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Voices from the Texas Pineywoods of El Camino Real de los Tejas: Sabine, San Augustine, and Nacogdoches Counties

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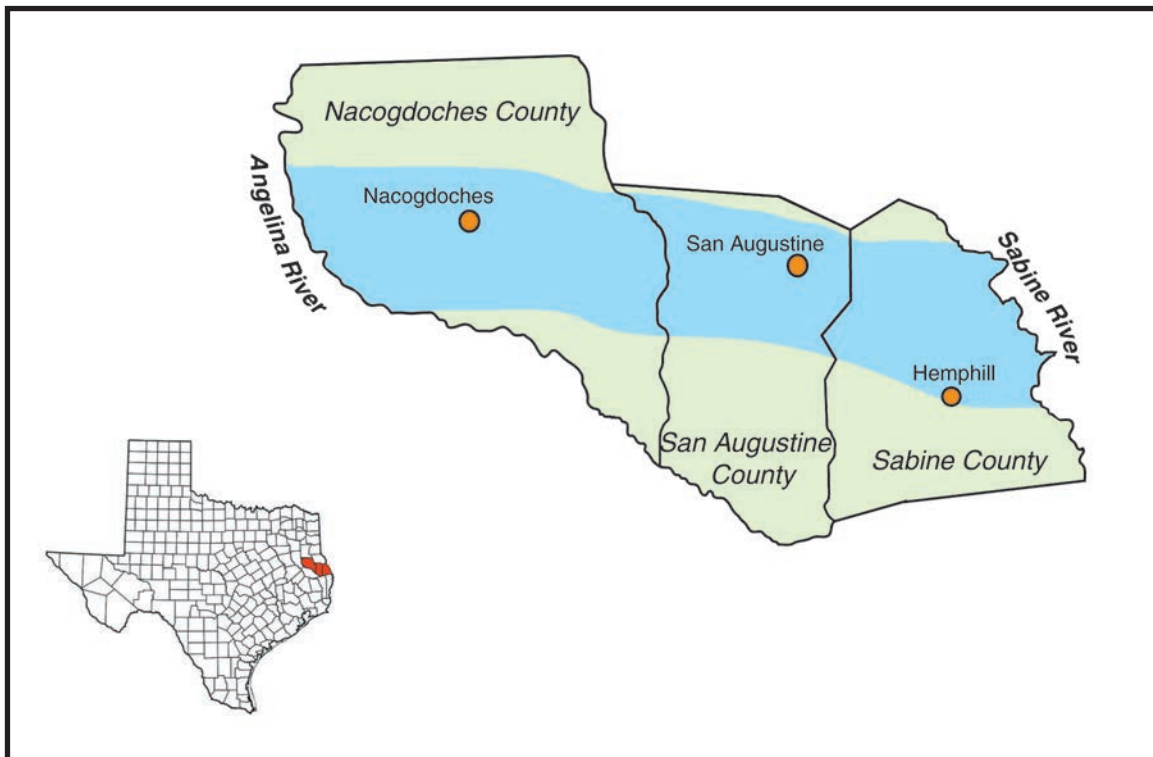
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Voices from the Texas Pineywoods
of El Camino Real de los Tejas:
Sabine, San Augustine, and
Nacogdoches Counties

Phase III: Final Report



by

George Avery and Connie Hodges

Center for Regional Heritage Research

Stephen F. Austin State University

Nacogdoches, Texas

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Voices from the Texas Pineywoods of *El Camino Real de los Tejas*: Sabine, San Augustine, and Nacogdoches Counties

1. A History of the Project Area

Introduction

The whole idea of this project was to provide information for future research in the telling of the story of life ways in three counties of the Texas Pineywoods area of the east-west transportation corridor designated as *El Camino Real de los Tejas* National Historic Trail. We wanted to try to find connections between the life experiences of people who grew up in the area and those people who lived here between 1680 to 1845—the time frame of the historic trail. The presentation will be divided into various topics, starting with Transportation, and followed by Making a Living, Food, Handicrafts, Health and Healing, Education, Church, Conflict, Entertainment, American Indians, Spanish, French, African Americans, Anglo-Americans, Other Ethnic Groups, Ghost Stories, Self-Identification, and Cemeteries. Miscellaneous topics from the various counties will then be addressed. The interviews will be discussed according to the topics.

We will start with a discussion of the history of the Camino Real de los Tejas, with an emphasis on the Texas Pineywoods part of it. El Camino Real de los Tejas spans 2,580 miles from the Río Grande near Eagle Pass and Laredo, to Natchitoches, Louisiana—the time frame is 1680 to 1845 (Anonymous 2011:iii). Of course, the trail goes down to Mexico City, the seat of Spanish Royal Authority for much of the Pineywoods area until 1820. El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historic Trail is a designation by the National Park Service, and as such, can only include areas within the United States.

The Beginning

The story begins on the heels of the ill-fated settlement of Fort St. Louis on the Gulf Coast of Texas in 1689. The Spanish had failed to find the French fort when it was occupied, but they encountered some Caddo Indians on one of their attempts. Apparently, the Caddo referred to themselves as “Tayshas,” which is the Caddo word for friend or allies. The Spanish configured the word as “Tejas”—which literally means “roof tile.” The “j” and “x” were used interchangeably at this time, so the word was sometimes spelled on maps, “Tejas,” and sometimes, “Texas.” The Caddo invited the Spanish to build missions for them and so the Camino Real de los Tejas, or the Royal Road to the land of the Caddo or “Tejas” was born when the Spanish built two missions in East Texas in 1690.

Failure of the Early Missions and Establishment of Missions and Presidios

These two missions in East Texas were San Francisco de los Tejas and Santísimo Nombre de María, both in Houston County. The Spanish were asked to leave in 1694 when their soldiers got in trouble with the Caddo women and their cattle disrupted the gardens of the Caddo.

A French Canadian named Louis Juchereau de St. Denis was sent in 1713 to the Río Grande to find a priest that would introduce him to Spanish traders. Father Hidalgo would, in turn, receive support for his mission efforts in East Texas. In 1711, Father Hidalgo from San Juan Bautista had sent two letters by Indian courier to the French Governor in Mobile making the proposition to get support for returning the missions of East Texas. St. Denis came up the Red River to the village of the Natchitoches, set up a trading post, and continued to Presidio San Juan Bautista on the Río Grande with trade goods. He was initially arrested, but ended up marrying the step granddaughter of the commandant Ramón (Lemée 1998). St. Denis was chosen to be the guide of the expedition which built missions in response to his post at Natchitoches. Six missions and a presidio were constructed in East Texas and Western Louisiana in 1716 and 1717.

In 1719 there was an “attack” on the Spanish mission closest to the French at the post of the Natchitoches, and the six missions and presidio were withdrawn to San Antonio. This was part of the War of the Quadruple Alliance. The mission under attack—San Miguel de Linares de los Adaes—was not much to speak of—it consisted only of a priest, a lay brother, and two soldiers. The Indians did not live at the mission. In fact, the Indians did not live at any of the other missions in the Pineywoods area of East Texas. The attacking force was equally unimpressive—it consisted of six marines and a Lieutenant Blondel. The Lieutenant had taken the initiative on his own to attack Mission San Miguel—St. Denis was down at Pensacola defending against the Spanish. The priest and one of the soldiers were visiting at Mission Dolores at the time of the attack, leaving another soldier and a lay brother to defend the mission. Some chickens were taken by the French and when they objected, they caused such a stir that Blondel’s horse bucked him off. In all the commotion, the lay brother escaped and ran to Mission Dolores, spreading the news that the French were coming. This event is called the Chicken War by historians (Gregory 2004).

The decision was made to abandon all the Pineywoods missions and presidio, and retreat to San Antonio. In 1720, Aguayo had emerged and he sponsored an expedition which rebuilt the six missions and presidio in East Texas, along with other missions and the rest of Texas. He remembered the words of the Caddo Indians when he also built a presidio at the easternmost mission, Presidio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adaes, and made sure that 31 of the 100 soldiers were married. He didn’t want any trouble with the Caddo this time. He built the missions and presidios and returned to his home in Coahuila. He not only re-occupied Presidio Dolores, he added a presidio at Los Adaes—which, along with the mission, was closest to the French at Natchitoches. It is interesting that by the time he got ready to start his expedition in 1720 a truce had already been established in the War of the Quadruple Alliance (Gregory 2004).

In 1727, an expedition to inspect the missions and presidios of the Northern Spanish Borderlands—the Rivera Expedition—recommended closing down three of the six missions in East Texas, along with one of the presidios. By 1730 the missions at Nacogdoches, Dolores, and Adaes remained, along with the presidio at Adaes—these establishments represented the Spanish presence in East Texas. For the next three decades the Camino Real de los Tejas in all its complexities served as transportation to meet the needs of these three missions and one presidio.

Rolonda Teal (2012) has suggested that Los Adaes served as a safe place in an “Underground Railroad” for slaves escaping to Texas and Mexico, and has successfully nominated Los Adaes to the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program. Slavery was legal in Louisiana, but was illegal in Spanish Texas, up until 1820. It was widely known in 18th century Louisiana that Los Adaes was a destination for escaped slaves. Although there are documents of returned slaves escaping to Los Adaes, undoubtedly some succeeded.

Closing of the East Texas Missions and Presidio

By the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, the French had ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi River to Spain. This also included New Orleans—which was east of the Mississippi. The French knew that they were going to lose the war with the British, and they didn’t want the British to get all that land. In 1762 a treaty between France and Spain ceded all the land west of the Mississippi River—including New Orleans—to Spain. So now Natchitoches—in fact most of Louisiana—was Spanish. The need for a presidio at Los Adaes and missions in East Texas/West Louisiana was questioned, and it was decided to close all of them and go back to San Antonio. In 1773, most of the people of the missions and presidio in East Texas left for San Antonio.

Most of the people made the trip, but some went to live with the Indians and others went to Louisiana. Once they got to San Antonio, some decided to stay, but others immediately petitioned to return to Mission Dolores. Antonio Gil Y’ Barbo, the leader of the group, had a ranch near Mission Dolores. The group was allowed to go to Bucareli, which was on the Trinity River. Comanche attacks, a flood, and a fire caused them to move the settlement to Nacogdoches in 1779. Again, for two decades the Camino Real de los Tejas was traveled by traders and settlers going between Nacogdoches and Natchitoches. Noting the various Euro-American and American Indian players, Matthew Babcock (2013) has written about this period as an example of successful transcultural trade.

The Louisiana Purchase and Repercussions

When Napoleon was building an arsenal for his wars he got wind that the United States wanted to buy the land west of the Mississippi that formerly belonged to the French. In 1800, this land was taken back by the French so they could sell it to the Americans in 1803. Oddly enough, the Americans borrowed money from the British to pay the French to buy munitions to shoot at the British—and everybody knew what the other was doing! The boundary of the purchase was contested—the Spanish claimed that the boundary was between Los Adaes and Natchitoches, and the United States claimed that the boundary was all the way to the Rio Grande! The Spanish and American forces squared off on the Sabine River, and cool heads prevailed as they agreed to a “Neutral Strip” where they would have joint control. The records of these joint military expeditions policing the Neutral Strip between the Arroyo Hondo and the Sabine River are available in the American State Papers and Darryl Pleasant (2014) has studied them.

The Gutierrez/Magee Rebellion (1812-1813) and the Long Expedition (1819) were two of the independence movements that were against Spanish control in Texas. Both were failures and the first one in particular had consequences for Nacogdoches. The town was all but cleared out, and

the non-Spanish Europeans came back in bigger number. The Camino Real do Los Tejas was a major thoroughfare for both expeditions—in particular, the Gutierrez/Magee Rebellion where people fled to Louisiana and formed the town of Adaes. Other places of population may have been forming as Robert Caldwell (2014) is researching the populations of Indians that were associated with the Spanish during this time period. He is focusing on the Choctaw Apache Tribe in the Zwolle area, and Rufus Davis (McNamara 2014) is focused on the Adai Tribe to the north of old Los Adaes.

The Mexicans started an Independence movement in 1810, and in 1821 Mexico had won its independence from Spain. Just prior to this the Spanish had sold Florida to the United States in the Adams-Onís Treaty, which also set the Sabine River as the boundary between Louisiana and Spain. The Province of Texas therefore becomes a Province of Mexico in 1821.

19th century Towns along the Old San Antonio Road

East Hamilton (1839), Milam (1828), and Sabinetown (1839) are three towns that are established on or near the Old San Antonio road crossings on the Sabine River in the 19th century. East Hamilton is about seven miles north of State Highway 21, Milam is on Highway 21, and Sabinetown is roughly six miles to the south of 21. About all that exists of East Hamilton and Sabinetown is the cemetery and Milam—once the County Seat of Sabine County, is much diminished as Hemphill became the County Seat in 1852.

The town of Geneva was located in the area of Lobanillo, Y'Barbo's ranch. In 1794, it was turned over to Juan Ignacio Pifermo, who passed it on to his son-in-law, John Maximillian in the 1840s. There were few settlers in the area at this time. In the 1850s, the settlement grew and was referred to as Shawnee Village and later Jim Town, after two settlers named Jim. When the post office was established in 1884, it was called Geneva (Harper 2014).

San Augustine was established in 1834, but there had been a Spanish Mission—Mission Dolores—located just south of the newly planned town. The Ais Indians were located nearby, but had left for the west after 1800. It's interesting that the important people of San Augustine in the 1830s were not related to the Spanish or Indians—they were essentially Anglo-Americans, or at least, non-Spanish Euro-Americans. It seems that Antonio Leal had gotten mixed up with Phillip Nolan in 1800. Nolan was a mustanger from Louisiana who was trading illegally in Texas. Nolan was killed by the Spanish and Leal had to sell his land. Initially, the area of San Augustine was sold to Pedro Buigas, who then sold it to Edmond Quirk the next year. The non-Spanish Euro-Americans had easy access to land in what was to become San Augustine. San Augustine had two schools of higher learning—the University of San Augustine (1837) and Wesleyan College (1844) merged in 1847 as the University of Eastern Texas. This closed after a few years.

Chireno was established in 1837, mostly by John Newton Fall. Fall bought the land from José Antonio Chireno. In the same year, Samuel Martin Flournoy built a two-story structure that was his home, as well as the post office. In 1846, the structure became a stage coach stop that was called the Half Way Inn. Chireno was roughly “half way” between San Augustine and Nacogdoches.

Melrose, located roughly between Chireno and Nacogdoches, was established in 1840 by Dr. Thomas Jefferson Johnson, and served as a stop on the stage coach line on the Old San Antonio Road.

Finally, Nacogdoches—established in 1779 by Gil Antonio Y’Barbo with his group of Adaeseños. Adaeseños are people who were born at the area ruled by the old presidio Los Adaes, and included a variety of Spanish, Indian, Mestizo, and Mulatto people. This area includes all the Pineywoods missions as well. There was a mission located in Nacogdoches—Mission Guadalupe (1716-1719, 1721-1773), but the presence of American Indians in this precise location at the time of the Europeans is not certain. There is ample evidence of earlier Caddo occupation in the town area as a mound complex known as Washington Square, dating to the Middle Caddo Period (1000-1200). Dr. James Corbin (Corbin and Hart 1998) has excavated this site. A University was chartered in the Republic Period, but not built until 1850. There are communities to the west, south, and east where the descendants of Spanish people live, but their names—Moral, Fern Lake, and the Mountain—are not verified as to their original use (Figure 1).

A New Battle for Independence—Texas

There were two movements for Independence from Mexico prior to 1836, the Fredonia Rebellion (1826-27) which was taking place in East Texas, but met with disfavor by Stephen F. Austin and therefore failed, and the Battle of Nacogdoches of 1832. This latter was a conflict where some of the Mexican soldiers in Nacogdoches were killed—this is considered a predecessor for the battle of the Alamo in 1836.

Much of the conflict in 1836 for successful independence was not in Nacogdoches, but the Runaway Scrape had an effect on the area. San Augustine and Nacogdoches were largely depopulated, as most went to Louisiana. The Córdoba Rebellion in 1838 and the Cherokee War in 1839 were the two conflicts that marginalized the Spanish, and routed the Cherokee and their Indian allies, respectively. In 1845, Texas became part of the United States.

Architecture, Historical Markers, and Public Archaeology for pre-1845 Deep East Texas

The extant buildings in the area dating before 1845 in the project area include the Gaines-Oliphint House in Sabine County (Figure 2), a number of houses in San Augustine County—including the Cullen House which is public (Figure 3), the Half Way Inn in Chireno—another public venue, and three public museums in Nacogdoches—the Old Stone House, the Sterne House, and the Durst-Taylor House Museum (Figure 4).

A number of the pink granite markers commemorating the Old San Antonio Road have been placed on Hwy 21 in 1918 (Figure 5), and the gray granite 1936 Texas Centennial markers (Figure 6) are also present. There are also a growing number of the metal historical markers put out by the Texas Historical Commission (Figure 7).

Of course, there is the archaeological site of Mission Dolores in San Augustine (Figure 8). There have been archaeological investigations at Gaines-Oliphint, Sterne, and the Durst-Taylor House Museum.

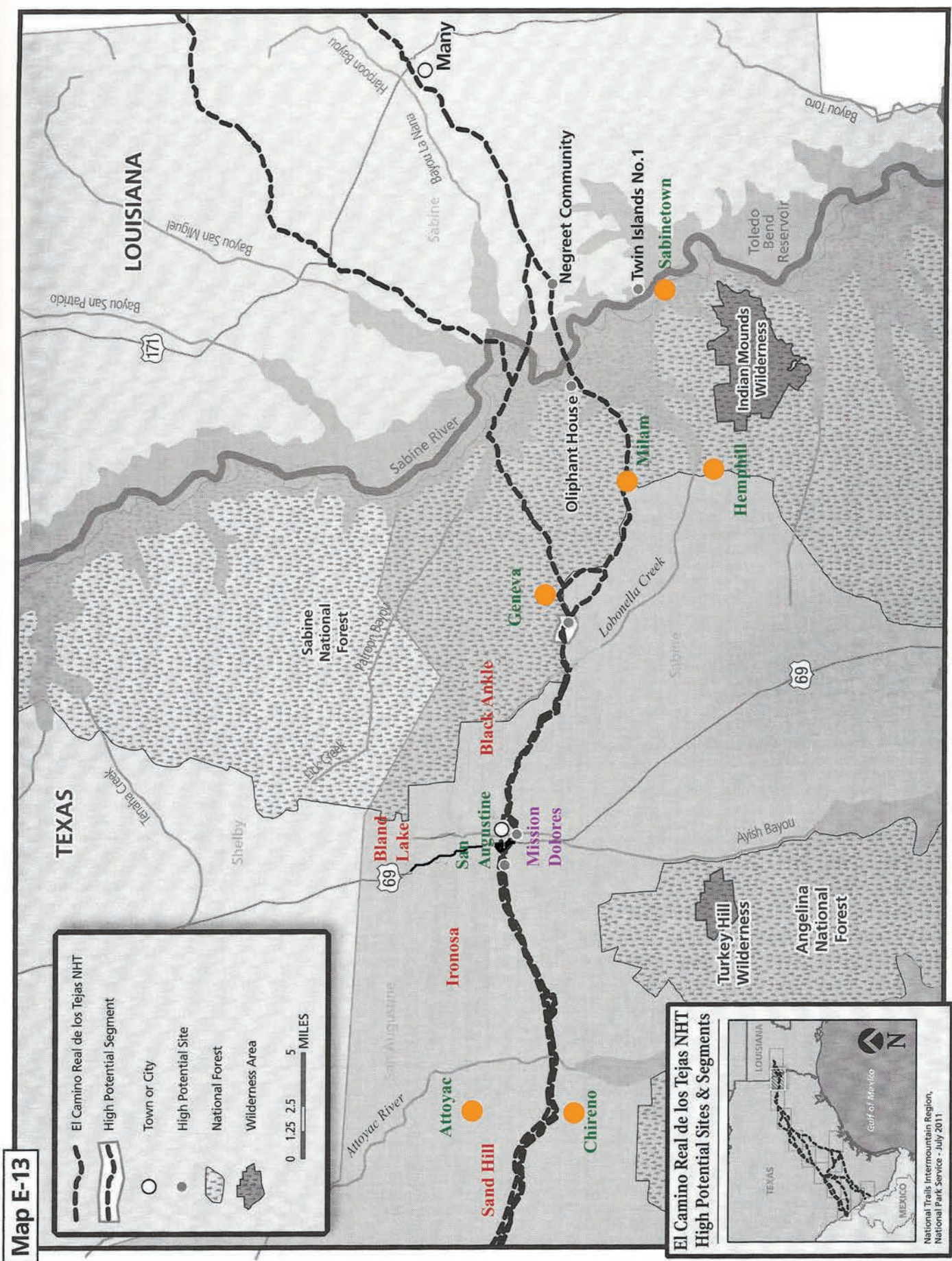


Figure 1. Map for the Project Area.

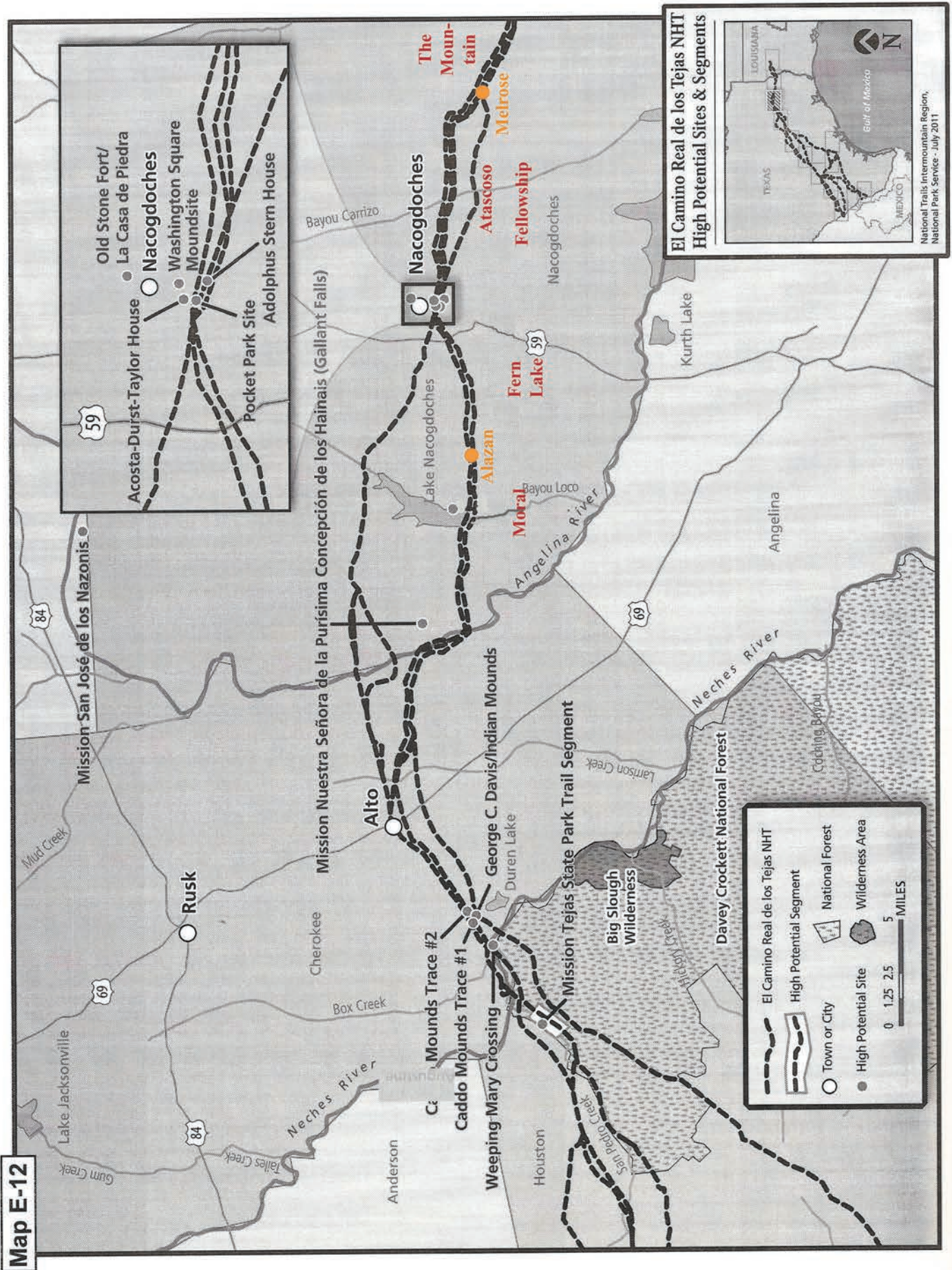


Figure 1. Map for the Project Area. (cont.).



Figure 2. Sabine County—The Gaines-Oliphint House.



Figure 3. San Augustine County—The Cartwright House, Cullen House, and Blount House in San Augustine.



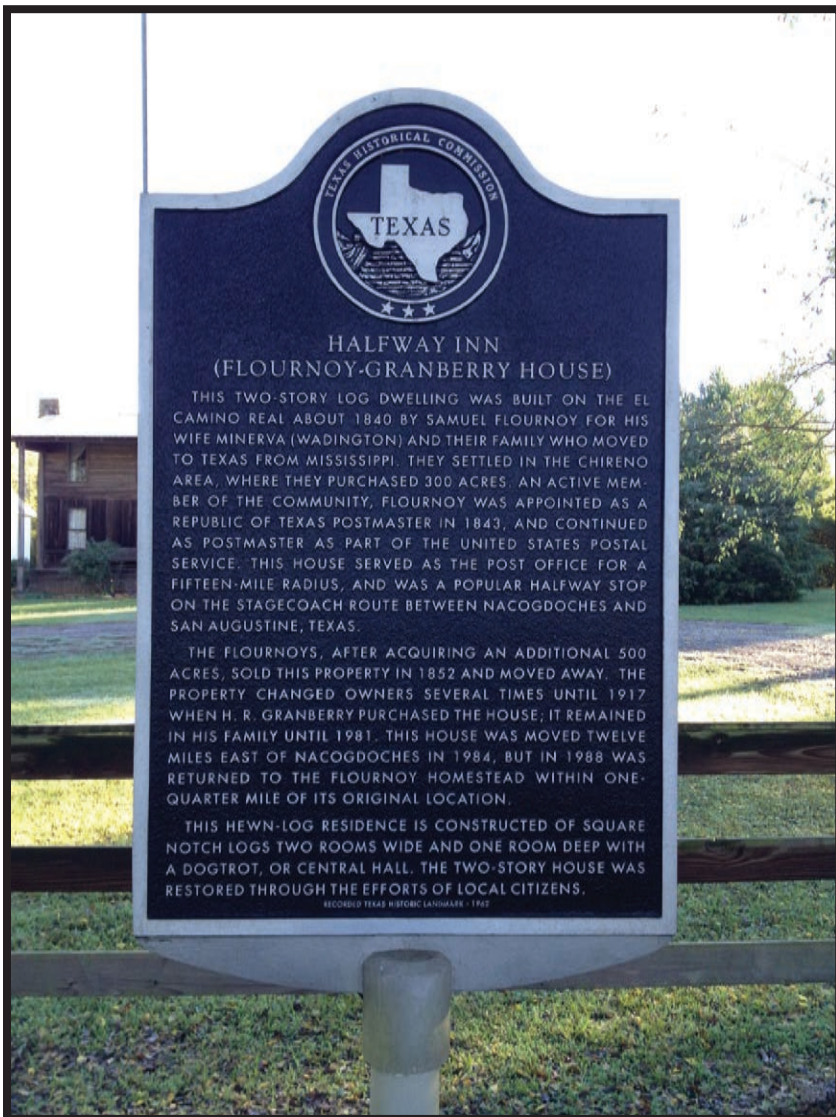


Figure 4. The Halfway Inn, Chireno.

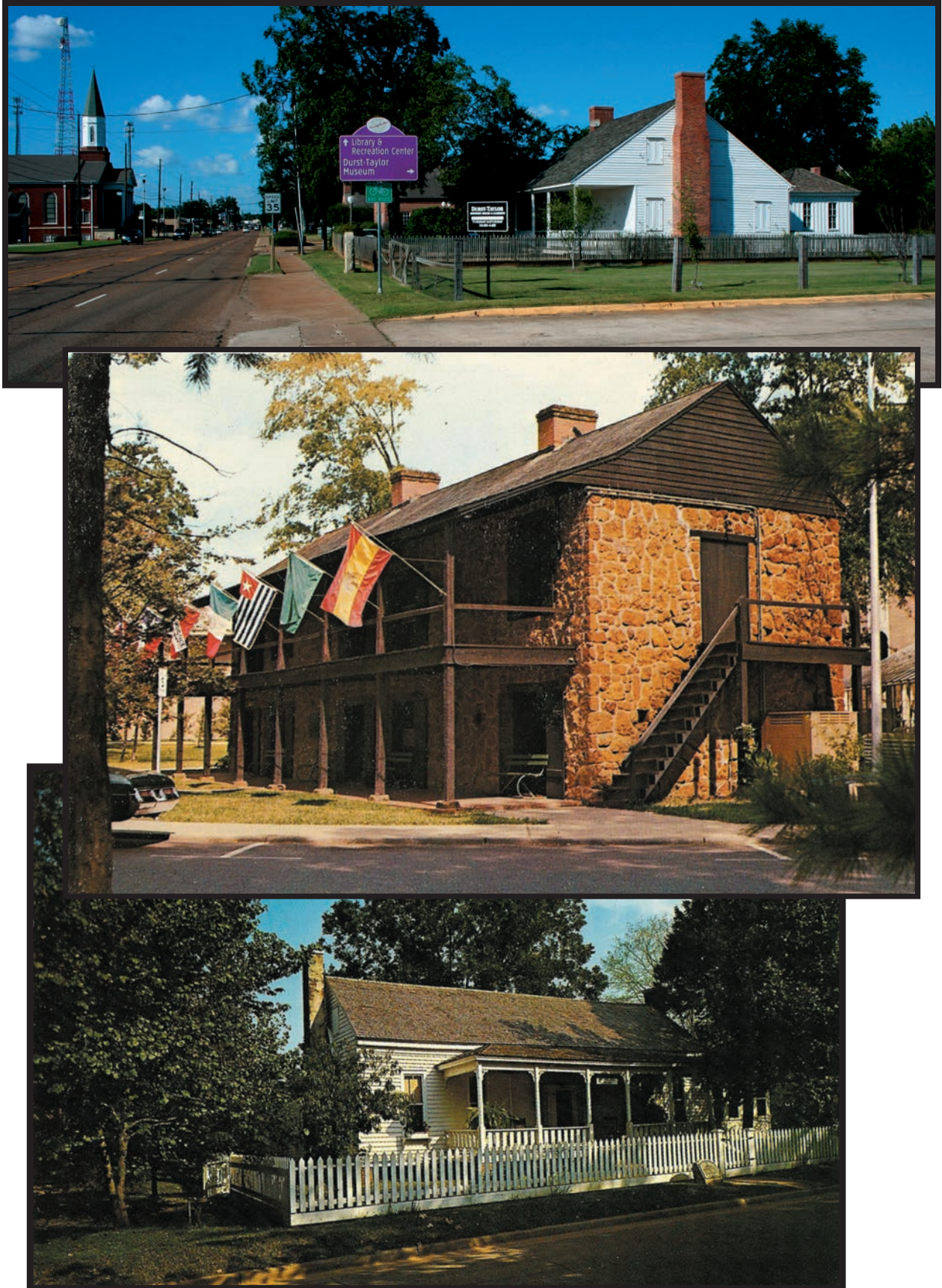


Figure 5. Nacogdoches County—The Durst-Taylor House Museum, The Old Stone Fort, The Sterne House in Nacogdoches.



Figure 6. 1918 Kings Highway Marker (Sabine County).

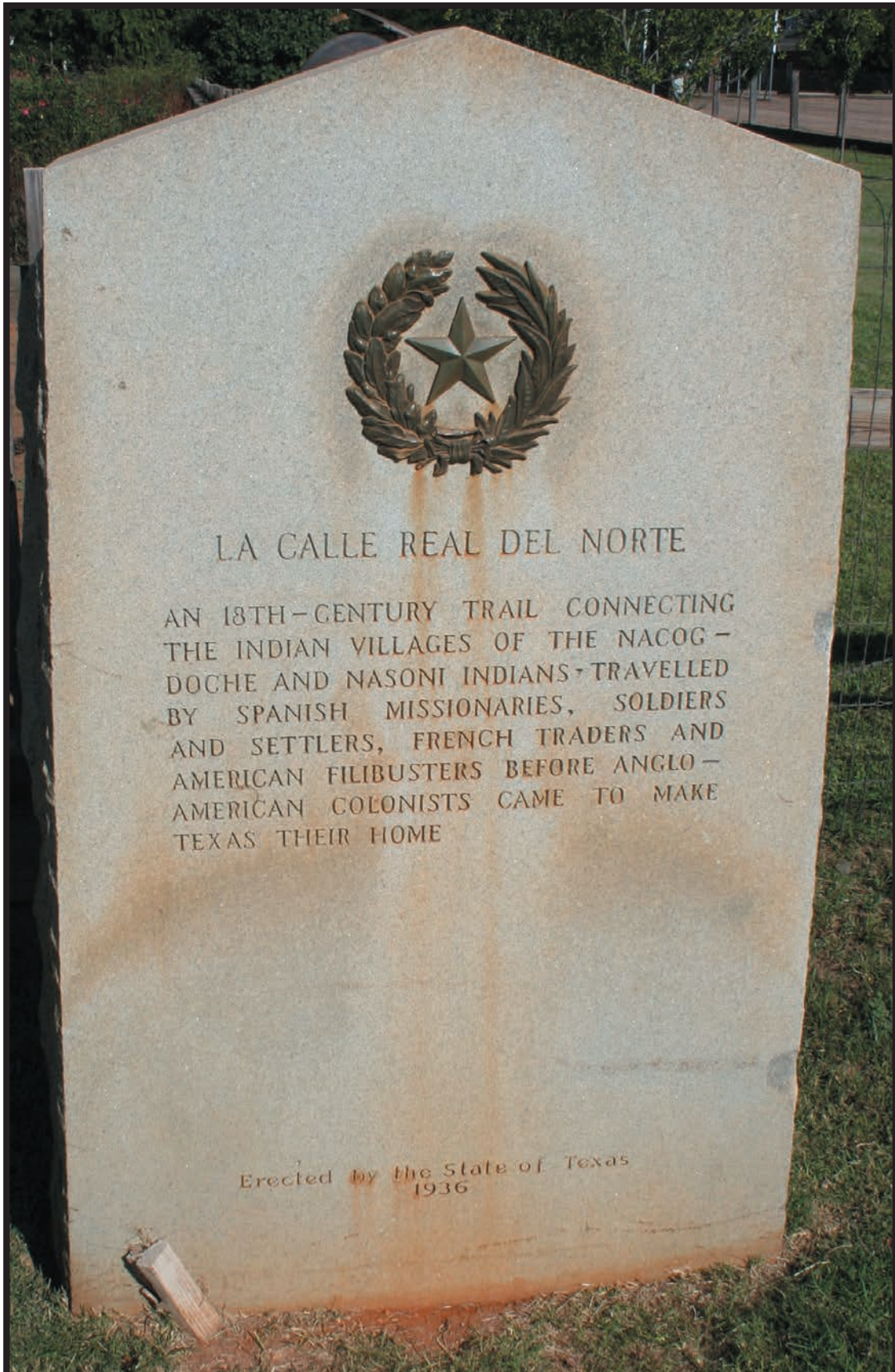


Figure 7. 1936 Texas Centennial Marker (Nacogdoches County).

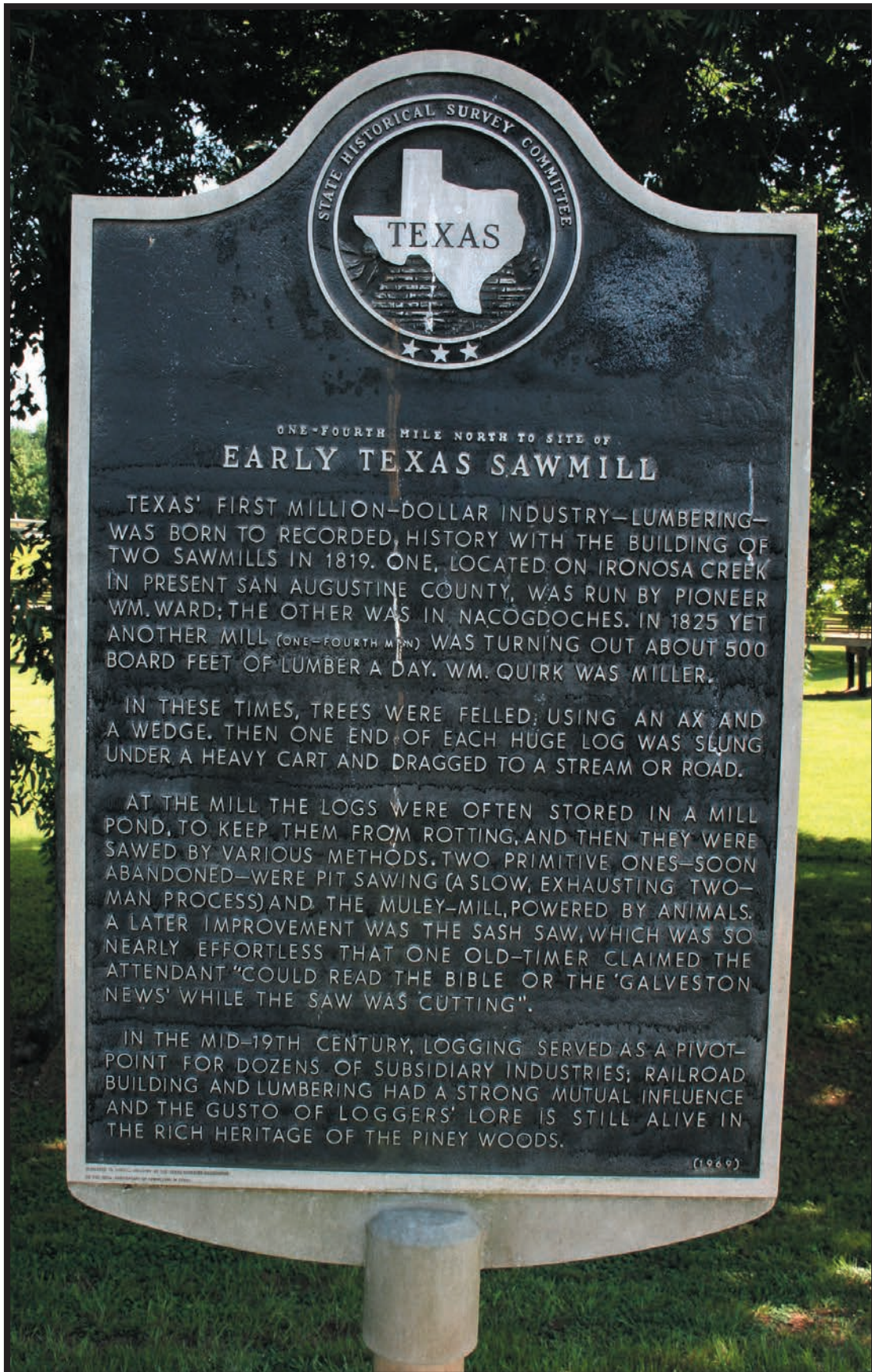


Figure 8. Texas Historical Commission Marker (San Augustine County).



Figure 9. Mission Dolores, San Augustine.

Slavery in Texas

Slavery was not officially permitted in Texas during the Spanish Period, but there were some slaves that were bought and sold during this time. Francis Galan (2011) has written on this. In the Mexican Period, slavery was present shortly after 1824 in San Augustine County by men like Elisha Roberts and John Cartwright, who had brought their slaves with them. From 1837 to 1860 Faydell Lomma Barrett (1963) found that in San Augustine County, there was a shift from a large proportion of those who owned less than 20 slaves in 1840, to a large proportion of those who owned more than 20 slaves in 1860. Slavery made a substantial impact as there were 3,648 people in San Augustine County in 1850, with 1,561 being African American slaves. Over 40% of the population of San Augustine County was Black. In Nacogdoches, “763 slaves made up about twenty-three percent of the 3,318 residents in 1847, but this had risen to 1,476 of 5,362 or twenty-seven percent” (Ericson 2008a:117), which is less than San Augustine. The proportion of Black people in our Interview Sample was closer to the modern percentage, as will be seen in the next chapter.

2. The Sample

We interviewed a total of 91 people in 76 interview sessions (Figure 10). We were required to interview a total of 70 people. One interview was disallowed by her daughter (Interview No. 28), another was too garbled (Interview No. 39), and another withdrew from the project (Interview No. 64). We interviewed an additional three people. Figure 2 shows the Names, Date of Birth, Date of Death, and Area of Coverage for the 91 people who participated in our project. Sixteen of the participants passed away after their interview. We are fortunate to have recorded these individuals.

Forty-Three of the interviews were conducted in the Archaeology Lab of the Mission Dolores Museum and Visitor's Center, and thirty-three were conducted elsewhere. Most of the "elsewhere" interviews were conducted in the home of the participant(s). One was conducted "outside" the home. Five of the interviews were held at the workplace of the individuals—two outside and three inside. Five of the interviews were conducted in nursing homes, two were in Peggy Jasso's home, two were in the SFA Library, two were at the Sabine County History Center, and one was at the Old University Building in Nacogdoches.

We had a San Augustine County bias to our sample, mainly because it was difficult to find an appropriate location outside of Mission Dolores. We had seventeen interviews from Sabine County, but 45 from San Augustine County. Twenty-four were from Nacogdoches County. Three were from both San Augustine/Nacogdoches County, and two were from Shelby County. Another bias in our sample was males—fifty-five males and 36 females.

Sixty-nine of the participants were White (W), 13 were Black (B), and 9 were of Spanish (S) descent. This is pretty close to the current average population of Sabine, San Augustine, and Nacogdoches Counties, but it is very different from the Camino Real period population, 1680-1845. The Spanish were a much higher percentage and there were Indian tribal groups as well. Some of the participants did acknowledge Indian heritage, but they are not considered tribal.

Connie Hodges would generally ask the questions as shown in Figure 11. I would then ask a question about the making/eating of Hot Tamales and the presence of ghosts or haunted places. The following report is organized as follows: 3. Transportation; 4. Making a Living, Food; 5. Handicrafts; 6. Health and Healing; 7. Education; 8. Church; 9. Conflict; 10. Entertainment; 11. American Indians; 12. Spanish; 13. French; 14. African American; 15. Anglo-American; 16. Other Group; 17. Ghost Stories; 18. Self-Identification; 19. Cemeteries; 20. Miscellaneous; and 21. Conclusions.

Names, Year of Birth, Year of Death, and Area of Coverage

Number	Person	Year of Birth	Year of Death	Area of Coverage
1	Judy Hodges (W)	1950		Sabine Co.
2	David Gerald Stewart (W)	1929		Sabine Co.
3	Billy N. Fussell (W)	1942		Sabine Co.
4	Rufus McLemore (W)	1923	2010	Sabine Co.
5	Martha A. Broden (W)	1940		San Augustine Co.
5	Alfred L. Broden (W)	1939		San Augustine Co.
6	Clifton Noble (W)	1923		Poly Gaucho, San Augustine Co.
7	Tommy Hunter (W)	1942		San Augustine Co.
8	Kenneth E. Skillern (W)	1922		San Augustine Co.
9	David Malone (B)	1917	2012	San Augustine Co.
10	Val Sharp (W)	1923	2010	City of San Augustine
11	John Oglesbee (W)	1933		City of San Augustine
11	Betty Oglesbee (W)	1935		City of San Augustine
12	Weldon McDaniel (W)	1940		Sabine Co.
13	Julia Howard Wade (W)	1929		City of San Augustine
14	A.E. (Jake) Whitton (W)	1933		San Augustine Co.
15	Nelsyn E.B. Wade (W)	1923		City of San Augustine
16	Billy Whitton (W)	1925	2012	San Augustine Co.
16	Sallie Whitton (W)	1905	2010	Bland Lake, San Augustine Co.
17	Curtis R. Haley, M.D. (W)	1926		San Augustine Co.
18	Earl Weathered (B)	1926	2010	Geneva, Sabine Co.
19	James Gerald Mora (S)	1929	2014	Mountain, Nacogdoches Co.
20	Leon Ware (W)	1933		City of San Augustine
21	Letitia Holt (W)	1930		City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co.
21	Alton Holt (W)	1925		San Augustine Co.
22	Bernadine Haney (W)	1918		City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co.
23	Harry P. Noble (W)	1929		San Augustine Co.

Figure 10. List of participants, their date of birth, date of death, and area of coverage.

Names, Year of Birth, Year of Death, and Area of Coverage (cont.)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>Year of Birth</i>	<i>Year of Death</i>	<i>Area of Coverage</i>
24	Wilma Mc Millian (W)	1937		Grape Vine, San Augustine Co.
25	Burnice D. Blackstock (W)	1931		Poly Gaucho, San Augustine Co.
25	Rosemary Mathews Blackstock (W)	1935		City of San Augustine
26	Panella Davis (B)	1912	2013	San Augustine Co.
27	Jane Sublet (W)	1927		San Augustine Co.
28	Winnie Greer Markle (W)	1909	2011	San Augustine Co. (disallowed)
29	Willie Thorpe Murray (W)	1935		City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co.
30	Lily Mae Stone (W)	1925		City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co,
31	Martha Butts (W)	1942		City of San Augustine
31	John H. Butts (W)	1932		City of San Augustine
32	Quynon Fowler (B)	1927		City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co.
33	Kerry King Whitton (W)	1934		San Augustine/Nacogdoches Co.
34	Kay Roberts Jr. (B)	1931		Sabine Co.
35	Howard Tindall (W)	1926	2012	San Augustine/Nacogdoches Cos.
36	Arce LeGrand (W)	1921		San Augustine/Nacogdoches Cos.
37	Ronnie Butler (W)	1930		San Augustine Co.
37	Donnie Butler (W)	1936		San Augustine Co.
38	Grady Jerry Fountain (W)	1938		Fountain Town, San Augustine Co.
39	Andrea C. Garcia (S)	1919	2012	Tamale Maker, City of San Augustine
40	Lavon Tindall (W)	1947		San Augustine Co.
41	Mary Fussell Nichols (W)	1923		Chapel Hill, San Augustine Co.
42	E.L. Luna (S)	1915	2011	Fern Lake, Nacogdoches Co.
43	Geraldine DuPree (B)	1910	2011	Sabine Co.
44	La Juan Garrett (W)	1939		City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co.
45	Levi Evett (W)	1918		San Augustine Co.
46	Carl Shaw (S)	1937	2014	City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co.

Figure 10. List of participants, their date of birth, date of death, and area of coverage (cont.).

Names, Year of Birth, Year of Death, and Area of Coverage (cont.)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>Year of Birth</i>	<i>Year of Death</i>	<i>Area of Coverage</i>
47	Raymond Goggan (W)	1942		City of Nacogdoches
48	Felix Holmes (B)	1954		Black Ankle, Hemphill, Sabine Co.
49	Bobby N. Pantalion (S)	1935	2014	Mountain, Nacogdoches Co.
50	L.B. Simmons (B)	1948		Niece of Earl Weathered
51	Agnes W. Sparks (W)	1928		San Augustine Co.
52	Herman Garner (B)	1912	2014	City of San Augustine
53	Reginald V. Monzingo (W)	1930		City of Chireno, Nacogdoches Co.
54	George Molandes (S)	1930		Moral Community, Nacogdoches Co.
55	Aaron P. Solise (S)	1940		Moral Community, Nacogdoches Co.
55	Betty L. Solise (W)	1943		Douglas, Nacogdoches Co.
56	Richard Murphy (W)	1928		San Augustine County
57	Samuel E. Eberlan (W)	1939		City of San Augustine
57	Roy A. Eberlan (W)	1936		City of San Augustine
58	Arvie G. Eddings (W)	1932		Hemphill, Sabine County
58	Ophelia Zeigler Eddings (W)	1936		Hemphill, Sabine County
59	Jamie Burleson Doherty (W)	1932		San Augustine County
59	Roger Holt (W)	1945		San Augustine County
59	Bettie Burleson Griffin (W)	1927		San Augustine
60	Tom Roberts (W)	1930		City of San Augustine
60	Jerry W. Smith (W)	1935		City of San Augustine
61	Archie L. Rison, Jr. (B)	1948		City of Nacogdoches
62	Peggy A. Jasso (S)	1949		Moral Community, Nacogdoches Co.
63	Ann Cox Phillips (W)	1919		City of Nacogdoches
63	Pamela Ann Phillips (W)	1945		City of Nacogdoches
63	Nancy C. Tipton (W)	1954		City of Nacogdoches
64	Elizabeth S. Adcock (W)	1938		City of San Augustine (withdrew)
65	Joe Louis Jones (W)	1927		City of Center, Shelby Co.

Figure 10. List of participants, their date of birth, date of death, and area of coverage (cont.).

Names, Year of Birth, Year of Death, and Area of Coverage (cont.)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>Year of Birth</i>	<i>Year of Death</i>	<i>Area of Coverage</i>
66	Pattie C. DeLamar (W)	1950		Sabinetown, Sabine Co.
67	Obadiah Johnson, Jr. (B)	1943		City of Nacogdoches
68	Tom Middlebrook, M.D.	1952		City of Nacogdoches, Chireno
69	Royce Lynn Johnson (W)	1945		City of Center, Shelby Co.
70	Carl F. Dyes (W)	1939		Melrose, Nacogdoches County
71	Jane Hardeman (W)	1927		Melrose, Nacogdoches County
72	Vonzella Garner (B)	1935		Bland Lake, San Augustine County
73	Dixie Sparks (W)	1919		City of Milam, Sabine County
74	Robert Nerthery (W)	1938		City of Milam, Sabine County
75	Eugene Procella (S\I)	1926		Sabine County
76	Willie Dennis	1937		Sabine County

Figure 10. List of participants, their date of birth, date of death, and area of coverage (cont.).

Basic Questions for Everyone

(Get birth and if applicable death dates, ages, and names of great grandparents, grandparents, parents, siblings)

1. What was it like for you growing up in this area?
2. What did your parents, grandparents do for a living?
3. What kind of local food sources did you use?
4. Did you have gardens (how large, what did you plant), or animals?
5. Tell us about home remedies that were used in your family.
6. Describe you daily life—school, chores, playtime.
7. Describe your social activities (church, ball games, etc.)
8. How long has your family owned the land?
9. Tell us about the old people and places in the area.
10. What do you remember about the old roads in the area? How did they travel? How often? How far? What was the preferred means of transportation?
11. Do you know of any stories about American Indians in the area?
12. Do you know of any stories about the Spanish in the area?
13. What can you tell us about the history of African Americans in the area?
14. Do you have any old pictures, documents, Bibles that you can show us?
15. Ethnic origins on both sides of the family? Were “mixed” marriages common? Was there an attempt to “force” children to speak only English in the schools? Was there an effort from local state governments to force acculturation?
16. What language did they speak at home? Was it different than what it was spoken in the schools?
17. What was their relationship with their neighbors? With other ethnic groups?
18. How did they earning a living – subsistence agriculture? — change with time?
19. How did relations with other groups change through time? Was there an increasing dependence on each other?
20. Identity. Did they think of themselves as “Americans” or as Texans, Louisianans, Spanish, mixed breed, etc?

Figure 11. Interview questions.

3. Transportation

Introduction

This section will include stories of traveling the *Camino Real* segments before they were paved—stories of the dust being so bad in San Augustine that one woman demanded to move into the country away from the main road. Stories of traveling in wagons and buggies—just like in pre-1845 days. Stories of pulling wagons out of the mud. Stories of the necessity of bringing along an additional pair of mules/horses to pull wagons up steep grades. One of our participants was named after the man who helped his parents when their vehicle was stuck—the father told the helper that he would name the child that his wife was carrying after him. In the days before Hwy 21 was paved, a number of people mentioned that the people who owned frontage property were responsible for maintaining and straightening.

We have established that Hwy 21 was paved sometime in 1936. Many of the people that we interviewed remember the road when it wasn't paved, and most knew it was the *Camino Real*. All agreed that it was a very rough ride. One ferry was still active before a bridge was built in 1935—we start with such a person.

The Ferry at Sabine River

Several people remembered riding the ferry at Sabine River [Clifton Noble (W), Dixie Sparks (W), Arvie Eddings (W), and Eugene Procella (S)]. Clifton Noble's (W) Daddy made syrup and hauled a lot of cane from Louisiana, riding the ferry at Sabine River. He recalls that one of the two mules refused to get on the ferry, so this mule would swim across the River and wait on the other side. Eugene Procella (S) remembers that you couldn't cross when the river was swift. There was a cable that a man pulled on, and he couldn't control it if the water was moving too fast. John Butts (W) talked about a team of mules that would pull you over. He went across the bridge when it was dedicated, but he was watching the ferry also.

Miscellaneous—Sabine County

Pattie De Lamar (W) mentions a crossing at Sabinetown. It's within eyesight of Pendleton Bridge. It is thought that the crossing at Sabinetown was older than the crossing at Pendleton Bridge. Arvie Eddings (W) wasn't here before Hwy 21 was paved, but he does remember in the 1940s it was not paved on the Louisiana side.

Miscellaneous—San Augustine County

Sallie Whitton (W) threatened to take her infant son and leave if they didn't get out of "that red hole" in San Augustine. Dr. Haley (W) recalls that in San Augustine County, most of the transportation was horse and wagon—prior to 1930. By the mid-1930s you would start to see a

few more automobiles. In San Augustine, there was a water trough where you could water your animals, but they did away with the water trough just before World War II. Panella Davis (B) remembers riding in a wagon. Hills were a particular challenge for a wagon when the road was wet, especially the red clay hills. John Butts (W) father came to the area in the 1920s selling Coca-Cola. He got stuck with his car, and went to an African American's family for a team of mules. The mules pulled the axel out from under the truck.

Herman Garner (B) and Arcie LaGrande remember seeing the paving of Highway 21. What they used then were "Fresnos," or mule teams. You'd go ten or twelve miles and you would be covered in this red dirt and during the rains, there were certain places you couldn't go. Dust from San Augustine to Nacogdoches was pretty bad.

Bernadine Haney (W) recalls how much damage that buggies did to wet roads—the buggies would cut them. Levi Evett (W) states that he would haul cotton on a wagon with cotton frames, these would allow them to haul 1300 pounds of picked cotton on the wagon. He would haul the cotton to Denning. Roy Eberlan (W) observed that it was "awful hard for a wagon to kill anything on the road." The whole idea of "road kill" is one that is associated with automobiles.

Miscellaneous—Nacogdoches County

The white sand was no better. Lily Stone (W) was driving a car, but she got stuck and blew the motor out of a Model A or T. Letitia Holt (W) recalls the passing of a large horse when Hwy 21 was being built. Sammy Eberlan (W), Bettie Griffin (W), and Gerald Mora (S) remembered that a road that was unpaved and eroded would often get waves or furrows, or closely spaced ridges—they were called "Corduroy" roads. E.L. Luna (S) lived in the country and he would ride a wagon into town from the West with his father. He states that corn, cotton, and potatoes were their culture.

Bobby Pantalion's Wagon

Bobby Pantalion (S) (Figure 12) tells of an old wagon that they used to haul cotton in the 1940s. They would use the wagon to save on gas, which was restricted during the war years. Bobby—probably four or five years old—and his older brother scared the two mules when they were hitched up to the wagon, and tipped the wagon over. One of the spokes was broken on one of the wheels. Bobby Pantalion's (S) father built a barn around the wagon when they stopped using it. They never did him about how the spoke got broken.

Egg Nog Branch

Various people tell of Egg Nog Branch—a little drainage feature on the East side of Nacogdoches where people coming from the west would stop [Gerald Mora (S), Willie Thorpe Marray (W), Leon Ware (W)]. Gerald Mora (S) remembers leaving about four o'clock in the morning, with two bales or three bales of cotton on the wagon, but that's a pretty good load for a pair of mules with all the hills, there was no pavement. There was a well there—four miles from the Courthouse—it was called the Four Mile Well. When they widened 21, they filled it in. It would be a three day affair for those from Chireno—one day travel to Egg Nog Branch, one day doing your business in Nacogdoches, one day travel back to Chireno.

Obadiah Johnson (B) remembers that Egnog Branch got its name from Sam Houston getting sick on Egnog and whiskey, and upchucking in the branch—so it was called Egnog Branch. There was a historical marker that told this story.



Figure 12. Bobby Pantalion's (S) wagon.

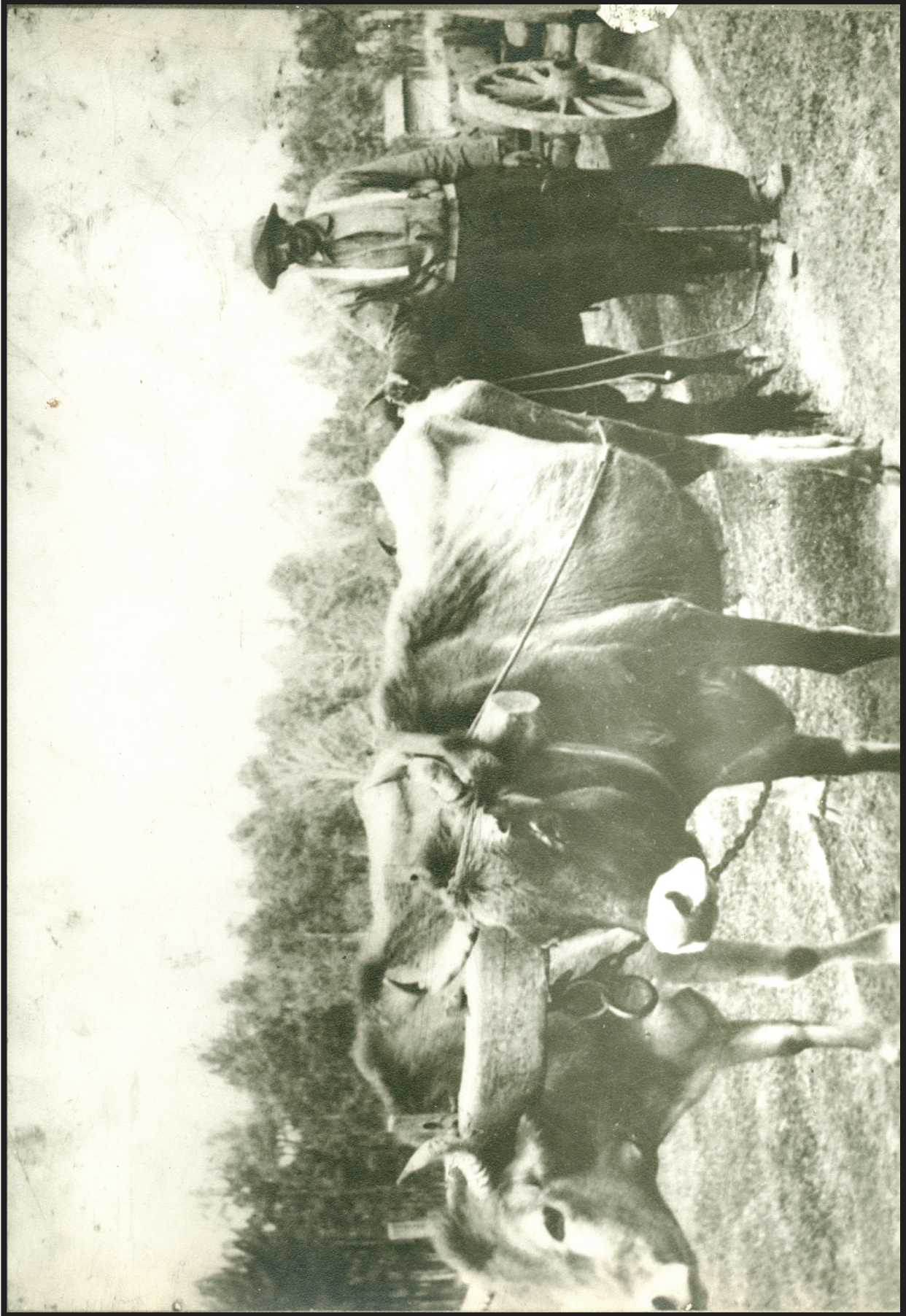


Figure 13. Photograph of Panella Davis' (B) husband's father.

4. Making a Living, Food

Introduction

Occupations that our survey sample reported for their families included mostly farming and cattle raising—just like those before 1845. Others included landowners, sharecroppers, sawyers, house painter, County Clerk, beauty operator, watch repairman, tobacco grower, banker, poultry processor, unlicensed liquor producers, and Welfare Department worker. Most of these occupations were in existence prior to 1845.

Stories of hoeing, picking, chopping, and hauling cotton will be related—again, just like it was done before 1845—by hand. Most people had a vegetable garden. Some people had grist mills and/or syrup presses, and the older people plowed with a mule. The timber industry was active before 1845 and some of our participants share experiences of the timber industry during their lifetimes, ranging from company towns to small independent saw mills. We also interviewed some teachers. Most people who lived outside of town grew corn as fuel for their livestock—we interviewed one man who still plowed with a mule, and he grew corn and other vegetables, but the corn was to feed his mule—just like before 1845. There were some whose living included distilling the corn products, and even though this was a legal pursuit during the 19th century, our research has shown that was some regulation in this area—producers were licensed.

Farming

Cotton was the main cash crop grown in the area from the days of the Republic until just after World War II (Figure 14). The hand labor was hoeing, picking, and chopping. It would be hauled away to the gin on a wagon. All this was being done by hand around here until after World War II. Plowing was done by a mule for the 1800s and early 1900s. Earl Weathered (B) was still plowing with a mule when we interviewed him, but he passed away in 2010 (Figure 15). We have numerous stories of people who hoed, picked, and chopped cotton. Some didn't like it, but most did. We interviewed several land owners in our sample, most were tenant farmers. Jane Hardeman's (W) family was a tenant or sharecropper, and she remembers that they were not forced to do all the work associated with the crop, but she considered it "as just being with others that might be helping at the same time, and it was a good thing—it really was."

Corn was also something that was widely produced. It was used as feed for the cattle and other livestock, and it was ground to make cornbread. The corn with the shuck and cob was ground for the livestock. Only the corn kernels were ground for corn meal for making corn bread. Peanuts, peas, cucumbers, cantaloupe, and watermelons were also grown in the fields.

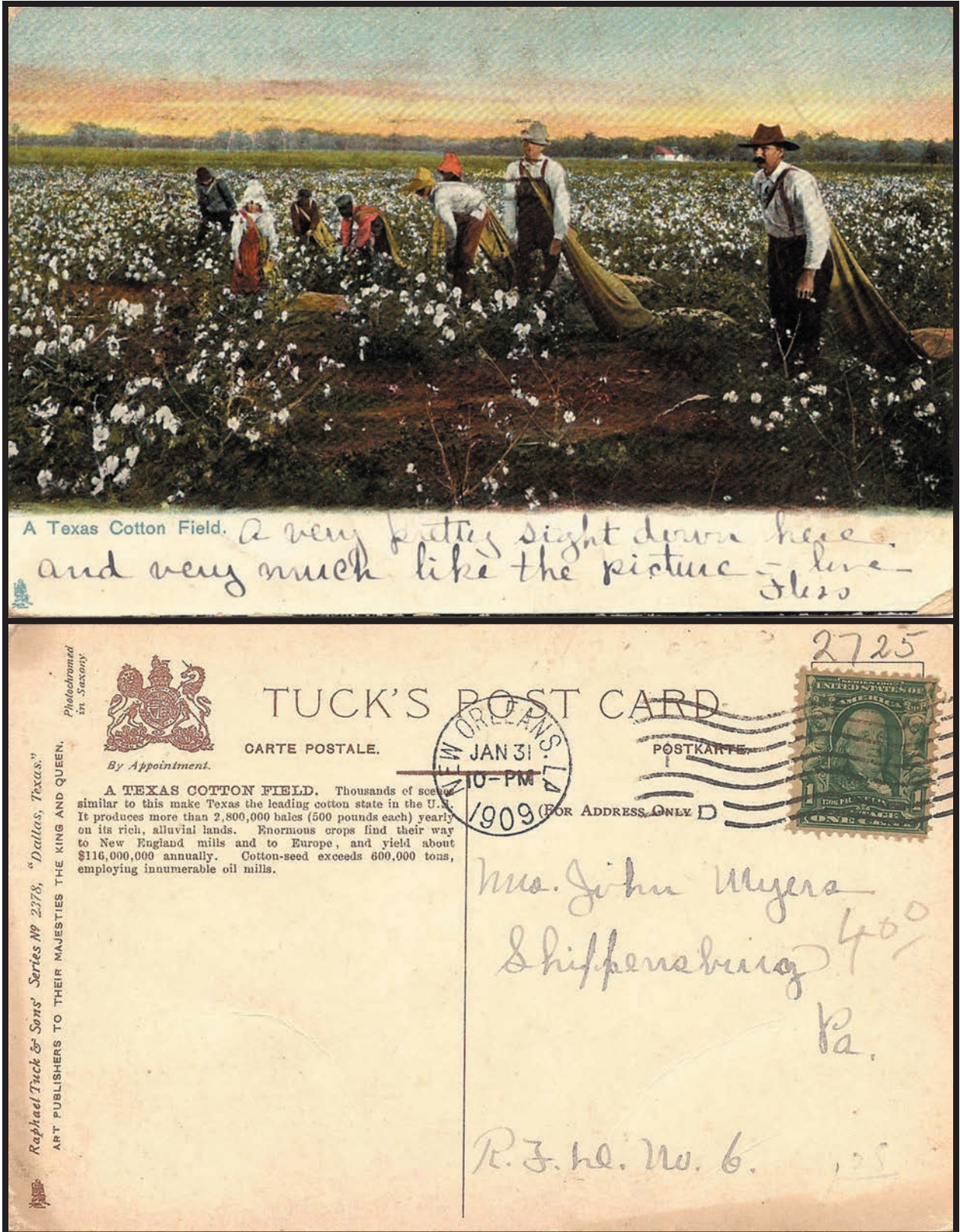


Figure 14. Postcard of the way cotton picking looked at the turn of the century in Texas.



Figure 15. Painting of Mr. Weathered plowing with a mule by Mary Wells. The mule's name was "Red" when we did our interview.

All small farms, and even some people in town had a vegetable garden as well. Usually, it was the women who were in charge of the vegetable garden, and it was the children that sometimes helped as well. All sorts of vegetables would be planted—beans, tomatoes, squash, greens, radishes, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, cabbage, onions, and English Peas. There wasn't any broccoli, cauliflower, Brussels sprouts, and spinach. E.L. Luna (S) talked about a "Tater Bank," which was a hole under the house that you stored your potatoes in.

Many different things were canned—in metal cans and/or glass jars. We have documented the "putting up" of preserves in a pre-1845 Nacogdoches diary. Willie Thorpe Murray (W) didn't have electricity until 1946—she lived south of Chireno. She talked about drawing water and washing clothes in a wash pot outside, cutting wood, and making divinity—which requires a lot of manual labor. Her father taught her how to plow with a mule, which she did at eight—planting corn. And then when she was thirteen/fourteen he gave her some land to grow water melons on, which she sold in Chireno for fifty cents. Willie Thorpe Murray (W) remembers trading her biscuit and slice of ham at school for a "light" bread sandwich. Light bread was bought at the store. Now, she misses her mother's homemade biscuit and that home cooked ham.

Livestock

Most everybody had livestock of some sort. There were cattle men [Gerald Mora (S), Nelsyn Wade (W)], but most people in the country had hogs and chickens, as well. It was the job of the children to feed the livestock and collect the eggs. Several people mentioned Chicken Snakes when they were collecting eggs [Willie Thorpe Murray (W), Lily Stone (W)]. Fake eggs could be bought, but an old door knob—the white porcelain kind—would work also, and the Chicken Snake would swallow the door knob and eventually die.

If you wanted to butcher a calf there would sometimes be a number of people who would share, and this would last about two weeks. The next time, another person in the group would butcher the calf, and you'd go around like that. This was when there was no refrigeration. In San Augustine County this was called a beef club. Something similar was described in Nacogdoches and Sabine County. Some people didn't butcher their cattle—they sold many of the males and saved the females for getting milk and cream, and making butter.

Butchering a hog the old fashioned way is hardly done anymore, but many remember it [Tommy Hunter (W)]. First, you'd have to gather your hogs in the fall. You could put corn in a pen. Almost every part of the hog would be used—in some cases, there was no waste. Aside from all the cuts of pork, there was head cheese and hot tamales made from the head of the hog, and the feet would also be eaten. The hams would be cured in a smoke house.

Mutton was also mentioned by Carl Dyes (W). It was something that was bought at a store—they didn't raise the sheep.

Berries, Pecans, Walnuts, Fruit Trees, Chinquapin trees

Many talk of making berry pies, preserving berries, and making jelly. There were some who made wine—Alton Holt (W) and Letitia Holt (W) say that their respective fathers made wine. Bettie Griffin (W) describes a “sugar cane bunk,” it was a little house that was away from the house. I remember they would wrap up pears, peaches, and potatoes in paper and syrup. Obadiah Johnson (B) remembers getting Chinquapins from Chinquapin Trees, hickory nuts, plums, in Nacogdoches County

Hunting, Trapping, Fishing

There were little to no deer in this area at the turn of the century—they have since made a recovery. There was hunting/trapping of squirrels, possum, raccoons, rabbits, and ducks. Fishing was also a way to get a meat source. Sometimes, there was no hunting.

Timber

Billy Fussell (W) related that some farmers were also loggers—he talks about his granddad, father and uncle clearing off land in 1906. They would make rails of the timber, and burn the stumps and tops—after a freeze was best for making rails. Julia Wade (W) said that Nelsyn Wade (W) (her husband) sold the cattle after his father died and then planted timber—that’s what the land wanted to do

Postmaster

Dixie Sparks (W) mentioned that her father was the postmaster for Milam, as well as being a store keeper. Nelsyn Wade’s (W) mother was the postmaster in San Augustine. La Juan Garrett’s (W) mother was the postmaster in Black Jack. Anna Cox Phillips’ (W) mother was the postmaster in Nacogdoches. In 1839, Adolphus Sterne became the postmaster of Nacogdoches.

Teachers

Dixie Sparks (W) said that her mother taught school—she taught school, and her sister taught school. Arvie Eddings (W) taught accounting and typing, and then marketing and distribution at High School at Hemphill, and Ophelian Eddings (W) worked with the Special Education section. Carl Dyes’ (W) mother was also a teacher—for forty six years.

Syrup Mill

There were a number of people who owned syrup mills (Val Sharp (W). Val Sharp’s grandparent raised sugar cane as well as owned and operated a sugar mill. Bernadine Haney (W) said that a good syrup would not crystallize when it cooled.

Land Owners

Alton Holt’s (W) father owned property on the Attoyac River and had about 20 families. He had almost 1000 acres and he had a commissary for the sharecroppers. Letitia Holt’s (W) father had 360 acres, a little country store for his renters, and a saw mill. Like everyone else, they also had a garden, cows, and chickens. In 1938 Alton Holt’s father bought a “Farmall,” which was a tractor, the first in the county. The Ag classes would want to come watch the Farmall work. Then he got a

planter. Letitia Holt (W) allowed that the tenant system was not completely fair, but Alton Holt (W) says that the tenants had plenty to eat and a place to stay—which was more than what most of the people had. Alton Holt (W) added that his father was pretty good to the tenants. Joe Louis Jones' (W) father was also a land owner

Cotton Gin

Burnice Blackstock's (W) father had a cotton gin—he and his ten brothers and sisters were the labor for the gin. It ran on steam, so his older brother would start a fire to build up the steam at three am, and then at daylight he'd blow the whistle. Most of them coming to gin cotton would be wagons pulled by mules. They would line up and when it was busy they would gin until ten at night. They had a big garden—1.5 acres—and his mother would cook for those who came to gin their cotton

Tobacco

Jerry Smith (W) told us that his granddaddy Henry Smith was part of the tobacco growers in East Texas before the Spanish American War started (1898). It continued until 1914. The motivation was that the Spanish American War cut off trade with Cuba, which included cigars. The Indians had been growing tobacco for a long time in Texas prior to the Europeans coming. Figure 8 shows tobacco production in San Augustine in the early 1900s.

Other Professions

Martha Butts (W) talked about her parents and grandparents owning a store in San Augustine. Richard Murphy (W) talked about his ancestors as house painters and paper hangers on the Murphy side, and on his mothers' side her dad was a watch repairman. She was a beautician in San Augustine. His Dad was the County Clerk for about forty years. He tried picking cotton, but only got twenty pounds—a good picker should get one hundred pounds a day. Roy Eberlan (W) related that an ancestor was a horse and mule trader in Chireno.

Archie Rison's (B) father worked in the forest as a logger for several years, then was hired at Texas Foundry, and then at Southland Paper company in Lufkin. His dad painted and washed houses on the side. Pattie De Lamar's (W) mother worked for the Texas Department of Human Services and then Pattie followed in her mother's footsteps. Obadiah Johnson's (B) mother work for a poultry processing place in Nacogdoches and his father worked for Max Stripling in Nacogdoches.

Other Food

Jane Hardeman (W) said that they kept their milk cool by suspending it in their well in a can with a tight fitting lid. Alton and Letitia Holt (W) recall that they only food they would have to buy from the store was flour, baking soda, baking powder, coffee, and tea. Peggy Jasso (S) would make *colopies*—they're like the *sopapillas* that you get in the Mexican restaurants. They were triangular with little poke marks with a knife.

Sallie Whitton (W) tells of a northern relative that cooked turkey with stuffing made from bread inside the bird. Sallie introduced her to southern style made from cornbread cooked outside the chicken.



Shade Grown Wrapper Tobacco
San Augustine, Texas.

Do you know what that's
on this card?

POST CARD

This Space for Message

This Space for Address

U.S. POSTAGE
ONE CENT

NOV 10 AM 1909

Miss Stella Ahrens
P.O. No. 2 Box 34
Cossicana,
Tex.

Printed in Germany

Scrippling & Barrow
Optic & Jewellers,
San Augustine, Texas.

*I guess you think I
never intend to write
I have just been
too busy. Are you at
home and how long will
you stay. Write to me
and I will answer too
soon. How is Ethel?
Tell Uncle Bob I know
he will miss his horse
keeper & baby girl. Love
to all, & lovingly, Jovie.*

Making Moonshine

Billy Fussell (W) talks about a moonshiner who said, “There wasn’t but two kinds. That that you made to sell and the kind that you made to drink,” and he said, “I make mine to drink.” He would be raided and the police would break up his still, but he’d be back. He made moonshine until the middle 60’s or early 70’s—he was in the business.

5. Handicrafts

Introduction

In the days before 1845, quilting and tatting were for making functional items—we interviewed one woman who still does both. She also has saved undergarments made of feed sacks—a practice that may date to before 1845. While we didn't interview him, another participant donated to us a painting by a local artist of a man who carved axe handles (Figure 17). Another woman makes bonnets, much like those of pre-1845 days. Unfortunately, outside of quilting and tatting, there is very little in the way of handicrafts that are still being practiced in the area today. We do have a photo of an Indian basket said to have been given in the 1830s/40s to the Cartwright family in San Augustine (Figure 18). Many of the quilters are living in retirement communities, so the art is carried on there. Of course, the re-enactors at the various heritage events in the three-county area are another way that the old ways are remembered.

Cotton Sacks, Feed Sacks, Quilting

Martha Broden (W) talks of her mother making underwear out of cotton sacks and dresses or shirts out of feed sacks because they were the print cloth. Her mother was always trying to find two that were alike so she could make a whole dress. Apparently, they were not big enough to make a dress out of—you needed two feed sacks for a dress.

Val Sharp (W) mentioned his mother had quilting frames that were suspended from the ceiling. Others said that they knew what the frames that hung from the ceiling, but they didn't use them. One person mentioned that she still had her husband's mother's quilting frames. Arcie LaGrand (W) said that her mother made smaller quilts than they do now. They were either half bed or full bed size—now you like them for at least a queen.

Arcie LaGrand (W) mentioned how the modern quilting goes on at Twin Lakes Rehabilitation and Care Center. It takes them three weeks to quilt a quilt, and they work all day Tuesday on the quilt. People bring in the tops, bedding, and lining and the workers then assemble this, or "quilt" it. She makes a quilt also for the McKinney cemetery homecoming. Her quilt is raffled off.

Bonnets, Spinning Cotton

Weldon McDaniel (W) shared that he never saw his grandmother without a bonnet. Bonnets were generally for women and allowed the protection from the sun, and go back to before 1845.



Figure 17. Painting of Mark Singleton whittling by Mary Wells.



Figure 18. An Indian basket that was given to the Cartwright family in the 1830s.

Arcie LaGrand (W) related that her grandmother would spin cotton and make thread, then dye it. She would also spin the thread and then twist it into plow lines—ropes used for wagons. Ophelia Eddings (W) was shown how to card cotton by her mother. She also saw it being done by Mrs. Minton and Mason Minton, her daughter. The two would demonstrate carding and spinning cotton—along with knitting and tatting—to a group of children after school. The children would be treated to hot chocolate and cookies.

Painting—Whittler

Roger Holt (W) has donated a painting to our project of Mark Singleton whittling, by Mary Wells. Roger Holt (W) got to know Mr. Singleton when he was in his late 70s or early 80s—he lived to be about 90. It seems that he had done manual labor all his life. He would make ax handles, short baseball bats, or clubs out of hickory (Figure 17).

6. Health and Healing

Introduction

This section will focus on home remedies such as tea made from various plants (e.g. mullein, pine needles, Sassafras roots) and other things (cow chips), as well as the doctors in the area who made house calls and how they travelled (one doctor in the Chireno area travelled by horse at one time, later by car, but he drove slow enough so that his dog could keep up—for some reason the dog was not allowed to ride in the car). We spoke to a retired doctor in San Augustine who was known for making house calls in the 1960s and 1970s, while his counterparts stayed in their offices to receive patients. We have documented professional medical doctors in Nacogdoches prior to 1845.

Store-Bought Remedies

Coal oil was available in the early 1800s, and it was widely mentioned as a home remedy by our participants. Coal oil reportedly could cure many things, but it is a product that had to be bought at a store. In the 1850s, coal oil was produced under the trade name, “kerosene” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coal_oil). Coal oil was a nickel a gallon in the 1930s [Tommy Hunter (W)]. Coal oil or kerosene with sugar was used for a cough, and was also put directly on cuts. Vick’s Salve, introduced in the early 1900s, is another product that had to be bought in a store (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicks>). It was used just as it was intended, but coal oil or kerosene was a product meant for one thing, but used for another. Other store-bought remedies included cod liver oil, black draft, sulphur, Watkin’s Liniment, Grove’s Chill Tonic, and quinine. Asphidity was mentioned by both Whites and Blacks—we are not sure if it was purchased at a store.

Remedies from Nature

Teas and poultices were most commonly mentioned. Pine-top tea, Mullein tea, Oak tea, Myrtle Bush tea, Peach Tree Leaves tea, and Sassafras tea were mentioned by most participants. Mixing sugar, peppermint, honey, and sometimes whiskey in the teas made from natural products were mentioned. Cow chip tea was mentioned by African Americans. The Toothache Tree had a growth that would numb the pain of a toothache. Snakeroot was mentioned, but we did not ask what it treated. David Malone (B) mentioned “tag oil,” from the bark of a tree—that turns red when you cut into the bark. Willie Thorpe Murray (W) talked of something called a “Fever Weed” that was boiled, and cooled, and rubbed on poison ivy. “Hog Fizzle” was mentioned by Quynon Fowler (B). It’s a part of the hog—hung up on a nail or wrapped, and cooked the grease out of it and grease the chest for whooping cough or the flu. He also mentioned hog hoof tea for whooping cough and a bad cough.

Another type of plant that we don’t know the scientific name is Tread Salve [Mary Fussel Nichols (W)]. It has thorns on, and you would hang it around your neck—it was used for croup. Other medicinal plants mentioned were Rabbit Grass and Bitter Weed.

Cures

One man had warts all over his hands and a Gypsy woman cured him by sticking his warts with a pin, putting the pin in his cap, and saying that he would be cured of warts when the pin was gone from his cap. Three days later, he realized the warts were gone, and the pin also was gone. Another African American woman cured his family of boils in 1932. They were told to go to the poke salad and eat a berry every other day. When they had eaten nine berries—eighteen days later—the boils were gone [Clifton Noble (W)]. Others talked of curing an earache by blowing smoke in the ear [Eugene Procella (S)]. A cure for “Ground Itch”—an itch acquired from larva entered your foot in a cow lot—involved wrapping your foot in a wool blanket, and making a fire with pine tops, and putting your foot wrapped in the wool blanket, in the white smoke of the fire [Weldon McDaniel (W)].

The night sweats were cured by putting pine straw under the bed [Archie Rison (B)]. Spider webs collected from the smokehouse were used to help a cut heal [Obadiah Johnson (B)].

Paying the Doctor

Howard Tindall (W) recalls the paying of a doctor in meat for the \$250 appendectomy that his mother had in Nacogdoches. Arcie LaGrand (W) remembers that Dr. Taylor Mast in Chireno charging so little that you didn’t mind going with no money. She was treated for an abscess on her lungs—thirteen dollars for twelve visits. Dr. Mast also employed home remedies—the bark of a red oak tree, boiled, applied to a splinter to coax it out [Arcie LaGrande (W)]. He started out with a horse and buggy, and then drove a 1941 Dodge coupe—with one bench seat and a large trunk. He never drove more than fifteen miles per hour [Reginald Monzingo (W)].

Bobby Pantalion (S) tells of how his father paid for his birth in 1935. Dr. Taylor Mast was summoned and headed out on his horse. He had agreed to receive a pickled beef as payment for Bobby Pantalion’s (S) birth. The charge was ten dollars. Dr. Mast never did pick up the meat. Tom Middlebrook (W) tells of his father helping *his* father with surgery at people’s homes. He held the ether over the people’s face.

Who doesn’t use Home Remedies

There were some in our sample who did not use home remedies. It was usually a professional woman—a nurse or a teacher. But also it might be a woman who was considered progressive and would read the government pamphlets.

7. Education

Introduction

This section will discuss stories related to going to school. The miles of walking to the multitude of small school houses in the area are mentioned. It was the consolidation of schools (after WWII) when transportation (roads and vehicles) improved to where it was deemed more efficient to transport students to a fewer number of schools. It was described as the greatest culture shock that they ever had—with all the country kids coming into town [John Oglesbee (W)]. Prior to 1845, there were two colleges built in San Augustine and one chartered in Nacogdoches (Figures 19-21). As for primary and secondary schools, we have mention by Adolphus Sterne of such a school taught by Mr. Farmer in Nacogdoches on August 26, 1842 (McDaniel 1969:111). It is likely that there were no schools outside of Milam, San Augustine, and Nacogdoches prior to 1845. Figure 22 shows students and a one house school in the early 1900s.

Distance to School

Gerald Mora (S) walked five miles to the bus stop for his school. The only time he failed to make the trip was when he didn't want to go—he wanted to go hunting. Quynon Fowler (B) would walk six miles one way to a school in Chireno. Kay Roberts (B) would take a wagon about two hours to a school in San Augustine. Arcie LaGrande (W) walked the thirty minutes to school in Nacogdoches. In Chireno, the bus didn't pick up anybody who lived within two hours [La Juan Garrett (W)]. La Juan Garrett (W) mentions that she got a Hardship Driver's License at thirteen years of age. It was to drive her brother, who had a lot of illnesses. Richard Murphy (W) remembers that schools were built every five miles apart in San Augustine County. Everyone who mentioned walking to school also said that they travelled in a group.

School adjusted to Seasonal Work

Quynon Fowler (B) tells of when school would end a little early in the fall of the year to allow for the harvest, and also let out a little early in the spring to allow for the chopping of cotton and thinning of corn. He also mentioned that families were bigger back then—both Black and White—as they ran into ten, eleven and the parents. He went to Chireno School—it was segregated, and located right at the Black Church—Bethlehem Baptist Church. The building is gone now. It may have been the one school in Chireno that was a Rosenwald School. These were schools built with half a grant from the Rosenwald Foundation, and half with local resources. The Rosenwald Foundation was for Black schools, and started in 1912.

Kay Roberts (B) also mentioned how school adjusted to his farm work. He said he went two days of the week to school, and worked the other three farming. He went to a school in Sunset—an African American community in San Augustine. Carl Dyes (W) tells of how he trapped, and how he checked the traps just before school. His mother was a teacher and principal of the Melrose school, so he had to be in school at 8:00 am.



Figure 19. San Augustine University, a few blocks south of Hwy 21.

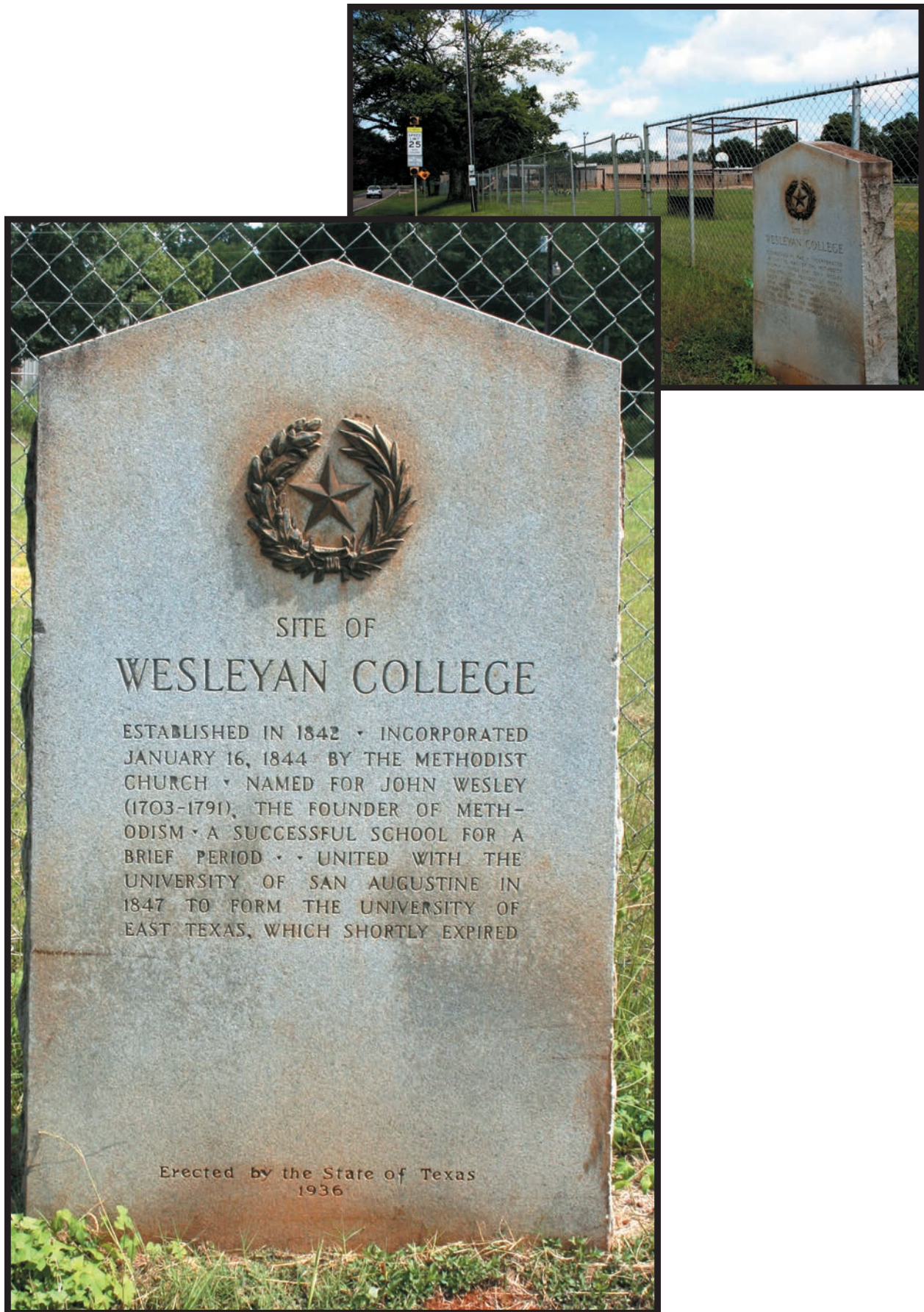


Figure 20. Wesleyan College, on Hwy 21.



Figure 21. Old University Building, Nacogdoches, on Washington Square.



Figure 22. San Augustine County in the early 1900s. (The third boy from the left in the first row is the father of Martha Broden.)

8. Church

Introduction

Stories related of going to and from the churches in the area—on foot, in wagons, and in the earlier 20th century—if you were fortunate—in a car. We have a photo of an outdoor baptism in the African American community in Nacogdoches from the late 1950s—undoubtedly, such was the way baptisms were done for some churches before 1845. Of course, Protestant Churches were not present before 1836—everyone had to say they were Catholic in the Spanish and Mexican Periods. The rapid spread of Protestantism after 1836 and its diversity—there were Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians—suggest that for many, particularly the Anglos, the pledge of being Catholic was not a very serious one. But going to church was serious among our sample. In town, going to church was a fairly regular event in the pre-1940s, and if the person lived in the country, it was less regular. The Spanish people in our sample were mostly Catholic; the Anglo and African Americans were mostly Protestant.

Church Buildings vs. Church Congregations

There are no church buildings that date to before 1845, but there are a number of church congregations that do date before 1845. Some of the early protestant church congregations in the area include McMahan's Chapel (Methodist, 1837) in Sabine County, Bethel Presbyterian Church (1838) (Figure 23), and Old North Church (Baptist, 1838) (Figure 24). The Catholic Church was present since the 1690s with Spanish missionaries serving up until 1773. The current Catholic Church building in Nacogdoches was built in 1847 and serves the parish of Sacred Heart Catholic Church.

Church and Social Relations

Dr. Haley (W) mentions that churches played a large role in social activities in San Augustine and the area around San Augustine. He says that attendance at churches was pretty good, although some people had other concerns—the Depression. Dixie Sparks (W) lived in Milam and recalls when asked if she went to church, “every time the doors opened, I was there!” Gerald Mora (S) lived in the country, around Chireno, and he states that there was church maybe once a month, or once in two months. There was no radio, no electricity, no telephone, and the preacher would have to ride a mule in there.

Letitia Holt (W) related the box suppers in Chireno at church, where you fix a supper like chicken and chocolate pie, and decorated the box all pretty. Then, it would be auctioned off at an event where there would be people running for office and other important people. You would usually tip off your boyfriend which box supper was yours, to stimulate the bidding. The box suppers would go for as much as ten dollars. The winner would get to eat the supper with the person who made it.



Figure 23. West of San Augustine, near Hwy 21.



Figure 24. Old North Church, north of Nacogdoches.

Baptizing

Clifton Noble (W) mentioned a place on Lobonella Creek where the Methodists and Baptists would baptize before 1940. It had gravel sloping down so you could wade slowly and get the water up to your waist or chest. It was close to a swimming hole. Pattie De Lamar (W) described baptizing in the river as “traumatic” for Harper’s Chapel, a Baptist Church in Sabine County. In Nacogdoches, Obadiah Johnson (B) said that the people of the Sanctified Quarters baptized in the Mill Pond, which was part of Burgess Hill. There were rumors of a big alligator living in the water, so the people slapped on the water to scare the alligator away (Figure 25). Obadiah himself was baptized at a pond in Sand Hill—he would get baptized every time they would let him, he liked the water! The ladies would wear white, and the men would wear black pants and white shirts.

Prayer Warrior

Lavon Tindall (W) told of his Granny being a “Prayer Warrior.” He related one time when she began praying at an auction in Nacogdoches. She usually didn’t go to the auction, but one time she did. There weren’t many women at the auction in the 1950s. Lavon’s Granny starts praying—her hands up and her face toward heaven. Lavon tries to ignore it, but one by one, the other men take off their hats and bow their heads, until the bidding has stopped, with all bowing their heads. Lavon’s Granny finishes and the bidding continues, without mention of the interruption. Lavon said that nobody said anything—even going back to the auction a week later, nobody said anything.

On Being Protestant

Several people mentioned the swapping of Protestant denominations. Sometimes it was a social thing, as with the parents of Anna Cox Phillips (W). Her father was Methodist and her mother was Episcopal. Her mother decided that they should all go to the Methodist Church, presumably because they had some Methodist friends. In Chireno, there was a Baptist and a Methodist Church that basically shared the same congregation in the 1950s. There just was not enough people to support two churches, so they met at the Baptist Church one week, and the Methodist Church the next week. Tom Middlebrook (W) remembers going to the service at the Baptist Church because his father served as a Baptist preacher. Jane Hardeman (W) tells of the three churches in Melrose—Baptist, Church of Christ, and Methodist—where everybody got along with each other.

There may have been some wiggle room in being a Protestant, but it was clear that you were not Catholic. The Spanish people were Catholic. The Anglo-Americans and African Americans were protestant. Adolphus Sterne converted to Catholicism when he came to Nacogdoches. He was called, “a rosy little Jew” (Tindall 1976:86).



Figure 25. Baptizing in Nacogdoches in the 1950s. (from a photographic collection donated by Obadiah Johnson. East Texas Research Center)

9. Conflict

Introduction

While much of the 18th century was peaceful in this area, conflict arose after the Louisiana Purchase. The uncertainty of the boundary in this area led to the establishment of a No-Man's Land between the Spanish province of Texas and the United States from 1806 to 1819. The area was patrolled by the sometimes joint patrols of the Spanish and Americans, but it was largely an unlawful place. Much of the conflict was related to disagreements between family groups (land boundary disputes and disputes over ownership of livestock were the most common). After the Adams-Onis Treaty was signed in 1819, No-Man's Land was over, and the Sabine River set as the boundary between the United States and Spain. There is a suggestion that some of the criminals left No-Man's Land and settled in Texas.

The most famous conflict was the Regulator-Moderator War (1839-1844). Family feuding continued throughout the 19th century and into the first few decades of the 20th century, and some of our participants related first hand experiences of shootings. One man is now related to both family sides of a mid-19th century dispute that was settled by violence—he says that his great, great, great grandfather killed his great, great, great grandfather. The violence ended in San Augustine and Hemphill when Texas Rangers were sent there in the 1930s. Nacogdoches did not seem to be as violent. We didn't ask about violence—the people that spoke of it, volunteered it. Also, other than the John Bodine and Alexander Horton example, we are presenting testimonies from people who actually experienced a particular event or who were alive at the time.

John Bodine and Alexander Horton, 1839

Martha Bodine (W) relates the killing of her great great grandfather—John Bodine—by Alexander Horton in 1839. It was apparently a land dispute between Bodine and Horton. Horton was acquitted by a jury in San Augustine. Richard Murphy's (W) mother was from the Bodine side and his father was from the Horton side. He wrote a story about his great great great grandfather killing his great great great grandfather.

Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker, 1934

David Malone (B) talked about his meeting Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker in San Augustine County in 1934, when he was seventeen years old. He was riding a mule and was stopped by Barrow, who asked him to get a paper. Malone mentioned that Barrow was nice enough, but Parker had an "attitude" reflected on the fact that she kept her hand on her gun.

Tom Burleson and the Thomas', 1934

In 1934, David Malone remembered events leading up to Little Tom Burleson entering the store of Dick Thomas. When it was finished, Murray Thomas (Dick's son) and two others were killed by Burleson, and Burleson later died in Louisiana. Nelsyn Wade (W) verifies Malone's story, and adds that apparently, it was alleged that Burleson had been harassing the sharecroppers of the Thomas'.

Other Violence, 1930s

In 1937, David Malone (B) remembered another woman who was killed—the details are somewhat hazy. Nelsyn Wade (W) recalls incidents during the 1930s, one where two men were shooting at each other in San Augustine—one was killed, the other wounded. It was over a child custody case. In another case, he recalls hearing something like fire crackers, and when he went to see the fireworks, there was a man in the middle of the street shooting up in a window at someone he was mad at. Finally, his mother went to the Chevrolet Agency (now Bogard's) on the Square in San Augustine to tend to a man—Mr. Barge, the owner of the establishment—who was shot and wounded on the floor.

10. Entertainment

Introduction

We have some accounts of children's games, particularly dominoes, marbles, and jacks, which were played before 1845. There are also accounts of musicians at Los Adaes in the 1700s—a violinist and a guitar player (Gregory et al. 2004). A look at Adolphus Sterne's diary mentions performing equestrians (McDonald 1969:10-151), playing the piano and guitar at parties (McDonald 1969:68, 137), horse races in Douglas (McDonald 1971:171, 176), and going to Balls and parties (McDonald 1969:96-97). Of course, there was simply the wonder of experiencing the outdoors, which many mentioned. Others said they had no time for games—their chores took up all their free time.

Marbles

Perhaps the single most mentioned game by males was marbles. It seemed that every boy had some marbles. Some offered that they had a favorite marble that they used to knock out other marbles. This was called a "toy." Archie Rison (B) remembers that sometimes there were fights over marbles in Nacogdoches County. Paul Solise (S) remembers that he had a bunch of them (see Figure 26), but he also shot a lot of them in slingshots at birds when he was growing up.

Bland Lake

A lake north of San Augustine was the social center for Whites. James Murphy (W) painted a picture of it (Figure 27). It was a dance hall and swimming area [Sallie Whitton (W)]. There was also a "shoot to shoot" kind of slide [Dr. Haley (W)]. Bland Lake was operated by Walter Bland, and had a pavilion with dressing rooms. It was right off the railroad, so you could get there for a nickel or dime.

Social Activity

The closer you lived to town, the more social activities were available to you. Gerald Mora (S) tells of a party in Black Jack you had to walk seven miles one way, and a party in Chireno you had to walk four miles one way. If you were lucky, you could hitch a ride with someone with a car. In the Y'Barbo settlement they had a baseball diamond—they'd have baseball games on weekends [Gerald Mora (S)]. Melrose also had a baseball team [Jane Hardeman (W)].

John and Betty Oglesbee (W) remember the Flying Dutchman, Musical Chairs, card games, dominoes, Canasta, "Sir, ask the King of Wales has lost his hat and who so ask is the cause of that," Red Rover, and Annie Over. Clifton Noble (W) played "Deer and Dog" in grammar school where the "Deer" would run between the bases and the "Dog" would chase them.



Figure 26. Paul Solise (S), with his marbles. (His mother had saved them in her sewing machine, which Paul and Betty Solise had inherited.)

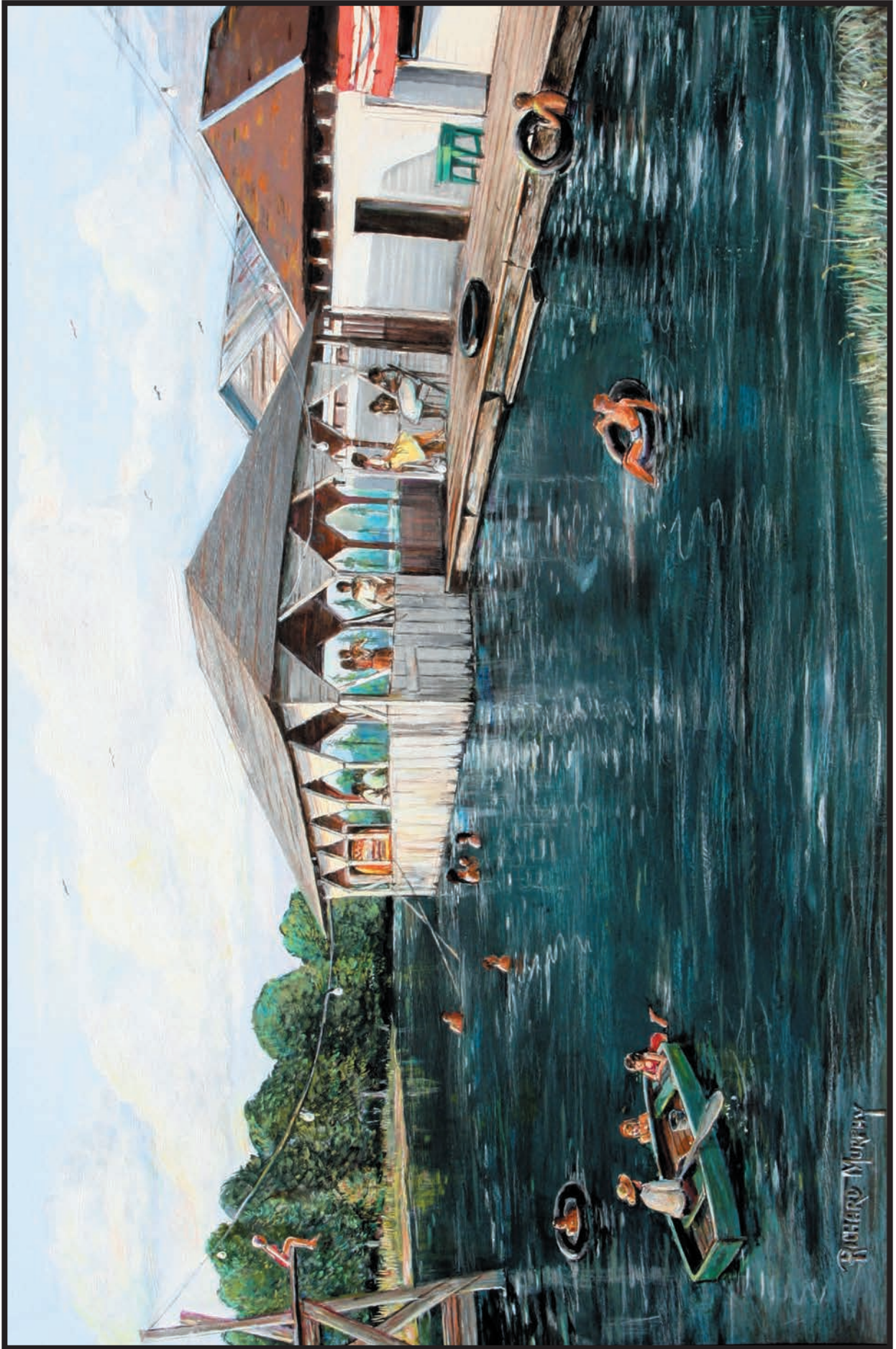


Figure 27. Painting of Bland Lake by Richard Murphy. (Bland Lake was north of San Augustine.)

Ronnie Butler (W) talked about dating—if you went anywhere you had to go on horseback. If you might claim a girl—walk her home from a party holding her little finger—her mamma might have a pine torch sticking up behind you—poking behind you watching. Go to the house and sit and talk to the girls on Sunday evening. Mary Fussell Nichols (W) remembers something she called a “play party,” you just go and play games, like drop the handkerchief, and others like that.

E.L. Luna (S) sang and played guitar by the time he was fifteen years old. His father bought a guitar from Robert Mean for five dollars. He would play with Little Joe Luna at country dances, sometimes once a week, at somebodies house. Fiddle players were Harvey Lazerine, Frank Lazerine, and Tom Lazerine. E.L. Luna says, “The good old days are here, but the happy days are way back there when the family was all together. That’s the way I look at it.”

Jane Hardeman (W) in Melrose recalls that there was what they called the “shack”—a place where they would have parties. There were also parties at people’s houses. They played games at the parties—there wasn’t any drinking—no alcohol or drugs whatsoever involved in any of the parties back then—that you just did not do. No one had a car to drive—they walked—everybody walked everywhere they went. So there were few cars being driven anywhere, because everybody walked to the parties, wherever the house was.

La Juan Garrett (W) remembers making mud desert in her kerosene stove, and burning her hand on the mud desert when she touched them. Her mother ran the Youth Center at school, so she would take cool aid, homemade cookies, and forty five records to the Youth Center, and then they have dances.

Pattie De Lamar (W) recalls that it was lonely for her because old Sabinetown was so far from Hemphill and there were no children her age around. In the fifth grade, she took piano lessons from Miss Horn, and joined the band. In Junior High she started twirling, and in High School her social time was primarily with the band and twirling. She went to SFA.

John Butts (W) remembers playing rubber gun wars, china berry wars, tops, went swimming, and smoked grapevine. Martha Butts (W) recalls catching Sycamore leaves as they fell and the simple joy of bouncing a ball against a wall. He and his wife Martha Butts (W) describe life as “wonderful”—you had this feeling of protection. If anything out the ordinary happened, somehow your parents would know about it. “Real healthy—good friends, good neighborhood, I wouldn’t change a thing”

Peggy Jasso (S) remembers that she always went to the Moral Hall. There was always a dance on Saturday. A third of the people were older people who was chaperons and there was a band. People would dance, eat, and visit.

11. American Indians

Introduction

American Indians are no longer present in the area as a political unit—as a tribe. There are two tribal groups in Louisiana—the Choctaw-Apache and the Adaes. The Ais in San Augustine County and the Caddo groups in Nacogdoches County were probably the only tribal Indians in the area until the early 1800s. The Nacogdoches census of 1793 mentions about forty Indians, many born at Los Adaes, and from other places in the Spanish frontier. By 1805, this number was reduced to less than ten. Then, other groups such as Choctaw, Delaware, Shawnee, and Cherokee stayed for a time and were finally forced to move out of the area after the 1839 Cherokee War. The Alabama and Coushatta settled south of Nacogdoches County in Livingston County, and are still there today.

Several participants related stories of American Indians coming to the area to visit burial areas. Many mentioned finding Indian artifacts in the area. It was easier to find artifacts when there was more plowing of the earth. Cotton farming—which accounted for most of the plowing—was common until just after World War II. Now, it's hard to find Indian artifacts because the land has been allowed to grow in pasture or woods. In general, few people we interviewed remembered stories of American Indians in the area. One individual recounted the legend of Chief Caddo—although the tribe was not recalled. This legend started in the early 20th century in Nacogdoches. A school teacher wanted to get students interested in history.

Stories about American Indians

Richard Murphy (W) tells a story about the Horton side of his family, who built a home here about 1837. The Indians living around the Ayish Bayou got drunk, and come out to the house. Grandma Horton was there by herself. She had several kids and this was in the winter time. Some of the drunken Indians tried to break in or did break in and she had a little shovel. She went to the fireplace and got some hot coals and threw them on those Indians. She ran them off by throwing hot coals on them. Jamie Doherty (W) recalls a nineteenth century story about Indians where her ancestors living in a house going down toward Fairway Farms (Eastern San Augustine, on the Camino Real) about her family. The mother was reading to her children in front of the fireplace and she saw an Indian out the window. He had feathers in his hair and paint on his face. She kept reading, and nothing came of it.

In 1840, Dr. John Fall had a son, and he was the first white child to be born in Chireno. Dr. Fall was friendly with the Indians in the area, and they came to see his child. Alton Holt (W) and Willie Thorpe Murray (W) related this story.

Bobby Pantalion's (S) Daddy said that his Grandma Mora told him that when she was a young girl—maybe before the Civil War—the Indians would come up with a little uprising. And

when they did, she and her family would all go over to San Augustine County and stay a couple weeks. Then they would come back and the Indians were fine. Quynon Fowler (B) verifies this, saying that between Chireno and San Augustine there used to be Indians, and when they had an uprising, the others would simply leave them alone, and the Indians would be all right. Tom Roberts (W) said his grandfather hired Indians in the area—San Augustine County—and said they were bad about stealing.

Val Sharp (W) says that his dad was born in 1886, and he said that the Department of Agriculture wanted to burn in the National Forest in San Augustine County in the 1930s. There were still Indians in the area, and his Dad thought the Department of Agriculture was crazy for wanting to do that.

Roger Holt (W) tells of a Tonkawas Indian named Palacio who was the assistant to Edward Burleson (1798-1851). Palacio had decided that Burleson had special powers after spending time with him and became his assistant. Palacio moved his family to Burleson's farm, and served as a scout with he would go fight Indians. Palacio was not from San Augustine County, but Burleson was. Burleson was a hero of the Texas Revolution and became Vice President of the Texas Republic (1841-1844). He and Sam Houston despised one another, but managed to get on with the task at hand.

Indians visiting Burial Area and Other Areas

Rufus McLemore (W) told us about Indians who came back to a place in Sabine County to visit the burial area. They would stay two or three months. McLemore thought they were Indians from West Texas, out there close to San Antonio, didn't have a name. The last time they came was when he was twelve years old, which would have been in 1935. The Indians got rattan vines and made furniture to sell. They gave McLemore's father two rocking chairs. No one has tried to look for the graves. McLemore remembers finding Indian artifacts in the area after plowing.

In San Augustine County, Jake Whitton (W) remembers that Indians stayed near Bland Lake, just north of it. Whitton states that the Indians made little chairs and other things to sell. Some of them would walk and some would ride in Model Ts. Whitton also mentioned the idea that the Indians used to take sand and cover up their habitation debris, instead of sweeping it away.

In Shelby County, Alton Holt (W) relates that he saw a group of twenty to forty Indians walking on the railroad tracks. It was in the 1930s, and he was with his Uncle. He describes them as poor, and hungry, and harmless.

In Nacogdoches County, George Molandes (S) remembers in 1936 the Indians came to Nacogdoches County. George lived on what they called the Old Spanish Trail. They were walking, leading their stock. They had two or three cows and a donkey. They were camped on a branch west of the Catholic Church. They made chairs out of willow branches and George's father bought one.

Our Sample

Eugene Procella (S) says that his grandmother on his mother's side was a full-blooded Indian and related to Geronimo. She was from Eunice, Louisiana, and married up in Zwolle, Louisiana. She had very long, straight hair. He was fourteen years old when she died. Leon Ware (W) stated that his father hired an Indian (tribe unknown) to do some work in San Augustine County. He finished the work, and went on. Leon was a child at the time. It's not certain if it is a connection, but Leon Ware (W) also made bows and arrows (Figure 28).

E.L. Luna (S) mentions that some claim that he has some Indian blood—Caddo. He doesn't know if this is true or not. When asked, he says that he has never seen a full-blood Indian when he was growing up. Most of the other Spanish people in our survey say this as well.



Figure 28. Leon Ware's bows and arrow. (The light one is made of bois d'arc wood.)



12. Spanish

Introduction

We know more about the ethnic make-up of the Los Adaes presidial soldiers than we do about the people who settled there. In a 1731 list of the soldiers, there were twenty-nine *Españoles*, twelve *Mestizos* (Spanish-Indian), nine *Mulattos* (Spanish-African), seven Coyotes (Indian-*Mestizo*), one Lobo (Indian-*Mulatto*), and one Indio (Indian). It's not until the Nacogdoches census in 1793 that we can get an idea of the ethnic diversity of the Adaeseño settlers. Antonio Gil Y'Barbo (Figure 29) was the one who organized the census. The following are listed in the 1793 Nacogdoches census as being born in Los Adaes: Sixty-Four *Españoles*, twenty-six *Mestizos*, sixteen *Indios*, sixteen *Coyotes*, three *Mulattos*, one *Lobo*, one Negra (African), and Eight *Color Quebrado* (broken color—mixed race, unknown). There was a roughly 50-50 split between Spanish and Non-Spanish in the Military population in 1731, and by 1793 it was slightly higher. By 1805 there is a dramatic shift in the number of *Indios* and *Coyotes* as they are greatly reduced. The proportion of *Mestizos* to *Españoles* stays about the same, but the numbers of foreigners and slaves increases dramatically over 1793. There were five French and one Irish, with a total of thirteen slaves in 1793, but in 1805 there were thirty-nine French, eight Americans, five Irish, five Germans, and two Italians. The number of slaves is over fifty. The Gutierrez-Magee Rebellion of 1812-13 causes a depopulation of the area for roughly seven years, and though there are not the censuses for the years after this when the area is populated again, the number of non-Spanish Europeans and Americans increases, as does the number of slaves.

There were very few experiences related to Spanish culture from participants in Sabine and San Augustine Counties—we interviewed a number of descendants of the old Spanish families in Nacogdoches County. One man (now deceased) may have been one of the last Spanish speakers in the area—the Spanish spoken in this area by the old Spanish families has been likened to medieval Spanish. The language—from what we can tell—has not been handed down. The old Spanish family descendants lost their land holdings in the town of Nacogdoches after the Cordova Rebellion of 1838 and now reside in communities outside Nacogdoches, such as Moral to the west, Fern Lake to the south, and The Mountain to the east. Others have relatives in Louisiana. The most common stories about the Spanish include those about Spanish gold and Spanish helmets.

The Language

E.L. Luna (S) was the one in our sample who still spoke Spanish—learned English when he started school at seven years old. He took Spanish in high school, but it was so different from the way he spoke. His son was at his interview, and said that he wasn't taught Spanish. E.L. Luna and his wife would speak Spanish in front of the children when they didn't want them to understand. George Molandes (S) did not speak Spanish, and his parents did, but did not teach him—he learned from cousins. His parents never mentioned why they didn't teach him Spanish. Bobby Pantalion (S) also didn't learn Spanish from his parents—his father was fluent. Paul Solise (S) doesn't remember even hearing Spanish when he was growing up.



Figure 29. Marker for Antonio Gil Y'Barbo, next to the Charles Bright Visitor's Center, Nacogdoches.

Jake Whitton (W) tells of surveying in the eastern edge of Spanish settlement in the area and how the parents would get the kids to speak to when they could speak English. Gerald Mora (S) says that his family came from Spain directly and that the King of Spain granted them land in Texas in the 1500, 1600's which is when the Spanish land grants were made. He doesn't speak Spanish, and neither did his Daddy or grandparents. Sometimes being Catholic was held against him. He was benched for not eating meat on Friday in high school, but then when they would get behind, he was put in. Now, they do eat meat on Friday.

Willie Thorpe Murray (W) tells of a time when they had a bunch of children here in the very beginning that came from households that did speak Spanish, and their parents would forbid them to speak Spanish because they thought people looked down on 'em.

Kerry King Whitton (W) relates that between Melrose and where the road turns off to go to Woden it's called Atascoso Creek—that means Boggy Creek. Arenosa Creek is often spelled I-R-O-N-O-S-A, but it's originally Arinosa and that means Sandy Creek.

Arcie LaGrand (W) remembers going to school in Chireno with a boy who spoke Spanish. She did better than him in a Spanish class, but he was really smart and went on to become a lawyer in California. She says she didn't look at him as being from a different nationality.

Peggy Jasso's Ancestor

Peggy Jasso (S) states that her ancestor, Juana Pilacio, came from San Antonio, and earlier Monterey, not Los Adaes. Juana Pilacio was married to José Marceleno Arriola, who was a soldier at San Antonio and killed in 1788. Juana Pilacio came to Nacogdoches with four children. That's where her grandfather came from—he was old Spanish, and her grandmother came here from Mexico in 1905 when she was five or six years old. Both of Peggy Jasso's (S) parents spoke Spanish, but they didn't teach the children. She mentions doing some oral histories of Nancy Y'Barbo Nash who talked about coming to Nacogdoches and being treated like second-rate citizens, but she did not hear of the discrimination from her parents. Regarding the Spanish communities east of Nacogdoches, Peggy Jasso says that there are very few connections between the western and eastern Spanish communities. Now, there are people here who go to the tamale festival in Zwolle.

Peggy Jasso (S) and Carl Shaw (S) mentioned that when they were growing up, being called a "Mexican" was not considered correct—they considered themselves to be Spanish.

Royce Johnson (W) relates that he went to Mexico in 1980 and someone told him that the United States stole Texas from us, but that it didn't matter because Mexico is going to take it back with firing a shot. Royce Johnson didn't see how they were going to do it, but he does now.

Tamales

Peggy Jasso (S) remembers that tamales were made out of the hog's head. After it was cooked and cooled, it was spit with an ax. Then you would grind all the soft parts, except she does not remember grinding the brain or eye balls. The dough would be made by corn meal and flour—mostly corn meal. The corn was ground at a grist mill according to the people who Peggy

Jasso interviewing, not on a *mano* and *metate*. E.L. Luna (S) and Bobby Pantalion (S) remembered grinding it on a *metate*, with a *mano*. Gerald Mora (S) does not remember eating much Mexican food. There is another grinding tool called a *molcajete*, used for grinding up peppers. Peggy Jasso (S) still has one, but it is not old. Eugene Procella (S) also remembers his mother making hot tamales out of hog's heads.

Judy Hodges (W) told us that tamales were part of the Louisiana side of her family. Her Texas Daddy would hardly eat them if they had pepper in them.

Tamales as a Commodity

We added this question to prompt discussion of Spanish/Indian food ways. We were surprised at the evolution of tamale makers. While tamales are still made by Mexicans (i.e. Andrea Garcia, although she has passed away), many of the tamales were made by African Americans, and were being sold in Sabine, San Augustine, and Nacogdoches County.

Weldon McDaniel (W) remembers hot tamales being made in Pineland by Hattie Parker, an old Black woman. Tamales were also being sold in Hemphill by a Black lady with a little cart on Saturdays. Her husband was peg-legged and did the butchering for the store [Arivie and Ophelia Eddings (W)]. David Malone (B) also knew of a Mexican lady that made tamales, but she passed away, and now her daughter makes them.

Most of the people from San Augustine remembered Vessie Winn, a large Black man from Center who would sell tamales in both Center and San Augustine. Dr. Haley described him as a *Mullatto* Black man. In the 1930s he would say, "Hot tamales, hot tamales, and that ain't all!" He was bootlegging whiskey. He got caught, and he spent a little time in prison, and when he came back in the 1940s, he would say, "Hot tamales, hot tamales, and that's all!" Some were too poor to buy them [Howard Tindall (W)]. Much later, Kenneth Skillern (W) met the son of Vessie Winn in Houston—he still made tamales, and made tamales for Kenneth's bridge club. Joe Louis Jones (W) remembers Vessie's cart—just big enough to hold a five gallon lard can. It had bicycle wheels on it—it needed big wheels for the sidewalk—the terrain was rough.

In Nacogdoches County the tamale man in the 1920s was Hispanic—he also sold ice cream [Anna Cox Phillips (W)]. In the 1950s there were several tamale men, one of which was Will Risper, who had a and a wagon, and sold candy and drinks to school children. He also allegedly bootlegged [Archie Rison (B)]. Another other tamale makers was Freddie Davis, who sold at the hitch lot (where the green grocery is) in downtown Nacogdoches. He was a preacher, and he wore cook's whites and played a banjo [Obadiah Johnson (B)]. Tom Middlebrook remembers a tamale who was a bootlegger—it was, "Hot tamales, and that ain't all," then finally, "Hot tamales, and that's all!" after he'd been caught and had done his time.

13. French

Introduction

Some of the first foreigners in Nacogdoches—besides the Spanish, were French. Tom Middlebrook has excavated Bernardo D’Ortolon’s house to the west of Nacogdoches County (Figure 30). Jim Corbin (Corbin et al. 1990) found an area at Mission Dolores that was identified as a French area because of the high proportion of French pottery. In 1792, there were five people from France and one from Ireland, and in 1804 there were 39 French adults, along with five Irish, five English, eight Americans, five Germans, and two Italians.

There was very little mention of the French, but there was mention of French-speaking, light-skinned African Americans from Louisiana (in Chireno—the Coutees), and the Black Ankle community has the Dupree family—originally from Louisiana. These individuals might be called “Creole” in Louisiana, and the Dupree and Coutee family names are still around the Cane River Area in Louisiana. We did not determine the precise age of the French families in these areas, but it appears that it was sometime in the later 19th century that they came to Texas.

Duprees in Sabine County

Felix Holmes (B) had three aunts named DuPree and they married three brothers named Jenkins in the area called Black Ankle, on the Sabine/San Augustine County line. His grandfather came over from Natchitoches sometime in the later 19th century. His mother’s name was Luella DuPree, and he spent some of his childhood in Black Ankle.

Coutees in Nacogdoches County

Willie Earl Thorpe (W) told of Dennis and Victorine Coutee who ran a little store in Chireno. They had a large family and spoke fluent French, in addition to English. They are described as “olive colored” and they were not allowed to go to the White School, they went to the Black school. Willie Earl Thorpe (W) never thought to ask the Coutees why they came from Louisiana. The Coutees are buried in the African American section of the Lower Cemetery in Chireno. A lot them are now in Lufkin, Texas.



Figure 30. Site of Bernardo D'Ortolan's ranch, located west of Nacogdoches. (This site has been excavated by numerous people led by Tom Middlebrook.)

14. African Americans

Introduction

An early presence of African Americans in the study area was in the 18th century at Presidio Los Adaes. A 1731 document lists Joseph Antonio de Acosta y Arias, Joseph de Arejo, Juan Gámez, Gregorio López, Juan Joseph Marquéz, Antonio de Pan y Agua, Juan de los Reves, Christóval de Santiago, and Francisco de Santiago as *Mullatto*, which means that they were the offspring of Spanish and African parents (Avery 1999:Appendix, 28). The censuses of Nacogdoches for the years 1793-1805 also list both Free Blacks and Enslaved Blacks. The number of Free Blacks is small for both 1793 and 1805 (less than ten), but the number of Enslaved Blacks rises from thirteen in 1793 to over 50 for 1805. William Goyens was a free Black man who came to Nacogdoches in 1820 (Figure 31). The number of Enslaved Blacks increases in the 1830s and more in the 1840s, but there is an even greater number that pass through on their way to the West (see McDonald 1969:86).

We documented how the concern for preserving a segregated community cemetery has brought together the families of descendants of both the enslaved and the owners in Nacogdoches County. Another genealogical search brought together the descendants of the enslaved and the owners in San Augustine County. This issue of slavery remains a delicate matter for descendants of both the enslaved and the owners. There were no large-scale slave-owners in Deep East Texas compared to the Red River Valley in both Texas and Louisiana. Many of the freed slaves remained and formed “Freedom Colonies.” We interviewed people descended from two such freedom colonies—the Sand Hill Community in Nacogdoches County, and the Black Ankle Community in San Augustine/Sabine County.

Weldon McDaniel, Sabine County

Weldon McDaniel (W) related his memories of what he calls the premier Black community in Sabine County. His grandfather had a camp right next to the river, and they had to go through the community to get there. All the people were related to the former slaves of the Robertson Brothers brought to the place in 1850. The two Robertson brothers never married but they had a Black servant living in the house and she had a set of children by one of the Robertson brothers. When he died in 1890 he left a will giving all of his property to one of her daughters, so this Black community owned all the land which was pretty unique in that period of time.

Many Blacks in Sabine County came in the 1830s, but they were called servants—they couldn’t be called slaves because Mexico didn’t allow slavery. Since they didn’t have surnames, it creates a problem with the Sons or Daughters of the Republic of Texas membership. Many did not receive a surname until the 1870 census [Welden McDaniel (W)].



Figure 31. Marker for William Goyens, a Free Man of Color in the Republic of Texas, Nacogdoches Courthouse, South Street, just south of Hwy 21.

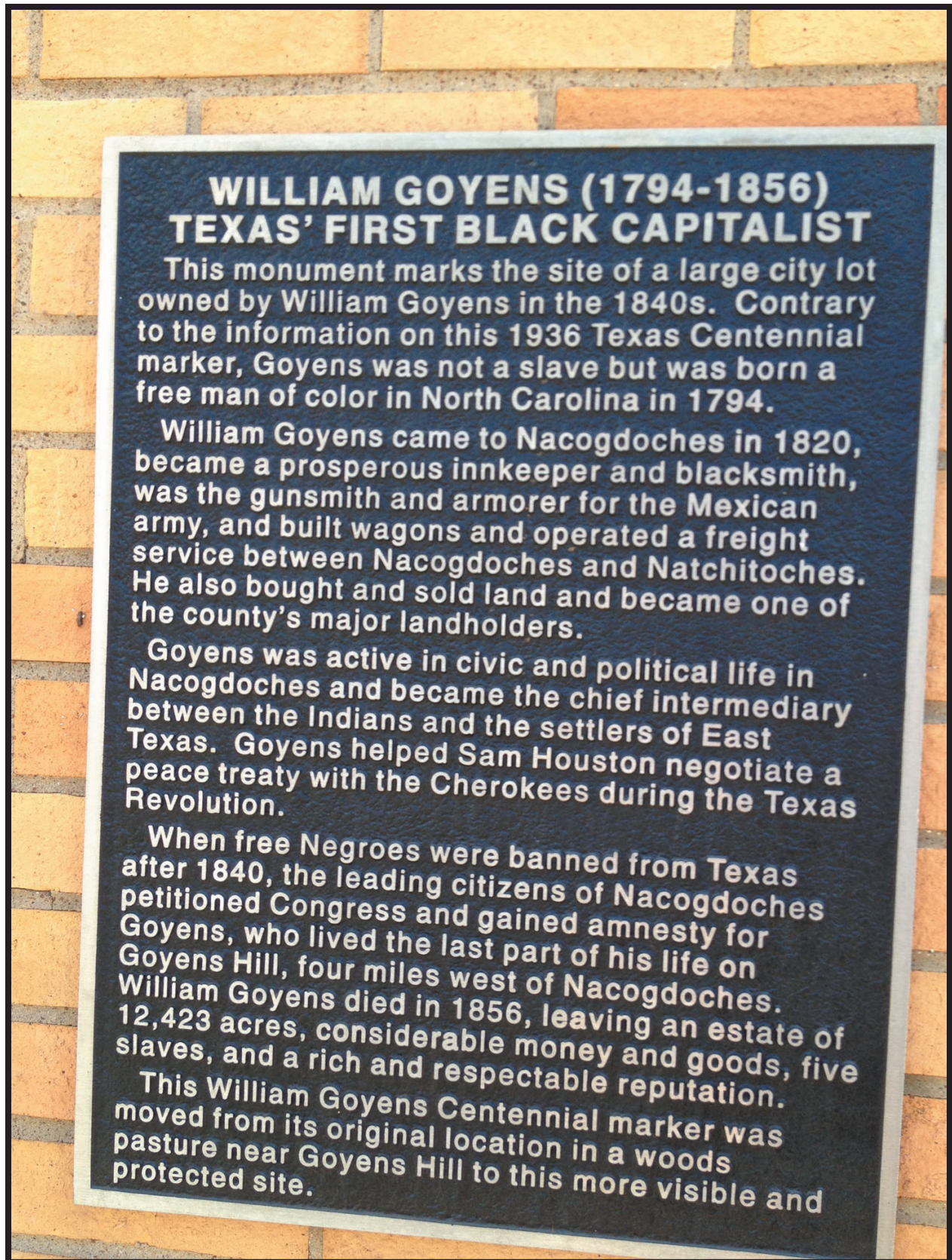


Figure 31. Marker for William Goyens, a Free Man of Color in the Republic of Texas, Nacogdoches Courthouse, South Street, just south of Hwy 21. (cont.)

Rosemary Mathews Blackstock (W), San Augustine County

Rosemary Blackstock (W) had read in Carolyn Ericson's newspaper column that someone had written in and she was looking for information about her family. She was a great great granddaughter of George Wallace Mathews and she said he was a slave of Enlo Mathews, and Enlo Mathews was Rosemary's great grandfather. So Rosemary called her—she lived in Washington State—and she came to San Augustine. After doing her research, she said to Rosemary, "Rosemary, I was prepared not to like you. You know, number one, we've just gotten along—you've been so nice and we've just gotten along so well. We've been to the courthouse and done a lot of research. I've found out that your grandfather was so good to his slaves, he never separated the families." She reminded Rosemary that you can't change history, but then said, "Then after the war they all chose to stay with him. That tells me a lot right there." She came in the summer with her mother and daughter and they took pictures.

Quynon Fowler (B) recalls that his enslaved ancestor came to New Orleans on a boat—on a slave ship—and they walked from New Orleans to San Augustine. David Malone (B) was raised by a White family at Spring Ridge community in northwest San Augustine County. He says, "At the time, I didn't know I was Black." He was the only Black out there and he was treated the same as the other kids.

Archie Rison (B) and Tom Middlebrook (W)

Charley Mast was a slave who come to Melrose, Texas in 1859, under the ownership of Rueben Mast. Archie Rison (B) is related to Charley Mast. Rueben Mast stayed with his brother Jacob in Melrose. Tom Middlebrook (W) is related to Rueban Mast, and several years ago Tom and Archie met. Archie's sister had done the genealogy and Jeri Mills—a local newspaper reporter—had arranged the meeting. Tom wanted to do an archaeological investigation at the Rueben Mast homestead that was located on property that his family still owned.

Archie's cousin—Sharon Cranford—was going to a Mast reunion in Garrison. She was working at Hesston College in Kansas and was talking about going to a Mast reunion in Garrison, Texas. A colleague—Dwight Roth—mentioned that he was a Mast—a White Mast. He had been researching the Amish side of it—Rueben Mast was apparently Amish, but when he moved to Melrose, Texas, he had to revoke his Amish ways. It was not mentioned, as neither Tom Middlebrook or Archie Rison knew of it. In the spring of 2014, there was a meeting of Black and White Masts in Nacogdoches. Sharon Cranford and Dwight Roth showcased their book (Figure 32).

Obadiah Johnson (B), Nacogdoches County

Obadiah Johnson (B) was told when he asked about who his Granddaddy, he would be told, "Some Spanish guy," or some Mexican. The tone in the voice of the people answered him caused him to leave it along. But working with Archie Rison (B) in cemeteries caused him to think more about it. There is a cemetery in Nacogdoches County—the Cleaver Cemetery—that was intended for light-complected African Americans. Obadiah's Granddaddy—Joe Johnson—was light-complected, perhaps Mulatto. Other's in his line were also light-complected. There are several people related to Obadiah Johnson (B) that are buried in Cleaver Cemetery. As an aside, there is a Coutee buried in Cleaver Cemetery, this was the French/African American family we spoke about in Chireno.

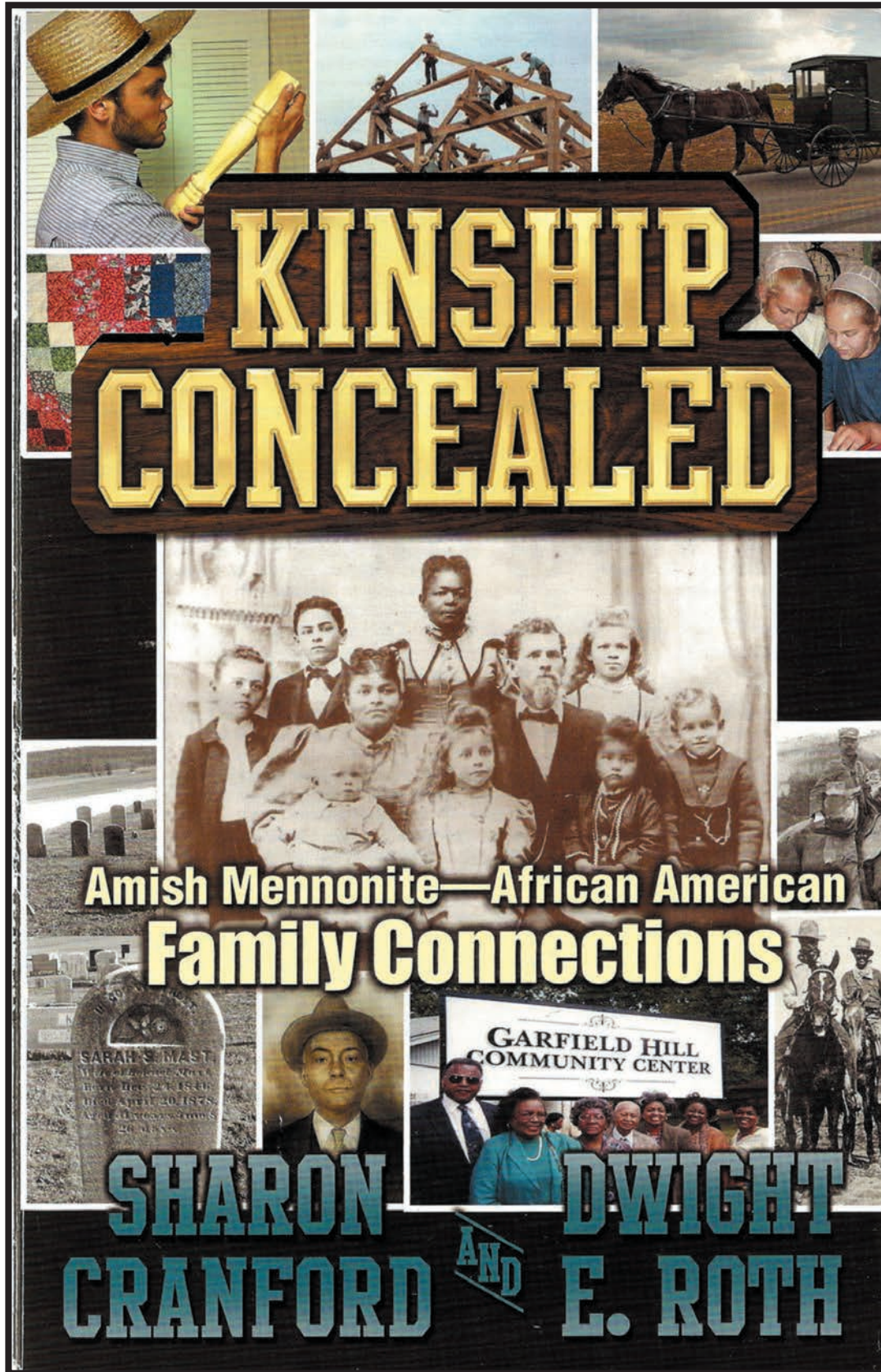


Figure 32. Kinship Concealed, a book published in 2013, by Sharon Cranford and Dwight Roth.

The Way it Was

In the 1920s-1950s many people who talk about the relationship between African Americans and other Americans, describe a segregated situation, say that it wasn't right, and then conclude, "That's just the way it was." These are people—both Black and White—who did not wish bad things to happen for the other, and oftentimes got along quite well with one another. It's just that there were sometimes unwritten rules that both accepted. There was no inter-marriage between Blacks and Whites from 1920s-1950s that our participants were aware of. Some people tell of how Blacks *and* Whites would not eat with one another during this time—even if they were living in the same house [Bernice Blackstock (W), Betty Oglesbee (W), Lily Stone (W), Jane Sublet (W), Willie Thorpe Murray (W), Royce Johnson (W), Pattie DeLamar (W)].

15. Anglo-Americans

Introduction

We know that an English soldier deserted to Los Adaes in the 1750s (Christensen and Rubino 2003:69) and British pottery is significant at Los Adaes, but the presence of Anglos was fairly sparse during the times of Los Adaes. The first census—1793—at Nacogdoches lists one Irish man, Phillip Nolan. The 1804 census lists five Irish and eight Americans, including Guillermo Bar (Irish) and Samuel Davenport (American)—two traders who brought English goods to Nacogdoches. Particularly well-represented in Sabine and San Augustine Counties, probably because Antonio Leal (owned the head right of present town of San Augustine) lost his land after he was arrested for his involvement with Phillip Nolan in 1800 (Nolan was killed for illegally trading horses in Texas). Edmund Quirk acquired the property soon after and subsequent sales of the property were to non-Spanish European/American buyers.

Many of the Anglo or non-Spanish European Americans we talked to are descended from people who were in Texas before 1845. We have listed the people some of the people who have ancestors who were in this area prior to 1845 below.

Sabine County

Edmund Quirk, in Nacogdoches Census in 1799; Joel Halbert has land in Texas 1837. Judy Hodges is related to both.

Dr. Robert Goodlow (Figure 33) came to Texas in 1836 and settled in Sabinetown. Pattie De Lamar (W) is his ancestor.

San Augustine County

Colonel Phillip Sublett came to Texas in the early 1820s. Jane Sublett (W) is an ancestor.

Washington G. Atkinson, came to Texas in 1848. Ancestor of Willie Thorpe Earl (W) and Lily Stone (W).

Alexander Horton, came to Texas in 1824. Ancestor of Richard Murphy (W), and Jerry W. Smith (W)

John Bodine, killed by Alexander Horton in 1839. Ancestor of Martha Brodin (W).

Burleson Family, came to Texas in 1834. Ancestor of Betty Burleson Griffin (W) and Jami Burleson Doherty (W)

Adam Smith, came to Texas in the 1830s. Ancestor of Rosemary Blackstock (W).

Parrot Family, came to Texas in 1843. Lavon Tindall (W) is related to them.

Willis Murphy came to Texas in the 1820s. He is the ancestor of Agnes Sparks (W).

Thomas Sebastian Cabot Wade, migrated to San Augustine County in 1846. He is the ancestor of Nelsyn Wade (W).

Parrot family came to San Augustine in 1843. Lavon Tindall (W) is descended from the Parrot family.



Figure 33. Dr. Robert Goodloe. (Pattie De Lamar is related to this man.)



Figure 34. Title of 640 acres of donated land given to Dr. Robert Goodloe.

Shelby County

Pleasant Louis Jones came to Texas in 1841. Came from Indiana, traded his house boat for a wagon and a team of mules in Baton Rouge. Came up to Natchitoches on the Red River, then over to Myricks Ferry on the Sabine River, than to San Augustine. Stayed there a year and then moved to Center, Shelby County. Pleasant Louis Jones is the ancestor of Joe Louis Jones (W).

Nacogdoches County

Skillern family came to Texas in 1836. He is an ancestor of Jane Hardeman (W).

Mast family came to Melrose in 1830s. Tom Middlebrook (W) is a descendant.

Anna Cox Phillips (W)

16. Other

Introduction

One group that was mentioned was gypsies, who came to area in the 1930s. There is no mention of Gypsies being in the vicinity of *El Camino Real* prior to 1845. The route of immigration to the area is no longer dominated by the *Camino Real*, but Highway 21 is still a major east-west transportation feature, nonetheless.

Gypsies

Robert Nethery (W) mentions a lot of gypsies came through when he was a kid in Sabine County. His mother would be very careful to give them what they wanted, because they might steal it. Most of the time, they would just want something to eat.

Jake Whitton (W) distinguishes between Indians and Gypsies, the former would travel in Model Ts or be walking, and the latter would travel in wagons. The Gypsies would stay for three to four months in San Augustine County. They stayed two miles up there up 147 at the old Murphy place. The kids even went to school. They didn't finish, but they went to school during the winter, then in the spring they moved on.

La Juan Garrett (W) recalls the gypsies camping by the creek near Chireno in Nacogdoches County. They would ride their horses into town, mend a pot, sharpen knives, play music, and barter for horses. They came through in the fall of the year.

17. Ghost Stories

Introduction

This question was added after going to an interpretation event which featured a haunted building. It seemed that a ghost was a necessary part of tourism. Most of our informants gave us an odd look when asked this question—as if to say that ghost stories were to scare little ones. Basically, most of the White people who grew up in the country just did not believe in ghosts. The White people that did know of haunted places were most likely from towns. Most of the African Americans we spoke to talked about “haints,” which is a variation of “haunt.” The Spanish/Indian people we spoke to were mixed. All grew up in the country, but some had heard of haunted places and others had not.

San Augustine County

Martha Broden (W) recalls Pickney Lout death and his burial near the house, and there is no trace of it now. When they would walk on the road to the house, Martha’s Daddy would point to a depression and say “That’s where Pickney Lout is buried.” Supposedly, Pickney Lout’s ghost is wandering around by the house.

Betty Oglesbee (W) says that the Cullen House is haunted—the ghost of Mr. Emmet Owen has been seen. Mr. Owen was docent at the Cullen House after his wife died. He was a great docent. He wasn’t a scary ghost. Dr. Haley (W) talked about other haunted places in San Augustine. These were the old Broock’s house and they had another haunted over on McDonald Hill.

Nacogdoches County

La Juan Garrett (W) remembers the ghost that was seen in the house on Hwy 21 in Chireno where the Perry’s lived. There was the ghost of a well-dressed young man in the front room. When the Civil War ended the Union troops walked through Chireno on their way home. There were some that died and they just threw rocks on them in the cemetery—they didn’t even bury them. In the Upper Cemetery there were two like that were just buried with rocks on them. The person in the house may have been staying there and maybe died there—maybe died from not eating enough. La Juan Garret (W) did not recall any other haunted house in Chireno. The Half Way Inn was built in 1838 and it is not haunted.

Obadiah Johnson (B) recalls ghost stories at the “Dreaming Hall,” they said that this lady walked those grounds. The Dreaming Hall was where soldiers from World War II would go for entertainment. George Molandes (S) remembers a house in Nacogdoches that was badly haunted.

The Tol Barrett House is also haunted. Dr. Thomas Jefferson Johnson built the house and there was a lady in gold who walks the front porch. She has been seen by guests. She is Angelina

Martha, according to Anna Cox Phillips (W) and her daughter Pam Phillips. She will knock on the door but when you open it she vanishes. They say that they could see her through the windows walking on the porch—the lady in the gold dress. Neither Anna Cox Phillips (W) or Pam Phillips (W) has had any direct experience with the ghost at Tol Barrett House.

18. Self-Identification

Introduction

The way a person sees themselves may change through their lifetime. Or, it may not. The descendants of White people said mostly Texas and American, but there were some other answers as well. The descendants of the Spanish/Indian settlers that we talked to would not self-identify as Mexican—the older ones tended to self-identify as Spanish and the younger ones tended to self-identify as American. And for the older descendants of Black people it was American—the younger ones were Texan, and other answers.

White

A few of the people we talked to self-identified as American, a few more as American then Texas, a few more as Texan then American, and most as simply Texan. Some further refined it, as East Texan, Sabine Countian, and the family name. One person added Baptist to the family name [Tom Middklebrook (W)]. One person didn't know—they were just happy to be in San Augustine [Rosemary Blackstock (W)]. Finally, one person rejected the question, "In other words, we didn't have anything against anybody. I mean whether you were from Louisiana, or anywhere else. In other words, you were just people" [Jake Whitton (W)].

Spanish/Indian

Two of the oldest Spanish/Indian people we interviewed self-identified as Spanish, the rest self-identified as American. One claimed that he never heard his parents speak Spanish when he was growing up that his mom changed her name—Bustamente—to Buster [Paul Solise (S)]. Finally, Bobby Pantalion (S) did seem to care, "When I was growing up if you liked hillbilly music, or you were a Catholic, or you were of Spanish descent you were looked down on, and I was all three of them! I tell 'em, well, I really don't care."

Black

The older Black people we interviewed self-identified as American, and two of the younger ones self-identified as Texan. Three of the interviews answered as an ethnic label, two explaining the transition from Colored to Black to African American. Vonzella Garner (B) answered, "Well, I just thought I was just a Black girl, and that's all. And that's my color, and it didn't bother me. And so I just went on."

19. Cemeteries

Introduction

Cemeteries did exist in the Sabine, San Augustine and Nacogdoches County area before 1845, but there are very few monuments or grave markers today from that time period. In Sabine County, there are pre-1845 head stones at Sabinetown and Magown Cemeteries (Figures 34-35). In San Augustine County, pre-1845 head stones exist at Chapel Hill and the City Cemetery of San Augustine (Figures 36-37). Oak Grove Cemetery is the only cemetery in Nacogdoches that we are aware of that has pre-1845 headstones (Figure 38). We aren't aware of the antiquity, but the depth and manner of grave excavation was recorded, and the various behaviors associated with burials were also recorded.

Preparing the Body

Panella Davis (B) says that when they died at the house and they didn't have Funeral Homes, you'd give the person a bath, put them on a cooling board, put salt on the stomach, and they cover the whole thing until they would bury them. Several people mentioned that they had sat up with the dead. People both in the family and outside of the family would be asked to sit up with the dead. This activity was mentioned by members of all three groups (White, Spanish/Indian, Black), but it seemed to be a male activity.

Bernice Blackstock (W) recalls that his father used to make caskets for people who couldn't afford to buy one. He would come to town and buy the lumber and make the casket. Then they passed a law and he couldn't do that anymore.

Digging the Grave

You would dig six feet down, start out at four feet wide to about four feet deep, and then dig the rest about two-three feet wide. You used a pick, a shovel, and possibly post-hole diggers. There would be boards put across the casket. Most of the people were just wrapped up and buried—no embalming [Gerald Mora (S)].

The Angeline Cemetery

Peggy Jasso (S) says this is an old Spanish Cemetery on private property near Spanish Bluff (Nacogdoches County) that got torn up by loggers in the 1950s. One grave marker was left standing—for Stephen Richard Murphy. According to the Church, there are about eight people buried out these.

Homecomings

Jane Hardeman (W) describes homecomings for Melrose. The people would gather and go work in the cemetery. It was a general cleaning—you would clean your grave places, and they you would have a covered dish and all have lunch. Everybody was doing something together, and that's the way it was. You had true friends back then—you don't have true friends very much anymore.

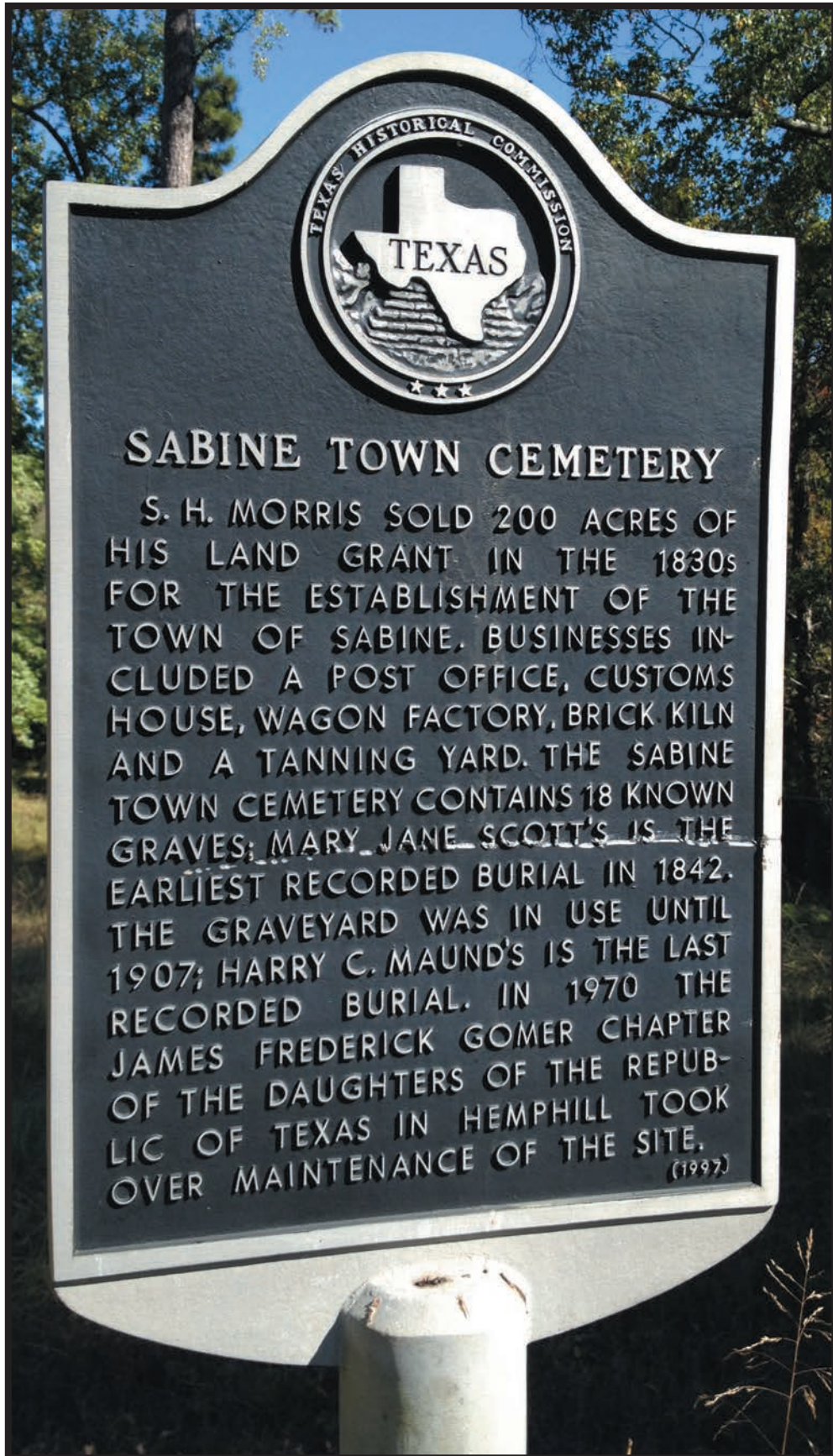


Figure 35. Sabine Town Cemetery historical marker.



Figure 36. Sabine Town Cemetery grave marker for Miss Mary Jame Scott, dating to 1842.

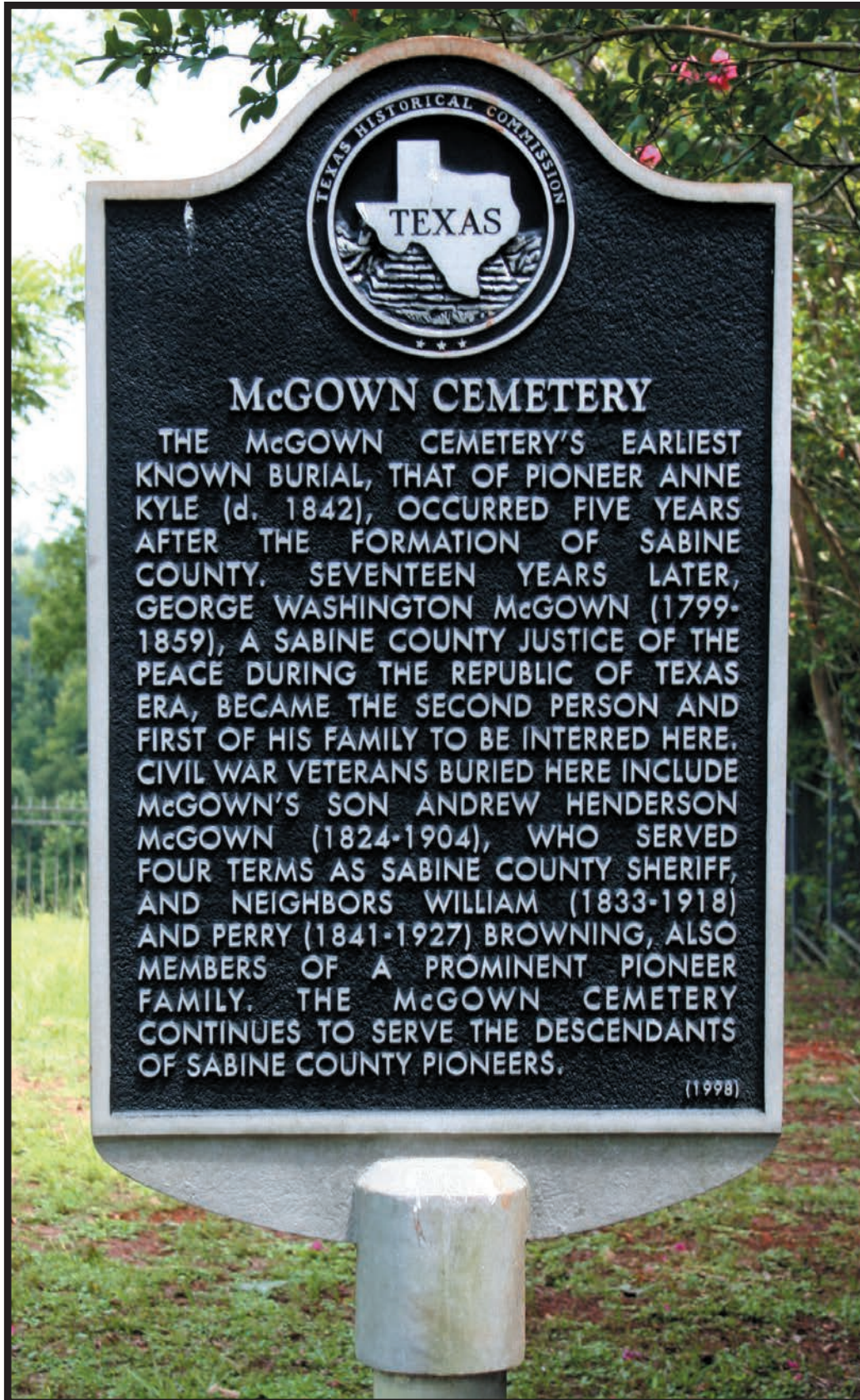


Figure 37. McGown Cemetery is located off Hwy 21 just east of the way to Kings Road, Sabine County



Figure 38. Marker for Ann N. Kyle, died in 1842, in the McGown Cemetery.

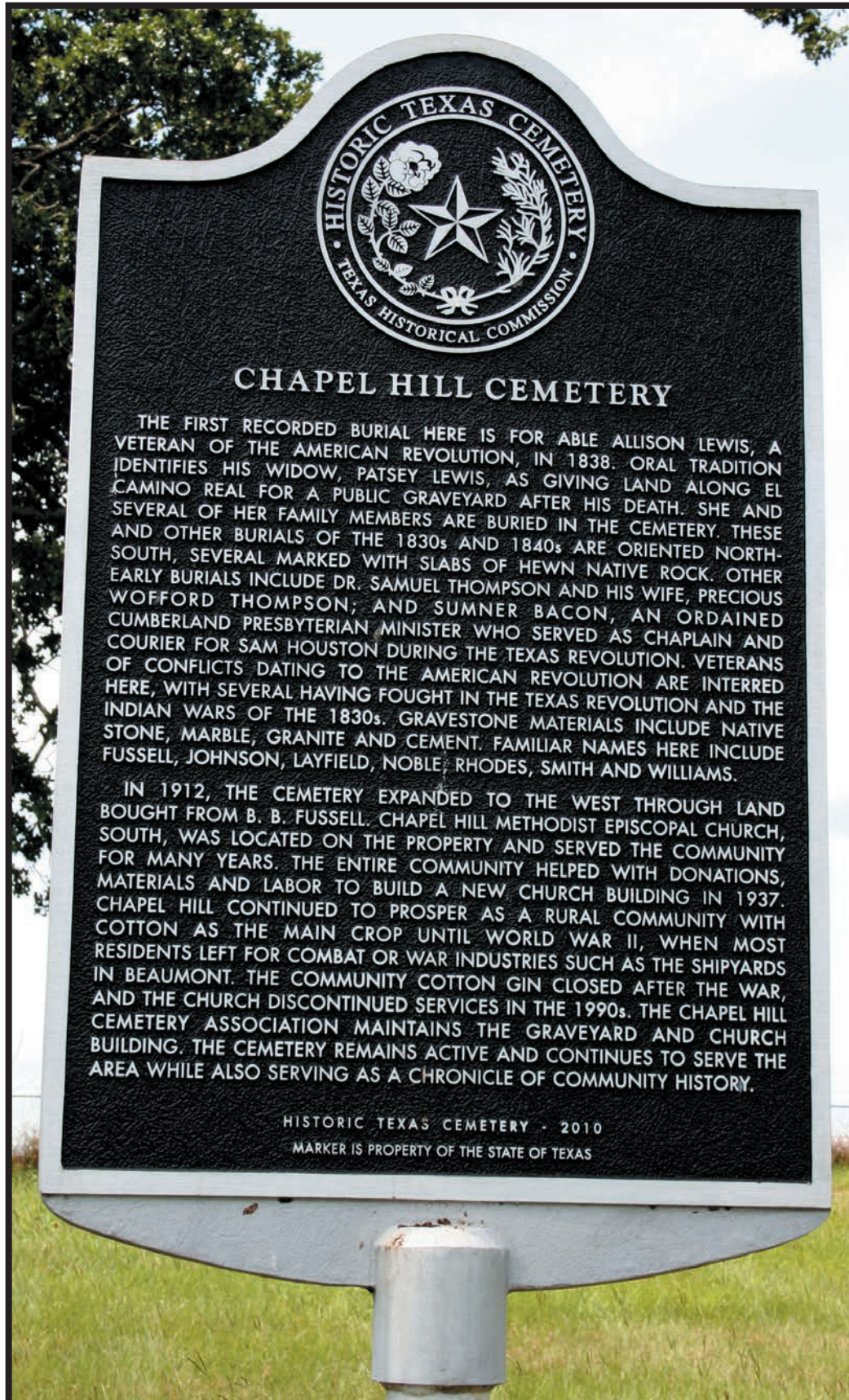


Figure 39. Chapel Hill Cemetery historical marker, San Augustine County.



Figure 40. Grave Markers for Precious Woffors, died 1841, and Dr. Samuel Wofford, died 1843, Chapel Hill Cemetery



Figure 41. Grave marker for Rev. Sumner Baker, died 1842, Chapel Hill Cemetery.



Figure 42. Grave marker for Joseph Shackelford, died 1839, City of San Augustine Cemetery.



Figure 43. Grave marker for Mary Lee, died 1843, Oak Grove Cemetery, Nacogdoches.

20. Miscellaneous

Pronouncing Raguet/Spanish Rose

Anna Cox Phillips (W) relates that the pronunciation of “Raguet” (Ra-gáy) was at one time “Rággit.” She had spoken to George Isenhammer (they’re an old family) he said, “Oh, yes, we call it ‘Ragay’ but they pronounced it ‘Raggitt.’” One person related to Anna Raguet now lives in San Augustine, and says that she has heard “Ra-gáy” when it was pronounced, but she is young there would be no way that she could have heard the way it was pronounced.

On the Castilian roses, Anna Cox Phillips (W) had read that in 1766 Father Solís had described roses at the missions in the area. She had ordered a Castilian rose from a grower in California, but Jeff Abt knew that she wanted to find a Castilian rose from Nacogdoches. He found some on the Spanish Bluff Road west of Nacogdoches from María Concepción Peña. She said she didn’t know where they came from and neither did her mother. When this rose bloomed, it was the same as the rose from the grower in California.

Raymond Goggan on Camino Real—Stamp

Raymond Goggan (W) tried to get a Camino Real themed stamp of the 300th anniversary started in 1989 to get a stamp approved in 1991. They ended approving cancelations from the various towns on the Camino Real (Figure 39).

Two Incidences at the Glory Land Church

Ronnie Butler (W) tells of a prank that him and some other boys played at the Glory Land Church, a Pentecostal Church. They would put up an arbor and have a meeting. The little babies were put in the wagons with a mosquito net over them. Ronnie and his friends switched the babies. After you’d come home, they were trying to figure out who had their baby. There wasn’t many telephones. No one ever found out about it.

Another story where it was Sunday and Ronnie and his cousin thought that church was over. They went driving an old hoopy to the Church and skidded on the gravel in front of the Church. They did know anyone was in the church. The brakes were not good and the car skidded and bumped the door of the Church and the people were down in what they call the moaner’s bank—praying. “Man they come up from there, you ain’t never—you know, they was going to indict us on that—if it hadn’t been for an old man or two down there. We told—we didn’t do that on purpose. We didn’t know there was nobody in there. And besides, we wouldn’t have drove into the door of the church house, no how. But we got—we laughed—they come up from that—they’re talking in unknown tongues! Speaking in unknown tongues!”



*file
2-27-89*

ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL
Government Relations Department
Washington, DC 20260-3500

February 21, 1989

Mr. Raymond Goggan
The One Nineteen Building
San Augustine, Texas 75972

Dear Mr. Goggan:

Your recent correspondence to the President recommending the issuance of a stamp in 1991 to commemorate the 300th anniversary of El Camino Real has been referred to this office for response.

Last year, the Postal Service received more than 15,000 letters recommending nearly 1,500 new stamp subjects. Unfortunately, only a limited number of stamps--usually 25 to 30--can be issued each year. For this reason, the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee has been established to review all suggestions and to make recommendations for future stamps based on national interest, historical perspective, and other criteria.

This proposal was considered by the Committee; however, it was not adopted. I am forwarding this recent proposal to the Committee for reconsideration at a future meeting. The Committee must decide on new stamps well in advance to provide lead times for design, production, and distribution. Consequently, stamp issuances for 1992 and subsequent years are now being considered.

We appreciate this expression of interest in the Postal Service stamp program. If I may be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,


William T. Johnstone

Figure 44. Letter from William Johnson, Feb. 21, 1989, about Camino Real Stamp.



Bob Bullock
Lieutenant Governor of Texas

The Capitol
Austin, Texas 78711-2068
(512) 463-0001

September 12, 1991

Mr. Raymond Goggan
P.O. Box 147
Pineland, Texas 75968

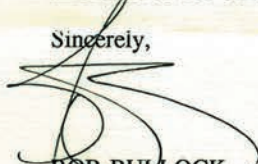
Dear Raymond:

I am sorry to have to report that we were not able to adopt the resolution saluting this year as the 300th anniversary of Texas' getting its name before the Special Sessions ended.

So much time was spent on the state budget, Comptroller John Sharp's proposals for revising the way we do things and new revenue measures that the time was up before we could act on this important, but less vital measure.

I know this is a disappointment, but I still think we can do something to give the event the recognition it deserves. It may be possible for Governor Ann Richards to issue an official proclamation marking the event. This is the least we can do to mark this important event in Texas' proud history. In this regard, I'm sending a copy of this letter to her office.

Sincerely,



BOB BULLOCK
Lieutenant Governor

BB:bgp

cc: Mr. Bill Cryer, Office of the Governor

Figure 45. Letter from Bob Bullock, Sept. 12, 1991, about Camino Real Stamp.

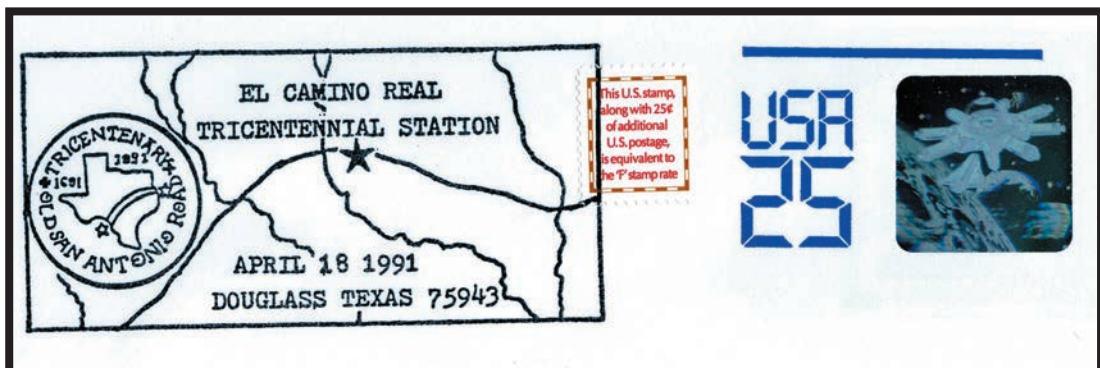
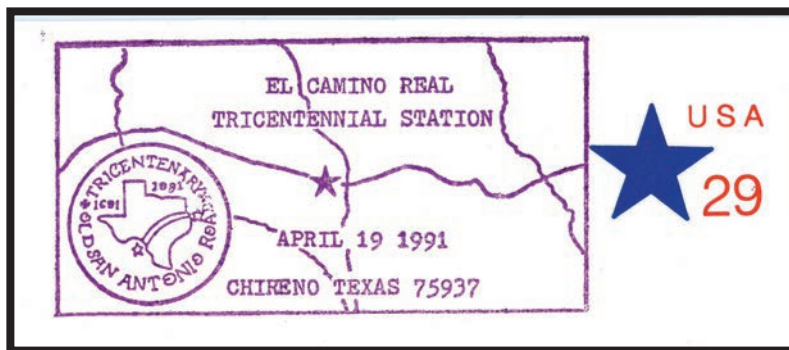
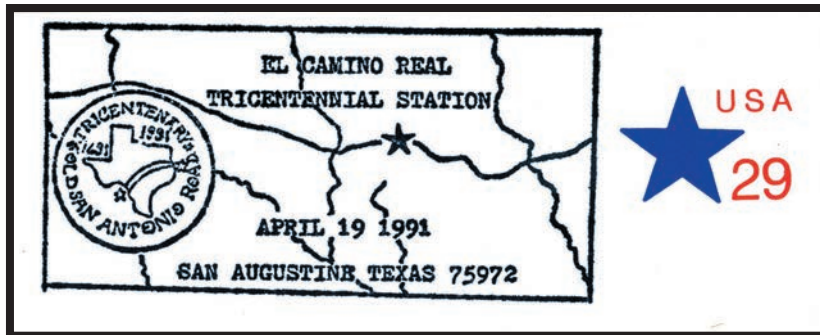


Figure 46. Cancellations from towns along the Camino Real in the Project Area.

21. Conclusions

Introduction

When we started this project, the idea of how to present the results was not clear. It's such a mass of material. While we did have the questions to guide the interviews, we found that most times the informants talked about what *they thought* was important. We got something unique from every one of the people interviewed—and some of what was said was shared by many. We called the project "Oral History," but now it's clear that what we did is not really Oral History. We used some of the methods of Oral Historians, but we didn't focus on a single event that was experienced by all. We are Anthropologists and what we did is Anthropology. We tried to cover three counties—73 interviews in all. The project started in 2009 and the bulk of the interviews were done in the first three years, although some were done recently. First, we'll start with what we learned about locations of the road, and then we'll make some comments on the project.

The Camino Real in Sabine, San Augustine and Nacogdoches Counties

Figure 47 documents the known trail segments as recognized in the Management Plan of El Camino Real de los Tejas National Historical Park (Anonymous 2011:194-195). Jeff Williams' (2007) thesis focused on a segment in Sabine County and provides a model for future research. His approach combines GIS, oral interview information, archaeology sites, and historical research—it's rare to find one person knowledgeable in all four areas. His work benefited from the local and archaeological knowledge of Connie Hodges, and the archaeological and historical knowledge of Jim Corbin.

Our project interviewed Judy Hodges who grew up in the area near Crow's Ferry on the Sabine River. A relative of Judy's painted the picture of the community (Figure 48). Another interview suggested that Myrick's Ferry was used in their 1841 venture into San Augustine, Texas. Joe Louis Jones told of his people coming from Indiana, going to New Orleans, and crossing the Sabine at Myrick's Ferry—which is in Shelby County—a good ways north of Crow's Ferry—and then on to San Augustine. Myrick's Ferry is also known as Latham's Ferry.

The Patroon Road (Zwolle-Ebarb-East Hamilton-San Augustine) was determined to be worthy of additional research in the Comprehensive Management Plan (Anonymous 2011:197). The crossing at the Sabine River would be at East Hamilton, on the Texas side, and from here goes to San Augustine. The cemetery is about all that is left after the flooding related to the making of Toledo Reservoir. This route was mentioned by Billy Whitton (W) and Leon Ware (W).

At the Sabine/San Augustine County line is the "Polly Gotch" (local pronunciation) or Palo Gaucho River. Harry Noble and Burnice Blackstock told of their exploits here as youngsters, and it included a story related to the military maneuvers in the area. Harry and Burnice told one of the Armies of a road not on their maps that would cross the Palo Gaucho at State Route 21. This road was used by the Red or Blue Army to come around behind the other Army at the Palo Gaucho Bridge.

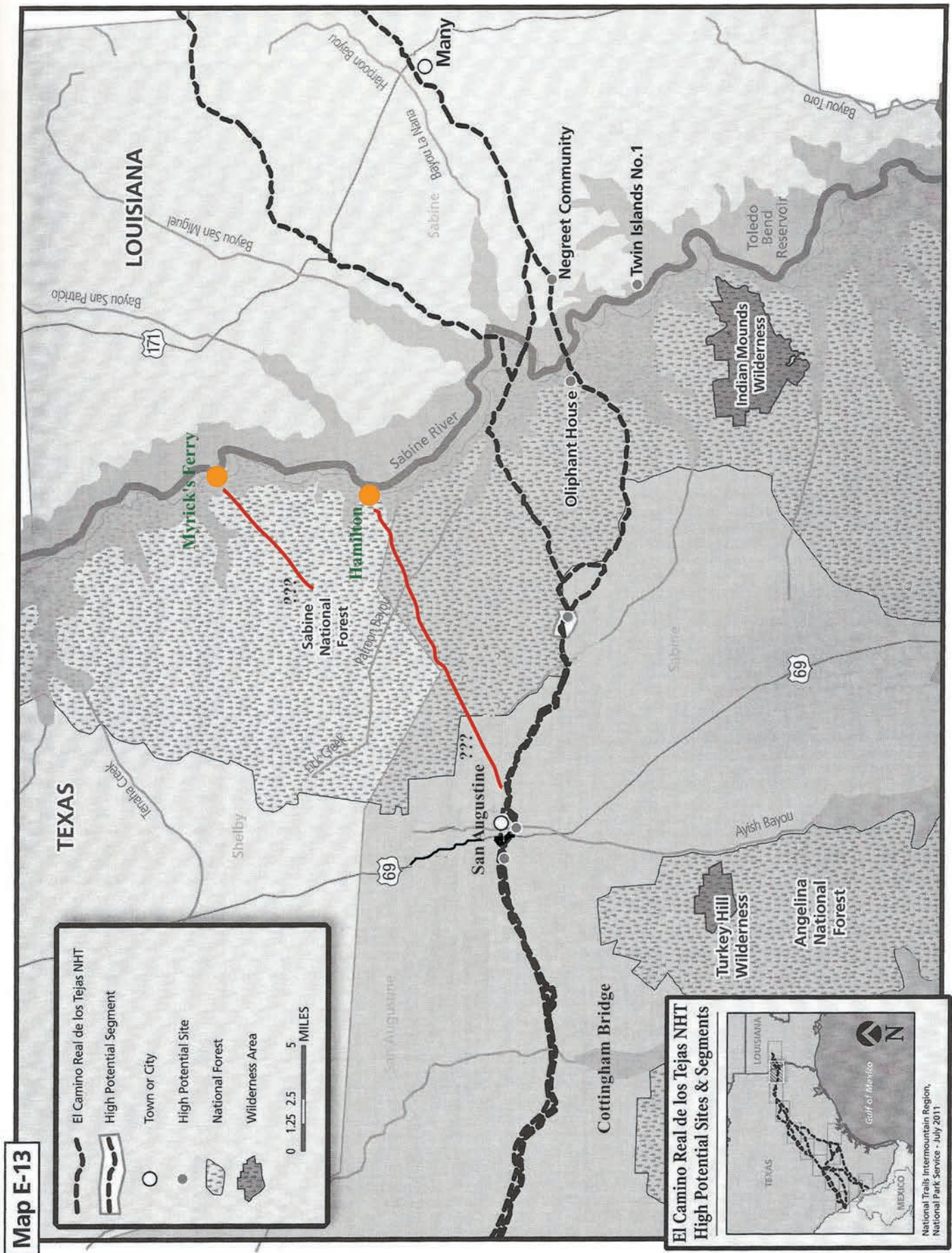


Figure 47. Map of the Camino Real in the Project Area.

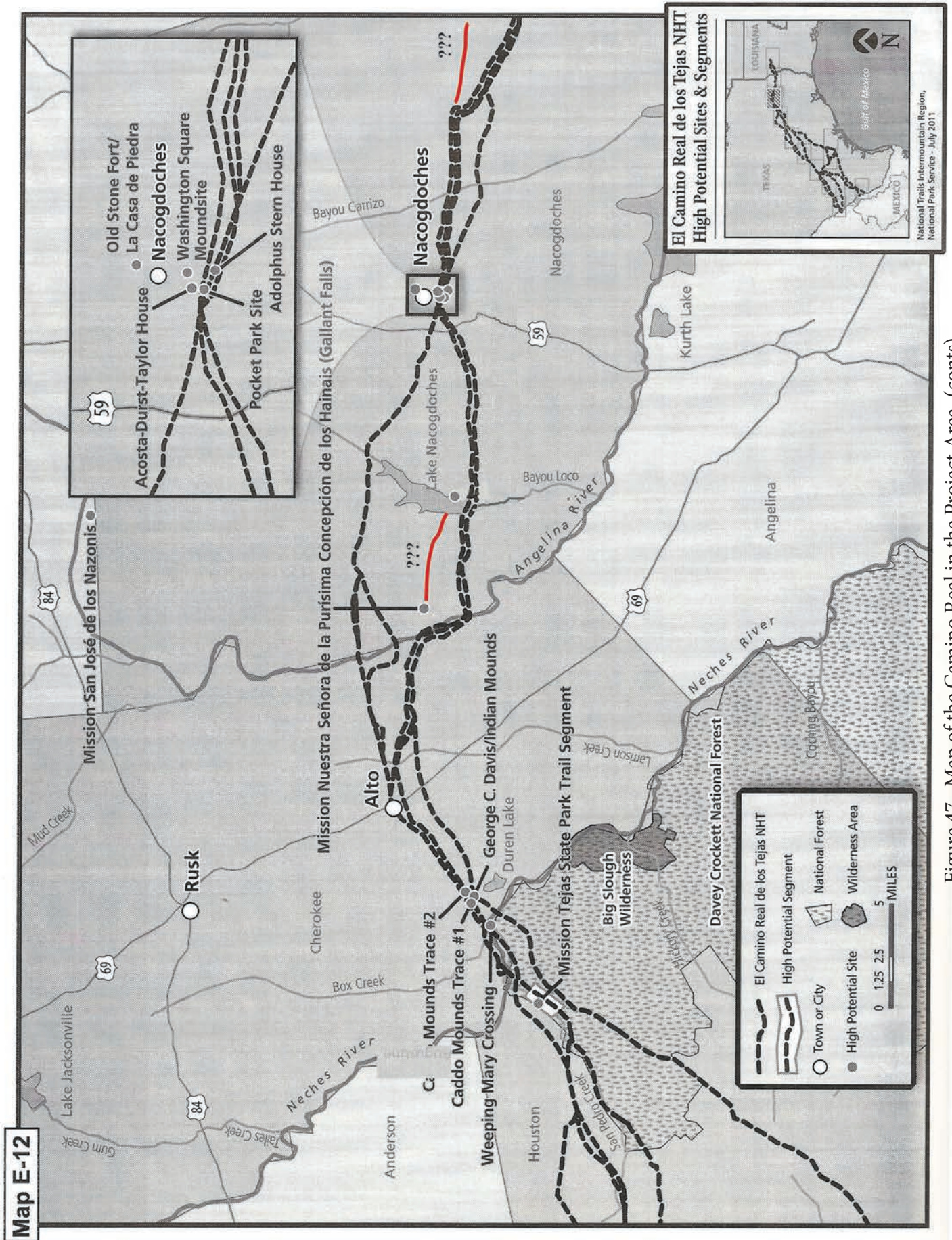


Figure 47. Map of the Camino Real in the Project Area. (conts)



Figure 48. Judy Hodges relative, painting of community near Carters Ferry.

At the Attoyac River—the boundary between San Augustine and Nacogdoches Counties—there was a Cottingham Bridge south of 21 that was another route in the Camino Real matrix. Several of our interviewees acknowledged the presence of the bridge, but did not know of a crossing nearby—such as was the case for the Palo Gaucho.

Bobby Pantalion lived between Routes 7 and 21—closer to Route 7, north of Melrose. He was told that a segment of El Camino Real came from Nacogdoches, past his house, and on into the Mountain Community. This is the area of where the Old Spanish families live—the Y’Barbos and Cordobas. Pantalion describes the road as a “Smugglers Road.”

Research by archaeologists looking for Mission Conception in Nacogdoches County has suggested another route for the Camino Real in this area (Figure 30). It is likely that the earliest segments of the Camino Real were traveled by people on foot and by their pack mules—later, carts and wagons were used. Tom Middlebrook describes the work of Jim Corbin and others in the effort to find Mission Conception later on in this report. A segment between the site and the Mayhew site (41NA21) is hypothesized.

All of these areas require the treatment given to the establishment of the three crossings over the Sabine River by Jeff Williams (2007). There is much to do!

About our Survey

There are Indian Tribes in some of what are described as Spanish Communities of Louisiana, but we didn’t observe this in the Spanish communities of Deep East Texas, although the presence of Indian heritage is acknowledged. The Spanish language as introduced in the 18th century is probably dead, but the recent immigration of Mexicans ensures that Spanish will be spoken in the area at a higher level than previously.

World War II was a game changer in many ways. Cotton—the main money crop—moved to central and northern Texas with the introduction of mechanization after World War II. Cattle still are still raised, but at modest levels. Large-scale chicken production is new since World War II. The abundance of transportation brought about the consolidation of schools. The idea was conceived just prior to World War II and implemented just after. Timber is still a dominant resource here. And of course, oil and gas—first exploited in a big way in the late 1800s—are still going strong.

The Black and White communities are getting closer—there were no mixed marriages prior to WWII, but now it is not so uncommon. Slavery is still a delicate subject. Most would tend to ignore it, but we found at least two instances where the descendants of both the enslaved and enslaver are getting together. The Spanish/Indian descendants are now living in rural areas of Nacogdoches County and most have just gotten on with their lives. The old Spanish families no longer speak Spanish, but the language is being spoken by others coming from Mexico. The University in Nacogdoches County has brought in people from different parts of Texas and the United States and beyond.

Perhaps the biggest conclusion of this project is the fact that people recognize a loss of closeness in this area compared to what it was like in the 1910s-1940s. “Everybody knew everybody,” [John Butts (W)] or so it seemed, on *El Camino Real* in the Piney Woods of Texas back in those days. You knew your neighbors. For children, “Everybody’s Mother was our Mother” [Vonzella Garner (B)]. It took a village to raise children and for some, there is no village here anymore. There is also, to some degree, a disconnect between generations. Sammy Eberlan (W) talked about knowing all the old ones in town, and now he feels that kids “are liable to poison themselves not knowing what to eat in the woods.”

It’s been a mix—there are the numerous technological advances that have made life easier and the progress in civil rights for Blacks and women, but then there is the general lessening of social ties. Maybe the two are related. In any case, it is good to reflect on our situation and remember our elders.

There has been much change since 1845, but some things were changed very little up to World War II, and to get a feeling of the life ways of *El Camino Real* readers are encouraged to hear the voices of the people themselves. Tapes and transcriptions of the interviews are on-line.

Appendix I

Some of the Towns and Communities in the Area

Some of the Towns and Communities in the Area

Sabinetown

Established in 1839, served as a shipping port and distribution center until 1897. Its post office was closed for good in 1935. Most of the town was inundated in the 1960s with the completion of Toledo Bend Dam. (Dan Ferguson <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hvs01>)

Milam

Originally known as “Red Mound,” it was the County Seat, before being moved to Hemphill in 1858. The first known description of Milam was by Stephen F. Austin when he camped there in 1821. There is nothing left of the Republic Period buildings. (Historical Marker, 2011)

Geneva

Although a town did not begin here until the 1850s, it was in the vicinity of Antonio Gil Y’Barbo’s ranch in the late 1770s. His mother died here in 1773. (Cecil Harper Jr., <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hlg12>

Black Ankle

Is a Black community that was in existence by the late 1800s, located on the border between San Augustine and Sabine Counties.

San Augustine

Initially the site of Mission Dolores (1717-1719, 1721-1773), built by the Spanish for the nearby Ais Indians. It became the Ayish Bayou Community at the beginning of the 1800s and then finally San Augustine in 1833. There is no above ground features of either the Caddo Indians or Mission Dolores, but the following are buildings related to the Republic Period which are visible from the road: Stephen William Blount House (1839), Cartwright House (1839), Ezekial Cullen House (1839), Columbus Cartwright House (1838), Judge H.K. Polk/Ransom Horn House (1840), China Grove/ Samuel Davis (1840s). The Milton Garrett House (1826) is the oldest standing structure in the county, and is 11 miles west on Hwy. 21. <http://visit.sanaugustinetx.com/homes.html#c>

Bland Lake

It started as a railroad station in 1901, and the name was changed to Blandlake in 1904. In 1907 there were 50 inhabitants. (Mark Odintz <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hnb48>)

Denning

Post office was opened there in 1891 and by 1895 there were 50 inhabitants, which grew to 200 in 1914.

(Mark Odintz <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hnb48>)

Some of the Towns and Communities in the Area (cont

Ironosa

Had a post office by 1884 and by 1890 had 100 inhabitants. In 1916 the post office closed, and in the 1930s the community was on the Frost Lumber company tram line. It took its name from the Arenosa Creek.

(Mark Odintz <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hvi17>)

Some of the Towns and Communities in the Area (cont

Attoyac

Established in 1836, it was also known as Black Jack. In 1897 when a post office was established the name Attoyac was used. Just prior to World War I the population was at its peak of 100. It took its name from the Attoyac River.

(Christopher Long <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hra62>)

Chireno

Spanish pioneers settled the area after 1790, but it was John Newton Fall who was responsible for development after 1837. Samuel Martin Flournoy built the large two story structure that became the post office in 1837. The first public school started in 1839. In 1846, the Flournoy house evolved into a stage stop known as the Halfway Inn, which still stands today. One of the first Texas oil wells was drilled in 1866.

(Randell G. Tarin <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hlc29>)

Sand Hill

Identified as a Freedom Colony by Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad (2005:196), it was established by Charlie Mast after 1870. A masonic lodge, church, school, and cemetery were present by the 1950s, but today the church and cemetery remain.

The Mountain

East of Nacogdoches and North of Chireno, this area is populated by descendants of the Spanish/Indians of Nacogdoches. The Mountain cemetery is located here.

Melrose

Founded in 1840, a post office was established in 1841 and two schools were operating in 1854. "By 1885 the community had a public school, a sawmill, two blacksmiths, three churches, three cotton gins, four general stores, five gristmills, and a population of 160."

(Christopher Long <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hlm55>)

Atascoso

The *Rancho Atascoso* was established in 1778.

Some of the Towns and Communities in the Area (cont

Nacogdoches

First the location of the mission for the Nacogdoches Indians (1719-1773), the area was again occupied in 1779 by those who left Los Adaes, led by Antonio Y'Barbo. There is at least one mound related to the Caddo occupation of the area, but the area of the mission site has not yet been discovered. There are two buildings on their original locations which date to the Republic Period and have been transformed into house museums: The Durst-Taylor and Adolphus Sterne House Museums. Antonio Gil Y'Barbo's stone house was torn down and eventually relocated to the campus of Steven F. Austin State University. The Old University building was chartered in 1845, but not built until 1859.

Alazan

Settled before 1900, a post office was established in 1901. In the 1940s, a church, cemetery, and some houses remained.

(Christopher Long <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hravk>)

Moral

Name taken by Immaculate Conception Church of Nacogdoches, serving the Moral community, southwest of Nacogdoches.

Fern Lake

Name of the Spanish/Indian community south of Nacogdoches.

Appendix II

Some of the Water Features in the Area

Names of Water Features, Starting from Sabine to San Augustine to Nacogdoches County

Carrice Creek	<i>Carrízo</i> , Common reed grass
Allen Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Beaver Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Wilson Branch	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Boregas Creek	<i>Borrego</i> , lamb, fool
Lobonella (Boggy) Creek	<i>Lobanillo</i> , wen, a cyst containing sebaceous matter
Palo Gaucho Bayou	<i>Palo Gaucho</i> , stick, rough—rustic—crooked
Tiger Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Carrizo Creek	<i>Carrízo</i> , Common reed grass
Ayish Bayou	Ais Indians
Perkins Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Vanado Creek	<i>Venado</i> , deer
Caney Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Niciper Creek	--don't know--
Attoyac River	--don't know--
Amaladeros Creek	<i>Amolador</i> , grinder—object; <i>Amoladero</i> , grinder—Person who grinds
Polysot Creek	--don't know--
Moss Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Punete Suelos Creek	<i>Puente</i> , bridge, <i>Suelo</i> , ground, soil
Atascoso Creek	<i>Atascar</i> , to stop up, jam, obstruct
Carrizo Bayou	<i>Carrízo</i> , Common reed grass
Bayou La Nana	<i>La Nana</i> , the baby
Bonita Creek	<i>Bonita</i> , pretty
Yseleta Creek	<i>Ysleleta</i> , small island, islet
Moral Creek	<i>Moral</i> , moral, mulberry tree, blackberry bush,
Mill Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Bayou Loco	<i>Loco</i> , crazy
Little Bayou Loco	<i>Loco</i> , little crazy
Yellow Bank	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
King Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Bingham Creek	(Anglo—non Spanish European)
Angelina River	<i>Angelina</i> , little Angel
Alazan Bayou	<i>Alazan</i> , chestnut colored, sorrel
Bonaldo Creek	<i>Bonaldo</i> , Italian surname (?)
Iron Ore	<i>Arenosa</i> , sandy

Appendix III

Some References on Deep East Texas

Some References on Deep East Texas

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