 339.

generations.²¹¹ The original marker placed at the battle site honored the brave men who defended the camp from invading Indians. Olive Dixon and other Panhandle residents utilized the creation of this memorial to reframe Native Americans as *savage* invaders to achieve their means of honoring these historical figures.

Jon Bodnar furthers Doss's argument as well, asserting that nations play a role in public memory and "dominate public communications."²¹² In addition, Bodnar notes the significance of the pioneer and settler in U.S. historical memory. He argues, "Pioneers stood for ordinary people... [involved] in starting families and local communities."²¹³ Panhandle pioneers were invested in representing this process and honoring the lives of the settler-colonists who *tamed* an area that was previously devoid of supposed *civilization*. Memorials and monuments created a sense of justification for the residents of the Panhandle, a means to construct a history that cast them as rightful owners of the region. After their literal removal, this strategy of memorial construction figuratively displaced Native Americans from having a voice in the conversation and the lasting narrative that cast them as primitive, invaders, and part of the past.

The figurative displacement involved in commemorating historical sites inscribed them with Anglo-Texan significance, from an Anglo-Texan perspective. By these actions, Anglo Texans attempted to claim cultural and social possession of these lands. Historian Jared Farmer refers to this process as "double displacement" in which after the physical removal of an indigenous society occurs, settlers rename and replace existing sites of importance in ways that

²¹¹ Dixon also had his Medal of Honor rescinded because the U.S. military classified him as an "Indian Scout" and not as an official service member. Perhaps this is how Olive Dixon responded to try to uphold his honor. See H. Allen Anderson, "Buffalo Wallow Fight," Texas State Historical Association Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/btb03>, accessed May 22, 2019.

²¹² Jon Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 21.

²¹³ Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 33.

bestows possession and belonging.²¹⁴ Anglo Texans achieved this displacement, using historical memorials, museums, and markers to create a legacy that situated them as original inhabitants rather than invaders.

The Battle of Adobe Walls monument is about ninety miles northeast of Amarillo, Texas. This site remains the ancestral homeland of the Comanches and Kiowas and twice served as a contested battleground on the southern plains. Historians refer to these two battles as the Battle of Adobe Walls and the Second Battle of Adobe Walls, occurring in 1864 and 1874 respectively.

In the 1860s, Comanche and Kiowa bands camped along Adobe Walls and hunted bison. Many of the plains bison had been forced south because of the destruction of the herds wrought by Euroamerican buffalo hunters on the central plains. This was a concerted effort by these hunters to destroy and transform the Plains Indians' way of life. The remaining bison herds were a vital resource for these Native groups and in many instances, their societies revolved around the bison. This same decade also involved an aggressive campaign by white Texans to promote emigration and immigration to the state, further removing the remaining Indians from Texas.

In addition, the Santa Fe Trail passed through this region and represented a hallmark of commerce between several states, western territories, and Mexico. According to Joy L. Poole, "Mine owners, bankers, traders, and business people...were able to capitalize on what would become a profitable run" on the Santa Fe Trail.²¹⁵ Native people frequently targeted this route of commerce, capitalizing on the goods and supplies. In 1864, General James H. Carleton, stationed in the New Mexico Territory, ordered Union troops to march on Adobe Walls and

²¹⁴ Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 5.

²¹⁵ Joy L. Poole, ed., *Over the Santa Fe Trail to Mexico: The Travel Diaries and Autobiography of Dr. Rowland Willard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 28.

attack the Comanches and Kiowas for these repeated raids on the Santa Fe Trail. General Carleton instructed Colonel Kit Carson to lead the expedition, and Colonel Carson departed with a large contingent of federal troops as well as Jicarilla Apache scouts totaling about four hundred as a fighting force. When Carson attacked the first Kiowa village on November 25, 1864, several Kiowa men fled to the neighboring Comanche village and together they prepared a counterattack. The combined force of Comanches and Kiowas repulsed Carson and his troops, forcing a retreat that same day. The Comanches and Kiowas viewed the First Battle of Adobe Walls as a victory, as they inflicted 25 casualties on Colonel Carson's military force.²¹⁶

Three years later, members of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, and Kiowa nations met with U.S. officials on Medicine Lodge Creek, near Fort Larned, Kansas. These Native nations entered into a series of negotiations known as the Medicine Lodge Treaty. The stipulations in the treaty called for the Comanches to take up an agricultural lifestyle in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) in return for yearly payments and supplies of food and clothing.²¹⁷ Members of these tribal nations were interested in making this treaty with the United States because they believed it would allow their respective tribes to retain aspects of tribal autonomy and serve as a cessation of hostilities. Pekka Hämäläinen notes the lasting misunderstanding that followed this treaty. Comanche leadership believed that they were the rulers of the southern plains and viewed reservations as a “seasonal supply base.”²¹⁸ The United

²¹⁶ H. Allen Anderson, “The First Battle of Adobe Walls,” Texas State Historical Association Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/qea01>, accessed July 8, 2016. Estimates of the number of Native Americans involved in this conflict vary. Several such as the Texas State Historical Association place the number in the thousands.

²¹⁷ Pekka Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 322-324.

²¹⁸ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 325. The Comanches viewed the Texas Panhandle as their homeland, but to refer to them as “rulers” or “lords” touches on issues regarding anachronistic thinking as well as using words or thoughts that may not translate into the Comanche world. For the “lords” designation, see also, Ernest Wallace and E. Anderson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952).

States government officials, on the other hand, believed that the Plains tribes would come to the reservations and take up an agricultural lifestyle.

One of the Yamparika Comanches present, Ten Bears, voiced his frustration with the treaty, and said, “If the Texans were kept from our country, then we might live upon a reserve, but this country is so small we cannot live upon it. The best of my lands the Texans have taken.”²¹⁹ While some Native Americans stressed their frustration with the treaty, others, like the Kiowa chief, Satank, expressed a hopeful conclusion to the agreement. Satank remarked, “The world seemed large enough for both the red man and the white man. Its broad plains seem now to contract, and the white man grows jealous of his red brother...Do for us what is best...Your people shall again be our people.”²²⁰ Aside from this conciliatory stance, many members of the Kiowa and Comanche nations disagreed with this treaty.

The Medicine Lodge Treaty was problematic for the Comanches as well as other tribes and represented a long history of white-Indian interactions that were fraught with confusion, misunderstanding, and ill will. For example, in the first half of the nineteenth century, efforts to “civilize” the Indians gave way to the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830 and in the subsequent decades, American settlers, militias, and government troops coerced and later forcibly relocated eastern Native American tribes to territories west of the Mississippi River. In many cases, these *removals* were violent and took the lives of thousands of Native people.

After the Civil War, in 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant instated the notion of a “peace policy” in which Native communities across the West would agree to a reservation and take up Anglo-American cultural and religious practices. This strategy reflected the larger policy of

²¹⁹ Colin G. Calloway, ed., *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indians Views of How the West was Lost* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 1996), 116.

²²⁰ Mark A. Nichols, ed., *Native Voices: Sources in the Native American Past* (New York: Pearson Education, 2014), 94.

assimilation that the United States turned to following President Grant's Peace Policy. Chapter One detailed this history and the implications of the forced assimilation Native Americans faced after the end of the "Indian Wars" in the 1870s. The policy was also the government's answer to issues concerning westward expansion. However, numerous tribal nations rebelled against this policy of containment, and fled reservations, fighting back against the U.S. military.

Against this backdrop of mounting Anglo-American migration and escalating tension on the southern plains, American hunters increased their efforts to hunt the bison to the point of extermination. In 1874, under the leadership of Quanah Parker and Isa-tai, the Comanches as well as the Kiowas decided to attack Adobe Walls to punish the bison hunters who operated out of the location. Parker's Quahada Comanches were particularly upset with the bison hunters who threatened their way of life. According to S.C. Gwynne, the destruction of the herds put into question the very identity of Comanche people.²²¹ Similarly, the existence and utilization of the bison was central to the Kiowas. One Kiowa woman, Old Lady Horse, remarked, "The buffalo were the life of the Kiowas."²²² The slaughter of the bison was physically, mentally, and spiritually detrimental to the Comanches and Kiowas on the southern plains.

Historians recognize that the destruction of the bison occurred through a variety of factors including changes in weather, wanton annihilation at the hands of hunters, and the participation of Indians and hide hunters alike in the burgeoning market economy that demanded bison resources. For example, Dan Flores asserts that a drought from 1856-1864 had a significant effect on the herd populations. Flores notes, "The practical effect on buffalo, and by

²²¹ S.C. Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon: Quanah Parker and the Rise and Fall of the Comanches, the Most Powerful Indian Tribe in American History* (New York: Scribner Publishers, 2010), 260.

²²² Colin G. Calloway, ed., *Our Hearts Fell to the Ground: Plains Indians Views of How the West was Lost* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 1996), 129.

extension on people living off buffalo, was extraordinary and profound.”²²³ In addition, Andrew Isenberg argues that, “the hunting of the bison in the 1870s and early 1880s was unquestionably the work of an industrial society.”²²⁴ Industrial demand for the hides meant that railroads shipped out copious amounts from the Plains. Isenberg cites one contemporary estimate that puts the slaughter during 1872-1874 at 3,158,730 bison.²²⁵

In the wake of the bison slaughter, the Comanche prophet, Isa-tai, asserted his leadership in the midst of this existential crisis for the Comanches of the Texas Panhandle. For years, Comanche bands had faced violent attempts at removal, sporadic battles with Texas Rangers, and encroaching Anglo and European settlers.²²⁶ Isa-tai preached that the weapons of white men could not harm him or his believers, and that with his power he “would restore the Comanche people nation to its former glory.”²²⁷ After holding a Sun Dance that the Comanches had adopted from a Kiowa belief system, Parker, Isa-tai, as well as Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe warriors gathered to attack the outpost at Adobe Walls. The Native men painted themselves with yellow sage, which Isa-tai had promised would protect them and their horses from harm.²²⁸ Their response to the shrinking Comanche homeland culminated in the Second Battle of Adobe Walls.

On June 27, 1874, Parker and his men attacked the outpost, hoping to eradicate the twenty-eight bison hunters and traders inhabiting the rudimentary structures. However, Parker and his warriors were repulsed after a brief battle. The Comanches retreated and the two forces

²²³ Dan Flores, “Wars over Buffalo: Stories versus Stories on the Northern Plains,” in *Native Americans and the Environment: Perspectives on the Ecological Indian*, ed. Michael E Harkin and David Rich Lewis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 163.

²²⁴ Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 132.

²²⁵ Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison*, 137. This was an estimate from Colonel Richard Irving Dodge.

²²⁶ Gary C. Anderson, *Conflict in Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1821-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005).

²²⁷ Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon*, 265.

²²⁸ Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon*, 268.

continued shooting at each other from several hundred yards away. According to one Comanche account, an Indian named Cohayyah was shot from his horse about a mile away.²²⁹ The shooter had been Billy Dixon, one of the bison hunters and Indian scouts. His success deterred any further attacks on the trading post, and as Gwynne notes, “The effect on the Indians was devastating... [Especially] the shocking failure of Isa-tai’s medicine.”²³⁰ Billy Dixon’s mile-long shot concluded the Second Battle of Adobe Walls.

The remaining Native force fled, re-grouped, and attacked white outposts throughout the Texas Panhandle in retaliation. In response to these attacks on settlers, Commanding General of the Army William T. Sherman commissioned General Ranald S. Mackenzie to take the United States’ Fourth Cavalry and destroy any Comanche or Kiowa group that failed to return to their reservation. The Comanches successfully evaded General Mackenzie and his troops across the Panhandle, but Mackenzie’s forces slaughtered a major horse herd at Palo Duro Canyon on September 28, 1874, severely limiting the Comanches’ supplies. Mackenzie’s soldiers also destroyed the food supplies, clothing, and goods used by the Comanches. In utilizing this total war strategy, Mackenzie’s troops imitated the policy carried out by William Sherman across the South during the Civil War. However, by not physically fighting on the battlefield with Comanche warriors, leaders in the United States may have seen this as a victory not worthy of heroic celebration. In an era that perpetuated rugged masculinity, the destruction of bison hides, horses, and shelter used by women and children may have left some in the United States wary of their role in forcing the Comanches and Kiowas onto reservations. This was a devastating blow to the remaining Comanches in the Texas Panhandle. Hämäläinen observes that Adobe Walls

²²⁹ Ibid, 270-271.

²³⁰ Gwynne, *Empire of the Summer Moon*, 271.

had “hardened the federal government’s resolution to break Indian resistance.”²³¹ In the following months, many Comanches surrendered to U.S. authorities at their reservation in Indian Territory.²³²

In the years following the battle, Olive Dixon, Billy Dixon’s wife, grew increasingly interested in his tales of frontier life and battles against Indians. After his death in 1913, Olive Dixon set out to honor his memory by writing a biography and petitioning for the construction of a monument to honor and memorialize the Battle of Adobe Walls. Born in Virginia in 1873, Olive King had traveled to the Texas Panhandle in 1893 to visit her brothers. She found a job as an educator, teaching at the Garden Creek School in Roberts County.²³³ While working in the Texas Panhandle, she met the former Indian scout, Billy Dixon. The couple married and her curiosity about Billy’s earlier life on the Plains grew over time. When Billy Dixon passed away, his widow began cementing his historical legacy, stressing his crucial role in bringing *civilization* to the Plains for Anglo Texan settlers. Olive Dixon’s biographer, John L. McCarty, writes, “She was trying desperately to see and record an earlier figure, a youth who was a power in plains history... a powerful, wilderness-wary figure who went his solitary ways, or participated in the rough life of the man’s world of buffalo hunting, Indian fighting, and cunning survival that antedated her memories of this beloved region.”²³⁴ She worked to enshrine these memories through the construction of a memorial to honor her husband’s exploits throughout the Panhandle.

²³¹ Hämäläinen, *Comanche Empire*, 339. Hämäläinen argues that the destruction of the Comanche horse herd as well as their seasonal supplies meant the United States had defeated them through economics, not militaristically.

²³² Anderson, *Conquest of Texas*, 358-359.

²³³ H. Allen Anderson, “Olive King Dixon,” Texas State Historical Association Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fdi34> accessed January 9, 2017.

²³⁴ John L. McCarty, *Adobe Walls Bride: The Story of Billy and Olive King Dixon* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1955), 226.

In 1922, during the lead up to the fifty-year anniversary of the Second Battle of Adobe Walls, the newly established Plains Panhandle Historical Society made the decision to raise money for the erection of a marble monument honoring the Anglo-Texan men who fought against Quanah Parker and the Comanches. The society selected Olive Dixon to raise the requisite funds. Simultaneously, she served as the vice president of the Plains Panhandle Historical Society.

The Adobe Walls Monument represents an effort by descendants of Anglo-American settlers to cement a narrative that celebrated an unequal power dynamic between the white newcomers and Native people. This monument portrayed the purportedly brave stand that Anglo Texans had taken against the threat of *hostile Indians* in the Panhandle. In addition, it later served to display a collective memory of the site as one of central importance to the *civilization* of the region. Historian Gail Bederman reinforces this concept and delves into how politicians as well as the middle class understood the transition from savagery to civilization from 1890-1920. Panhandle residents were interested in remembering the frontier because it transformed them into civilized men and women and they simultaneously transformed the frontier from a savage state to a place of civilization. They fought savagery and won, replacing it with white civilization thereby asserting that they were the *fittest race*. This mentality was indicative of an era in U.S. history largely concerned with Social Darwinism, a contest between the races, and anxiety over changes wrought from industrialization.²³⁵

Olive Dixon's mission represented an effort to place her husband in the pantheon of Texas heroes and to construct a lasting memory that honored his exploits for future generations

²³⁵ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural history of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). See also Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

of Texans. According to McCarty, she wanted to “protect the Panhandle heritage.”²³⁶ This protection of heritage is reminiscent of the efforts undertaken by groups to maintain and promote heroic narratives of the Alamo in San Antonio as well as honoring Confederate soldiers with statues. Racial and gendered discourse permeated the construction of this monument and reinforced ideas about Native people, as well as the concept of the frontier.

One method of illuminating Billy Dixon’s life was to establish a commemorative marker that celebrated his exploits at the Second Battle of Adobe Walls. According to McCarty, the widow Dixon worked feverishly to acquire the funds needed for this commemorative marker, traveling throughout the small Panhandle towns, and lobbying residents to donate to the monument.²³⁷ Dixon’s coordinated effort reflects several important aspects of memory, race, and gender in the early twentieth century. For instance, historians Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hays Turner argue that an attempt to construct a particular monument is reflective of the ways in which collective memory in societies “serves as a coordinator of identity.”²³⁸ Dixon’s quest to honor her late husband, as well as the other bison hunters at Adobe Walls, stemmed from an interest in preserving a narrative that situated these white Texans as the rightful owners of the region. By instilling and reinforcing this historical memory, she and others sought to solidify the archetype of white Texans subduing *savage* Indians to secure the western frontier. This memorial resonated with and reflected the larger narrative that Anglo Texans sought to construct. In highly gendered terms, brave, white, rugged Texan men conquered a region that was full of dangerous Indians making it safe for white women who played a crucial role as well by bringing civilization and a *womanly* touch to the landscape. By employing physical symbolism, they

²³⁶ McCarty, *Adobe Walls Bride*, 248.

²³⁷ McCarty, *Adobe Walls Bride*, 250-251.

²³⁸ Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hays Turner, “Introduction,” in *Lone Star Past: Memory and History in Texas*, eds., Cantrell and Turner (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 2.

helped organize schools, erect churches, and build museums and monuments to *civilize* the Panhandle. These markers served as iconic sites that shaped a narrative about the transformative effect of Anglo *civilizing* efforts across the Texas Panhandle.

Dixon's efforts culminated in a two-day celebration that honored the white fighters at Adobe Walls, including her late husband, Billy Dixon. According to McCarty, "Mrs. Dixon prepared the copy and the list of names for the red granite monument furnished by the Osgood Monument Company of Amarillo."²³⁹ The *Tulia Herald* placed the number of attendees at three thousand, observing that locally-famous speakers made remarks, and the West Texas State Teachers College band played music throughout the event.²⁴⁰

Many newspapers across the region carried stories of Dixon's undertaking, informing residents that there would be a variety of events at the site of Adobe Walls to commemorate the fifty-year anniversary of the battle on June 27, 1924. Allusions to collective memory, as well as racial and gendered discourse, were present throughout the newspaper accounts. For instance, the *Schulenburg Sticker* valorized the white participants, noting the site was "where twenty-eight straight-shooting plainsmen held five hundred Comanche Indians at bay...with their withering rifle fire finally brought conviction to the Indians that the scalps...were not worth the price it would take to get them."²⁴¹ This account brings to light the collective remembrance involved in the construction of the site. This involved creating a lasting narrative that upheld an image of the frontier involving a contest between races over the land. It resonated squarely with the racial ideology of the era, which placed an emphasis on a hierarchy of races, and the need of American men to return to and conquer nature.

²³⁹ McCarty, *Adobe Walls Bride*, 252.

²⁴⁰ *Tulia Herald*, (Tulia, Texas), July 4, 1924, Volume 15, No. 27, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁴¹ *Schulenburg Sticker*, (Schulenburg, Texas), September 5, 1924, Volume 30, No. 52, page 6, UNT Portal to Texas History.

Other local newspapers promoted the event, highlighting the racial undertones. For example, *The Tulia Herald* set the stage for the celebration by illuminating the racial aspects of the historic battle and its significant meaning for white colonists of the Texas Panhandle. One author wrote of the site as one where, “a few white men fought so valiantly against an overwhelming number of Indians.”²⁴² The monument represented and continues to represent a facet of western expansion as well as colonization that launched the Red River War, a conflict that culminated in the violent removal of remaining Comanche bands from Texas. From a standpoint of racial analysis, the Adobe Walls Monument reflects a narrative that also resonates at the Alamo: the image of white defenders protecting a site from dark-skinned invaders. The fact that the newspapers cast the Indians as invaders and portrayed the Anglo Texans as original inhabitants demonstrates the thick irony involved in this retooling of the story.

In addition, the monument represents what historian James Crisp refers to as “historical membership.”²⁴³ Groups of people utilize historical membership to define themselves in opposition to others as well as highlight their role in a given historical event. The battle defined the *defenders* of Adobe Walls and their later beneficiaries as the rightful inhabitants while they represented Native people as outsiders who were illegitimate claimants of the region. This illegitimacy was not the only tactic utilized by Anglo Texans. The physical absence of Native Americans reinforced their larger project of removal and the narration of history centered on their success at the expense of Indians. This is significant because it is another moment where white Texans required Indian stories and memories in the figurative transformation of Texas, but a physical presence was unnecessary and unwanted.

²⁴² *Tulia Herald*, (Tulia, Texas), June 20, 1924, Vol. 15, No. 25, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁴³ James Crisp, “Memory, Truth, and Pain,” in *Lone Star Past*, 75-76.

Raising the concept of race, other papers also painted a picture that readers were familiar with; white settlers battling against a dark, faceless enemy. The *Bartlett Tribute and News* remarked that the celebration included the unveiling of the marble monument honoring “the 29 [sic] white men [who] barricaded behind adobe walls, [and] defeated a force of 1000 Indians.”²⁴⁴ The author of the article also downplayed the larger historical context. These bison hunters had encroached on Comanche land, and yet, were portrayed as innocent defenders of their own territory. The author also made a conscious decision in contrasting the number of Anglo Texans with the number of Native people in the engagement. This small contingent of brave settlers battling overwhelming odds reminded readers of the Alamo and other historic battles that pitted a small force against a stronger, larger foe.

Notions of a contest between races were also present in coverage by the *Wheeler County Texan*. The paper urged residents to attend and commemorate “where those 28 valorous men and one intrepid woman fought so gallantly to make the Panhandle a safe place for civilization.”²⁴⁵ By noting that the settlers fought for *civilization*, this author placed the Comanches in opposition to it, thereby reflecting Crisp’s concept of “historical membership.” Similarly, the *Lipscomb Lime Light* noted Olive Dixon’s successful commemorative efforts, and offered readers the chance to submit donations to the monument fund. The author’s appeal used the perception of a receding frontier where white settlers battled encroaching Indians, stating, “This newspaper will be glad to receive subscriptions for this fund which will honor the pioneers

²⁴⁴ *Schulenburg Sticker*, (Schulenburg, Texas), July 4, 1924, Volume 30, No. 43, page 8, UNT Portal to Texas History. The number of Native participants varies wildly depending on the source. I have seen estimates of 500, 700, and 1000 Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, and Arapaho participants.

²⁴⁵ *Wheeler County Texan*, (Shamrock, Texas), March 20, 1924, Volume 20, No 46. Ed. 1, page 2, UNT Portal to Texas History. The intrepid woman was Mrs. William Olds. She was frequently mentioned in *The Life and Adventures of Billy Dixon* (1914), but never by her first name.

who fought the Indians.”²⁴⁶ Perhaps the donations from current Panhandle residents served as a method of participating in a collective project to build and solidify a memory that coincided with defending and transforming the frontier. By donating money, Panhandle dwellers contributed to the process of anchoring this narrative to the region. With the help of these publications, the resolute Dixon quickly reached the goal of raising one thousand dollars.²⁴⁷

The discourse involving the site included gendered rhetoric as well. The monument portrays a white, male narrative in the Panhandle of Texas for future generations to use as collective memory. This memory is cast in gendered terms of valor, heroism, and rugged masculinity in defending a *homestead* from invading Indians. Similarly, the narrative contained the message that women were harbingers of civilization, and provided a womanly touch to transform the wilderness. Dixon’s actions reflected the position held by women as custodians of the past in the 1920s.²⁴⁸ Cantrell, Hays, and Karen L. Cox have argued that women sought to exert influence through the establishment of historical societies, serve as the facilitators of historical markers, and act as mothers to the nation. The professionalization of the historical discipline brought contention over the role of women in the realm of history. Women like Olive Dixon fought to exert their place as instrumental contributors in highlighting and maintaining the historical record in lieu of formal political participation often unavailable to women.²⁴⁹

Dixon’s efforts were representative of larger processes involving women and the production of history in the early twentieth century. Historians such as Cox have elaborated on

²⁴⁶ *Lipscomb Lime Light and Follet Times*, (Follett, Texas), April 17, 1924, Volume 12, No. 23, page 8, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁴⁷ McCarty, *Adobe Walls* Bride, 250-251.

²⁴⁸ Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hays Turner, “Introduction,” in *Lone Star Pasts*, 7.

²⁴⁹ Gregg Cantrell, “The Bones of Stephen F. Austin: Memory and History in Progressive Era Texas,” in *Lone Star Pasts: Memory and History in Texas*, eds. Gregg Cantrell and Elizabeth Hays Turner (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 40-41. See also, Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, Fl.: University of Florida Press, 2003), 10-12.

women and their role in shaping public history across the South after the Civil War. According to Cox, southern women pushed for an “expansion of their social power and increased autonomy” after the war. The increase in their roles in society during the war translated to “their efforts to memorialize men [and] became an important source of their own social power.”²⁵⁰ This desire was at the crux of Dixon’s mission. She sought to honor the exploits of her late husband, but also worked to influence and lead historians of the era. Her influence led to the construction of a historical narrative that propagated a racial and gendered discourse of the past, steeped in a legacy of *taming* the frontier.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) were the most representative group of women wielding this powerful influence. The organization rose to prominence in the early 1900s and established local and national chapters across the United States. According to Cox, the UDC facilitated the construction of hundreds of monuments across the South. These monuments and the work that their development entailed represents the ways in which women harnessed power as historians and used it to influence public memory. Cox notes, “As mothers, women assumed a public role as society’s moral guardians, charged with the crucial responsibility of training children to become patriotic, virtuous citizens.”²⁵¹ Dixon’s quest to construct the monument to the Battle of Adobe Walls represents her utilization of a similar public role as custodian and mother of the past. Similar to the women of the UDC, Olive’s mission centered on bringing honor to her husband, as well as conveying influence and power throughout the Plains-Panhandle Historical Society as someone invested in constructing and memorializing the past. Dixon’s quest to commemorate the battle and its participants involved

²⁵⁰ Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2003), 10-12.

²⁵¹ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 122.

an effort to preserve the memory of the pioneer legacy in which white civilization protected and defended the frontier from invading Indians.

This effort is yet another aspect of the process of creating a shared Anglo memory of the Second Battle of Adobe Walls. Portraying the battle in terms of a small band of brave men fighting against staggering odds underscored the mythical aspects involved in this collective memorialization. This was something that white Texans could relate to as another chapter in their origin story. The language utilized by Anglo Texan residents demonstrates that their use of collective memory was imbued with aspects of race and gender in constructing a past that signified their conquest of Native people. These themes often overlapped and intersected in the discourse used by these inhabitants.

In 1921, members of the West Texas State Teachers College in Canyon, Texas had formed the Plains-Panhandle Historical Society, the organization for which Olive Dixon served as vice president. The city of Canyon is located twenty miles south of Amarillo, squarely in the Panhandle. The founding members of the society included the president of the college, Joseph A. Hill, the chair of the history department, Lester F. Sheffy, and history professor, Hattie M. Anderson.²⁵² Sheffy served as president of the society and the group eventually joined with another local historical organization, the Panhandle Old Settler's Association, in 1923. The mission of the organization was to highlight local history from the Panhandle and to preserve historical artifacts and histories related to people of the region. They began publishing their quarterly periodical, the *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review*, in 1928 and started raising money for a museum in 1929.²⁵³ The society was hopeful that the museum would serve as a major hub

²⁵² The Handbook of Texas Online from the Texas State Historical Association, "Plains Panhandle Historical Society" <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vtp02>, accessed November 8, 2016.

²⁵³ The Handbook of Texas Online from the Texas State Historical Association, "Plains Panhandle Historical Society" <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vtp02>, accessed November 8, 2016.

in the region for the preservation of history, archaeology, and culture. Through its construction and in its dedication, donors and key figures promoted the museum, harkening back to repeated tropes about the frontier and civilization, replete with concepts of race and gender. The Panhandle Plains Historical Museum (PPHM) furthered the notion of *progress* on the Plains and the museum itself served as a bastion of *civilization* for Anglo Texans of the region. This site represented the transformation and improvement of the wilderness in the eyes and by the hands of white settlers. It signified the culmination of decades of *progress* to a point where it was appropriate to erect a museum to recount how the region's history and legacy and communicate it to future generations.

The concept of the closed American frontier, distilled in Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893-frontier thesis, largely drove the production of history throughout the 1920s and underscored the rhetoric behind the creation of the PPHM. As noted earlier, the Plains-Panhandle Historical Society's purpose was to memorialize and study the past from a perspective that regarded the frontier as a region that separated purported savagery and civilization. In Turner's model, white civilization triumphed, but at stake was the often-repeated turn to violence in order to conquer *savagery*. Turner's thesis held that these repeated confrontations along the frontier were unique to the history of the United States, and enabled American men to separate themselves from Europeans and a European history.²⁵⁴ In addition, the thesis seemed to speak directly to white Texans. The notion of a frontier allowed Anglo Texans to turn away from a southern identity and transition to a western mentality with memories of the *Wild West*. Turner's frontier thesis raised issues concerning both race and gender. Issues of racial progress in the form of *civilizing* the frontier, coupled with the idea of repeated contact with the *savage* frontier

²⁵⁴ Francis G. Couvares, *Interpretations of American History: Volume One* (New York: The Free Press, 2000), 68.

helped to instill masculinity in American men. This belief motivated young men at the turn of the century to embrace outdoor activities such as hiking, camping, and sports in order to become strong and powerful, representing a victory over nature.

In the 1920s, this discourse was indicative of Anglo-American perspectives that they had successfully tamed the West, including Texas. Joseph Hill, the former chair of the history department, wrote a history of the society and museum later in his life.²⁵⁵ Hill traced the efforts made in establishing and running the historical organization and frequently, he utilized language that reflected notions of clearing out a wilderness and building up civilization in the place of savagery along the frontier.²⁵⁶ For instance, in the preface Hill commented, “Throughout the history of man the frontier has played an essential part in the preservation and propagation of the best in human experience. Despite its customary evils and its primitive ways of life, it has usually seemed to pump into the blood-stream of the civilization of which it is a part a constant flow of needed strength and virility.”²⁵⁷ This reflection stems from a belief that many of the founders of the museum had regarding the history they attempted to preserve and the image they wanted to represent to the public. This image and philosophy reiterated contemporary understandings about history, progress, and the use of museums to construct a set of beliefs and memories involving strong Anglo men and women conquering and civilizing *savagery*.

In addition, the establishment of the historical society and museum are useful to present-day historians who examine how museums serve as sites that perpetuate a narrative, uphold a

²⁵⁵ Although written in 1955 (certainly a historiographical shift from the 1920s) the book contained passages that spoke volumes about Hill’s views on the frontier and Texas.

²⁵⁶ Joseph A. Hill, *The Panhandle-Plains Historical Society and Its Museum* (Canyon, Tex.: West Texas State College Press, 1955).

²⁵⁷ Joseph A. Hill, *The Panhandle-Plains Historical Society and Its Museum* (Canyon, Tex.: West Texas State College Press, 1955), v.

viewpoint, and often silence other views.²⁵⁸ Scholars in the field of memory studies note that such sites, recollections, and practiced rehearsals of memory reinforce a master narrative that serves to place Anglo-Americans in a position that erases Native history. For instance, as noted above, Jean O'Brien's *Firsting and Lasting* confronts the ways in which white New Englanders used collective memory and monuments to claim rightful ownership over the region. In doing so, these colonizers situated Native people as invaders, wasters of the land, and in effect, replaced them as original indigenous entities.

The construction and dedication of the PPHM is a superb example that reflects O'Brien's "firsting" model. As discussed, O'Brien argues that "firsting" is a claim by non-Indians that "asserts that they were the first people to erect the proper institutions of a social order worthy of notice."²⁵⁹ In the Panhandle, Anglo Texans believed that a museum and historical society were the perfect symbols of *civilized* advancement in a frontier region regarded as notoriously rugged, unforgiving, and dangerous. These institutions functioned as demonstrations of how hardy, white pioneers arrived and brought change, order, and progress to the Panhandle.

After annual meetings, fieldwork, and lobbying the Texas state government for funding, the Plains-Panhandle Historical Society managed to acquire the funds necessary to construct the museum.²⁶⁰ Completed in August 1932, the museum opened to the public in April 1933.²⁶¹ The actions taken by the society and the collective celebration involved in its dedication sheds light on the major points raised in this chapter. The residents and society conducted a "cornerstone" ceremony, and notable citizens gave speeches to commemorate the museum and its significance.

²⁵⁸ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

²⁵⁹ Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xii.

²⁶⁰ Joseph A. Hill, *The Panhandle-Plains Historical Society and Its Museum* (Canyon: Tex.: West Texas State College Press, 1955), 64. According to Hill, the Texas Senate set aside \$25,000 for the building.

²⁶¹ The Handbook of Texas Online from the Texas State Historical Association, "Plains Panhandle Historical Society" <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vtp02>, accessed November 8, 2016.

It is also noteworthy that the state legislature appropriated these funds during the onset of what would become the Great Depression, demonstrating the value Anglo Texans placed on memorializing the past even during a time of increased financial austerity.

Several pieces of correspondence involving the society's president, L.F. Sheffy, and James Frank Dobie (a professor of folklore and history at the University of Texas) in the 1930s suggest the importance of the museum, even during a major economic downturn. After initially securing \$25,000 from the forty-second Texas legislature, L.F. Sheffy turned to James Frank Dobie and the Texas Centennial Commission for additional funding.²⁶² In making his argument, Sheffy implored Dobie to consider that "Our museum [has] become deeply rooted in the hearts and affections of the people of Northwest Texas...It is a cultural shrine to which old and young alike come to observe and to study or to recall the happy memories of days that are gone forever."²⁶³ The articulation of a collective memory was at the heart of Sheffy's argument and displayed how Anglo Texans considered their past as a "cultural shrine" to honor historical heroes and events.

In referring to the museum as a "cultural shrine," Sheffy reinforced the views held by the historical society involved in the proposed museum. The notion of a shrine illuminates the ways in which Anglo Texans thought of the sacred duty involved in constructing this site. In addition, the religious element invoked by calling the PPHM a shrine suggests another aspect of the *civilizing* project that white Texans attempted to finish through the completion of this site. A

²⁶² James Frank Dobie Papers, Notes and Correspondence, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History "Letter to the Members of the Texas Centennial Advisory Committee" L.F. Sheffy to James Frank Dobie June 24, 1935. In addition to serving as the president of the historical society, Lester Fields Sheffy was the editor for the *Plains Panhandle Historical Review*. James Frank Dobie was a prominent writer of Texas history and folklore. He joined the faculty at the University of Texas at Austin in 1914 and served as a major proponent involved in organizing the Texas Centennial discussed in Chapter Five.

²⁶³ James Frank Dobie Papers, Notes and Correspondence, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History "Letter to the Members of the Texas Centennial Advisory Committee" L.F. Sheffy to James Frank Dobie June 24, 1935.

shrine meant a location of reverence, worship, and the honoring of heroic settlers that *tamed* the wild frontier, which had been previously devoid of Christianity.

J.O. Geleke, a member of the state board of education in Texas gave the cornerstone speech on November 5, 1932, and drew heavily from tropes regarding the frontier and referenced issues of memory, race, and gender.²⁶⁴ For example, Geleke noted the significance of the historical memory involved in the ceremony, stating, “Citizens gathered here...are conscious of the symbolism attested in keeping alive the memory of strong men and their heroic deeds in the development of the Panhandle of Texas.”²⁶⁵ Geleke’s statement evoked the idea of valiant men developing a rugged wilderness, underscoring the importance of masculinity to commemorations of Anglo Texan settlement. He continued, suggesting that the “colorful touch of the white race” brought progress to the region.²⁶⁶ In addition, Geleke explicitly laid out what he and other white Texans recognized as progress. The speaker stated, “Thus we find that the history of this region is rather recent in point of time as measured in the memory of men.”²⁶⁷ Evidently, to Geleke and the audience, history itself on the southern Plains of the Texas Panhandle began with the advent of white, patriarchal colonization. Significantly, Geleke’s words were also instructive for the present onlookers, as he simultaneously solidified the tenets of white masculinist supremacy in the 1930s.

Geleke utilized racialized language throughout his speech, and highlighted the “cultural achievements” of Anglo Texans as the single most important factor in *civilizing* the Panhandle.²⁶⁸ In doing so, the speaker celebrated the past exploits of whites, yet also succeeded

²⁶⁴ J. O. Geleke “Cornerstone Speech,” November 5, 1932, Plains-Panhandle Museum and Archives, Folder 1, “The Panhandle and its Pioneers.”

²⁶⁵ Geleke “Cornerstone Speech,” Plains-Panhandle Museum and Archives.

²⁶⁶ Geleke “Cornerstone Speech,” Plains-Panhandle Museum and Archives.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

in commenting on current affairs in the 1930s, namely the Jim Crow era. Geleke also referenced immigrants and suggested, “We should be greatly concerned about the quality of our citizenship. We sincerely trust that the ratio of infiltration may never exceed the comfortable assimilation by the new citizen of the traditions of our country.”²⁶⁹ Gesturing toward the changing racial makeup of the region, Geleke hit on themes that resonated with people of the Panhandle, and suggested that the laying of the cornerstone represented the cementing of an institution that memorialized historical figures who brought *civilization* and *progress* in the midst of threatening demographic changes. The changes that Geleke noted were probably two fold. He likely referred to national increases in the overall racial diversity in the United States due to immigration, but also locally within the Panhandle. For instance, according to U.S. census data, the black population across Texas numbered 741,694 in 1920.²⁷⁰ In addition, by the 1930s, some estimates place the Mexican population in Texas at approximately 700,000.²⁷¹

Following the opening segment of his cornerstone speech, Geleke continued by outlining the main white, male contributors to the region including Billy Dixon and Charles Goodnight. This rehearsal of names was indicative of Geleke’s attempt to have his message resonate with the crowd by evoking the memories of great male historical figures in the region. He also drew on gendered prose in this passage, arguing that the efforts of rugged, Anglo Texan men brought social order to the Panhandle. For example, Geleke remarked that Charles Goodnight led the “transformation of this region from its virgin state in nature to the development of a modern civilization.”²⁷² This language reflected a pervasive discourse of American masculinity in the

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ U.S. Bureau of Census Data, “Demographic Trends in the Twentieth Century,” www.census.gov accessed June 24, 2017.

²⁷¹ The Handbook of Texas Online from the Texas State Historical Association, “Mexican Americans” accessed October 5, 2017, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqmue>.

²⁷² Geleke “Cornerstone Speech.”

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Monica Rico argues, “[Such] men constructed gendered selves experiencing a frontier, understood as a line between civilization and savagery, humankind and nature.”²⁷³ At stake in proving their manhood was the transformation of an untamed wilderness into a place of civilization.

In addition to Geleke, Harvey Edgar Hoover provided an opening address for the dedication ceremony. Born in 1863, he had participated in the development of the Panhandle, including the far northeastern county of Lipscomb. He was a successful business leader who served as the president of the First National Bank in the city of Canadian and later served as the president of the Panhandle Plains Historical Society from 1933-1935.²⁷⁴ Hoover’s opening speech stressed the need for higher education and cited the museum as the perfect location for students and visitors to grow intellectually. His remarks were indicative of the values of the Progressive era, and several times throughout, the speaker mentioned, “We are today living in the great age of progressivism.”²⁷⁵

Hoover elaborated on the usefulness of history and technological advancement for Texans. The speaker also urged listeners to rethink how individuals used the profession of history. Hoover noted, “Our modern history is no longer a history of war, corruption, bloodshed and greed, but deals with the inventions of the people, their intellectual advancement and progression.”²⁷⁶ He continued, “History today does not limit its inquiry to civilized man, but deals with the condition of the savage as he now exists and as he existed in remote ages.”²⁷⁷

Hoover’s statement reflected progressive beliefs concerning a hierarchy of civilization as well as

²⁷³ Monica Rico, *Nature’s Noblemen: Transatlantic Masculinities and the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Conn.: Yale University Press, 2013), 4.

²⁷⁴ The Handbook of Texas Online from the Texas State Historical Association, “Harvey Edgar Hoover,” <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhoam>, accessed March 25, 2017.

²⁷⁵ Harvey Edgar Hoover, “Opening Speech,” Plains Panhandle Historical Museum and Archives, Folder 2, “Address at the Opening of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum.”

²⁷⁶ Harvey Edgar Hoover, “Opening Speech.”

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

an emergence of archaeology and anthropology as professional disciplines. In addition, Hoover reinforced ideals of social evolution, explaining, “A true history should record and make known the acts of all people, showing their progression, their state of civilization... We have erected to their memory the most beautiful structure in this land of their deeds of heroism...with the personal evidence of the hardships, trials, privations they endured.”²⁷⁸ By imploring the crowd to consider their rugged roots, Hoover contributed to the collective memory of transforming the frontier to a civilized state.

These speeches, imbued with progressive rhetoric of the early twentieth century, were representative of dominant views regarding race, progress, education, and civilized society for white Panhandle residents. In addition, the drive to strengthen and enlarge the museum demonstrated the motivation area inhabitants had in fostering a narrative that culminated in the Panhandle Plains Museum. Broadly defined, progressivism sought to bring reform and change to political, cultural, and social woes through research, investigation, and education. Historians writing in this context highlighted facets of American history such as the evolution of societies including a transition from savagery to civilization. This production of historical scholarship influenced local groups such as the Plains Panhandle Society in the construction of the museum. The dedication speeches were representative of an era that viewed the conquering of a frontier as a progressive step in the evolution of American society.²⁷⁹

The Adobe Walls Monument and the Panhandle Plains Historical Museum also serve as sites of Texas nationalism. According to Mark E. Nackman, state nationalism in this sense refers

²⁷⁸ Harvey Edgar Hoover, “Opening Speech.”

²⁷⁹ Eric Foner and John A. Garraty, “Progressivism,” “Frederick Jackson Turner,” and “Charles and Mary Beard,” *The Reader’s Companion to American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 1089-1090 and 88-89.

to “a love of place, a fierce loyalty to the state, and a desire to advance its power and prestige.”²⁸⁰ Similar to other memorial sites such as the Alamo, Adobe Walls contributes to a chapter of celebratory history in Texas. Anglo Texans revere the site as a place where colonists braved the frontier, the elements, and the Indians in an attempt to shape the region to reflect a place of *civilization*. In the 1920s, Anglo Texans commemorated this site, preserving its place in Texan lore and the continued creation myth surrounding Texas. The original dedication involved memorializing the white, male fighters that defended their *home* from indigenous people, and served as a metaphorical extension of the conquest that transpired in the region. In addition, white women such as Olive Dixon coordinated the dedication efforts and reinforced the gendered belief that women like herself served as mothers of the nation’s historical legacy. The battle’s commemoration was a moment in which the mostly white citizens of the Panhandle came together to claim indigeneity through remembering the battle as an event involving encroaching, *savage* Indians. However, the actions of their ancestors led to the violent displacement of Quanah Parker and other Native people.

The Battle of Adobe Walls monument is representative of the production of history and collective memory. The site served as a means for Panhandle residents to construct a history and an edifice that left a lasting narrative of bringing *civilization* and *progress* to the region. The heart of this site included the utilization of racial and gendered discourse in shared collective memory. Many newspapers and local accounts narrated the fact that white defenders protected Panhandle residents at Adobe Walls and that the Indians were an invading menace. In addition, the work of Olive Dixon brought a gendered aspect as well. Newspapers raised notions of

²⁸⁰ Mark E. Nackman, *A Nation within a Nation: The Rise of Texas Nationalism* (Fort Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975), 4. According to Nackman, the War for Independence also created a “group consciousness” that continues into the present, 4.

manliness and masculinity, and Dixon's leadership serves as a window onto how white women in the early twentieth century served as custodians of the past.

Similarly, the museum dedication was laden with collective memory, as well as racial and gendered discourse. The speakers drew from existing tropes about the primitiveness of the frontier, the ruggedness of *civilizing* the West, and bringing *progress* to the Panhandle. At the heart of these speeches were Native people. In order for this historical memory to work, indigenous people had to be simultaneously present and absent. Their physical removal was needed for white Texan colonization, yet their figurative presence remained as justification for the bravery and heroism displayed on the plains by white Texans as they *conquered* the frontier. The dedication speeches of the civic leaders resonated with audience members that recognized these notions of transforming the plains. The Battle of Adobe Walls monument and the Plains Panhandle Historical Museum serve as another apparatus involved in Indian removal and collective memory making. These two sites continue to operate as part of an ongoing colonial project that instills Texan society with a narrative that upholds a proud, celebratory air of conquest. This process was the culmination of events that had transpired since the 1830s in Texas and as the previous chapters demonstrated, involved using print media, oral histories, and historical reenactments to complete this transformative project of history, myth, and memory in Texas.

CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

“PARADE OF AN EMPIRE”

On June 12, 1936, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, made their way into Dallas, Texas at 9:30 in the morning.²⁸¹ President Roosevelt and the first lady experienced, “showers of ticker tape to the accompaniment of cowboy yells and cheers from 400,000 Texas citizens.”²⁸² The President was in Dallas to attend the Texas Centennial Exposition at the fair grounds of the Cotton Bowl. Texans honored the President with a 21-gun salute and displayed a military parade as well.²⁸³

At one point during Roosevelt’s visit, Chief Damasio Colmenero of the *Ysleta Tigua* tribe approached the President of the United States and presented him with a peacock headdress, moccasins, and a bow and arrow.²⁸⁴ This portion of the centennial involved a ceremony with the “oldest Texans” as they bestowed President Roosevelt with the title of “honorary chief.”²⁸⁵ The spectacle, witnessed by thousands on the official opening day of the exposition, serves as a window onto the collective mindset of Anglo Texans in the 1930s and their approach to creating a lasting legacy of state history. Their efforts to stimulate the Texas economy in the midst of a catastrophic depression involved the use of historical memory, state imagery, and myth-building in the Lone Star State.

²⁸¹ “Address to Be Broadcast at 10:30 From Cotton Bowl Over National Hookup,” *The Texas Mesquiter*, (Mesquite, Texas), Friday June 12, 1936, Volume 54, Number 48, Ed. 1, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁸² “Son, Three Governors and Vast Crowd Greet President at Centennial,” *The Shamrock Texan*, (Shamrock, Texas), June 12, 1936, Volume 33, No. 30, Ed. 1, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁸³ “Record Crowds to Greet President Roosevelt,” *The Clifton Record*, (Clifton, Texas), June 12, 1936, Volume 42, No. 16 Ed. 1, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁸⁴ “Roosevelt Will be Made Chief of Oldest Texans,” *The Clifton Record*, (Clifton, Texas), June 12, 1936, Volume 42, No. 16 Ed. 1, page 7, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

The day before, on Thursday June 11, President Roosevelt visited the Alamo in San Antonio. During his visit, he gave a speech, which *The Shamrock Texan* published for its readers. Roosevelt's speech resonates with previous examples throughout these dissertation chapters in which individuals cited actions, events, and characteristics that grounded an emerging identity of Texas steeped in historical myth and collective memory. For example, the President, "Hope[d] that the pioneers of Texas 'know that we have not discarded or lost the virility and the ideals of the pioneer.'"²⁸⁶ This explicitly gendered notion of the pioneer continued to be a powerful ideological force throughout the 1930s. Chapter Four also addressed this ideological force that utilized the archetype of the sturdy pioneer in explicitly gendered and racial terms. Americans reminisced and referenced the "pioneer spirit" that guided westward expansion, fueled by the concept of Manifest Destiny. In addition, Frederick Jackson Turner's research and writing in the 1890s articulated a narrative that universities reproduced and utilized in the subsequent decades. This interpretation and approach centered on the notion that the American West - and the "frontier" in particular- helped mold a sense of national identity that involved ruggedness, individualism, and a transformative approach to the *untamed* wilderness. This theory of American westward expansion contained embedded racial and gendered ideologies, including the unique contributions of white womanhood and manhood during repeated encounters with the frontier.

In addition to this pioneer reference, Roosevelt laid a wreath at the Alamo, demonstrating his understanding for the reverence of the historically significant site. Roosevelt remarked, "The Alamo stands out in high relief as our noblest exemplification of sacrifice, heroic and

²⁸⁶ "Son, Three Governors and Vast Crowd Greet President at Centennial," *The Shamrock Texan*, (Shamrock, Texas), June 12, 1936, Volume 33, No. 30, Ed. 1, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

pure.”²⁸⁷ Roosevelt’s recognition of the Alamo’s significance stemmed, in part, from attempts by organizations such as the Daughters of the Republic of Texas to highlight the events of the Alamo and create a monument to the *defenders* of the mission. These custodians of the Alamo were primarily white women who reflected a Progressive era initiative to “extend the specific virtues of piety and purity...into their community, claiming it as a natural extension of their duties as moral educator.”²⁸⁸ As seen in Chapter Four, Olive Dixon’s efforts to honor the participants of the battle of Adobe Walls reflected a similar sentiment. Roosevelt also acknowledged that the location needed a “shrine” for the sacrifice of “one hundred and eighty two Americans.”²⁸⁹ However, the Alamo was not the primary reason for the president’s visit. The larger purpose was the statewide Texas Centennial celebration.

The seminal event that was the Texas Centennial celebration involved numerous Texan cultures, evidence of the state’s modernization, and proud displays of Texas history. In this concluding chapter, I argue that this moment ushered in the branding, marketing, and production of the historical memory and legacy of Texas, including the state’s larger than life persona that persists into the present. For example, an advertisement that newspapers reproduced across numerous cities and towns called on Texans to “Travel Texas. Know your State.”²⁹⁰ This concerted effort was the culmination of decades of expansion and conquest, and solidifies a specific ideology through the production of history while silencing aspects of the past. Centennial organizers sought to display the proud history and *winning* of the West, gesturing toward the pioneer spirit of the past, while highlighting the advancements and technological

²⁸⁷ “Son, Three Governors and Vast Crowd Greet President at Centennial,” *The Shamrock Texan*.

²⁸⁸ Joel D. Kitchens, “Making Historical Memory: Women’s Leadership in the Preservation of San Antonio’s Missions,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 121, no. 2 (October 2017): 173.

²⁸⁹ “Son, Three Governors and Vast Crowd Greet President at Centennial,” *The Shamrock Texan*, June 12, 1936, Volume 33, No. 30, Ed. 1, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

²⁹⁰ The advertisement encouraged, “North Texans go South!” and “South Texans go North!” Centennial Advertisement, *The Lipscomb Lime Light and Follett Times*, (Follett, Texas), Thursday April 16, 1936, Volume 24, No. 23, Ed.1, page 2, UNT Portal to Texas History.

breakthroughs of the present, situating Texas as an increasingly modern, viable, and profitable state. At the same time, this approach minimized the legacy of conquest and racial strife – deeply ingrained aspects of the state’s history. As the earlier chapters demonstrate, the dichotomous approach taken by Anglo Texans appeared in many forms throughout 1869-1936. These involved the writing and publishing of almanacs about the state, staging Wild West shows, and building cultural shrines in the Panhandle that celebrated the region’s history.

The 1936 centennial exposition is an excellent bookend to this dissertation. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century, Anglo Texans demonstrated that they had an interest in preserving history, honoring and celebrating past exploits, reenacting past historical events, and contributing to the process of memorialization through monuments and museums. In several ways, the Texas Centennial Exposition served as a meeting place, or intersection between the past and future of Texas. Progressive ideals were on display, including technological advancements and evidence of the modern world. However, the celebration also highlighted past events and made significant gestures toward the historical figures that created a Texas steeped in a “legacy of conquest.”²⁹¹ In Fort Worth, for instance, the centennial organizers attempted, “to draw millions of visitors from the state and nation with a celebration based on popular frontier mythology.”²⁹² This frontier mythology symbolized larger efforts involved during the Texas Centennial celebration that attempted to brand the state of Texas in a specific light for visitors and Texans alike.

In this chapter, I examine several important aspects of the celebration including the background and planning of the event to display Texas – a display involving the outside world as

²⁹¹ Patricia N. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: the Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987).

²⁹² Jacob W. Olmstead, “From Old South to Modern West: Fort Worth’s Celebration of the Texas State Centennial and the Shaping of an Urban Identity and Image” (PhD diss., Texas Christian University 2011).

well as different regions of Texas itself. Such exhibits centered on a popular history of Texas, steeped in memorializing heroes and events, taking the form of theatrical pageantry, writing contests, speeches, and newspaper accounts. The planning involved serious financial commitment, investments, and an understanding that this portrayal of Texas would shape how others perceived and viewed the state. This process involved white Texan politicians and activists who made appeals for funding. The congressional appeals are useful for analysis because these lawmakers used the strategy of drawing on popular history and memory to lobby for federal funding. In doing so, they attempted to tug at the heartstrings of their audience, invoking common memories unique to the expansion of the United States. These shared memories involved deeper themes of colonization, expansion, and ethnocentrism. I also examine the centennial press releases in which authors provided snippets of history, such as frontier tales, in order to sell the exposition to readers across Texas and beyond. The local histories oftentimes contained reminiscences of frontier life, such as tales of Indian captivity, and were intended to generate interest and excitement for the upcoming spectacle while also galvanizing a sense of triumph over *savagery* and the wilderness. Lastly, I examine how newspapers across the Texas Panhandle covered the event and the language used to portray the significance of Texas history and the lasting effects of the celebration.

World fairs and expositions such as the Texas Centennial celebration are instructive for understanding prevailing mindsets of a given society. They are reflective moments for a society to look inward at progressive gains accomplished, while also projecting outward for others to comprehend and view that particular society in a specific context. For example, as will be discussed, one of the slogans of the Texas exposition revolved around the notion of an “empire

on parade.” This was a conscious effort to sell Texas as the culmination of years of *taming* the wilderness, and building an empire worthy of celebration.

These expositions also highlight larger theoretical aspects, which have been examined throughout this dissertation, including race, gender, and memory. Such celebrations allow certain elements of a society to affirm “hegemony” while relegating other marginalized groups to a lower tier status.²⁹³ Specifically in Texas, the centennial celebration sought to affirm the expansion and progress pursued by Anglo Texans in the previous one hundred years. According to Robert Rydell, “expositions offered millions of fairgoers an opportunity to reaffirm their collective national identity in an updated synthesis of progress and white supremacy.”²⁹⁴ Accompanying this expansion and *progress* was the violent removal of Native Americans at the hands of Texas Rangers, settler colonists, and the U.S. military. Heralding stories of Texas Rangers, for instance, involved creating and fomenting a memory that expunged perpetrators of the messier aspects of this violent removal.

Prior to this centennial exposition, several economic and financial warning signs belied the larger sense of prosperity and financial security in the United States in the 1920s. While technological advancements and the purchasing of durable goods suggested that Americans had a positive outlook on their economic future, key industries such as the railroads began to falter. When financial markets took a severe hit in October of 1929, the larger economic system in the United States began to unravel. Globally, the increasingly interconnected international financial

²⁹³ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1-4.

²⁹⁴ Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 4.

system began to falter as well. The dramatic economic downturn resulted in the Great Depression throughout the 1930s.²⁹⁵

The Great Depression that plagued the United States for more than a decade also affected the state of Texas. Although Texas remained largely rural with an economy based on agriculture, the “ripple-effect” from the financial banking system and stock market brought a significant economic strain to the state.²⁹⁶ In the early 1930s, the state of Texas reported unemployment numbers between 350,000-400,000.²⁹⁷

In addition to this severe economic downturn, catastrophic dust storms swept across Texas throughout the 1930s. These storms plagued the southern plains, and the Texas Panhandle was not immune to the blanketing of dust that resulted in the loss of livestock, the destruction of property, and a slew of upper respiratory ailments that affected residents. Historian Donald Worster referred to these storms as “the darkest moment in the twentieth-century life of the southern plains.”²⁹⁸ The dust storms originated in the 1930s, a decade that experienced a significant drought across the south plains. This drought, coupled with continued overproduction of agricultural land led to vast amounts of loose sod and dirt. Storms picked up and carried millions of pounds of dirt across the United States. According to Worster, the city of Amarillo in the Texas Panhandle experienced 908 hours of dust storms in 1935.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ J. Bradford De Long, “Depressions: The Great Depression,” in *The Reader’s Companion to American History*, eds. Eric Foner and John A. Garraty (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1991), 279-281. However, one positive aspect of the Great Depression was the emergence of several social and economic programs that changed the nature of the country. For example, De Long notes that social democracy originated during the Great Depression and the notion of improved welfare for citizenry took hold in the midst of President Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal programs.

²⁹⁶ “Texas and the Great Depression, 1929-1945,” in *The History of Texas*, 5th edition, ed. Robert A. Calvert, Arnoldo De Leon, and Gregg Cantrell (West Sussex, UK: Wiley and Blackwell 2014), 291.

²⁹⁷ “Texas and the Great Depression, 1929-1945,” 291.

²⁹⁸ Donald Worster, *The Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979 and 2004), 4.

²⁹⁹ Worster, *The Dust Bowl*, 15. This was a measurement used to determine the length of storms in a given year. Other measurements included counting the number of storms in a year when visibility dropped below a mile in a specific region. Several critics have argued that Worster overemphasized the role of capitalism and overproduction

In response to these unprecedented challenges, Texan political leadership decided to exhibit a centennial celebration that would take place in 1936 in an effort to highlight Texas as an increasingly progressive, modern destination for tourism and business. This year marked the one hundred year anniversary of the Texas Revolution and political and civic leaders were eager to capitalize on the opportunity to simultaneously market and improve the struggling state economy through the stimulus of tourism, publicity, and business investment.

A discussion about the centennial celebration and state exposition had begun in earnest in the 1920s. As early as February of 1924, civic leaders established the Texas Centennial Board in Austin.³⁰⁰ Several leaders believed it would be an opportunity to promote Texas and sell the state to outside investors, tourists, and businesses. As the depression worsened in the 1930s, constituents and politicians expressed fears that they should delay the costly exposition because state and federal funds could instead alleviate economic issues. However, proponents argued that a state exposition and centennial celebration would bring long-term investment and growth as well as stimulate the economy with tourism. Kenneth B. Ragsdale notes that Texas legislators actually amended the state constitution to allow for an allocation of funding to the celebration. Many critics viewed this as a controversial move because they believed the impoverished and suffering needed the financial support.³⁰¹ The critics instead argued for the allocation of financial resources to combat the continued effects of the Great Depression.

As the plan developed, the city of Dallas secured the host-city bid. Dallas offered more than \$7,000,000, beating the offers made by the cities of Houston and San Antonio. The 185-

in precipitating this disaster. In fact, Worster refers to this disaster as a human caused disaster. However, Worster's research and findings remain a seminal study for the Dust Bowl.

³⁰⁰ "Texas Centennial Celebration" from Texas History Handbook Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/lkt01>, accessed July 25, 2017

³⁰¹ Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station, TX, Texas A&M University Press, 1987), xvii-xviii.

acre complex located at the state fair grounds was improved and developed for the central exposition. The exposition at the Dallas site offered historical reenactments, facilities that housed evidence of progress and industrialization, and even air-conditioned buildings. In addition, the Dallas location housed an entire section devoted to the development of “negro people over time.”³⁰² This is significant because it speaks volumes about the exposition organizers who imitated past world expositions premised on the “advancement and progress” of certain races. In 1936, in the midst of the Jim Crow era, such exhibits reinforced Anglo Texan perceptions of a hierarchy of races, premised on the prevailing notion of Social Darwinism that had emerged during the Progressive era.

A committee began the initial planning and logistics behind the celebration, and secured Jesse H. Jones as the director general. Initially, Jones appeared to be an appropriate selection and he brought several broad conceptual ideas to the early stages of planning. For instance, according to Ragsdale, “He proposed transforming all of Texas into a great center of historical parks, shrines, pageants, and battle reenactments.”³⁰³ This myth-building approach would be crucial for tourism and remains central to promotional efforts in the present day. However, Jones seemed distracted and burdened with too many projects, which eventually led to his replacement.

In 1931, Texans elected Ross S. Sterling as governor and the concerted effort to capitalize on a state exposition began to materialize. Cullen F. Thomas replaced Jesse Jones as director general, and the state legislators passed a bill that called for the study of other

³⁰² Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 232.

³⁰³ However, Ragsdale notes several of the shortcomings in the appointment of Jesse Jones. Jones had served under the Woodrow Wilson administration as the “director general of the Department of Military Relief of the American Red Cross.” Jones also seemed to suffer from procrastination and having too many projects on his plate. For example, Ragsdale offers a critique that Jones delayed starting the planning of the exposition, and “Jones failed to recognize the interest that the myth of Texas had for people across the United States.” Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station, TX, Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 12-19.

expositions across the United States since 1876.³⁰⁴ Notably, the Texas Press Association launched an aggressive advertising campaign to garner support for the event. Several aspects of this advertising campaign invoked collective memories of the state's history. This concept of collective memory has coursed throughout this dissertation and remains relevant here. The efforts of the advertising campaign centered on evoking shared cultural and historical identifiers that connected Anglo Texans across the state. The advertisers certainly labored to appeal to white Texans and their nostalgic sentiments about the historical memory of their state. These promoters emphasized patriotism, Anglo Texan identity, and history. For instance, Ragsdale notes that one advertisement asked, "Shall the deeds of valor of Texas heroes go unnoticed?"³⁰⁵ This type of question was intended to illuminate the memory of historically significant Texan men such as Sam Houston, Stephen F. Austin, and James Bowie. Implicitly, the question suggested that support for the centennial meant support for past heroes, and not letting their memories and significance fade away, much like earlier efforts of white Panhandle residents in creating the Adobe Walls memorial, as well as the Plains Panhandle Historical Museum.

There was a realization that the construction of fairground facilities at Dallas Fair Park would be a massive undertaking as designers worked quickly to transform the area. For example, "Fair Park became Mecca for a new wave of exposition immigration."³⁰⁶ This wave included exhibitors, artists, painters, contractors, builders, and laborers, among others. Interestingly, one of the projects called for the painting of historical murals across the site. The Texas state board needed to commission the painting of historical murals and selected artist Eugene Savage. In choosing Savage, the board passed over another prospect, Jerry Bywaters.

³⁰⁴ Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station, TX, Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 20.

³⁰⁵ Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 24.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 176.

Bywaters was a local Dallas painter and was a graduate of Southern Methodist University.³⁰⁷ It remains interesting that the planners, whom had created an exposition to recognize Texas, chose an artist from New York. With a strong emphasis on the pride in Texas, the organizers decided against the local Texan artist.

In addition to the planning of infrastructure and logistics, the committee commissioned a Texas Advisory Board of Historians to work on the planning involved in creating a sense of history – albeit selective – and pride throughout the celebration. The state appropriated two different amounts of \$575,000 and \$200,000 from federal resources for reaffirming Texas history and memory; “Most of these funds would be invested in permanent structures and memorials commemorating the heroic period of Texas history.”³⁰⁸ This “heroic period” evoked gendered notions of how men and women transformed Texas from a place of *primitivism* to a place of *civilization*. Anglo Texans celebrated and commemorated historical figures that left an indelible stamp on the state through conquest and colonization. With this sizable allocation of funds, the board reviewed city applications for these monies to build or improve a variety of public monuments and memorial across the state.

The larger question of federal funding appeared in the House of Representatives on May 25, 1935. A portion of the joint resolution framed the need for the centennial exposition because “Such an exposition is commemorative of a heroic and successful struggle.”³⁰⁹ Representatives from Texas made appeals for federal support, and in their speeches, they routinely cited the significance of Texas history, the importance of the state, and underscored broader themes of expansion and empire. Their speeches often began in the form of an origin story about the state.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 182.

³⁰⁸ Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 98.

³⁰⁹ “Texas Centennial Exposition,” House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, Joint Resolution 293, May 25, 1935, 1.

These politicians explained the state's roots, the era of colonization, the battle for independence, and the state's continued development, or colonization, as a large and productive part of the union. For example, congressional representative Fritz G. Lanham proclaimed, "Texas declared its independence, fought against Mexico for its independence ...Texans have suffered various hardships and indignities, somewhat akin to those which prompted and inspired the Declaration of Independence."³¹⁰

By comparing the historic struggles of Texas to those of the United States, Representative Lanham outlined the similarities between the origins of Texas and the American colonies. After connecting the two, Lanham informed the committee that, "It is not only the history of Texas, it is your history...distinctly and typically American."³¹¹ The distinctiveness that Lanham alluded to involved familiar patterns of colonialism, expansion, and empire that had occurred across Texas and the United States throughout the nineteenth century. These common traits connected Texas to the larger story of the United States.

In addition, Cullen F. Thomas, the President of the Texas Centennial Commission also gave a presentation to the House Committee, and referenced many of the same tropes regarding the origins of Texas independence. However, Thomas also raised the concept of American expansion in gendered terms and the important role Texas played in cultivating that mentality. Thomas argued, "We think that down in that wilderness, the plain, homespun, hardy pioneers, who had in their hearts the fiber of American manhood, of chivalry and devotion...[are] not less important than the story of Massachusetts from Plymouth Rock to this hour."³¹² Emphasizing these gendered concepts, Thomas appealed to the committee members in language that resonated

³¹⁰ "Texas Centennial Exposition," House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, Joint Resolution 293, May 25, 1935, 4.

³¹¹ "Texas Centennial Exposition," May 25, 1935, 7.

³¹² "Texas Centennial Exposition," May 25, 1935, 16.

strongly with the master narrative of American history. This narrative was rooted in a rugged masculinity that overcame *savagery* and conquered the continent throughout the history of the United States.

Thomas also referenced the Civil War and the Confederacy. Interestingly, Thomas told the committee, “I have heard many a Confederate soldier...say that he is glad that slavery is dead, and that we are back under the flag of our forebears.”³¹³ In this message, Thomas alluded to the importance of Texas not as a secessionist state, but as a larger part of the United States. In this convenient way of glossing over a treasonous past, Thomas emphasized patriotism and nationalism in front of the committee. By invoking the memory of the Civil War, Thomas knowingly participated in aspects of reconciliation and reunion, years after the war.³¹⁴ The previous chapter also demonstrated that Anglo Texans in the Panhandle region turned to memorializing sites throughout the frontier such as Adobe Walls, embracing a celebratory, western popular history.

Lastly, H.L. Darwin, a state senator, addressed the committee. Darwin referenced the Texas Revolution as a “cruel, savage war... [which aided] an American civilization [that] was carried to the Rio Grande and west.” Darwin also noted the similarities involving American expansion and Manifest Destiny. The state senator declared of Texas’s establishment, “And again the Anglo-Saxons won a continent and led to the planting of the American flag.”³¹⁵ This language is especially powerful and noteworthy in the context of the 1930s because it is reminiscent of rhetoric used in Germany and elsewhere regarding race and territorial expansion.

³¹³ “Texas Centennial Exposition,” House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, Seventy-fourth Congress, First Session, Joint Resolution 293, May 25, 1935, 16.

³¹⁴ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

³¹⁵ Texas Centennial Exposition,” May 25, 1935, 22-23.

These political leaders utilized an oversimplified and whitewashed narrative of Texas to sell the committee on the idea of funding the centennial exposition. This argument was a practiced, rehearsed version of Texas that had been molded throughout the nineteenth century. Framing the state's history as part of the larger era of expansion – including the *winning* of the West – allowed these men to connect to their audience in uniquely American terms. However, this watered down approach lacked significant aspects of a silenced past including the pervasive, violent racial history of Texas. This violent history included slavery, war, and racial oppression and was not unique to Texas, or the South. Further, this racial violence continued throughout the 1930s as violent acts of lynching occurred across Texas. These politicians from across the United States were aware of these points. Historian Elliott West raises this issue, noting, “Race is not the burden of southern history. Race is the burden of American history.”³¹⁶ The theme of racial violence, racial oppression, and racial segregation is especially prominent in the 1930s and many of the statements made by these politicians include this language.

On June 6, 1936, the exposition in Dallas opened its doors to the public. The extensive publicity campaign had succeeded. Over 2 million tickets had been pre-ordered, and over 115,000 visitors arrived the first day.³¹⁷ A show entitled, *Cavalcade of Texas*, which portrayed Texas history proved to be immensely popular. It included the history of Texas and proudly displayed the numerous flags from nations that had ruled over the region.³¹⁸ The show brought in \$60,000 weekly during the exposition and Ragsdale notes, “Texas history was a paying

³¹⁶ West is referencing W.E.B. DuBois. Francis G. Couvares, *Interpretations of American History Volume One* (New York: Simon and Schuster Press, 2000). Elliot West, “Reconstructing Race,” *Western Historical Quarterly*, 34 (Spring 2003): 376.

³¹⁷ Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station, TX, Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 233.

³¹⁸ “Multiplicity of Texas Flags Provide Interesting Exhibit,” in *The Timpson Times*, (Timpson, Texas), Wednesday September 9, 1936, Volume 51, No. 180, page 1, UNT Portal to Texas History.

proposition.”³¹⁹ While Texas history was an incredibly popular, profitable enterprise, the overall numbers cast a different image on the celebration. The total income generated from the exposition was \$3,304,234.86 and the total expenses were \$6,193,086.86.³²⁰ However, the publicity changed the perception of Texas for future generations of residents and tourists alike. In addition, the work of the advisory historians led to the creation and continuation of the Texas Historical Markers across the state.³²¹ Ragsdale argues, “One visible and enduring asset of the centennial movement is the abundance of memorials, markers, restorations, museums, and civil complexes.”³²² These cultural shrines continue to serve the purpose of cementing the memory of a Texas creation story across the state influencing every generation with beliefs in a celebratory past.

The Texas Centennial represented a concerted effort to sell a particular vision of Texas to the outside world. In fact, the slogan for the planning of the exposition emphasized “patriotism and commercialism.”³²³ The celebration portrayed these dual themes through historical imagery, pageantry, and memory. The memory involved creating a narrative that embraced popular, triumphant history that glossed over violent and dark aspects of the past. This celebration highlighted and reinforced the idea that Anglo Texans as a people had led the transition and evolution from savagery to civilization, from primitive and inchoate to modern and efficient. They had served as the transformative force that improved Texas. According to Leigh Clemons, this evolution represents an aspect of Texan cultural identity. Clemons defines this concept,

³¹⁹ Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 251.

³²⁰ Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 303.

³²¹ Despite the loss, Ragsdale posits that the net positive gains outweighed the costs. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 303.

³²² Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas*, 303.

³²³ Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station, TX, Texas A&M University Press, 1987), xvii.

noting, “Texas cultural identity is a complex set of performances that creates and maintains the idea of the state as a distinct entity and as a site of identity for its inhabitants.”³²⁴

The advertisement flyers for the celebration also highlighted the commemorative aspects of the event. In particular, as alluded to above, one flyer from the Texas Centennial records referred to the event as a “Parade of an Empire.”³²⁵ This designation of empire is significant because it conveyed the belief that this exposition served as the culmination of previous decades examined in this dissertation. The “parade of empire” signaled the success Anglo Texans had in “winning” the West – and by extension – expanding across the continent, fulfilling the tenets of Manifest Destiny. Past world’s fairs and expositions contained a similar message and highlighted American progress through a variety of exhibits that detailed this expansion of empire. According to Christina Welch, “These spaces and places were arenas where colonial constructed identities and Western ideologies were visually enforced and reinforced to the general public.”³²⁶ Following the format of previous world fairs and expositions, the Texas Centennial organizers utilized this strategy and continued to build a master narrative and distinct cultural identity based on the premise of progress, expansion, the conquering of the West, masculinity, white supremacy, and empire.

This cultural identity was on display throughout the 1936 exposition. Exhibits highlighted advancement, while making gestures to the past and offered a continued celebratory air for the *conquering* of the Texas frontier. This mindset was rooted in events like the centennial celebration and served as a moment of collective memorialization for visitors, tourists,

³²⁴ Leigh Clemons, *Branding Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 1.

³²⁵ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Austin, Texas, Texas Centennial Records, Box F100A-105A, Miscellaneous Materials: Printed.

³²⁶ Christina Welch, “Savagery on Show: The Popular Visual Representation of Native American Peoples and their Lifeways at the World’s Fairs (1851-1904) and in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West (1884-1904),” *Journal of Early Popular Visual Culture*, 9, no. 4 (November 2011): 337.

and Texans alike. It had a profound effect on future generations and the perception of Texas history and identity. For instance, Clemons suggests, “This concept of national identity formation rests not in the ability to document an actual, lived Texan past, but in the way that events are reconfigured into pedagogical historical narratives that grant primacy to the authors of history.”³²⁷ This legacy continued throughout the twentieth century and involved the shaping of ongoing myths about Texas history.

Another significant aspect of Anglo Texan identity concerns the transition from a southern to a western cultural heritage and past. According to Light Townsend Cummins, the Texas Centennial was a seminal moment for Anglo Texans to rebrand the state with a western identity. Cummins argues, “As part of those celebratory activities, the primary objective of which was to present Texas to the nation in a positive fashion, a number of advertising executives, event organizers, and participants in the Centennial made concerted efforts to characterize the state as being western instead of southern.”³²⁸ This transformation took numerous directions. For instance, Cummins points to the architectural changes that enveloped Dallas in the 1930s. Contractors and architects constructed homes replete with a sense of western iconography instead of southern plantation styles.³²⁹ In addition to the general populace, the Advisory Board of Texas Historians contributed to this western identity shift as well. Cummins notes, “The 1930s also witnessed the emergence of a professionally manifested folklore that presented Texas as western. For example, the professor J. Frank Dobie became

³²⁷ Leigh Clemons, *Branding Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 3.

³²⁸ Light Townsend Cummins, “History, Memory, and Rebranding Texas as Western for the 1936 Centennial,” in *This Corner of Canaan: Essays on Texas in Honor of Randolph B. Campbell*, eds. McCaslin, Richard B., Chipman, Donald E., and Andrew J. Torget (Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 2013), 41.

³²⁹ Cummins, “History, Memory, and Rebranding Texas as Western for the 1936 Centennial,” 46.

known as ‘Mr. Texas’ during that decade after having emerged as a tireless proponent of the western, ranching heritage of Texas.”³³⁰

The Advisory Board of Texas Historians also conducted a contest to encourage students across the state to write local histories and submit them for a chance to win a prize and receive recognition during the exposition.³³¹ Students from counties all over the state submitted their history papers. Across the Texas Panhandle, students wrote about events emblematic of the stories they heard growing up, including The Battle of Adobe Walls, Indian settlement sites, and early pioneers on the plains. Even at a young age, these history students contributed to the narrative of a violence-laden frontier past where one civilization overtook another presumably inferior civilization. One student from Borger, Texas, wrote a history of the Yaqui people. In the introduction, the student wrote, “Did you ever, as a child, imagine that you were an Indian or had been captured by one? One can almost hear the Indians creeping up stealthily upon him or perhaps out in the night broke forth the blood-curdling war whoop.”³³² This imagery reflected conceptions Anglo Texans had regarding their collective frontier past and the place of Indians within it. From an early age, Texan students mythologized the past, and contributed to a memorialization of the experiences on the frontier from previous generations.

At the heart of this sentimental history was the story white Texans had created and manufactured that labeled them conquerors and tamers of the West and the frontier. Throughout this construction of history, Anglo Texans built monuments such as the Battle of Adobe Walls memorial, and erected museums that held and projected the legacy of Texas history such as the Plains Panhandle Historical Museum. In addition, white Texans such as Charles and Mary

³³⁰ Cummins, “History, Memory, and Rebranding Texas as Western for the 1936 Centennial,” 43.

³³¹ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Austin, Texas, Texas Centennial Records, Box 2Q469, Hutchinson County Contest Paper, Borger Independent School District.

³³² Ibid.

Goodnight relived the memories of bison hunts, Comanches, and the rugged nature of the Texas Panhandle through staged and scripted performances. All these events and moments of pageantry and celebration are representative of the budding obsession and interest that Anglo Texans had in constructing a narrative that masked a history of violence and removal of Native people from the region while celebrating white masculinity and heroism.

Across the state of Texas, numerous newspapers published press releases to generate interest and excitement for the centennial and these too provide important insight into the event. Some accounts detailed local history, descriptions of the fair, and exposition attractions, and others recounted historical memories and accounts of Texas history wrapped up in nostalgia and reminiscences. These press releases are significant because they serve as a window into the mindset of newspaper editors and their readers in the 1930s. Citizens read these disseminated accounts across the state. The stories of Texas Rangers and Indian captivity, for instance, influenced how white Texans thought about the past and reinforced longstanding tropes regarding savagery and modernity. Some of the press releases, for example, highlighted familiar frontier tales to enthrall readers and garner support for the upcoming Texas Centennial. These frontier tales, almost mythic in nature, served several purposes. Such stories rehashed moments in Texas history that concerned the frontier, and Anglo-Texan *civilization* crashing into *savagery* and *barbarism*. In addition, several press releases stressed the importance of preserving history and celebrating the significance of early Anglo-Texan pioneers and their contributions to the state.

The first set of press releases, for example, used Indian captivity to enthrall and entice audience members much like the *Texas Almanac Series* discussed in Chapter Two. One release from April of 1936 told the story of the Gilliland family and their encounter with Indians.

According to the sparse account, Indians raided the Gilliland homestead in 1842, killed the parents, and took their children. The release reported, “A brave carrying William...drew his knife, plunged it into the boy’s chest and dumped him to the earth.”³³³ Purportedly, a bible in the shirt pocket of the young boy saved him from the knife. The release finished by informing the readers that the “Gilliland family with other pioneers of 100 years ago are being honored by the \$25,000,000 World’s Fair, the Texas Centennial.”³³⁴ While this highly exaggerated and sensationalized story might seem absurd, the content is worth unpacking. The symbolism of the bible immediately jumps off the page. Generations had likely passed down this folkloric and metaphorical account, reinforcing elements of civilization, the conquering of the West, and bringing aspects of Christianity to a region formerly devoid of Anglo-recognized religion. It is noteworthy that of all the items that could have been in William’s pocket to deflect a knife attack from an Indian, it had to be a bible. In addition, it is notable that these accounts flattened Native diversity by referring to the various Texas tribes as “Indians.” By doing so, these written accounts by Anglo Texans contributed to the tropes regarding faceless, *savage* Indians on the frontier.

Aside from surviving the Indian raid with the help of the bible and Christianity, William’s account also spoke to readers who had consumed tales of Indian captivity. William’s survival, redemption, and reunion with Anglo-Texan society resembled various tales of captivity in different formats dating back to the colonial era. Historians Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Arthur Levenier stress the significance of these stories because the aspects of

³³³ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Texas Centennial Papers, “Bible Saves Life of Pennsylvanian in Indian Raid,” Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases, April 1936.

³³⁴ Dolph-Briscoe Center, Texas Centennial Papers, “Bible Saves Life of Pennsylvanian in Indian Raid,” Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases, April 1936.

captivity narratives are, “interwoven into the very fabric of early American culture.”³³⁵ Tales of Indian captivity excited audience members and this specific account contained biblical imagery intertwined with the language of salvation. Such salvation was possible because of William’s apparently steadfast belief in Christianity and his willingness to carry his bible with him.

At the end of this press release, the author reminded readers that they could meet the Gilliland family and other pioneers during the celebration. This is important, because not only was the author stimulating interest in the event and advertising for the exposition, but also using well-known aspects of Texas history – such as accounts of Indian raids – to encourage individuals to come to the fair. Authors had made use of this same strategy *sixty years before* with the *Texas Almanac Series*. In addition, this is an early example of authors using Texas history to transform the image and perception of the state into a commodity to bring tourism and economic benefit during the Great Depression. By appealing to a general interest in meeting *sturdy* pioneers who survived the rugged aspects of the Texas frontier, guests could pay a small price to meet living legends from Texas history.

In another story of captivity, a press release recounted the establishment of the Texas Rangers and their significance in Texas, particularly their efforts in *taming* the West. The government established the Texas Rangers, the author noted, to “protect the early Texas settlers from the savages.”³³⁶ This account also discussed one of the founders, Robert H. Coleman, who had a wife and child murdered by Indians and another taken captive but whom the Rangers later recovered. This coverage also helped propel the Texas Rangers into statewide and national prominence, and portray them as protectors of the land as well as Texan families.

³³⁵ Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Arthur Levenier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative 1550-1900* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), 8.

³³⁶ Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases April 1936, “Texas Rangers” Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

The press releases also covered the most famous story of captivity in Texas involving Cynthia Ann Parker and the Comanches. One of the last surviving eyewitnesses to Parker's rescue, John Gillespie, would attend the exposition. The author noted, "He saw long service on the Texas frontier in the days when Indians and outlaws combined to make a busy life for the Texas Ranger of the period."³³⁷ These stories of captivity and the Rangers emphasized the violent and unforgiving aspects of the Texas frontier until Rangers brought *peace* and *order* to the region, taming both the wilderness and the *savages*.

Such stories of Texas Rangers also underscored gendered ideologies and its operation in nineteenth and early twentieth century Texas. The releases portrayed the Rangers as brave, manly heroes who had fought *savage* Indians and sought to bring order and stability to a wild region. Women were involved too; white women strove to make homesteads and the transform the frontier into a hospitable place for families and newcomers involved a womanly touch of civility. Both aspects of gender were needed in this project of myth building. The story balanced between the rough and rugged white men who confronted the Indians with the white women who transformed the landscape.

Native Americans also made their voices heard in these press releases. Navajos from New Mexico participated in the Texas Centennial Exposition and their press release contained interesting information about their experiences while at the celebration. Two individuals, Estitty Chincilli and Isko Yazza, made news when they refused to let photographers take their picture at the New Mexico exhibit. The author stated the two also, "Refused to talk, even through interpreters. They have no English and obviously prefer not to learn any."³³⁸ However, the

³³⁷ Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases August-July 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³³⁸ Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases April 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

author failed to realize that by not speaking, and refusing photographs, the Navajos made a statement concerning their feelings about performance and exhibition. Pressed on their refusal to cooperate, Estitty Chincilli announced, ““We came here to make silver ornaments and weave cloth and all we have done all morning is to ride around in a covered wagon drawn by oxen and have our picture taken. We are tired of it. We don’t like it.””³³⁹ Although many might view this as a small gesture, the refusal spoke volumes about deeper issues concerning the ways in which publishers, journalists, and photographers utilized surviving Native Americans as exotic features of the past to be displayed. Insisting that they be seen as artists and sales merchants, Native people placed themselves at the forefront of discourse concerning primitivism and modernity. Instead of accepting their presumed place in the social hierarchy, these Navajos subverted the public’s perception about their role in the twentieth century.

By refusing to cooperate, Chincilli and Yazza made a powerful statement about their dissatisfaction with white public perceptions about them. Perhaps unknowingly, they had participated in a form of resistance that had been present long before at the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893. During this exposition, “Native Americans responded to and resisted scrutiny from fairgoers and other personnel in their own ways.”³⁴⁰ This form of resistance displayed by the Navajos may have reminded onlookers that those with the cameras did not hold all the power and the ability to demand a racialized performance.

Other press releases emphasized significant contributions of the U.S. Army in making the frontier safe for Anglo settlement. One in particular celebrated the achievements of the Ninth Infantry, noting that the unit fought to pacify the Indians back “when the phrase ‘Red Menace’

³³⁹ Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases, June 1936. Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³⁴⁰ Melissa Rinehart, “To Hell with the Wigs! Native American Representation and Resistance at the World’s Columbian Exposition,” *American Indian Quarterly*, 36, issue 4 (Fall 2012): 2.

meant something entirely different to what it means now.”³⁴¹ The author continued, stressing the regiment’s significance to American westward expansion, “Page after page of the regiment’s history tells of small detachment’s being attacked by superior forces of Indians.”³⁴² This rehearsal of the common trope of fighting Indians when the odds were heavily stacked against U.S. soldiers strongly resonated with the audience. In the previous dissertation chapter for instance, Panhandle newspaper accounts retold the story of the Battle of Adobe Walls, citing the superior numbers of Indians and a small band of bison hunters who defended the desolate location. This press release also alluded to the Alamo, which Anglo Texans related to as well. According to the popular narrative, a small, brave band of Texans defended the site from Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna and the Mexican military until superior numbers overwhelmed them.

The last few press releases struck a different tone, emphasizing and stressing the importance of history itself. In a release entitled, “Dusting the Covers of Texas History,” the author traced the evolution of Texas, and the contributions of Anglo settlers and Texas Rangers who made the “star of empire” state safe for development.³⁴³ The account noted that the Texas Rangers “had done their part in making Texas a desirable state for annexation.”³⁴⁴ Referring to the annexation efforts of 1844-1845, the author suggested that part of this desirability in pushing the Native Americans out of Texas occurred with the help of the Rangers. The Rangers were significant in this process and the author noted, “The Indian menace was gradually being curbed. New towns were flourishing: new stage lines and new industries were being developed;

³⁴¹ “Old Ninth” Will Head Army at Texas’ World Fair.”Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases, April 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³⁴² “Old Ninth” Will Head Army at Texas’ World Fair,” Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases, April 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³⁴³ “Dusting the Covers of Texas History,” Texas Centennial Papers Box 2C438, Folder: Releases on Centennial, January 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³⁴⁴ “Dusting the Covers of Texas History,” Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

everywhere progress was being made.”³⁴⁵ This reference to progress over time, and the importance of history underscored crucial elements of the Texas Centennial. Anglo Texans placed their state on display and recounted the transformation of the state from a *savage* and *uncivilized* beginning to a place of industry and progress in hundred years. At the center of this process was the “fine spirit of those pioneers...and their ideals for their state have become realities in this time.”³⁴⁶ The authors also contrasted the Comanches with Anglo pioneers to drive home their point, referring to the Native people as “treacherous, untrustworthy, and wily.”³⁴⁷ To the authors, this centennial celebration was the culmination of conquest and the advancement of Anglo Texans as a people rooted with a history of pushing out Indians and making *improvements* to the region.

Another press release with an emphasis on the importance of the city of Quanah shared an encounter with Kiowa men in the city. According to the account, “less than fifty years ago...a roving band of Kiowa Indians” attacked, murdered, and scalped Joe Earl, a “white man.”³⁴⁸ This story served as another rehearsal of frontier lore and an emphasis on dangerous Indians, participating in wanton murder in small Panhandle communities, specifically one named after the famous Comanche, Quanah Parker. After reading these violent accounts, visitors to the exposition could view and contrast the progress between the past and the future of Texas.

Lastly, one press release emphasized the significance of celebrating local history in Montague, Texas. The author remarked, “Citizens are becoming more and more aware that there lie at their very doors historic values resplendent with the deeds of valor and heroism...for a

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ “Dusting the Covers of Texas History,” Texas Centennial Papers Box 2C438, Folder: Releases on Centennial, January 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³⁴⁷ “Dusting the Covers of Texas History,” Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³⁴⁸ “Quanah,” Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Texas Press Releases on Centennial, January 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

major participation in the anniversary's observance."³⁴⁹ This process of highlighting sites across the state with historical significance, and imparting a particular reverence to these locations increased the interest Anglo Texans had in celebrating and remembering their collective past. In addition, this process involved the celebratory form of consensus history, and negated the controversial aspects of Texas history.³⁵⁰ This process, repeated through press releases across Texas exacerbated the patriotic fervor stemming from a centennial celebration. The result was two-fold. Texans and other tourists visited the centennial celebration grounds in large numbers as cultural and historical shrines were created across the state, laying the foundation for future generations to collectively remember specific aspects of Texas history that celebrated the conquest of the frontier, but in a palatable manner, lacking the controversial details of the actual process.

The previous dissertation chapters examined the Texas Panhandle as an important region that involved aspects of historical memorialization including Wild West shows and history museums. The newspapers across Panhandle counties also influenced local residents by promoting and discussing the upcoming centennial. This influence shaped how citizens thought about Texas history, collective memory, and the importance of rehearsing local aspects of the *settlement* of the land.

Across the Panhandle, newspapers relayed numerous stories, articles, and pieces about the upcoming celebration in 1936. Hereford, Texas is an illuminating case study for local newspaper accounts in the lead up to the Texas Centennial. Hereford is located in Deaf Smith County and the local newspaper was very vocal in generating interest for the celebration. In the

³⁴⁹ "Montague, Texas," Texas Centennial Papers, Box 2C439, Folder: Releases on Centennial, April 1936, Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History.

³⁵⁰ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

Hereford Brand, a local doctor named John W. Brown urged residents to put their homes, and by extension, Texas, in the best light.³⁵¹ This involved having healthy, sanitary, and clean homes, businesses, and restaurants for visitors. Following the completion of the Plains Panhandle Historical Museum in 1933, the newspapers that served communities across the Panhandle offer an instructive look into how Anglo Texans thought about history and the centennial celebration. In another article from the *Hereford Brand* described the planning for over 500 brands of cattle on display at the exposition, “showing the development of the cattle industry in Texas from colonial days to the present.”³⁵² This showcase is particularly important because it demonstrates how cattle ranching took over in Texas, replacing the native bison herds years before. It also emphasizes a western rather than a southern agrarianism.

The Panhandle papers also relayed information pertaining to a history essay contest across the state. In an article entitled, “Win \$300,” the author informed readers about the opportunity to win a cash prize by writing the best history involving a person or event from their home county. The essays had to depict the “significance of the development of the county,” and by extension the development of Texas.³⁵³ This essay contest served several purposes. It successfully encouraged Hereford citizens to submit essays and proudly write about their local history, and by extension stimulating their interest in the centennial. This essay contest also sought to portray the region as full of history pertinent to Anglo settlement over time. This strategy cast the essay participants and the residents as having a history and sense of place connected to the city.

³⁵¹ “Healthy Citizenship would be Aid to those Visiting Centennial,” *The Hereford Brand*, (Hereford, Texas), January 23, 1936, Volume 36th year, Number 3, Ed. 1, page 6, UNT Portal to Texas History.

³⁵² “Plans Exhibit of 500 Brands at Centennial,” *The Hereford Brand*, (Hereford, Texas), February 20, 1936, Volume 36th year Number 7, Edition 1, page 6, UNT Portal to Texas History.

³⁵³ “Win \$300,” *The Hereford Brand*, February 20, 1936, Volume 36th year Number 7, Edition 1, page 6, UNT Portal to Texas History.

In February 1936, many newspapers carried a letter from the governor, James Allred, urging citizens to help proudly display and market Texas for the impending tourism. Governor Allred stressed this importance noting, “The favorable impression Texas and Texans make will result in a priceless asset for the Lone Star State.”³⁵⁴ After this initial request, Governor Allred called on citizens to think about the significance of the celebration and what it meant for history and memory: “Let each of us do everything possible to see that our visitors not only remember Texas as an empire of friendly people but as a land of beauty.”³⁵⁵ The Governor’s request drew on decades of practice by Anglo Texans involving the representation of the state in a way to satisfy and serve current needs. Yet is also absolved Anglo Texans of culpability and instead laid the groundwork for popular representations of Texas centered on modernization, friendly people, and a proud history. In the 1870s, Anglo Texans portrayed the state as a place in need of transformation, with untapped potential. By the 1930s, they proudly displayed it as the culmination of the last sixty years of *progress*.

Residents of Canyon, Texas also participated in the centennial planning and worked for local recognition by the centennial administration. For instance, L.F. Sheffy requested money for the city of Canyon, and additional funding for the continuation of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum. On June 24, 1933, L.F. Sheffy wrote a letter to the Texas Advisory Board of Historians and asked for additional funding for the creation of historical markers throughout the Panhandle. After detailing the physical holdings of the repository, which included “Indian relics, tools, and utensils of the early settlers,” Sheffy made an appeal based on the historical and

³⁵⁴ “Governor Allred’s Proclamation,” *The Hereford Brand*, (Hereford, Texas), February 27, 1936, Volume 36th year Number 7, Edition 1, page 8, UNT Portal to Texas History.

³⁵⁵ “Governor Allred’s Proclamation,” *The Hereford Brand*, (Hereford, Texas), February 27, 1936, Volume 36th year Number 7, Edition 1, page 8, UNT Portal to Texas History. Car manufacturers got in on the fervor, and their advertisements marketed the use of various vehicles to see the state including Dodge, Ford, Chevrolet, and Plymouth. *The Hereford Brand*, (Hereford, Texas), March 19, 1936, Volume 36th year Number 11, Edition 1 UNT Portal to Texas History.

cultural significance of the museum.³⁵⁶ He continued, arguing that the museum served as a “cultural shrine to which old and young alike come to observe and to study or to recall the happy memories of days that are gone forever.”³⁵⁷

Sheffy’s letter of application for centennial funding highlighted the sense that the PPHM administrators had regarding history and collective memory. Sheffy’s words demonstrate that many believed in the significance of museums as “cultural shrines” to the history of the region. This significance allowed Panhandle residents to construct a historical narrative that elevated them as custodians of the past and heralds of the memories associated with the region. The museum represented a bastion of *civilization*, implicitly suggesting that white Texans brought this transformation to a place previously lacking such *civilization*. Sheffy’s letter and request also followed the strong decade for PPHM organizers such as Olive Dixon who had worked to establish a monument to honor the participants of the Battle of Adobe Walls.

From President Roosevelt’s opening remarks, to the amount of financing involved in the exposition, to the press releases, newspaper accounts, and the language used in the House Committee by representatives from Texas, the underlying theme involved the significance of a particular version of Texas history. Politicians, organizers, and others made this possible and the citizens of Texas utilized this approach throughout 1936 to instill a sense of pride and optimism about their home.

The effort to stimulate the economy through the centennial celebration also generated interest in Texas history and memory. Specific towns and cities exhibited their local histories and utilized essay contests to convey the importance of their role in shaping Texas. These stories

³⁵⁶ Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History, Austin, Texas, James Frank Dobie Papers, Notes and Correspondence, 1935-1936 and undated. This letter was from June 24, 1933. Box 2B150.

³⁵⁷ Dolph-Briscoe Center for American History, Austin, Texas, James Frank Dobie Papers, Notes and Correspondence, 1935-1936 and undated. This letter was from June 24, 1933. Box 2B150.

and reminiscences told tales of frontier life, Indians, and progress. By these efforts, Anglo Texans created a narrative that was proudly on display throughout the state. This narrative oftentimes silenced aspects of history, illuminated selective memory, and documented *progress* from Texas as a place of *savagery* to a place of civilization and modern advancement.

The 1936 Texas Centennial Exposition was the culmination of decades of Anglo-Texan attempts to write and convey the history of Texas through popular memory, with rhetoric that underscored larger themes including American expansion as well as Manifest Destiny in the nineteenth century. Laura Lyons McLemore refers to this process of memorialization as a “whole cluster of myths” that encompasses aspects of the Lone Star State. These American – and Texan – themes, “Including manifest destiny, racial superiority of the Anglo-American settlers, and the interpretation of both the Texas Revolution and the Indian wars as extensions of the apocalyptic battle between good and evil” are recast as shared memories of “winning the West.”³⁵⁸ Earlier chapters in this dissertation traced these developments including the use of almanacs in the 1870s to portray the state and encourage immigration and emigration while simultaneously affecting the Native Americans residing in Texas. Following this removal, in the 1910s, Anglo Texans in the Panhandle collectively remembered and rehearsed aspects of this era, including bison hunts and anxiety about potential Indian raids. Lastly, in the 1920s, residents in the Panhandle created monuments and museums to honor and remember individuals who had made the frontier safe and led efforts to *civilize* the region.

Within each of these instances, instructive language involving the use of race and gender underscored these efforts across Texas. Newspaper accounts, letters, and speeches memorializing Texas history included language that reflected the changing nature of the Texan

³⁵⁸ Laura L. McLemore, *Inventing Texas: Early Historians of the Lone Star State* (College Station, Tex: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 94.

landscape and wilderness. It also involved Anglo women reminiscing about being the “first” woman in a given county, bringing white womanhood, and *civilization* to a *savage* place. Lastly, when collectively memorializing seminal events like the Battle of Adobe Walls, Anglo Texans employed racialized language to frame the narrative in a gentle light that exculpated them of wrongdoing. When Anglo Texans began the construction of the Plains Panhandle Historical Museum in the 1930s, the language reflected the need for a “cultural shrine” and a symbol of *progress* on the plains. The 1936 centennial helped demonstrate that change over time and conveyed a “century of progress” and an “empire on parade” for visitors to share and join in celebrating a rehearsal of history as well as memory that they were intimately familiar with as Americans – westward expansion and all that accompanied it.

The sun is setting, I’m driving Ranch to Market 620, and the rolling Texas Hill Country is before me. At the next stoplight, I pull up next to a truck with a bumper sticker that reads, “Native Texan.” The Subaru that pulls up on my other side has a bumper sticker with the text, “True Texan” emblazoned across an image of an armadillo. What do these symbols convey? Do the owners of these vehicles, proud Texans they may be, accept all of Texas including all of its history? Perhaps the stickers are not out of pride, but out of an underlying anxiety because of the sweeping waves of demographic change brought to Texas in recent decades.

With such a designation, what are “Native” Texans and “True” Texans attempting to contrast in their minds? If these bumper sticker Texans maintain that immigrants and others can never truly fit this model, then there is a unique opportunity to understand how a constructed narrative reverberates from the past, making itself apparent, materializing as a lasting legacy in 2019. These bumper stickers are a microcosm of the larger story of inscribing a history to fit a particular mold. Within the mold are certain characteristics deemed “Texan” suggesting that

outsiders will remain excluded from this exclusive club. The mold and the narrative contain the same tropes and archetypes that have been embedded in Texas history lore. This narrative is characterized by the winning of the West, the conquering of the frontier, of shedding a southern past, of embracing a western identity, and of quietly and consciously downplaying the violence, ethnic cleansing, and racial oppression that was central to the formation of this state.

Such characteristics of Anglo Texan folklore matter because at stake is control over the present. That control includes how stories of the past are constructed, manipulated, and politicized. Historical remembrances, rooted in Anglo Texan identity, set the tone for social, cultural, and political interactions across the state. Native Americans in Texas were and are central to these shared remembrances. Importantly, Anglo Texans demanded their physical absence, but required their figurative presence in order to make these origin stories about the Lone Star State work.

In the decades after the 1936 Texas Centennial, Hollywood embraced, constructed, and sold the Western genre that emphasized a triumph over Native American savagery and rugged, white, iconic male actors who embodied an American ideal in the form of the cowboy during the 1950s and 1960s. The fascination with the West and Native Americans continues and requires further investigation through the lenses of popular culture and racial representations.

As I noted in my introduction, Texas is full of profound ironies. For generations, Texans have been promoting Texas and explaining to Americans across the remainder of the United States – and the world – of its greatness and its fortunes. Yet, now in the midst of exponential growth in places like San Antonio, Austin, Fort Worth, and Dallas, “Native Texans” and “True Texans” have grown anxious, unwilling to share a portion of that identity. They seek to set

themselves apart and distinguish themselves as rightful heirs to a past that they are not truly or fully ready to embrace.

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