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**“CAN’T HURT, AND MAY DO YOU GOOD”: A STUDY OF THE
PAMPHLETS THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD USED TO
INDUCE IMMIGRATION TO TEXAS, 1880-1930¹**

by Patrick J. Brunet

The image of Texas as viewed by non-Texans has changed through the years. At different times Texas projected an impression of being a land of cotton plantations, a cattleman's empire, an oilman's dream and generally a land of opportunity. After the Civil War, when the Texas' railroads desired to sell land they had received in grant for laying track in Texas, the railroads had to develop a marketable image of Texas to sell their lands and develop markets along their lines.² The purpose of this study is to describe what image, or images, one railroad, the Southern Pacific, and its affiliates, used in their promotional brochures and pamphlets from 1880 to 1930 to induce immigration to Texas.³

Pamphlets became a popular promotional tool in Texas sometime in the 1870s when they began to appear in appreciable numbers. Over the fifty year period two things were apparent in railroad promotional literature; first, the greatest number of pamphlets issued were to sell land and promote settlement, and second, the literature had a choice once the area was developed to either change purpose and become more useful or disappear. Since the main purpose of promoters was to sell lands, the number of pamphlets often drastically dropped once the available amount of saleable land was gone.⁴

Over the years 1880 to 1930 the promotional literature seems to divide itself into three time periods: 1880 to 1900, 1900 to 1915, and 1920 to 1930. Few pamphlets were issued between 1915 and 1919. Also, in the latter two groups, pamphlets can be divided by subject, focusing on geographic area, crops, or travels.

These are quite accurate groupings with one exception, the 1896 pamphlet, the *Coast Country of Texas*, which fits the 1900 to 1915 group. This pamphlet helps illustrate one of the problems of this type of literature. Four pamphlets were issued under the title *Coast Country of Texas*: an 1896 edition, 76 pages; a 1903 edition, 159 pages; a 1909 edition, 63 pages; and a 1912 edition, 45 pages. Pamphlets under a single title are, as often as not, fairly complete revisions. As a generality, if the literature uses the same content twice, it changes title. There are numerous examples of duplicate use of material but two of the best are the pamphlets *A Bit of a Trip into West Texas* and *West Texas, Its Soil, Climate and Possibilities*. They are exact duplicates except for the title.⁵ There are duplicate titles, multiple editions, revisions, and confusion galore. Dates will be included to attempt to bring some order to the study.

What did the pamphlets say? For the most part, the Southern Pacific pamphlets gave information on location of tracts and securing title, topography, agricultural value of the soil, cost of moving to the area and a general description of towns and weather.⁶ In the period from 1880 to 1900, there is a frequent mention of Texas history. In describing its history, the pamphlets demonstrated that Texas was already unique. Texas' early status as an independent nation proved their sense of empire, their independence, their self-reliance, and, by joining the union, showed their brotherhood with American ideals. In the

pamphlets, Texas history usually takes the form of either a discourse on an early battle or a litany of praises of the great men of the Republic. Texas, like all other states, tried to have the promotional literature show that its natural resources entitled it to a position in the states as first among equals. One method to prove this was to show the progression from frontier to civilization. As one early pamphleteer wrote,

The popular idea of a Texan, in many localities, is that of a creature, unwashed and uncombed, with a brace of pistols at his waist, a bowie knife in his boot, and a whiskey bottle hung to the horn of his saddle. One who lives by outrage, and when unwell, 'kills a nigger' as other men take a tonic to invigorate the system and give tone to the general health. Yet all the state, with but few exceptions, presents examples of good order and decorum which more pretentious places would do well to follow.⁷

And not until 1912 did a Southern Pacific pamphlet on West Texas definitely state Texas was past its pioneering state.⁸ Size was stressed and since Texas was then the largest state, with more land available and more railroads, few opportunities to emphasize this point were lost.

However, there are some characteristics of the literature that, if not unique, were certainly unusual. One is that, while promotional pamphlets of this boom period, to quote the Chicago Tribune, "piled it on thick,"⁹ Texas promotional literature is fairly subdued. Promoters in Texas possibly saw the excesses in promotional literature of other railroads and the resultant wave of anti-railroad sentiment. Still, flowery language and a bit of exaggeration was necessary because the Southern Pacific was trying to sell a paradise, a perfect home for the yeoman. More than any other state, Texas had a pure climate, fertile soil, abundant rainfall and a refined and cultural population. An 1876 pamphlet says it best:

It is customary to speak of Texas as THE LAZY MAN'S COUNTRY simply because, from its mild and salubrious climate, men may live and be comfortable in houses of frail construction, while the prolific fertility of the soil, out of which particles of palatable food may be produced every month of the year, with countless beeves on the prairies, limitless herds of sheep on the range, and thousands of horses with [no] one to ride them have reduced the cost of living to the minimum of exertion and labor.¹⁰

All the buoyant optimism and the expansive and exploitive energy went into the belief that as Americans and Texans, they could only live in a productive region. Logic and Destiny demanded that Texas be fertile and fertile she became. This promotion was more than just attracting newcomers; it was sustaining, or attempting to sustain, the idea of America as garden!

As the faults of the northern and central Great Plains became more widely known, Texas held open promises that its more northerly neighbors could not keep. This land would be the location where financial success would be realized and personal redemption and social harmony take place. Those who failed to take hold of this opportunity were missing a unique claim to their share in the American Dream. Once a settler owed his piece of the garden, the prospect of further civilized development would be unlimited; music, painting, sculpture, and art would flourish, and one would be more than just cultured, one would also be robustly healthy and intelligent. The railroads did not seem to see the basic incongruity of their promotion. If the land was so fertile and life so easy, why did it need to be advertised? The Southern Pacific did not answer this until later.

Another point of small importance for the 1880-1900 period but one that may be contrasted with the later periods, is that in spite of the heavy inference in promotional material of Texas as garden, the pamphlets did not make a consistent appeal to farmers as did the promotional material from states further north. In fact, in reading many pamphlets of this period the impression is given that Texas is not just asking for farmers but for anyone. One possible reason for a less direct appeal to farmers is because of the presence of large land holdings in eastern Texas before 1900, the presence of cattlemen, and the belief any man could be a successful farmer.

There are some omissions, but given the social conscience and boosterism of the period, criticism cannot be too severe. Railroad freight rates, tenant farming, and the Grange are given little or no mention. Nor was tenancy mentioned despite the fact the tenancy rate in Texas was much higher than the national average.¹¹ Tenancy's greatest growth took place between 1890 and 1900 and led to the development of a number of farm organizations directed against this problem.¹² Outside of an infrequent note that Texas was white man's country, Blacks were ignored too.

The Southern Pacific had issued pamphlets under its corporate title as early as the 1880s. Until 1900 most pamphlets were issued under the sponsorship of an affiliate rail line, such as the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio. After 1900 there is a marked increase in the number of pamphlets under Southern Pacific sponsorship and a marked decrease in the number sponsored by its affiliates and rivals.

The Southern Pacific promotional pamphlets issued from 1900 to 1915 compared to the pamphlets of the first twenty years were more in number, more diverse in topic, more specific on each topic, and less prone to exaggeration. Some of the characteristics of the first group remained. Passages on the "permanent fertility" of the soil and statements like "in no cases have (crop) failure occurred" show that exaggeration and boosterism are still evident but not to the same degree as in the first period.¹³

The Southern Pacific seemed to answer the question of why they were promoting fertile lands most effectively in this period. Although the land was still advertised as being fertile, the quality of land now seemed irrelevant. Whether the land was fertile or whether the land was fit only for sagebrush, modern science and improved agricultural technique would make it fertile. The 1912 pamphlet *South West Texas for the Farmer* puts it best:

Make a note of this: Southwest Texas is a country not subject to general law. It is unusual in climate, in products and crop returns. Its growing season long; the stimulus of warmth and moisture under irrigation and dry farming is surprising.¹⁴

This reasoning contains the appeal and the comfort of the slogan "the rain follows the flow." It was a perfect recruiting device. The garden image of Texas would not fail because of the uniqueness of the area and the power of the farmer.

The Southern Pacific was not attempting to draw just anybody. They hoped to draw purchasers from the north where experienced farmers abounded. To do this the Southern Pacific made its appeal as basic as possible:

How does this strike you, Mr. Farmer? Does it not make plain to you the lack of business judgement you are exhibiting in staying on your high priced Northern farm when you can get richer and more productive land

in East Texas for one-third the money and live in a climate that is kind to you the year round.¹⁵

Land prices of 3 to 10 dollars per acre unimproved and 10 to 30 dollars per acre improved farm land were used to entice the knowledgeable farmer. Numerous pamphlets listed profits per acre by crop. The Southern Pacific felt it could bend, if not suspend, the natural law of human frailty when it wrote:

. . . for want is a thing unknown and poverty is a spectre that knocks at no farm door. No wonder, then, that men live long and women grow old gracefully, and children show, in lusty limb and ruddy cheek and sparkling eye, the satisfaction of their lives, the content and prosperous abundance that they have inherited—not without work, mind you, but as the affluent reward of industry.¹⁶

This promotion must have been somewhat successful, at least in arousing interest, because in 1909 one pamphlet proclaimed "So great has been the demand for these publications [i.e., *Ten Texas Topics* and *Timely Tips to Texas Truckers*] in the Northern states that several extra editions have been issued and distributed."¹⁷ Furthermore numerous pamphlets made the point that Texas is not "a place for the poor farmer . . . He must be willing to learn; he must work hard and have some capital."¹⁸ This narrowing of the focus of the promotion is a significant change from the earlier period. In stressing the successful farmer, the need for work, and the need for some capital the literature implies that Texas is not quite the garden previously envisioned and that some people will fail no matter how fertile the soil. To the respect that the literature was directed at Northern farmers, it indicated that Southern agriculture was not as "successful."¹⁹ Further proof may be seen in the heavy emphasis on truck farms, fruit growing and smaller diversified crops. Titles such as *Facts and Figures for Farmers, Fruit Growers and Florists, Ten Texas Topics, and Timely Tips to Texas Truckers* underlie the Southern Pacific's attempt to diversify Texas agriculture. The direction was toward small farms with intensive agriculture and away from staple crops with heavy capital and labor costs. Cotton is only infrequently mentioned, and rice and sugar scarcely receive any attention. The move from cotton was necessitated by the emergence of the boll weevil as a major factor in the cotton culture, and the new market for fruit and truck crops in the north. The railroads became enamored with truck crops. They felt it paid more per acre, would encourage immigration, increase land values and employment, stimulate other industries such as box and canning factories, and build up a home market for products and manufactures and advertise Texas.²⁰ It also depended entirely on transportation.

The literature still professed a belief in Texas as garden. While the myth of the west as garden had failed in the northern plains, the Southern Pacific, with its need to develop trade along its Texas routes, still found the myth of the garden viable. By stressing diversified cash crops and improved farming methods they felt "any live progressive farmer could sell his stuff here to great advantage."²¹ The railroad land and immigration forces felt farmers were still searching for an agricultural Shangri-La. The *Southwestern Immigration and Real Estate Review* in 1904 stated, "the same forces [i.e., railroad, land and immigration agents] expect to place this year 200,000 people in the New Southwest."²² The promotional literature continued its belief in Texas as Empire, stating "Texas is not only an Empire in size, but it is also an Empire in the ability to produce for its own needs."²³

Pamphlets on agriculture were written by experts. Government, academic and agricultural authorities made each statement genuine and reliable.

Prospective farmers saw pamphlets that were objective, stressed crops and techniques, and did this in greater detail than ever before. The majority of experts were college professors, generally from Texas A and M, and members of the state's various agricultural societies. In one 1903 pamphlet the editor claimed he was assisted by the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, the President of the University of Texas Board of Regents, the President of Texas A and M, and the State Entomologist, among others.²⁴

By having a "qualified" writer do one pamphlet and then reissue it in whole or in part the Southern Pacific got excellent mileage out of its writers and was better able to promote Texas. An example of one such writer is L. H. Shelfer, an employee of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Around 1900 Shelfer was sent to the coast country of Texas by the U.S.D.A. to see if tobacco could be grown there. Sometime in 1903 he wrote a ten-page pamphlet for the Southern Pacific containing factual information on tobacco raising, curing and marketing. The same story on tobacco growing was published in another pamphlet and Shelfer was listed as a prominent successful tobacco grower in the pamphlet *Texas Coast Country*, also published in 1903. In all, he is the most visible expert with a minimum of eight publications.²⁵

One Southern Pacific pamphlet that is notable for its objectivity is *Dry Farming in West Texas*. This 1907 publication was compiled from a U.S. Department of Agriculture bulletin, Nebraska and New Mexico Experimental Station reports, and a Dry Farming Congress bulletin. It is a practical, no-nonsense publication and does not make false promises:

Dry farming demands unceasing labor. There is no mystic spell to produce plant life in a semi-arid district. The price of success is WORK-WORK-WORK and the expenditure of energy enough to meet the immediate requirements of each section of land and each crop. An easy-going farmer should not attempt dry farming, neither should a man who is financially unable to purchase the necessary machinery and to support himself while transforming his farm from the time hardened prairie to a productive field.²⁶

Most of the Southern Pacific promotional pamphlets of this period are reliable to a large degree, but this pamphlet is exceptionally good. Dry farming in the first decade of the twentieth century was a new and controversial technique on the Great Plains. This pamphlet discusses both sides of that controversy.²⁷ Furthermore, it lists federal, state, and private agencies and their mailing addresses so interested persons could send for more information. It is also notable that this is the only pamphlet of this period which directly used state and federal agricultural pamphlets. As government publications are not under copyright law, it is somewhat surprising that the Southern Pacific and other railroads did not reprint more of the useful bulletins.

The shift away from self-serving proclamations was not without its own promotional angle. Prominent on many title pages are statements like the following attesting the pamphlet's veracity:

The booklet is presented to the public as a statement of unadorned fact. Every claim it makes can be fully substantiated, care having been taken that it should contain no exaggeration, and, if it errs at all, it will be found to be on the side of conservatism.²⁸

The Southern Pacific must have felt farmers were skeptical because the railroad continued to make such declarations until 1931. Regardless of whether the Southern Pacific labeled its pamphlets factual or not, they did present an increase in practical information. It was also during this period that

specialization took place in the pamphlets, enabling labeling as to area, crop, or travel pamphlet. The pamphlets published from 1900 to 1915 are divided almost equally by subject, either crops or areas. Those pamphlets which devote themselves to an area frequently try to go into detail in raising certain crops that were believed suited to that area. But a considerable portion of each pamphlet was devoted to town life, a very important point to lure farmers and settlers. John Bennett, in his book *Northern Plainsmen*, a study of a ranching and farming region on the U.S.-Canadian border, concluded that serious ranchers had only infrequent need for town life. But farmers consider town life and its incumbent social institutions as important as any other facet of agricultural life.²⁹ Civil institutions, brick homes, successful businesses and business opportunities were stressed to show that an area was already successful and prospective settlers can join this bandwagon. One 1910 pamphlet characterized its citizens as "people of push, of confidence, of industry, of frugal habits and energy . . ." while another used a New York Chamber of Commerce report to underscore Texas' quality of life saying, "her people are above average in education and culture."³⁰ By focusing on the social and cultural developments in the "garden" of Texas, the literature attempted to illustrate that Texas was the fulfillment of the American Dream.

Blacks were definitely excluded. Norman Kittrell, former president of the Texas Bar Association, judge and former legislator, put it bluntly, "Don't come to Texas if you want to mingle with the Negro because 'it's a white man's country'."³¹ Nor was Kittrell alone. E.C. Green, in extolling the virtues of truck farming in Jacksonville County, said:

Another feature in the lists of advantages which deserves comment is the absence of the negro. The nature of the industry requires a higher grade intelligence than cotton and corn farming negro is capable of using, and he has "moved on" and out of the country as the fruit and truck growers have come in.³²

Allen Maull, who wrote a number of pamphlets before World War I, implied that Black tenant farming practices on plantations was responsible for low production, soil destruction and low land value:

It is practically impossible for the owner to handle over 80 to 200 acres of hired labor and the rest of his farm must be rented to tenants, for the negro much prefers to be his own master and farm in his own way than to be under the control and management of the owner of the farm. The negro farmer is used to only *one system of farming*, a system that permits him to do as little work as possible.³³

However, Maull did not think the Blacks were always too "uppity":

Some of you may now think that the negro is an objectionable feature of Central Texas, but you are mistaken—come and see. The people here have less trouble with them than do the people of the north.³⁴

Mexicans were largely ignored, except for the tourist value of the Texas mission heritage and old Mexico.

This period contains the same omissions as earlier periods. The brochures did not mention farm organizations or freight rates, and tenancy is only cited as one reason for the decline of large land holdings. More importantly, the farm literature of the period seldom refers to the railroads.³⁵ The Texas Farmers Congress frequently passed resolutions thanking the railroads for reduced rates or free passes to members in attendance from 1900 to 1915. However, in 1911 the Congress passed a very mildly worded resolution to lower freight rates.

Two features which characterized this middle period was the use of experts and the mention of race. The trend towards verifiable, factual information continued into the third period. The emphasis on race did not. Although considerable anti-Black sentiment continued past the 1920s, there was no anti-Black sentiment in the promotional pamphlets of that period. Possibly the writers thought race outside the scope of their writing. There was no myth involved about race for would-be settlers coming to Texas in the first fifteen years of this century. Blatant racism was definitely a part of Texas society then and it is well reflected in the promotional literature.

The third period of Southern Pacific promotional pamphlets is 1920 to 1930. There is a substantial decrease in the number of pamphlets issued during these years. This could be due to the disposal of saleable lands, and to the rise of the Chamber of Commerce and other competing promotional activities.³⁶ During this decade all pamphlets were issued exclusively under the corporate sponsorship of the Southern Pacific rather than its affiliate lines. Here, as in the second time period, the pamphlets can be divided into groups, the subject of area, crops or travel. During this period the area pamphlets describe West and South Texas, where development was most active, and the crop pamphlets center on the produce of these areas. Also during the 1920s the Southern Pacific acquired the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad, and the Southern Pacific was finally allowed to complete a line from Falfurrias to Brownsville which opened the lower Rio Grande Valley to their business.³⁷

The pamphlets from this period are, for the most part, an extension of trends that characterized the years 1900-1915: they have the highest degree of objectivity, the lowest amount of exaggeration, and, in keeping with publishing advances, are the most illustrated. Many have a format similar to the *Farmers Bulletins* of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Cash crops, yields per acre, cultivation methods, soil type, climate and valuation of buildings and improvements are listed.

There is no comparison of weather with the northern climates nor an appeal to northern farmers. Pamphlet writers still felt the need to reassure the reader of their honesty, but they did so less often. As late as 1931 the *Magic Valley of the Lower Rio Grande* said:

The Southern Pacific is interested *only* in furnishing accurate and unbiased information concerning the natural advantages to be found in territories served by this great rail system—it does not own or offer for sale *any* land or properties, but functions only as a source of information and service for the public.³⁸

The use of knowledgeable pamphleteers continued. *Agricultural Achievements and Possibilities Along the Southern Pacific Lines in Texas* (1923) was written by William Bizzell, the President of Texas A and M College. Bizzell included such mundane but useful information as annual temperature and precipitation by weather station, marketing, including cooperatives, average expenditures for feed and fertilizer and a passage on tenancy.

The discussion on towns emphasized a middle class life style more than ever before:

A man naturally considers investment and financial possibilities above other things. A woman reckons upon the basis of a proper environment for the raising of her children, the servant problem and the chance for a measure of congenial church, civic, and social affiliation, either rural or community.³⁹

Civic pride, highways, good living and business development were stressed. With thousands of successful merchants, bankers, farmers, oil magnates, doctors, lawyers, musicians and other professional people coming at "the land man's expense . . . the result is that the average of citizenship in the valley is said to be the highest type of any equal area and population in the country."⁴⁰ There was also a concern for quality in farmers, too. In a paragraph titled "Shall we keep them on the farm," the pamphlet *A Brief History of Texas* (1925) said "a high type, prosperous agriculture of tomorrow demands that not all boys be kept on the farm but that the best of them be kept there."⁴¹ This was a continuation of an idea first implied in the pamphlets of 1900-1915 that not every farmer would be successful and that only "quality" people were wanted. It reflected the idea of a ladder of civilization, an idea which said that increased technology, social institutions and financial success were all proof of a higher and better stage of civilization. It was an idea readily acceptable to a people only a generation away from the frontier.

Blacks are not mentioned in the text and are only shown as field hands. Mexicans however have their station in this society. "The Mexican laborer, the most skillful of humans in the mere use of his hands, is undoubtedly the choice of races for cotton mill service."⁴²

The style and content of the Southern Pacific promotional literature changed from 1880 to 1930. It contained a shift from broad, exaggerated statements to a more realistic and detailed approach. Along the way the pamphlets attempted to mirror the hopes of their audiences; Texas was a garden, an Empire in wealth and opportunity. As Americans and as Texans they were destined to succeed and honest effort was the only requirement. Over the years the pamphlets mirrored the attitudes of would-be settlers toward their ideals; unbridled optimism, boosterism, racism and a disinterest in rural problems. The years also reflect the reassessment of those ideals and gave them some measure of quantification. The rise in the number and influence of the Chambers of Commerce, the depression, the lack of suitable areas for large scale settlement, the automobile, and the public's increased sophistication in understanding advertising caused the decline in railroad promotional literature.

In emphasizing more factual detail in agriculture and geography the pamphlets lost sight of their Texas heritage. Myth is a notion based more on tradition or convenience than on fact, and as the pamphlets necessarily moved towards reality, the myth promised less and less. The pamphlets presented actualities that the hopeful reader was forced to decide for himself. It is probably impossible to judge the drawing power of these myths; however, one can be certain as myth gave way to reality, that the idea of settling in Texas became more practical and less entertaining.

NOTES

¹Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *What You Want and Where to Find It On the Sunset Route* (Houston: n.p., n.d.) back cover. Over eighty pamphlets were examined in this study and they are found at the Barker Texas History Center, the Mirabeau B. Lamar Library at the University of Texas in Austin, and at the Texas State Archives in Austin.

²Most railroads believed settlement on lands paralleling their lines was more important than land sales because of the prospect of long term profits, William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford, 1954),

155-156. This study is not concerned with the amount of land received in grant. For a general discussion of that topic, see Aldon Socrates Lang, *Financial History of the Public Lands in Texas*, the Baylor Bulletin, vol. xxxv (Waco, 1932), 103-105, Reuben McKittrick, *The Public Land System of Texas, 1823-1910*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics and Political Science Series, vol. ix (Madison, 1918), 67-69, and Thomas L. Miller, *The Public Lands of Texas, 1519-1970* (Norman, 1971), 98-101. A more specific total can be gained from the *Abstract to All Original Texas Land Titles* (Austin, 1941).

³The Southern Pacific consists of what was once forty different railroads. For a history of that consolidation see St. Clair Griffen Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads* (Houston, 1941), 191-282, or Neill C. Wilson and Frank J. Taylor, *Southern Pacific* (New York, 1952).

⁴Milicent Huff, "A Study of the Work Done by Texas Railroad Companies to Encourage Immigration into Texas 1870 to 1890" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1955).

⁵*West Texas Beyond the Pecos and Tourists Points and Resorts on the Sunset Route* also have identical content.

⁶Paul W. Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, 1934), 175. See also David M. Emmons, *The Garden in the Grasslands* (Lincoln, 1971), 28.

⁷Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *A Description of Western Texas* (Galveston, 1876), 11. Another vivid description is found in an 1882 pamphlet, "after the war, things were in a lamentable condition. Outlaws and murders infested the highroads, robbed remote hamlets, and enacted jail deliveries; there were a thousand murders per year within the state limits; but at the end of the two years the reconstruction government had got well at work and annihilated the murders and robbers . . . Of course, innocent people were plundered and killed, but then, as now, most of the men who 'died with their boots on' were professional scoundrels of whom the world was well rid." Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Star and Crescent and Sunset Route* (New York, 1882), 22.

⁸Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire* (New Orleans, 1912), 3.

⁹*Chicago Tribune*, March 6, 1887. Quoted in Gates, *Illinois Central*, 177.

¹⁰Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railway Co., *Immigrant's Guide to West Texas* (n.p.: 1876), 38.

¹¹The Tenancy rate in Texas in 1880 was 39.5 percent compared to the 25.6 national average. By 1920 the national average rose to 38.1 percent but the Texas rate climbed to 55 percent. William Bizzell, *Rural Texas* (New York, 1924), 387.

¹²Among the farmers organizations founded around the turn of the century are included in the Texas Farmers Congress (1897) and the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America (1902). Neither was aimed directly against the railroads. In fact at least one year (1903) the Southern Pacific bought and distributed copies of the Congress Proceedings. The Farm-Labor Union, a third organization listed its four causes as: 1. high taxes on farm land; 2. the one crop system; 3. farm tenancy; 4. poor rural credit conditions. It did not list the railroads. For a description of the farm movements in Texas, see Robert L. Hunt, *Farmers Movements in the Southwest 1873-1925* (College Station, Tex., 1935).

¹³Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *Sugar Lands in Texas* (Houston: 1909), 5, and Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio, *What You Want and Where to Find It on the Sunset Route*, 9.

¹⁴Southern Pacific, *Southwest Texas*, 2.

- ¹⁵Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *East Southeast Texas on the Texas and New Orleans Railroad* (Houston, 1910), 5.
- ¹⁶H.S. Kneedler, *The Coast Country of Texas* (Cincinnati, 1896), 76.
- ¹⁷Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Facts and Figures for Farmers, Fruit Growers, and Florists* (Houston, 1909), 5.
- ¹⁸Southern Pacific, *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire*, 27.
- ¹⁹The Federal Government in one case, actually recruited Iowa farmers "versed in good farming" to come to Louisiana and upgrade agriculture there. See A. Hunter DuPree, *Science in the Federal Government* (Cambridge, 1957), 181.
- ²⁰Texas Farmers Congress, *Proceedings of the Third Annual Session* (College Station, Tex., 1900), 230-231.
- ²¹Southern Pacific, *East Southeast Texas*, 58.
- ²²*Southwestern Immigration and Real Estate Review*, February, 1904, 4.
- ²³Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway Co., *Southwest Texas* (Houston: Cumming and Son, 1908), 1.
- ²⁴Southern Pacific, *Texas Coast Country*, 2.
- ²⁵E.W. Kirkpatrick, C.L. Onderdonk, H.A. Attwater, William Bizzell and Allen Maull are among the list of authorities cited at least three times.
- ²⁶Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Dry Farming in West Texas* (Houston: Cumming and Son, 1909), 9.
- ²⁷For further information on the Dry Farming Controversy see Mary V. Hargreaves, *Dry Farming on the Northern Great Plains* (Cambridge, 1957).
- ²⁸Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *East Southeast Texas* (Houston, 1910), 2.
- ²⁹John Bennett, *Northern Plainsmen* (Chicago, 1969), 201-211.
- ³⁰Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *East Southwest Texas on The Texas and New Orleans Railroad* (Houston, 1910), 12, and Southern Pacific, *Texas Coast Country*, 15.
- ³¹Norman G. Kittrell, *Texas Illustrated: or the Romance the History and Resources of a Great State* (Houston, 1911), 36.
- ³²Southern Pacific, *East Southeast Texas*, 16-19.
- ³³Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *Central Texas Is Calling You, Mr. Farmer* (Houston, 1912), 5.
- ³⁴*Ibid.*, 5.
- ³⁵*Farm and Ranch, Southwestern Stockman and Farmer, and Texas Stockman and Farmer* were searched using 1889, 1894, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1909, 1915, 1921 and 1926 as representative years. Only in the 1891 *Farm and Ranch* which had some early Texas railroad histories, were there found anything beyond the call for more.
- ³⁶Some Chamber of Commerce and promotional organizations that are very prominent in this decade are from Houston, San Antonio, South Plains and Lower Rio Grande Valley.
- ³⁷Jacob L. Stambaugh, *The Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (San Antonio, 1954), 169-170, 178-180.
- ³⁸Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *The Magic Valley of the Lower Rio Grande* (Houston: Southern Pacific Lines, 1931), inside front cover.
- ³⁹Julia Cameron Montgomery, *A Little Journey Through the Lower Valley of the Rio Grande* (Houston, 1928), 5.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 8.

⁴¹Southern Pacific Railroad Co., *A Brief History of Texas* (Houston: Southern Pacific Lines, 1925), 6. Despite the name the major emphasis is to promote Brewster County, Texas.

⁴²Montgomery, *Journey Through the Lower Rio Grande Valley*, 49.