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THE PINES OF TEXAS
A STUDY IN LUMBERING AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1880-1930

ROBERT S. MAXWELL

The Pines of Texas occupy an area variously estimated at twelve to eighteen million acres in the extreme eastern edge of the state, an acreage comparable to the total area of a number of fair-sized eastern states. To be sure, there are small acreages of pine in other sections of the state, and merchantable stands of hardwood exist in limited quantities. But to the commercial lumberman timber in Texas means pines and East Texas. The lumbering industry, built on the exploitation of this magnificent pine forest, came to dominate the region and the lives of all the people in it. The State, both in behalf of the conservation of natural resources and the protection of the residents, periodically attempted to intervene and regulate the industry for the public good. It is this industry and the attempts of the state to control it that this paper seeks to discuss.

As late as 1880 the Texas pinelands remained virtually untapped. The industry was valued at less than two million dollars and less than 300,000,000 board feet of lumber annually were produced. The entire region was strangely isolated and existing railroads merely skirted the Piney Woods. The rolling hills concealed soils ranging from adhesive clays to white sand. Cotton culture was the principal occupation of the farmers but the yield was poor and subsistence was marginal. As could be expected the towns were small, straggling, and unlovely. The people were insular, largely uneducated, and suspicious. The roads were poor and the rivers unpredictable, too low in the summer; too violent and flooded in the winter and the spring.[1]

Saw milling had been carried on in the Texas region on a limited scale since the days of the earliest settlers. Successively men, mules, water, and steam had furnished the motive power. But these mills were all small, operated intermittently, and frequently combined the sawmill with a grist mill. Most of their products were used locally. Except for Orange and Beaumont where logs were floated down the rivers and lumber was shipped by boat via Sabine Pass, commercial lumbering was virtually nonexistent.[2]

But a number of factors soon combined to stimulate interest in the East Texas pineries. Eastern lumber sources had been largely exhausted and the great white pine forests of the Lake States region were being rapidly depleted. The settlement of the Plains States opened new and attractive markets for lumber, and the passing of the worst features of the panic of 1873 encouraged the building of new railroads to link the sources of supply with the potential market.[3] In the thirty years after 1875, new railroads criss-crossed the timber belt opening up the pineries to enterprising entrepreneurs and in turn opening the outside world to the East

Texas natives. Among the important roads were the Houston, East and West Texas, affectionately known as "The Rabbit," the Texas and New Orleans, the notorious "Orphan Katy," and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. Lesser roads opened still more acreage and provided connecting links with the main trunk lines. The state of Texas encouraged railroad building by granting sixteen sections of land for every mile of road built until 1882, when it was discovered that the unallotted land in Texas had been exhausted.[4]

Enterprising lumbermen, with or without previous experience, followed closely after the rail lines as they pushed into the pine forests. They rapidly acquired extensive acreages at bargain prices, ranging from as low as 50c to $5 per acre. They built complete lumber manufacturing plants including mill, dry kiln, yards, planer, warehouses, and frequently a tram road. In addition they acquired company towns, in which the houses, streets, wells, commissary, and frequently the schools and churches, were company-owned and company-dominated. In all but legal title they also owned a loyal work force numbering from 200 to more than 2000 men, both white and Negro, who, together with their families, were dependent on the mill owners for their livelihood. With few exceptions the workers were native born Texans, largely from the Piney Woods.

There were far too many major sawmill operators to attempt even to list them all. Some, such as John Henry Kirby, W. T. Carter, and John Martin Thompson, were Texas born. More, however, migrated from other states. H. J. Lutcher and G. B. Moore came from Pennsylvania; T. L. L. Temple was from Virginia; J. H. Kurth was born in Germany; Wm. H. Knox and Wm. Carlisle came from Wisconsin; W. R. Pickering, B. B. Foster, and R. A. Long were from Kansas City; David Wingate was from Mississippi; E. B. Hayward was from Iowa; Stanley Joyce was from Chicago; Wm. B. Buchanan came from Tennessee; E. A. Frost was from Arkansas; Peter Doucette was from Canada. Each of these men carved out for himself an empire in excess of a hundred thousand acres. In their own vast possessions, they in truth became feudal lords controlling and governing feudal baronies.[5]

Of all the lumber tycoons none was more colorful and flamboyant than John Henry Kirby. His career illustrates the extreme in large mill operations in the East Texas region. Born and raised in relative poverty in rural Tyler County, Kirby went to the usual local schools, attended Southwestern University briefly, studied law, passed the bar examination and served for a time as Clerk of the Texas Senate. As the result of a successful court case, Kirby became friendly with a group of Boston financiers and with their backing, he formed several companies to acquire and hold East Texas timber lands. Soon he began the construction of a railroad through the heart of the Texas longleaf belt and built a sawmill at Silsbee.

About this time he met officials of the Santa Fe Railroad who became interested in his enterprises. As a result, the Santa Fe purchased his railroad and extended it to Longview. The Santa Fe also loaned Kirby additional money which he invested in more timber lands. This proved to be a very profitable arrangement for both.

In 1901, with the aid of additional Eastern capital, Kirby organized the Kirby Lumber Company, capitalized at $10,000,000, which was a consolidation of a number of mills and timber properties which he owned or on which he held options. Shortly afterwards he, with Patrick Calhoun of New York, incorporated the Houston Oil Company, capitalized at $30,000,000 and to which he assigned some 900,000 acres of choice longleaf pine land. His two corporations then executed a stumpage contract estimated at 8 billion feet which guaranteed the Kirby mills a supply of pine timber for the next twenty-five years. Impressed by such financial magic and credit management, the citizens of Houston tendered him a banquet where he was hailed as the "Prince of Pines," and Houston's first citizen. On this occasion he was described as "tall, massive, white haired and ruddy cheeked. He sits like a colossus—with an expansive and all embracing smile."[6]

At the peak of its activities the Kirby Lumber Company operated 14 major sawmills, 13 logging camps, more than a hundred miles of tram road connecting with the Santa Fe, a large commissary warehouse and distributing office in Beaumont, and executive offices in Houston. This massive operation was based on some 320,000 acres of timber held by the company plus the stumpage rights to the 900,000 acres held by the Houston Oil Company. In the two tracts combined it was estimated that Kirby controlled between forty and sixty per cent of all the longleaf yellow pine in Texas. Kirby divided and fixed authority and responsibility among his subordinates. The mill manager was responsible only for production at his mill. The managers of the logging fronts were concerned only with meeting their log quotas for the week. All of the commissaries were under one management like a chain of small department stores. All were stocked from one warehouse and if an item did not move in one commissary, it was transferred up the line to a new site. Kirby prided himself on his medical and hospital system. He maintained a rather complete hospital at Beaumont and a resident doctor at every mill or logging camp. Each commissary had a drug department. For medical services, which included the family as well as the employee, $1.00 per month was withheld from each worker's wages. All of the towns, mills and fronts had similar rules and regulations, pay scales, and policies. Collectively, the Kirby mills were capable of an output of over 900,000 board feet per day. Annual capacity was rated at 300,000,000 board feet. His permanent work force was estimated at 5,000.

A typical Kirby company town was Kirbyville, located in Jasper County. The only considerable industry was the Kirby mill rated in 1903 at 60,000 board feet per day, and the logging camp that supplied it with logs. All, or practically all, of the inhabitants were dependent upon the Kirby Lumber Company for their livelihood. As in all of the Kirby enterprises, the mill used merchandise checks or tokens in lieu of money. The company houses at Kirbyville were not as attractive as at some mill towns, being described in 1915 as "dull, gray, dingy boxes ranged row on row." Yet some of these houses had electricity, and a few had running water. Most had small garden patches. As in all Texas mill towns, the Negro quarters were separated in Kirbyville from the white section by the mill pond or the tracks. It was agreed that most of the Negro houses were little better than shacks.

The worker at Kirbyville fitted the stereotype that he "was born in a company house, tended by a company doctor, nourished at the company store, worked at the company mill, often died of a company accident, had a funeral conducted by a company preacher, and was buried in a company grave yard." Yet, this is far from the whole story. The wages, hours of labor, and housing of the employees compared favorably with those of non-sawmill people in the East Texas region. To most of the workers, lumbering was a way of life rather than just a job. Many spent an entire lifetime at the same mill and a majority remained in the industry once they began. The logging crews enjoyed the out of doors, and the mill hands gloried in their physical strength and their skills. The "Steel Gang" (track men for the tram roads), admittedly the men with the hardest physical work in the company, would not change jobs with anyone. Kirby himself, though a large operator and financier, was not inhumane. He was concerned about the health and working conditions of his employees. He regularly passed out Christmas gifts to the workers and once distributed 2500 Bibles to employees in the mill towns. He donated a school to his old home town of Woodville. More than a score of men and women could testify that it was a loan or gift from John Henry Kirby that enabled them to go to college. Many disabled workers and surviving widows continued to live in the company's houses and where possible were given token employment.[7]

Many of the lumber barons were bold and purposeful entrepreneurs with eccentricities which made them colorful characters. Stories were legion about their frugality, industry, or personal appearance. Gimlet-eyed R. A. Long, with his inevitable high starched collar, pious ministerial manner, and conservative business suit, always looked strangely out of place inspecting a logging or sawmill operation. Thomas L. L. Temple was forever picking up short lengths of lumber in the mill, marking a price on them, demanding who cut that off and why? W. T. Carter reportedly refused to purchase an automatic device to flip and turn logs on the saw carriage, known as a "steam nigger," because the invention "couldn't trade at the commissary." Beautiful Mrs. Lillian Knox donned breeches and boots and took personal charge of her company's logging operations to enable it to meet its contracts during the First World War. The same Mrs. Knox was the defendant a few years later in a spectacular murder case involving the death of her husband, Hiram Knox. Stanley Joyce was, for a time, the husband of famed actress and showgirl, Peggy Hopkins Joyce. J. H. Kurth was known for his blunt and candid speech, delivered with a trace of German accent. Peter Doucette liked to go into the woods and demonstrate his prowess to his men.[8]

Many of the lumber barons were active in politics, and some were important political figures. Kirby was a personal friend of Senator Joseph W. Bailey who for a time was perhaps the most powerful politician in Texas. Kirby served as permanent chairman of the State Democratic Convention of 1904 and was a delegate on several occasions to the Democratic National Convention. During World War I, he was lumber administrator for the United States Shipping Board. J. H. Kurth was perhaps the leading Republican in the East Texas area. He was a member of the State Republican Executive Committee for many years and served as a

Presidential Elector and Delegate to the Republican National Convention. In 1924, he was the Republican candidate for Lt. Governor. From the mass of correspondence regarding federal positions, it would indicate that Kurth largely controlled federal appointments in East Texas during the Roosevelt and Taft administrations. Simon W. Henderson and Eugene H. Blount were also active participants in party and state conventions.[9]

The Texas lumber manufacturers organized themselves into trade associations at an early date. Through them the mill owners exchanged production data, comparative price lists, and privately circulated lists of malcontent or undesirable workmen. Through the trade associations, the operators also cooperated on political and legislative action, and agreed on common labor and wage policies. Though they found organizations very beneficial to themselves, they were violently opposed to the formation of any union or association among their employees. Despite the determined efforts of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers to organize mill and woods workers in Texas, the operators were generally successful in preventing any union from getting a foothold until the coming of the New Deal.

The techniques employed were many and varied. Many mills used an anti-union contract (yellow dog) and known labor organizers were harassed by sheriffs and company police until they fled from the region. Some operated espionage systems which swiftly carried word of any unionization effort. The latent hostility of white and Negro workers was played upon to prevent any alliance and all union organizers were denounced as a new group of "Carpetbaggers" who were coming South in an attempt to place the Negro above the white man. As most companies owned the entire company town, including the streets, it was a simple matter to arrest and prosecute the would-be organizer for trespassing. This remained a favorite device for three generations.[10]

Despite the obvious monopolistic features of their operations, the mill owners were able to escape serious penalties under the anti-trust laws, either state or federal. Kirby faced anti-trust action briefly at the time of the incorporation of his giant combine in 1901, but the suit was soon dismissed. The Yellow Pine Manufacturers Association and its successor, The Southern Pine Association, found themselves periodically investigated but successfully combatted all suits. In 1925, the federal court dismissed a suit in equity against the Association brought by the Attorney General of the United States charging combination, practices in restraint of trade, price fixing, and unfair employment practices. This was hailed by the companies as a great victory.[11]

Because of their policies and practices and perhaps simply because of their great affluence, there rose a grassroots protest against the lumber companies and their owners, demanding that the state regulate their operations, protect the workers, and conserve the forests. Increasingly, after 1900, the legislature intervened in the affairs of the lumber industry. Of special interest to the state were the alarming number of serious accidents in the woods and mills which resulted in the maiming or death of hundreds of workers annually. As early as 1893, the first employer liability laws applying to rail and tram roads were passed during the admin-

istration of James Stephen Hogg. Additional laws in 1897, 1905, and 1909 strengthened the original law and narrowed the use of the traditional common law defenses which had enabled the employers to escape responsibility. In 1907, at the insistence of Governor Thomas Campbell, the legislature established a Bureau of Labor Statistics which then was able to provide the information for additional and more comprehensive legislation.[12]

Agitation for a Workman's Compensation Law was general by 1912. This type of legislation was a hallmark of "Progressive" reform in many states and such states as Wisconsin, New York, and Massachusetts provided model laws for such legislation. The Texas Democratic state platform of 1912 called for the enactment of an employee's compensation law "affording adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life," and Governor O. B. Colquitt pledged his personal support. The result was the Texas Workmen's Compensation Act of 1913. It outlawed the traditional common law defenses, and set up a three man Industrial Accident Board to administer the compensation and awards. To meet the increased liability for employers, the Texas Employers Insurance Association was created. The law has steadily been strengthened and its scope extended. Its passage was a landmark for the sawmill workers of Texas.

Other measures improving the rights of labor passed the legislature during the same years. An act of 1899 explicitly recognized the legality of labor unions and the right of peaceful picketing (but not of trespass). The legislature of 1903 prohibited the employment of children under twelve in industry. The same group of law makers passed an anti-coercion bill, prohibiting employers from blacklisting or threatening to blacklist any employee. It also forbade an employer to force an employee to buy at a company store or commissary as a condition of employment. A bill to prohibit the compulsory withholding of wages as doctor's or hospital fees was considered but was killed in the House.[13]

With the exception of the Workman's Compensation laws, the workers were most interested in legislation regarding the use of merchandise checks or tokens. These were almost universally used in the mill towns and logging camps and were regularly discounted 10 to 20% if used elsewhere than the company commissary where prices generally ranged 10 to 20% higher. In most companies they could be converted into cash only at stated times which were infrequent. As the result of continued agitation, the legislature in 1897 passed a law entitled "An Act to protect accountants, craftsmen, mill operators," . . . etc. It directed that all wages should be due and payable weekly or monthly, and should be made in the lawful money of the United States. In 1901, the legislature passed a more specific law declaring it unlawful for any corporation or person to issue any ticket, check, or token obligatory to any employee redeemable in goods or merchandise. It directed that such checks or tokens be redeemable in current funds of the United States or merchandise at the option of the holder. This was not to apply to firms having monthly paydays or to checks issued only at the request of the employee during the current month. In 1905, this Act was amended and made more stringent by deleting the exceptions and loopholes. It prohibited the issue of all merchan-

dise checks or tokens and made the violation a criminal offense punishable by fine or imprisonment.

This law was at once challenged in the courts and in the important case of *Jordan v. The State* was declared unconstitutional and void. In his decision, presiding justice W. L. Davidson cited *Lochner v. New York* as a precedent, and denounced the act as depriving the worker of his freedom of contract and the company of its property without due process of law. In 1914, James E. Ferguson campaigned for the governorship promising that there should be at least two pay days every month. Following his election, the legislature of 1915 passed such a bill, but this act did little to change company policy. In fact, it was not until the coming of better transportation and competitive stores that the merchandise check fell into disuse.[14]

Despite these legislative efforts, the condition of the lumber worker remained poor. The plentiful supply of labor and the isolated nature of his employment left him largely at the mercy of his employer. It was not until the New Deal period and the Second World War that the lumber worker's position markedly improved.

In their logging and milling operations, most of the lumber operators were as wasteful of timber as they were of manpower. A representative operation was that of the W. R. Pickering Company which came to Texas in 1905 from Kansas City and acquired some 120,000 acres in Shelby and Sabine counties. The Pickering mill was a typical big mill outfit with a double band rig and the most recent automatic machinery. The company logged almost exclusively by tram road, running spur lines every few hundred yards from the main line until the logging was finished and then taking up the track and relaying it again at another location. At the loading point, they used both a steam loader and a steam skidder, each operating from special trucks on the rails. The skidder, invented by a Ludington, Michigan, lumberman, made its first appearance in Texas in the late nineties. The Pickering skidder was a large rehaul model with four huge drums and cables that were capable of reaching out 1000 feet for logs and dragging them in to track side. En route the immense logs hurtled through the forest, now knocking down all the seedlings and young trees in the path, now swinging clear many feet in the air, until the skilled operator dumped them at the foot of the loader. The skidder soon came to be known as a man killer as well as a timber killer. The tongs man must be both able and alert to fasten the log securely and stand clear before the skidder operator, who often was out of sight, snapped the cable taut and began to bring the log in. Woods workmen, white and black alike, darkly whispered that an "onery skidder man" could snap your neck with the cable, catch your hand or arm in the tongs, or pull the log over you if he wished and no questions would ever be asked. The fallers or flatheads worked ahead of the trams cutting everything eight inches and up (Kirby, Carter, and some of the other companies cut only trees twelve inches and up). The Pickering Company cut out in 1931. The company transferred operations to the west coast and the workers began the task of finding new jobs in the depth of the depression. From virgin forest to cutover wasteland had taken only twenty-five years. Many companies had similar histories.[15]

Many major operators anticipated the end of commercial lumbering in Texas, expecting that the cut-over lands could be turned into productive farms. Under the slogan, "The Plow Follows the Skidder," Long-Bell attempted to justify the extensive damage done by its logging practices. Under the watchful eye of R. A. Long, the Long-Bell Farm Land Corporation was organized for the purpose of selling lands in small units to Northern and Western farmers and stockmen. The Foster Lumber Company, the Kirby Lumber Company, and the Santa Fe Railroad (which had acquired some Kirby lands) had similar programs. Most of their settlers were recent immigrants from Central Europe who were attracted by the low prices and favorable terms. The newcomers soon found that their farms were good for growing trees—and little else. Most of them drifted to the Gulf Coast cities to work in the shipyards during First World War or to participate in the industrial boom of Houston and its neighbors. Today, most of the one-time neatly surveyed farm sites have reverted to the forest.[16]

The State of Texas exhibited an increasing concern for the conservation of forest resources from the turn of the century. In 1915, due largely to the efforts of W. G. Jones, the Legislature established the Texas Forest Service. Steadily growing in importance, by 1930 the Service had undertaken to control and prevent forest fires, to provide seedlings to replant denuded areas, to give instruction in selective cutting, and to promote public education in conservation. In the early thirties, the Texas National Forests were established, acquiring cut-over timber land from a number of major companies. Here the United States Forest Service demonstrated what conservation methods could do in bringing denuded timber lands back into production. Professional foresters began to be employed by the private companies which turned to selective cutting and other approved practices. Many of the larger companies learned to plan their cutting programs to make the timber supply last indefinitely. In the years since 1930, conservation and scientific silvaculture increasingly have been accepted as the way to survival in the Texas forests.[17]

The half century from the coming of the railroads to East Texas to the Great Depression marked a complete cycle in the Texas lumber industry. Production rose from some three hundred million board feet in 1880 to a peak of more than two billion feet in 1907 and then declined to some three hundred and fifty million feet in 1932. The decline of commercial lumbering was accompanied by the termination of operations by numerous companies and the reduction of dozens of mill towns to ghost towns. For its first fifty years, the history of lumbering in Texas had not been markedly different from that in New England, the Lake States, or the states in the Southeast. The best efforts of the legislature, progressive reformers, professional foresters, and the workers themselves failed to alter markedly the predominantly *laissez-faire* drive to exploit the forests. As a result, the Pines of Texas were all but destroyed. It is fortunate that sound conservation practices and the amazing recuperative power of the southern yellow pine has enabled the new generation partly to repair the damage.[18]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Frank H. Taylor, "Through Texas," *Harper's Monthly*, 59:706 (1789); T. C. Richardson, *East Texas, its History and its Makers* (New York, 1940), I:471.

[2]Richardson, *East Texas*, 470; Vera Lea Dugas, "Texas Industry, 1860-1880," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 59:161 (October 1955); *Nacogdoches News*, July 30, 1877; March 16, 1882; *American Lumberman* (September 20, 1908), 86-88.

[3]Stanley F. Horn, *This Fascinating Lumber Business* (New York, 1943), 29-31; Robert F. Fries, *Empire in Pine* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1951), 239-241.

[4]St. Clair G. Reed, *A History of Texas Railroads* (Houston, 1941), 154-155.

[5]See George Creel, "The Feudal Towns of Texas," *Harper's Weekly*, LX 76-78 (January 23, 1915).

[6]*American Lumberman*, November 16, 1901. Much of the Houston Oil Company lands lay just north of the fabulous Spindletop strike near Beaumont. Eventually the company had oil wells, gas wells, and other oil properties.

[7]This material on Kirby and the Kirby Lumber Company is taken from: John O. King, *The Early History of the Houston Oil of Texas, 1901-1908* (Houston, Texas Gulf Coast Historical Publications, 1951), "Timber Resources of East Texas: Their Recognition and Development by John H. Kirby," *The American Lumberman*, November 22, 1902; "Kirby File," Kirby Lumber Company Papers, Home Office, Houston, Texas; *Beaumont Enterprise*, Nov. 10, 1940; *Houston Post*, December 12, 1936; Hamilton Pratt Easton, A History of Texas Lumbering (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, 1947); R. S. Nowlin, Economic Development of the Kirby Lumber Company of Houston, Texas (unpublished M.A. thesis, Peabody College for Teachers, 1930); notes on investigations of Three Texas Lumber Towns by Peter A. Speck for John R. Commons and Associates, "Reports of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations," from the General Records of the Department of Labor (microfilm, Stephen F. Austin State College Library).

[8]Interviews with Mrs. E. A. Farley, Mrs. Frank Farrington, D. D. Devereaux and Dave Kenley of Diboll; F. I. Tucker, and C. G. Woodward of Nacogdoches; N. H. Weatherford of Camden; and J. W. Minton of Hemphill, in the Oral History Collections at Stephen F. Austin State College.

[9]Ernest William Winkler, ed. *Platforms of Political Parties in Texas* (Austin, 1916), 411-643; Cecil A. Lyon to J. H. Kurth, September 4, 1902; G. W. Eason to Kurth, December 17, 1906; Kurth to Cecil A. Lyon, December 23, 1909; Kurth to Henry C. Payne, February 11, 1903; Kurth to R. B. Creager, March 7, 1925, in the Kurth Papers.

[10]Richard G. Lillard, *The Great Forest* (New York, 1947), 291-299; John R. Commons and associates, "Reports of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations," from the United States Department of Labor

(microfilm, University of Texas Library), 1915; Creel, "Feudal Towns of Texas," 76-78.

[11]*Laws of Texas*, 1903, ch. 94, p. 119; King, *History of the Houston Oil Company*, 48-49; George T. Deeble to Angelina County Lumber Co., July 14, 1900, So. Pine Assoc. to ACLC., Dec. 7, 1925, Kurth Papers.

[12]*Laws of Texas* (Gammel, ed.), 1897, SS. p. 14, sec. 1; 1905, p. 386; 1909, p. 64, 279; Caleb Perry Patterson and others, *State and Local Government in Texas* (New York, 1948), 302-303. National Council on Compensation Insurance, Compensable Accidents in the Texas Logging and Lumbering Industry, in D. D. Smith to Author, October 15, 1959.

[13]*Laws of Texas*, 1899, ch. 262; 1903, ch. 28; ch. 63. *Texas House Journal*, 1903, 396. W. B. O'Quinn to Eli Weiner, February 3, 1903; S. M. Davis and W. B. O'Quinn to J. H. Kurth, January 28, 1903, in the Kurth Papers. The same legislature passed a maximum hour law (16 hours) for trainmen that applied to workers of tram roads. *Laws of Texas*, ch. 31.

[14]*Laws of Texas*, 1897, ch. 152; 1901, ch. 112; 1905, ch. 152; 1915, ch. 25; *Ed Jordan v. The State*, 51 *Texas Criminal Reports* 531 (1907); Trinity River Lumber Company to Eli Wiener, April 10, 1906. Kurth Papers. As late as 1937, the State of Texas was seeking an effective formula to forbid the obligatory issue of merchandise checks and to require their redemption at face value in lawful money. See *Laws of Texas*, 1937, ch. 354, p. 705.

[16]*The Log of Long Bell*, 1:20 (January 1919); Foster Lumber Company Dr. G. F. Middlebrook, Oral History Collections, Stephen F. Austin State College.

[16]*The Log of Long Bell*, 1:20 (January 1919); Foster Lumber Company Papers, Stephen F. Austin State College; Interview with Judge J. W. Minton, Oral History Collections; Lawrence L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1950), 253.

[17]Texas Forest Service, *Texas Forest News*, 34:2:4 (March-April, 1955).

[18]Texas Forest Service, "Production File," Regional Office, Texas Forest Service, Lufkin; *Texas Almanac*, 1958-1959 (Dallas, Texas, 1959), 188-192.