

# East Texas Historical Journal

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Volume 38 | Issue 1

Article 1

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3-2000

ETHJ Vol-38 No-1

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VOLUME XXXVIII

2000

NUMBER 1

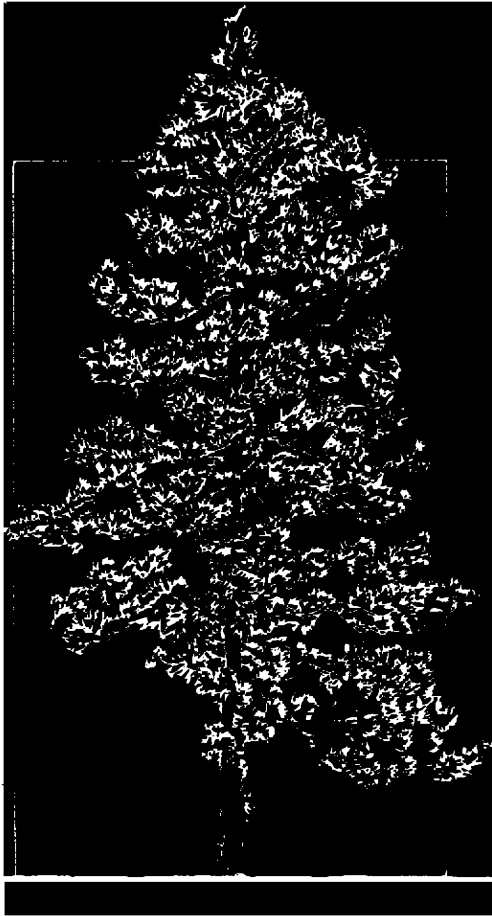
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# EAST TEXAS

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# HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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# EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Volume XXXVIII

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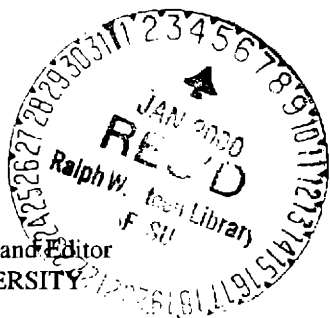
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**“MORE DISASTROUS THAN ALL:”  
THE SURVEYORS’ FIGHT, 1838**

*by Jimmy L. Bryan, Jr.*

In January 1838, nearly two years after the Texans defeated Santa Anna at San Jacinto, the General Land Office opened in Houston. As early as 1835, the provisional government of Texas had issued a decree to pay its soldiers with land: by the time the land office opened, the Republic teemed with veterans, locators, and speculators anxious to make their claims. As a result, numerous surveying parties surged onto the frontier during the spring and summer of 1838. The Native Americans were not ignorant of what the surveyor’s transit represented, and they made a deliberate effort to hinder these expeditions. This discord resulted in several clashes of which the Surveyors’ Fight, or the Battle Creek Fight, was the most celebrated.<sup>1</sup>

The Texas Congress established land districts for each existing county to administer. For each district, the president appointed a county surveyor who hired deputy surveyors. These deputies did most of the field work and fitted surveying parties from their own salaries.<sup>2</sup> The problem of expense arose when it became evident that the Indians did not welcome these expeditions on their hunting grounds. George B. Erath, deputy surveyor from Milam County, explained:

The surveyor himself was precluded by heavy penalties from taking interest in lands he surveyed or receiving extra pay. It was also customary to allow hands pay from the time they started till they returned, the surveyor paying for all the traveling and time wasted watching Indians. Thus it can easily be seen that the business was not very profitable.<sup>3</sup>

To remedy this situation, surveyors such as Erath organized companies of Texas army veterans and land locators. These men provided their own horses and weapons and worked at their own expense. The veterans had a personal interest in locating their own lands while the locators received pay through contracts with scrip holders either by shares of land or by cash wages.<sup>4</sup>

Surveying on the Texas frontier was perilous business in 1838. President Sam Houston claimed to have “used every endeavor within his power to prevent” expeditions onto Indian hunting grounds, but few heeded his warning. On the Guadalupe River north of San Antonio, Indians attacked a group who ventured from Bastrop. All nine men perished anonymously save for one named Beatty who managed to scratch his name on a tree before dying. During the spring and summer of 1838, Indians attacked at least seven surveying parties and killed eighteen men. These battles were “not confined to any particular section of [our frontiers],” Houston explained, “but is carried out more or less from the Rio Frio to the Red River.” To meet this danger, many surveyors doubled as Indian fighters. Texans such as Erath, John C. Hays, John S. Ford, and Benjamin and Henry E. McCulloch made their living surveying but made their reputations combating Indians.<sup>5</sup>

In March 1838 William F. Henderson, deputy surveyor of the Robertson

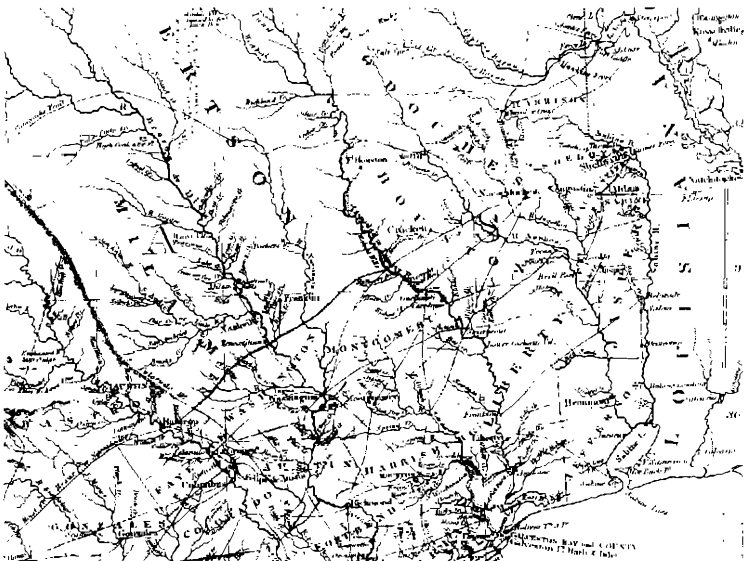
Land District, attempted one of these hazardous expeditions. Departing from Franklin, he planned to meet a party from Fort Houston to make surveys on the headwaters of the Navasota River. He never made the connection. Kickapoo Indians attacked both groups, killing three men. "These annoyances from the Indians continued for a long time," Henderson recalled, but he refused to quit, "although our plans were frustrated after the result of these expeditions we did not give up but in the fall made another attempt which proved more disastrous than all."<sup>6</sup>

Henderson teamed up with a land locator named William M. Love and issued a call for men to rendezvous at Franklin, seat of Robertson County and headquarters of the Robertson Land District. Love, who likely participated in Henderson's first venture, recruited men at San Augustine, including Samuel T. Allen, who had served in the Consultation of 1835 and in the First Texas Congress. The company also included Walter P. Lane, Richard Davis, and William M. Jackson, who had just completed a tour under Henry W. Augustine during the "Cordova Rebellion." Lane, a native of Ireland, had fought at San Jacinto and had sailed on the privateer *Thomas Toby*, and Richard Davis served with Thomas Robbins' company during the Revolution. Jackson came to Texas in July 1836, serving six months in the Texas army at Fort Houston.<sup>7</sup>

Love's company joined others in Franklin. Thomas Barton, hailing from Robertson County, came to Texas late in 1836 as an officer in George W. Jewell's Tennessee company. From Milam County came Joseph P. Jones and William Smith.



Walter P. Lane



Detail of John Arrowsmith, "Map of Texas" (1841).

As a member of Robertson's Colony, Jones came to Texas in 1833 and served with Thomas H. Barron's rangers in 1836 and 1837. Smith, known as "Camel-back" for his stooped shoulders, came to Texas in 1834 and served during the Revolution. Euclid M. Cox, of Washington County, came to Austin's Colony in 1832 and fought at Concepción and during the siege of Béxar. Cox brought his farmhands William Trimmier and a Mr. Button. Other men gathered at Franklin, a formidable band of locators, soldiers, and frontiersmen.<sup>8</sup>

The company elected a Mr. Neill captain, but when this election occurred remains uncertain. Walter Lane remembered that they chose Neill while in Franklin, but according to another account, the company did not make Neill captain until they reached Richland Creek and that when they left Franklin "there was no commander but all went along either as chain bearers or locators and for mutual protection."<sup>9</sup>

Early in September<sup>10</sup> the expedition of about twenty-five mounted men<sup>11</sup> left Franklin and tracked due north. On the second day, they encamped at the abandoned Fort Parker approximately forty miles north of Franklin. The next day they rode fifteen miles north to Tehuacana Springs and from there began a northwest track down the Tehuacana Hills. After another fifteen miles, the company reached Richland Creek in present day Navarro County. During the third day's journey, the band encountered numerous groups of Indians. The Indians greeted the Texans cordially while they continued to slaughter buffalo for their winter stores. The company located their base camp and settled down amidst several hundred Indians. Their tribal identities varied, but most appeared to be Kickapoo.<sup>12</sup>

These Kickapoo were no more native to central Texas than were the surveyors. As Algonquians, the Kickapoo originated from the western shores of Lake Michigan. When the French began trading with the Algonquians early in the seventeenth century, the Kickapoo resisted and maintained a tradition of defiance through the next two centuries. They migrated into the Illinois and Wabash River valleys early in the eighteenth century and became the first Algonquians to master the horse. In the 1760s, the Kickapoo were confederates of Pontiac and later of Tecumseh and the Prophet. Some of the tribe fought with the Prophet when William H. Harrison defeated him at Tippecanoe in 1811.<sup>13</sup>

With the incursion of the European Americans into the Old Northwest, many Kickapoo bands began to migrate south. As early as 1805, members of the tribe settled in Texas just west of the Angelina River in accordance with a Spanish policy to populate East Texas as a bulwark against the French and the Comanche. Other refugee Indians settled in this trans-Angelina region of Texas, forming a loose confederacy under the nominal leadership of Chief Bowles and his Cherokee. During the Texas Revolution, the provisional government sent a delegation led by Sam Houston to the trans-Angelina Indians to secure their goodwill, permitting the Texans to concentrate on their war with Mexico. The resulting treaty signed on February 23, 1836, recognized the Cherokee association as a single community, guaranteed them title to their lands, and specified a boundary. Texas authorities balked at ratifying the agreement, so that in 1838, Houston, then president, still struggled with the Congress to establish a "line between the whites and the



Indians." This policy, Houston warned, "alone can save Eastern Texas from ruin, and the country generally from imminent danger."<sup>14</sup>

By 1838, the Texas Kickapoo numbered approximately 1200 people, the most numerous of the allied tribes in the trans-Angelina. The Kickapoo followed the elderly Chief Pacana and the young Wapanahkah, or Captain Benito, as the Mexicans christened him. Benito was the son of Black Buffalo, who attained renown resisting Anglo-American settlement in Missouri during the 1810s. Benito was an ally of the Mexican insurgents Vicente Cordova and Juan Flores and was no friend of the Anglo-Texans despite the friendly disposition of his people in the Richland Creek bottoms.<sup>15</sup>

The surveyors worked without incident for two days. They arose early in the morning and returned to the same camp in the evening. On the second day Henderson concluded that his compass was faulty and sent Love and Jackson back to Franklin to replace the magnet. This reduced the company to about twenty-three – twenty-two men and a boy.<sup>16</sup>

Early on the third day, the party picked up their line along a spring branch, and at about 9:00 a.m., they stopped for breakfast. A Kickapoo chief and a group of warriors entered the camp to warn the Texans that the Ioni Indians were planning to attack them. "We thanked them for the information," recalled Lane, "but said we were not afraid of the Ionies, and said if they attacked us we would clean them out." The chief was unimpressed with the Texans' confidence and urged the men to leave, fearing that if the Ioni killed them, the Kickapoo would get the blame. "They begged us feelingly to go," Lane recalled, "but as we would not, they planned a little surprise for us."<sup>17</sup>

The company returned to their work while several Indians followed, distracting the surveyors. "One of them stuck to me like a leech," complained Lane, "and succeeded in begging a piece of tobacco from me." Henderson experienced the same irritation as he tried to continue his work. Two Indians insisted on asking annoying questions. "Is that a mile?" one queried while another pointed at the compass and asked, "Is that God's eye?" but the Indians all "looked displeased."<sup>18</sup>

Indeed they were. After a century of defying European American incursions along the Illinois and Wabash rivers, the Kickapoo finally gave way but not to military force. They lost no great battle. The end came when surveyors arrived and cut up the Indians' land. The Kickapoo knew well the bane of "God's eye," and they were not eager to yield to it again.<sup>19</sup>

The surveyors came upon a dry creek, and the Indian annoying Lane shook hands and dashed away. As the company passed, a band of Kickapoo rose from the creek and opened fire. Captain Neill rallied his company and ordered a charge. The mounted Texans routed the Indians from the ravine and pursued them into a stand of timber about a mile distant. From that timber a larger force appeared and countered the Texans' charge: a third group of mounted men swept down from the prairie. As the Kickapoo encircled their quarry, the Texans leapt into a washout and hugged its sides for protection. Accounts variously estimated the total Kickapoo force between 200 and 250.<sup>20</sup>

The “ravine” was scarcely five feet deep. A few bushes scattered about its edge and a cottonwood tree standing at its head provided the defenders their only breastwork. The Kickapoo placed a group of warriors just beyond gunshot to keep the company in place while another group went below the gully and killed most of the surveyor’s horses. Surrounded by some 250 hostile Indians, with no water and only a few horses, the surveyors were in trouble indeed. The Texans employed the customary strategy in frontier defense of holding up and praying that the Indians would lose interest. Texans wielding long rifles and deployed behind cover presented a formidable deterrent to any foe. Euclid Cox had witnessed the effectiveness of the Texas sharpshooter at Concepción during the Revolution, and William Smith employed this tactic the previous winter when Comanche attacked his cabin in the Brazos valley. Unable to dislodge the Smiths after several hours, the Indians retired from the fray. As one veteran explained, “The Indians would not pursue even one man into cover, nor were they rash about charging on a small party so long as they stood with guns presented.”<sup>21</sup>

The Texans of that day armed themselves with cumbersome muzzle loading, single-shot firearms. The Kickapoo were armed with their traditional weapons as well as the same firearms the Texans wielded, obtained from merchants at San Augustine and Nacogdoches. On Richland Creek, facing an enemy supplied by their fellow Texans, the surveyors decided that holding out until the Kickapoo tired of battle was their best option. If the Kickapoo insisted on a fight, however, the company resolved to wait until nightfall and try to escape under cover of twilight.<sup>22</sup>

The battle continued throughout the day. “Whenever one of our men would put up his head to shoot, twenty-five Indians would pull down on him.” Lane recalled. “The Indians had climbed up in these cottonwood trees in order to shoot over into the creek.” The combatants exchanged fire into the afternoon. Captain Neill fell wounded and requested that Euclid Cox take over as commander. The company agreed, and the new captain climbed the bank and took position behind the lone cottonwood. He shot at the Kickapoo in the trees below the creek and maintained his post for several hours before taking a bullet through the spine. Under heavy fire, Lane rushed up to Captain Cox and drug him back into the gully. The company did not elect a replacement.<sup>23</sup>

The Kickapoo, heartened by Cox’s fall, mounted an assault on the ravine, but the surveyors drove them back. The Indians continued to test the surveyors’ defenses throughout the day but never could move them from their position. A company of Kickapoo gathered on a nearby hill and gestured to the embattled Texans, offering safe passage. Old Man Spikes, reportedly eighty years old, opted to accept their offer. He took a horse and rode out to the friendly Indians, but someone killed him. The surveyors could not determine if these Indians betrayed Spikes or if the other Kickapoo caught him in the open. The desperately wounded Richard Davis grew impatient. He mounted his fleet horse and tried to outrun the Indians, but they gunned him down.<sup>24</sup>

As night enveloped the central Texas prairie as many as twelve surveyors

managed to stay alive. They had hoped that if they could make it until dark they might be able to steal away, but to the company's dismay, a September moon illuminated the prairie. They waited until midnight, hoping for the moon to cloud over, but it never did. The surveyors concluded to attempt an escape. They reasoned that despite the odds some of their number might succeed. The severity of Cox's wounds prevented him from joining his comrades, and Button, one of his employees, offered to stay with him. Cox refused and gave Button one of his pistols, keeping one with which to defend himself. He asked Button to deliver the pistol to his family. Button accepted this charge and returned to the others preparing for the flight.<sup>25</sup>

The able men placed the wounded upon the remaining horses and led them onto the open, moonlit prairie determined to reach the timbered bottoms a quarter mile away. The Kickapoo immediately attacked. "All rushed around us in a half circle pouring hot shot into us," Lane remembered. "We retreated in a walk, wheeling and firing as we went, and keeping them at bay." The mounted men made easy targets despite being placed atop the horses to facilitate their escape. Joseph Jones and others fell, picked off their mounts. As one spot emptied, those on the ground lifted another man into his place. Lane and a companion helped Captain Neill onto a horse. They scarcely made ten steps before the Kickapoo shot down the rider and his mount. "Camel-back" Smith, sporting an injured arm, raised Thomas Barton behind him. After racing fifty yards, their horse was shot from under them. Barton "jumped up before he died and said Lord Have Mercy on [me]." Mr. Violet flew upon his "race mare," but in the unreliable light of the moon, he and his steed tumbled headlong into a gully, snapping his thigh.<sup>26</sup>

Having escaped the day's fight unharmed, Lane took a bullet in the same volley that killed Captain Neill. "I was shot through the calf of the leg, splintering the bone and severing the 'leaders' that connected with my toes." He managed to reach this second gully and with Henderson, Button, and Violet hid in the brush. These men were fortunate, for the prediction proved accurate. Most of the casualties sustained in the battle occurred during this retreat. Out of the twenty-three engaged in the battle, only three others survived. William Smith and a man named Baker escaped by way of the Brazos falls. The young McLaughlin remained hidden on the battlefield until the Indians left to pursue the other survivors. He then made his escape.<sup>27</sup>

Henderson hastened to Lane's side and quickly bandaged the wound. As he worked, some fifty Indians entered the ravine and finished off one of the wounded. Clearly, they intended to track down all the survivors to ensure that no one could charge their tribe with the deaths. The warriors searched the creek toward Henderson and Lane. The two men crawled out and lay quietly on their bellies. Lane recalled, "[We] laid down on our faces, with our guns cocked ready to give them one parting salute if they discovered us. They passed us by, so closely that I could have put my hands on any of their heads," but from the prairie a conch shell blew, a signal for the Indians to regroup.<sup>28</sup>

Henderson and Lane re-entered the dry wash and followed it down to Richland Creek where they found a puddle of water. Lane "pitched headfore-

most" into the muddy pool and drank greedily. They found Button and Violet and determined to rest a moment, but realizing that they had only few hours of darkness left, the men elected to get as far as they could before sunrise. Violet, suffering a broken thigh, could only crawl and pleaded with Lane to stay with him, but the Irishman refused, determined "to make the connection" with Franklin. After tending to Violet's injury and promising to return with help, Henderson and Button with Lane in tow began the trek back to Franklin.<sup>29</sup>

Armed with four guns and a Bowie knife, the trio followed Richland Creek for the remainder of the night. As dawn approached, they came to a brush covered island in the creek. They "cooned" over on a log to conceal their tracks and hid in the thick grass. Through the next day, the men rested as the Kickapoo searched for them. When night fell, the three men followed a series of buffalo trails hoping to find water but only became lost. On the third day after the battle, they at last reached the Tehuacana Hills atop which flowed the Tehuacana Springs. As they neared the spring, a party of Kickapoo rode up to them. The battered men soon determined that these Indians were not aware of the recent battle, and they prudently explained that they had fought the Ioni. Convinced, the Kickapoo helped the men to the water and from there took the men to their camp. The amiable Indians dressed the surveyors' injuries, fed their bellies, and gave them quarter for the night.<sup>30</sup>

Back on Richland Creek, a discouraged Violet held out for three days eating "green haws and plums," as Lane reported. He determined that he could no longer wait for his friends, and decided to make an effort to return to the settlements himself. Violet splinted his broken thigh and sat out on the arduous journey crawling upon his hands and knees.<sup>31</sup>

The next morning, Henderson, Lane and Button left the Kickapoo camp anxious to get as far away as possible lest the Indians discover the truth of the battle. They did not travel far before they met another party of Indians. Fortunately, they merely wished to trade for the Texans' rifle. Lane recalled, "We soon found out it was trade or fight, so we swapped" with the understanding that one of them would guide the trio to Parker's Fort, allowing Lane to ride his mount.<sup>32</sup>

The Indian guide fulfilled his charge, bringing the three men to the abandoned outpost on the morning of the fifth day after the battle. They waded down the nearby Navasota River to cover their tracks and then walked several miles onto the prairie and slept. They traveled through the next day and into the night, having found the road to Franklin. They arose before dawn the next morning, the eighth day after the battle. As they walked down the path, a voice called out and ordered them to halt and to identify themselves. "I looked up, and saw two men, with their guns leveled on us." Lane waved the men off, claiming, "We are friends — white men!" As the armed men approached, the trio recognized them as Love and Jackson, the two that Henderson had sent to replace the defective magnet before the fight. They placed the exhausted trio on their horses and led them the remaining fifteen miles to Franklin. The alarm spread through the community, and Love mustered fifty men to ride to the battlefield and aid any survivors.<sup>33</sup>

While his comrades reached Franklin, Violet incredibly crawled the twenty-five miles to Tehuacana Spring. He discovered a bull frog in the pool and endeavored to eat him. "Failing to capture him, he concluded to shoot him," Lane reported. "He pulled down on him with a holster pistol, loaded with twelve buckshot and the proportionate amount of powder." The resulting recoil knocked Violet unconscious. When he awoke, he searched the spring for the frog and found only "one hindquarter floating around, the balance having been shot to flinders. Being very hungry, he made short work of that."<sup>34</sup>

Late that day, Love's party arrived at the spring. Violet excitedly hallooted them and "came near stampeding the whole party, they thinking it was an Indian ambushade," Lane reported. Both were grateful for finding each other, and Love provided Violet with food and made him as comfortable as possible before continuing to the battlefield. The company hoped to find more survivors, but when they reached the grizzly scene, they found a field strewn with bodies from which the wolves had eaten the flesh. The men gathered the remains and placed them in a common grave beneath a pair of oak trees that had grown together. They covered the bodies with a sheet, perhaps to prevent the wolves from further desecrating the grave, and then completed the burial. Before the company left the grave site, Love drove a nail into the tree to mark the ground. Their task complete, the company returned to Violet and carried him back to Franklin.<sup>35</sup>

Henderson and Button parted with Lane at Franklin, and Button returned to Washington County, delivering Cox's pistol as promised.<sup>36</sup> Lane recuperated at James Dunn's for two months, "kindly nursed and attended by sympathetic ladies." Violet, too, remained in Franklin until properly recovered. The ordeal was finally over, but the sorrow traveled far and deep. Sixteen men were dead.<sup>37</sup> Samuel Allen, Euclid Cox, Joseph Jones, and probably others left widows and children. Illustrating the sadness felt by many, Thomas Barton's brother-in-law, James Taylor, wrote back to Tennessee to inform the family of the tragedy. "I have again taken my pen in hand to give you some painful news,"<sup>38</sup> he began, and then concluded:

Mother you should not grieve more than you could possibly help about Thomas for the last words he was heard to speak was in calling upon his God to have mercy on him and that gives us strong hopes that he is gone home to enjoy the realities of a better world.<sup>39</sup>

In the aftermath of the rash of battles between surveyors and Indians during the spring and summer of 1838, President Sam Houston addressed the Texas Congress in November and blamed these "calamities" on the surveyors themselves. He explained:

The great anxiety of our citizens to acquire land induced them to adventure into Indian hunting grounds, in numbers not sufficient for self protection, and in as much as they met with no serious opposition in the commencement of their surveying, they were thrown off their vigilance, which afforded the Indians an opportunity of taking them by surprise, and hence they became victims to their own indiscretion and temerity.<sup>40</sup>

Lane echoed the explanation of intruding upon Indian hunting grounds but was less critical of himself and his comrades. Houston further stated, "[T]he system

which has been pursued relative to surveying and locating lands, has involved the country in the calamities which have heretofore, and still continue to visit our frontiers." The president refused to support the use of public funds to protect these private ventures and recommended that in the future "restrictions should be laid upon all surveying beyond the limits of the settlements."<sup>41</sup>

The irony of the Surveyors' Fight was that the Kickapoo gained no advantage from their victory. They retired to their village in present day Anderson County. Responding to rumors that the Mexicans planned to incite the Indians to raid white settlements, General Thomas J. Rusk attacked and routed the Kickapoo and Mexicans from their village on October 15. Many of the Kickapoo retreated north of the Red River. The rest remained with the Cherokee, but any consideration that association might have received from a sympathetic Sam Houston vanished with the inauguration of Mirabeau B. Lamar as president in December. In a message to Congress on December 21, Lamar denounced his predecessor's "moderation" and "mercy" toward "the wild cannibals of the woods" and recommended a policy "of an exterminating war upon [the Indian] warriors, which will admit of no compromise and have no termination except in their total extinction or total expulsion." Lamar directed much of this language toward the Cherokee association and within seven months of this address, the Texans routed Chief Bowles' confederacy at the Battle of the Neches on July 15, 1839. The allied tribes scattered and with them the remainder of the Kickapoo from Texas.<sup>42</sup>

The citizens at Franklin continued to suffer from the conflict with the Indians. Another battle took place near the Brazos falls on January 16, 1839, in which thirteen were slain, including Hale Barton, brother of Thomas Barton. The twenty families that remained at Franklin sent a plea to President Lamar on February 6. They claimed that Indian depredations made fifteen widows and prevented the farmers from making a crop; therefore, they were without supplies. The citizens requested assistance and advice on whether they should abandon their town. One observer lamented, "The frontier in this section is in miserable condition. [The settlements] have been and are now on the eve of breaking up."<sup>43</sup>

President Lamar's response was less than encouraging. On February 22, he wrote:

I continue to learn with deep regret, the dangers and embarrassments by which you are daily surrounded in consequence of the hostile incursions and depredations [sic] of the Indians; and this regret is heightened [sic] by the reflection, that I have not the requisite means at command, of affording you speedy and entire relief.<sup>44</sup>

Lamar recommended that the settlers "assemble your own militia – build Block Houses for the security of your families; and living as compactly as possible, keep yourselves at all times in a state of preparation to repel [sic] any attack."<sup>45</sup>

Robertson County survived the trials of 1838 and 1839, and Franklin thrived until the county seat was moved to Wheelock in 1850. Anglo-Texan settlers continued to move into the disputed country. William F. Henderson, three years after two thwarted expeditions to Richland Creek, succeeded in

locating a patent in the area on October 18, 1841. He was active in the creation of Navarro County in 1846, established a law practice at Corsicana, and died there in 1890. William M. Love also settled in Navarro County, locating his patent at the confluence of Pin Oak and Richland creeks less than fifteen miles from the battlefield. He was murdered near his home in 1873. Other settlers moved into the county which by 1850, twelve years after the fight, boasted a population of over 2,000.<sup>46</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The author wishes to thank Sam W. Haynes, Gerald D. Saxon, and Richard V. Francaviglia of the University of Texas at Arlington for their valuable comments on this article. See *The Land Commissioners of Texas: 150 Years of the General Land Office* (Austin, 1986), p. 13; Thomas Lloyd Miller, *The Public Lands of Texas, 1519-1970* (Norman, 1972), pp. 45, 48-49.

<sup>2</sup>*Land Commissioners*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup>George Bernard Erath, *Memoirs of Major George Bernard Erath*, Lucy A. Erath, ed. (1923 reprint, Waco, 1956), p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>Erath, *Memoirs*, pp. 54-57.

<sup>5</sup>Erath, *Memoirs*, p. 56; *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, September 15, 1838, April 18, 25, May 2, June 2, 1838; John Salmon Ford, *Rip Ford's Texas*, Stephen B. Oates, ed. (Austin, 1963), pp. 25-27; Annie Carpenter Love, *History of Navarro County* (Dallas, 1933), pp. 29-34; Ron Tyler, ed., *The New Handbook of Texas*, (6 vols., Austin, 1996), II, p. 880, III, p. 519, IV, pp. 72, 384-386; J.W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas* (1889, reprint Austin, 1935), pp. 179-183, 262-263; Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, eds., *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863* (8 vols., Austin, 1938-1943; hereinafter cited as WSH), II, p. 301 (1st and 3d quotations).

<sup>6</sup>Love, *Navarro County*, p. 34 (quotation), pp. 29-34; *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, April, 18. 25. May 2, 1838.

<sup>7</sup>William M. Love to William R. Reding, March 2, 1838, in Walter Clay Dixon, *Richland Crossing: A Portrait of Texas Pioneers* (Everman, Tx., 1994), p. 126; *New Handbook*, I, pp. 114-115, II, pp. 324-325, IV, pp. 62-63, V, pp. 621-622; Malcolm D. McLean, comp., ed., *Papers Concerning the Robertson Colony in Texas* (19 vols., Fort Worth, 1974-1974; Arlington, 1977-1993; hereinafter cited as PCRC), VII, pp. 462-463, IX, pp. 49, 63-66; T. J. Allen to C.J. Allen, November 13, 1839, Samuel Tabor Allen Family Papers (Austin: Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin; hereinafter cited as SAFFP); Walter P. Lane, *Adventures and Recollections of Gen. Walter P. Lane, a San Jacinto Veteran, with Sketches of the Texan, Mexican and Late Wars with Several Indian Fights Thrown in* (1887, reprint Austin, 1970; cited hereinafter as AR), p. 30; *Muster Rolls of the Texas Revolution* (Austin, 1986), p. 72; "A Muster and Final Roll of Capt. H. W. Augustine's Company of Mounted Volunteers in the August Campaign 1838 against the Mexicans," Republic of Texas Muster Rolls, Adjutant General Record Group (Austin: Archives Division, Texas State Library); William M. Jackson to G. R. Dunlap, January 4, 1839, *Texas Treasury Papers: Letters Received in the Treasury Department of the Republic of Texas, 1836-1846*, James M. Day, ed. (4 vols., Austin, 1955-1956), I, pp. 176-177; William M. Jackson file, Audited Military Claims (Austin: Texas State Library, Archives Division; hereinafter cited AMC).

<sup>8</sup>Taylor to Barton, [November 1838], Barton Family Papers. Henry R. Adams, transcriber (Arlington: Special Collections Division, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries; cited hereinafter as BFP); Thomas Barton to William Barton, October 15, 1836, BFP; Family Group Sheets, BFP; John Henry Brow, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* ([1890]), reprint Easley, SC, 1978), pp. 43, 45-46, 50; McLean, PCRC, VIII, pp. 505, 520; Muster Rolls, pp. 43, 151, 222; *New Handbook*, III, p. 997; Joseph P. Jones file, AMC; John Henry Brown, "Surveyor's Fight," *Farm and Ranch*, (March 1, 1886), p. 6; J.M. Carroll, *A History of Texas Baptists* (Dallas, 1923), p. 73; John P. Cox to James T. DeShields, February 14, 1899, in James T. DeShields, *Border Wars of Texas: Being an Authentic Account in Chronological Order of the Long and Bitter Conflict Waged between Savage Indian Tribes and the Pioneer Settlers of Texas*, Matt Bradley, ed. (Toga, 1912; cited hereinafter as BWT), pp. 254-255; Euclid M. Cox file, AMC; A.Y. Kirkpatrick, *Early Settlers Life in Texas and the Organization of Hill County* (n.d.), reprint Waco, 1963), pp. 23-26; Joyce Martin Murray, *Washington County, Texas, Deed Abstracts, 1834-1841, Republic of Texas and State of Coahuila and Texas* (Mexico) (Dallas, 1986), p. 81; Villamae Williams, *Stephen F. Austin's Register of Families* (n.p.), 1984), p. 1-28.

<sup>9</sup>Lanc, AR, p. 30; Love, *Navarro County*, pp. 38 (quotation). Annie Carpenter Love erro-

neously attributed the version of the Surveyor's Fight found in her *History of Navarro County* [p. 37-45] to William F. Henderson. Harry M. Henderson, a grandson of the surveyor, repeated this mistake in his 1952 article. In fact, John Henry Brown wrote this account in the mid to late 1850s after interviewing the elder Henderson. It appeared in the *Navarro Express* on May 12, 1860, and may have been the same article that Brown wrote for the Galveston *Civilian* in 1855 for which he also interviewed William Smith. The 1855 account has not survived. This article cites the 1860 version. John Henry Brown, "Battle Creek-Surveyor's Defeat in 1838," *Navarro Express*, May 12, 1860; Brown, "Surveyor's Fight," p. 6; [John Henry Brown], "Fight at Battle Creek," *A Memorial and Biographical History of Navarro, Henderson, Anderson, Limestone, Freestone, and Leon Counties, Texas* (Chicago, 1894), p. 90; Harry McCorry Henderson, "The Surveyor's Fight," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LVI (July 1952), pp. 25-35.

<sup>16</sup>The accepted date of the Surveyor's Fight, October 8, 1838, may be inaccurate. No primary source places the battle in October. Walter P. Lane recalled a September 8 date. In a letter written in November 1838, James Taylor placed the battle on September 2, and Euclid Cox's probate filed on October 29, 1838, stated that he "departed this life on or about the Tenth of September." Tyler, ed., *New Handbook*, I, p. 49; Walter P. Lane to James T. DeShields, May 18 1885, BWT, p. 247; Elizabeth and James R. Taylor to Joshua Barton, [November 1838], BFP; Washington County Probate Minutes Book A, Texas Local Records (Austin: Archives Division, Texas State Library; hereinafter cited as TLR), p. 410 (quotation in note), pp. 410-411.

<sup>17</sup>The most consistent number reported for the party in primary accounts was twenty-two, probably neglecting to include the boy McLaughlin, for a total of twenty-three. Adding Love and Jackson, who were absent from the battle, the company that left Franklin likely numbered twenty-five. No account, primary or otherwise, supports Harry M. Henderson's finding of twenty-seven surveyors in his 1952 *Quarterly* article. Allen to Allen, November 13, 1839, SAFF; Taylor to Barton [November 1838], BFP; John S. Berry to John Henry Brown, May 19, 1886, John Henry Brown Family Papers (Austin: Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin; hereinafter cited JHBFP); Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Brown "Surveyor's Fight," p. 6; Henderson, "Surveyor's Fight," pp. 34-35; Lane, AR, p. 30; Jackson to Dunlap, January 4, 1839, *Texas Treasury Papers*, I, p. 177.

<sup>18</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, p. 247; Lane, AR, p. 30; *Houston Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 20, 1838.

<sup>19</sup>A.M. Gibson, *The Kickapoos: Lords of the Middle Border* (Norman, 1963), pp. 3-5, 25-26, 41, 57-63, 98.

<sup>20</sup>Gibson, *Kickapoos*, pp. 41-51, 144, 153-154; Williams and Barker, ed., *Writings of... Houston*, II, pp. 299 (1st quotation), 301 (2d quotation); *Documents on Indian Affairs, Submitted to Congress by the President* (Houston, 1838), pp. 21-23; Diana Everett, *The Texas Cherokee: A People between Two Fires* (Norman, 1990), pp. 14-15, 24-25.

<sup>21</sup>Everett, *Texas Cherokee*, pp. 14-15, 24-25; Gibson, *Kickapoo*, pp. 91-103, 153-154; [George W. Bonnell], *Report of G. W. Bonnell, Commissioner, Indian Affairs* (Houston, 1838), p. 12.

<sup>22</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane, AR, 30-31. Love reportedly warned the surveyors against continuing their work before he left. He also may have suggested that they drive off the buffalo herd believing that the Indians would follow. J. Eliot, "Indian Fights in Navarro County," *The Texas Almanac for 1868* (Galveston, [1867]), p. 52.

<sup>23</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Everett, *Texas Cherokees*, pp. 20-21, 71; Lane, AR, pp. 30-31 (quotation); *New Handbook*, III, pp. 499-500.

<sup>24</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; (2d, 3d, and 4th quotations); Lane, AR, p. 31 (1st quotation).

<sup>25</sup>Gibson, *Kickapoos*, pp. 78-80, 154.

<sup>26</sup>The reported number of Indians engaged may be accurate. G. W. Bonnell estimated that the Kickapoo community in Texas should be able to field a force of 240. According to Brown's 1860 account, the party became alarmed before the ambush and decided to gather their equipment and meet the assault in a stand of timber and that the Indians attacked "[b]efore this movement began." Lane, however, recalled a surprise. [Bonnell], *Report*, p. 12; Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860 (quotation in note); Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, p. 248; Lane, AR, p. 31.

<sup>27</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Brown, *Indian Wars*, p. 50; J. H. S. Stribling to John Henry Brown, March 9, 1886, JHBFP; Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, p. 248; Lane, AR, pp. 31-32; Stephen L. Hardin, *Texian Iliad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution* (Austin, 1994), pp. 30-35; Noah Smithwick, *The Evolution of a State or Recollections of Old Texas Days* (1900, reprint Austin, 1983), p. 167 (quotation); McLean, ed., PCRC, XIV, pp. 352-416.

<sup>28</sup>Hardin, *Texian Iliad*, pp. xii, 12-13; Petition from the Citizens of Robertson County, [May



1838], PCRC, XVI, p. 452.

<sup>21</sup>Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, p. 248 (quotation); Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane, AR, p. 32.

<sup>22</sup>One account suggests that Davis' flight occurred after nightfall and was an attempt to draw the enemy away when the others began their escape. Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; DeShields, BWT, p. 252; Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, p. 249; Kirkpatrick, *Early Settlers*, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, pp. 248-249; Kirkpatrick, *Early Settlers*, p. 23; Lane, AR, pp. 32-33.

<sup>24</sup>Violet was probably the John T. Violet who came to Texas with Charles Colerick's Ohio Volunteers. Taylor to Barton, [November 1838], BFP, (2d quotation); Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, pp. 248-249; Lane, AR, p. 32 (1st quotation), pp. 32-33; *Muster Rolls*, pp. 192-193; John T. Violet file, AMC; Rogers, "Jones Prairie," pp. 283-284; *History Together with a Biographical History of Milam, Williamson, Bastrop, Travis, Lee and Bell Counties* (Chicago, 1893), pp. 387-388.

<sup>25</sup>Smith settled in Bell County and died in 1877. Baker remains unidentified. Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane, AR, p. 33 (quotation); Carroll, *Texas Baptists*, 73.

<sup>26</sup>Lane, AR, pp. 33 (quotation), 33-34.

<sup>27</sup>Lane, AR, p. 34.

<sup>28</sup>Lane, AR, pp. 35 (quotation), 34-36; Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860.

<sup>29</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane to DeShields, May 18, 1885, BWT, p. 250; Lane, AR, p. 39 (quotation).

<sup>30</sup>Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Lane, AR, pp. 36-37 (quotation).

<sup>31</sup>On their return to the surveyors' camp, Love and Jackson reportedly thwarted an attempt by the Kickapoo to ambush the three survivors. Neither Lane, Brown, nor Jackson recalled this incident. Jackson died in Franklin in 1839. Eliot, "Indian Fights," p. 53; Lane, AR, pp. 37 (quotation), 37-38; DeShields, BWT, p. 253; Jackson to Dunlap, January 4, 1839, *Texas Treasury Papers*, I, p. 177; Robertson County Probate Records, TLR, 50.

<sup>32</sup>Lane, AR, p. 39 (quotation).

<sup>33</sup>Lane, AR, pp. 38 (quotation), 38-39; Taylor to Barton, [November 1838], BFP; W. H. Wagley to John Henry Brown, April 20, [1886], JHBFP; Love, *Navarro County*, p. 45; Eliot, "Indian Fights," p. 52.

<sup>34</sup>The San Jacinto Museum of History presently owns this pistol. Brian Butcher to author, July 28, 1995, author's file.

<sup>35</sup>A great deal of confusion exists regarding the number and identity of the casualties. Apart from those men already noted, the following men are also possible dead: N. Baker, J. Bullock, Dave Clark, Mr. Earl J. Hard, A. Houston, Mr. Ingram, Asa T. Mitchell and Rodney Wheeler. Brown, "Battle Creek," May 12, 1860; Henderson, "Surveyor's Fight," pp. 34-35; Nancy Timmons Samuels and Barbara Roach Knox, *Old Northwest Texas, Historical-Statistical-Biographical*, (1 vol., Fort Worth, 1980), I, pp. 719-720; Lane, AR, p. 38 (quotation).

<sup>36</sup>Lane later fought in the Mexican and Civil Wars, becoming a brigadier general, and died in Marshall, Texas, in 1892. Violet may have returned to Ohio. Taylor to Barton, [November 1838], BFP, (quotation); Allen to Allen, November 13, 1839, SAFFP; Lane, AR, pp. 39-40; Kirkpatrick, *Early Settlers*, p. 23; Robertson County Probate Minutes, TLR, p. 6; *New Handbook*, IV, 62-63.

<sup>37</sup>Taylor to Barton, [November 1838], BFP.

<sup>38</sup>Houston to Congress, November 19, 1838, WSH, II, pp. 301.

<sup>39</sup>Houston to Congress, November 19, 1838, WSH, II, pp. 302 (1st and 2nd quotations), 299-304; Lane, AR, p. 32.

<sup>40</sup>Gibson, *Kickapoos*, 155-158; Mirabeau B. Lamar, Message, December 21, 1838, *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (4 vols., Austin, [1920]-1924; hereinafter cited as PMBL), Charles Adams Gulick, Jr., ed., II, pp. 352-353 (quotations).

<sup>41</sup>Family Group Sheets, BFP; Ethan Melton, Circular Letter, January 16, 1839, PMBL, II, p. 420; Citizens of Franklin to Lamar, February 6, 1839, PMBL, II, pp. 436-437; J. A. Greer to J. C. Watrous, March 2, 1839, PMBL, II, pp. 477-478 (quotation).

<sup>42</sup>Lamar to Citizens, February 22, 1839, PMBL, II, pp. 462-463.

<sup>43</sup>Lamar to Citizens, February 22, 1839, PMBL, II, p. 463.

<sup>44</sup>Settlers named the "ravine" Battle Creek. In 1885 the children of Euclid Cox erected a monument over the grave. Joseph P. Jones' name was added in 1977. Brown, *Indian Wars*, p. 50; Samuels and Knox, *Old Northwest*, I, pp. 452, 502; *New Handbook*, III, pp. 555-556, IV, p. 957, V, p. 621-622; *The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide: The Encyclopedia of Texas* (Dallas, 1936), pp. 141, 434; "Battle Creek Fight Recalled," *Waco Tribune Herald*, May 23, 1977.

## “GALVESTONIANS VIEW IMMIGRATION, 1875-1914”

by *Barbara J. Rozek*

Galveston has seen itself first and foremost as a port city. Its geographic position dictated this view of life and provided the driving force that made Galveston the premier city in Texas during much of the nineteenth century. As a port city, commerce and transportation remained the focus of business and influenced most of the daily activity of the city. While primarily concerned with the current of goods flowing into and out of the port, the tide of people became a major interest as well. For Galvestonians, whatever encouraged or helped the commercial flow of “things” was good for the city. Thus the stream of people through the city was perceived as also good for the city. Immigrants were greeted with a positive eye.

Immigration involves a steady movement of people from one place to another. Galveston nurtured the idea of immigration from its earliest years. It is important to realize that the label “immigrant” was used by nineteenth-century Texans and Galvestonians to mean anybody who moved into the state. The *Galveston Daily News* of May 1, 1870, illustrated this point when it itemized immigrants into Texas for the month of April 1870, as “562 persons, of whom Mississippi contributed the greatest number, 125; Germany, 115; Georgia, 67; Alabama, 55; Illinois, 42; Louisiana, 28; France, 19;...” and so on.<sup>1</sup> To Galveston’s citizens, any warm body was part of the progressive flow. Sometimes the newspaper used a format reflecting racial attitudes, but the concept of lumping all newcomers into the category of “immigrant” remained. A later issue noted that one month’s arrivals to the Galveston port included 614 “immigrants from Europe.” Then it listed 2,134 “immigrants from States,” including in that number 303 “colored” immigrants.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the term “immigrant” would have “foreign-born” or “European” affixed to it, but more typically it had a generic connotation referring to anyone on the move. For the people of Galveston, emigrant and immigrant and later home-seeker were terms used interchangeably in oral communication and on the pages of their newspapers.

Historians often use newspapers as a window into the communities of the past. Frequently they are a crucial source for social and cultural information about an area. Galveston had many journalists and several newspapers over the years. The comings and goings of the citizenry are chronicled on the pages of these papers. Galvestonians seemed to enjoy the opportunity to observe the migrants. Their descriptions tell us as much about the Galvestonians as about the newcomers.

A key theme emerges upon reading the various newspaper columns in relation to the city’s view of immigration. Galvestonians primarily saw their city as a conduit or pipeline to the interior—sometimes the interior of Texas, but also the interior of the nation. They saw themselves as charged with the task of helping the immigrant upon his or her arrival in the city. They saw immigration as intimately connected to their success as a port city and the outward flow of goods from their wharf. All together immigration and the immigrant were seen

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through the business-colored glasses as positive influences on the city's commerce and the city's reputation as a port of consequence.

When the September 21, 1882 issue of the *News* conveyed information that the steamship *Weser* was leaving Bremen and sailing for Galveston, it was announcing to Galveston the soon-to-be influx of immigrants. It also was speaking as if Galveston was the funnel for the rest of the state. William W. Lang, representative of the Southwestern Immigration Company, reported that the vessel would be "carrying between 800 and 1000 German immigrants for Texas." Note the phrase "for Texas."<sup>1</sup> The same attitude prevailed twenty-seven years later when the *Galveston Tribune* noted an arrival from Hanover, Germany, of 1,025 passengers on May 20, 1907. In typical fashion the paper stated that the "homeseekers were allowed to come ashore today and in most cases they were given employment and will take their departure for different points in the state and elsewhere tonight."<sup>4</sup>

As if sliding the new arrivals right on through the city, the newspaper reported that immigrants were "destined for different portions of the State." Another way of printing the same message read, "they will...be gone on their journey to their future homes." One news article noted the arrival of forty immigrants from Bremen via the ship *George Washington*: "They were brought to the city and distributed among the different boarding-houses. They will go forward by rail to-day to Schulenberg, San Antonio, Huntsville and other points." This funneling process also indicates the awareness that a clear railhead/port connection existed. While Galveston saw itself as the premier port for the state, it also worked vigorously to develop its rail connections with the rest of the state. Immigrants found themselves part of the water movement and rail movement of the time.<sup>5</sup>

Complementary to seeing themselves as the passageway for immigrants to the hinterlands of the state, Galvestonians took on the task of caring for the newcomers as they arrived. In the beginning this was done in a fairly informal way, but later it evolved into official organizations setting up a formalized structure for immigrant aid. The *Galveston Daily News* supported these efforts. As an activist for community involvement in the immigration flow, the *News* spoke to the community about the need. For example, they ran an interesting series during the earlier years about a family of five that was befriended by a furniture store employee in Galveston. It seems the family had sick children upon their arrival in Galveston. They were "Norwegian emigrants" unable to speak English. William Jamison served as translator, provider of health care, and later provisioner of funeral needs for two of the children as their parents traveled on inland to their destination. The *News* applauded the energy and time commitment of citizen Jamison and said, "As the tide of immigration through this port is certainly destined to increase, it seems evident that we should have arrangements for the reception and accommodation of immigrants; and we hope the sad incident just related will prove useful in this direction."<sup>6</sup>

As time brought more and more immigrants to the city, formal organizations evolved. One interesting development came because of a planned migration program instituted by a Jewish organization in New York. With the goal of diverting some of the large number of Russian and German Jews

arriving in New York City at the turn of the century, the Jewish Immigration Information Bureau negotiated a chain of transportation supplemented by the interested involvement of Jewish Americans. The idea was to land Jews in a port other than New York, then distribute them to various communities inland that had the ability to find employment for the newcomers. Between 1907 to 1914, the Galveston Movement, as it was called, actively worked to channel Jewish immigration into and through Galveston. Rabbi Henry Cohen served as the point man for developing the operation in Galveston. He coordinated the effort of local congregants to meet the ships upon arrival. Jewish men and women provided meals, housing, translations, and advice in helping the immigrants move to their future homes in the interior. One report of the first ship full of immigrants who arrived under the auspices of this movement on July 1, 1907, was made by the *Chicago Tribune*. In tooting their own horn, the *Galveston Daily News* republished the Chicago article, which stated that "Whether the Jews in Texas form colonies by themselves, as the Scandinavians have done in Minnesota, or disperse among the other inhabitants of Texas, Galveston affords excellent railroad facilities, and in Texas there is room for all."<sup>7</sup> Years later the same newspaper said of the Galveston Movement, "It was a magnificent working system the bureau maintained from its organizations. For its beneficiaries it performed the functions of a practical guardian, 'guide, philosopher and friend.'"<sup>8</sup>

The Jewish immigrants received help and support from their fellow co-religionists. But the spirit of caring was manifest in other organizations as well. The newspaper gave a pat on the back to the city in an article in 1910 entitled, "Immigrants are Well Handled at Galveston." Claiming that Galveston's port has a "reputation of caring," the *Daily News* praised several organizations. The Galveston Immigrants' Home received praise as a missionary endeavor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, that offered its services to those of any creed "without financial remuneration." Housed at 21st Street and the Strand, the Home, sometimes called the Methodist Home, offered food, bathing facilities, letter-writing materials, help with railroad connections, and interest in personal needs. The Seamen's Home also deserved praise. As a result of the tremendous growth of commerce at the port, the number of ship's workers increased. Galveston responded with a Seamen's home in connection to the Methodist Immigrant Home and so the city put out a hand to those from other countries. The *News* noted that "a large per cent of all the seamen are German in speech," so it probably followed that the large German population in Galveston helped support this work. Another institutional help for immigrants was under the direction of Albion L. Barkman, inspector for the U.S. Immigration Station. This Information Bureau provided news on employment in "different sections of the state" and was a direct outgrowth of the city's sustained effort to get a federal immigration station built in their port.<sup>9</sup>

While there seemed to be a real humanitarian interest in helping the newcomers, there was another side to the interest in providing it. The *Galveston Tribune* expressed openly this other side to the city's work in 1912. "Were it not for the three immigration societies of Galveston the lot of the poor aliens coming here would be indeed a sorry one...without the aid societies

mentioned, it is doubtful whether many of them would be able to find the railway stations and it is certain that only the smallest percentage of them would ever get to their destinations.... The result would be a congestion in Galveston: the port of entry would soon be crowded with immigrants who in due course of time would form Hebrew quarters, German quarters, or whatever their nationality would demand, and they would be little if any better off than before they left their old home." The newspaper gave voice to an otherwise unexpressed fear that too many immigrants would gather in the city or in one part of the city. The assumption was that immigrants of whatever nationality should disperse across the land and become part of the fabric of the American way of life. In this way Galvestonians still saw themselves as the funnel to the hinterlands. While encouraging help for the immigrant, they saw these efforts as a way to keep the newcomer on the move out and through the city. The same article presented a vivid image of this approach by saying that the immigrant was "tagged, placed on board the train and sent through like a piece of baggage, the well organized railroad machinery of this country landing him in the arms of waiting friends at the end of his journey."<sup>10</sup>

Another facet of the picture of Galveston's view of immigration was its intense curiosity and penchant for description of those who were perceived as different. How did Galvestonians, as reflected in the pages of their newspapers, view immigrants? As noted, Galveston liked immigration—it fueled the growth of their port and subsequently their commercial prosperity. Galvestonians often thought of immigrants in terms of the shipping lines they represented rather than as individuals. To the business community of Galveston, it mattered that an Italian line or a Scandinavian line was establishing a route to Galveston. Only secondly did they appear to think in terms of Italians or Danes or Norwegians.<sup>11</sup> How did they react to the individual immigrant? Often they exhibited all the stereotypical utterances regarding immigrants that could be found in any other port city in the United States. For them, the idiosyncrasies of the newcomers were scrutinized although seldom laughed at, while the assumption was that these people would soon be assimilated into the Texas or western milieu.

German immigrants seemed to receive the most press coverage, partly because they were a large number of the earliest migrations to Texas from the 1830s through the 1880s.<sup>12</sup> As a group they were usually praised by those already in Texas and by those in Galveston. In 1878, the *Galveston Daily News* noted that the German Turnverein Society had been the first to begin celebrating "the nation's natal day" after the end of the Civil War. German immigrant enthusiasm for the Fourth of July was watched approvingly. "They will parade the streets in the morning and have all the fun they can devise and enjoy during the daytime and at night will conclude their exercises with a dramatic performance and a ball." Foreign born who delighted in United States rituals pleased the Galvestonians. Their reputation for hard work also preceded the Germans. In 1896 the *News* noted the arrival of the *Halle*, the first ship of the North German Lloyd Line to arrive in Galveston after the accomplishment of deep water over the bar. The *News* praised this arrival with the statement, "A superior looking set they were. They looked like the ordinary German farm people, who know how to make a penny do the work of a nickel

and who are thrifty, thorough and worthy of emulation. All were comfortably dressed and some were more than that, being exceptionally well dressed. They all had money, some of them having as much as \$1100." Galvestonians were definitely into "immigrant watching."<sup>13</sup>

Other nationalities also received intense curiosity and scrutiny, too. Judgments about newcomers abounded. In 1870 one group was seen through the following positive lens: "A large and respectable body of immigrants arrived yesterday by the *Josephine*, consisting entirely of natives of Sweden, who were quite favorable specimens of the rural population of that country. Young, healthy, stout, well-behaved, they form a most satisfactory addition to our force of workers. It was quite a pleasurable sight to see them." Another time the judgment remained positive, but was affected by the unique clothing of the migrants. A steamer arrived in port in 1892 with almost 100 immigrants from Poland and Hungary; noting the old-world costumes of the people, a journalist wrote, "the first impression created on *The News* reporter was much the same as if the figures in an oil painting, illustrating Polish or Hungarian peasantry, had walked out of the frame." Trousers showing inches of skin above the ankle, quaintly collared vests, "clumsy leg boots" and caps adorned the men. According to the reporter, "The women were equally odd in appearance." Shawls, red kerchiefs, and "heavy calf shoes" came in for some ogling. The children were described as "dwarfed imitations of the parents."<sup>14</sup>

One shipload of immigrants received exceptionally intense examination by the *News* reporter. Literally following the ship's manifest, the journalist listed for the readers the many nameless people coming on land. Since the immigrants had to declare the amount of money they were bringing with them, the reporter included that with his observations. We have to wonder to what extent the amount of money colored the rest of the observations of the reporter. The paper told Galvestonians, for example, "Then came a load of Poles. One of the immigrants was a small man with a large overcoat, \$120; a wife with a yellow shawl over her head and two small children." Another Polish immigrant was "a short young man with green eyes set in a broad face, an overcoat and \$10." Next came "a Bohemian who had spent 1 1/2 years in St. Louis and returned to Germany for two years to get a long-stemmed pipe and his wife and two children. They had \$4." Yet another Bohemian was described as "tall and lanky and his hair looked as if it had been cut with the stewpan as a gauge." Then came "a long line of Slavs...all hearty young fellows, variously attired and usually wore a ring, button or some gold ornament in the right ear. One of them carried his accordion by a strap across his shoulder. The others carried nothing." The descriptions ran on for a couple columns.<sup>15</sup>

Watching immigrants could be a pleasant pastime for many. The *News* reported that 880 immigrants had arrived on Sunday October 4, as "nearly the whole German population of Galveston, besides a larger number of other residents, turned out to meet them at the wharf." Obviously the Germans looked to the arrival of more of their countrymen. The newspaper reported that this batch of immigrants "are a most respectable and healthy-looking lot, and seemed evidently much delighted with their new country."<sup>16</sup>

Not all transients left Galveston. The city provided labor for some, family for others, and business opportunities for still more. So another way to analyze Galveston's view of immigration is to look at how they saw the immigrants who remained in town. Galveston seemed to be comfortable with these decisions – at least some Galvestonians were. The *Daily News* noted in 1907 that while many people had entered the country through Galveston over the years, some had chosen to remain in the city. The paper applauded the interest by some newcomers in becoming citizens. Proud that “such a large number decide on this city as their home in their adopted country,” one newspaper article listed the people, not by name, but by nationality and job. “From far-away Turkey 9 subjects have journeyed, their occupations being given as follows: Seven laborers, 1 fireman, 1 seaman.” The list of various immigrants from other nations continued. Tucked in one paragraph was a lone comment about gender. “Sweden furnished 16 citizens for Galveston, according to the naturalizations statistics, whose occupations were divided up as follows: Seven laborers, 2 sailors, 1 fireman, 1 locomotive fireman, 1 seaman, 1 cook, 1 carpenter, 1 blacksmith, 1 servant. Sweden also enjoys the distinction of sending the only woman to have declared her intention of becoming a naturalized citizen.”<sup>17</sup>

The mere presence of so many foreign born people in Galveston also demonstrates the city's acceptance of them. Statistics can provide one dimension to describing the city and thus its views on life – its philosophy of living with those perceived as “other.” Using figures from 1910, the Census Bureau tabulated information for selected Texas cities. Galveston had a population of 36,981 and 16,252 of them were foreign born or the first generation of foreign born. Dallas had a total population of 92,104 with 14,297 of those recent migrants to the city. Thus Galveston's foreign element was twenty-seven percent of its total, while Dallas had ten percent. State wide the figure was nine percent foreign born out of a total population of 3,896,542.<sup>18</sup>

In general, Galvestonian's viewed immigration as a product of their port's activity. They welcomed immigration and seemed to be comfortable with the concept of increasing the current of migration, especially through the city. They conceived of their task as one of “funneling” immigration to the interior. This perception also manifest itself in their view of themselves as a facilitating link in the process. Even when it came to perceiving the individual immigrant as part of that flow, the newspapers, at least, seemed to reflect the business community's view of curiosity in the unusual as well as pleasure in the activity of migration.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Galveston Daily News*, May 1, 1870. Hereinafter cited as *GDN*.

<sup>2</sup>*GDN*, February 2, 1871.

<sup>3</sup>*GDN*, September 21, 1882.

<sup>4</sup>*Galveston Tribune*, May 21, 1907. Hereinafter cited as *GT*.

<sup>5</sup>*GDN*, September 30, 1885; *GDN*, October 7, 1881; *GDN*, November 11, 1880. For additional references to the rail connection with Galveston, see also *GDN*, September 24, 1882; *GDN*, March 15, 1909.

<sup>6</sup>*GDN*, October 29, 1869; *GDN*, November 3, 1869.

<sup>7</sup>*GDN*, August 17, 1907.

<sup>8</sup>*GDN*, September 27, 1914. An extensive account of the Galveston Movement has been written by Bernard Marinbach, *Galveston: Ellis Island of the West* (Albany, 1983); other sources include *The Man Who Stayed in Texas, the Life of Rabbi Henry Cohen*, by Anne Nathan and Harry I. Cohen (New York, 1941); the Rabbi Henry Cohen Papers (#79-0033) at the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; Ronald A. Axelrod, "Rabbi Henry Cohen and the Galveston Immigration Movement, 1907-1914," *East Texas Historical Journal*, 15 (1977) pp. 24-37. Some representative newspaper articles include *GDN*, June 21, 1907; July 2, 1907; August 17, 1907; March 15, 1908; March 7, 1911; September 27, 1914; October 2, 1914.

<sup>9</sup>*GDN*, February 27, 1910; for specific information on the Methodist Immigrant Home, see *GDN*, July 19, 1908; *GDN*, September 17, 1908; *GDN*, March 15, 1909; for specific information on the Federal Bureau of Information for immigrants, see *GDN*, April 25, 1908; *GDN*, March 18, 1909.

Galveston worked hard throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century to deepen their harbor for oceangoing vessels and to procure the construction of a federal immigration station and quarantine station. The story of these stations is also chronicled in the newspapers of the time. For the immigration station see *GDN*, February 1, 1906; June 11, 1906; June 12, 1906; June 20, 1906; October 9, 1906; March 30, 1907; July 23, 1907; November 1, 1907; October 6, 1909; March 28, 1912; *GT*, May 23, 1907; May 16, 1912. For the quarantine station see *GDN*, September 3, 1893; *GT*, May 20, 1907; see also the secondary source Larry J. Wygant, "The Galveston quarantine stations, 1853-1950" in *Texas Medicine*, 82 (June 1986) pp. 49-52.

<sup>10</sup>*GT*, May 16, 1912.

<sup>11</sup>*GT*, May 14, 1907; *GT*, June 3, 1907; *GDN*, May 30, 1893; *GDN*, July 24, 1907.

<sup>12</sup>An excellent account of German immigration to Texas can be found in *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin, 1966), by Terry Jordan.

<sup>13</sup>*GDN*, June 22, 1878; *GDN*, October 10, 1896.

<sup>14</sup>*Flakes' Bulletin*, May 24, 1870; *GDN*, August 28, 1892.

<sup>15</sup>*GDN*, October 10, 1896.

<sup>16</sup>*GDN*, October 5, 1885.

<sup>17</sup>*GDN*, September 28, 1907.

<sup>18</sup>*Galveston City Directory*, 1913.



**THE PINE LOG : THE FIRST YEAR 1924 - 1925**

by *Dennis Bradford*

Many elements contribute to the history and traditions of a university, among them school colors, consistent athletic or academic prowess, and yearly events. One area, student publications, does more than contribute: it documents. The yearbook, for example, contains the visual history of the school, while the student newspaper documents the life of its institution. At Stephen F. Austin State University that newspaper is *The Pine Log*.

*The Pine Log* debuted on May 31, 1924. There was only one issue that year, and it came at the end of the spring term. But it set the standard for looks, content, and quality and became the benchmark for student reporting at SFA. In her first editorial, Mary Edwards, a freshman from Troup, Texas, was realistic when she wrote, "The purpose of *The Pine Log* is to be an organ of expression for the college community – to give the news pertaining to this community; to foster and sustain true college community spirit." She continued, "Its editorial and news columns shall represent the use of our Mother Tongue in its highest purity."<sup>1</sup> The staff of two—Edwards and fellow freshman Greer Orton, Jr.,<sup>2</sup> of Nacogdoches—wasted little time doing exactly what they set out to do. The first issue contained a glimpse of the hectic, exciting, early days in the life at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College.

The written history of SFA began with an account of its birth. "The College was authorized by law as early as 1917. It was that year that the Thirty-Fifth Legislature of Texas passed an act providing for the establishment of the institution. The World War delayed implementation until the summer of 1922 when the Board of Regents chose A.W. Birdwell as president. During 1922-23, Birdwell prepared the budgets and secured the faculty. The College was due to open in the Fall 1923, but a hitch in the building plans meant that the first building would not be finished in time. Nacogdoches public school superintendent, Bob Davis came to the rescue offering facilities at the high school."<sup>3</sup> With that obstacle overcome, the faculty and 402 students<sup>4</sup> turned to teaching and learning.

That first edition of *The Pine Log* contained articles that pondered the value of higher education and the relationship between academics and sports, issues discussed and debated over seventy-five years later. The paper reported in 1924, "Faculty at Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College recently passed a regulation, whereby students who engage in intercollegiate athletics must meet a reasonable scholarship requirement. At least four courses, passing in three, and making at least six grade points; if not, they are disqualified."<sup>5</sup>

The question of whether higher education was worth the time and expense was answered. "For professional men and women of today, and even more surely of tomorrow, education means more than capacity for living. It means opportunity to get on in the world. Educated men and women stand at the top in all the professions; in law, medicine, teaching, and so on. And they are rapidly taking the lead in industry. These are facts which [need] no figures for proof.

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Everyone can see it for himself. For the profession of teaching specifically, a college education is the first, and therefore the most immediate need. There is no future to speak of for the teacher who does not have a college degree, the higher the better. If these be facts – let him who can deny them – the youth of the land should be urged to go to school. The slogan of those who wish to get on in the professions and become leaders of men must be: Go to college.”<sup>6</sup>

Socially, the College was quite active. The Anne Birdwell Club, named for Birdwell’s daughter, was a literary society that promoted “good fellowship and a spirit of comradeship, and of studying standard literature.”<sup>7</sup> Also the Stone Fort Literary Society,<sup>8</sup> the Laffalots,<sup>9</sup> and the Blue Bonnet Literary Society<sup>10</sup> were formed. The Lone Star Troop of the Girl Scouts, formed that inaugural school year, became the first troop in Nacogdoches and perhaps in East Texas.<sup>11</sup>

With the first academic year completed, the program for the College’s first commencement appeared on the front page. There were a number of events which spanned three days, June 1-3, 1924.<sup>12</sup>

The Stephen F. Austin (Main) Building was completed during that school year, but by then SFASTC was already expanding. When he heard that the College needed a gymnasium, Frank S. Aikman, president of the Mahdeen Company, donated \$12,000 in cash to be used to construct the facility. It was a wood frame building measuring 110 feet by 140 feet and built on a concrete foundation with wood floors; it had steam heat, lockers, offices for the Department of Education, and a 25 foot by 50 foot stage.<sup>13</sup>

Also in the first issue, the student paper announced that world famous poet Karle Wilson Baker of Nacogdoches would teach at the summer school. Baker would teach English 215 and 216, or courses in contemporary poetry, “designed to give students knowledge of the best literature of living poets and an appreciation and judgment of the poetry of our own times.”<sup>14</sup>

Even in its first year, sports teams in football, basketball, baseball, and track represented the College. They achieved modest success and laid the groundwork for the future.<sup>15</sup>

Local merchants were quick to realize that the College offered a new market for their goods and services. Among the ads appearing in the paper were those offering cameras and film developing, furniture, clothing, barber shops, automobile filling stations, jewelry, drugs, groceries, local theatres, foods, and car rental. Many of the names of the merchants are familiar today, although perhaps in strange combinations or businesses. There were Stripling, Hazelwood & Co., Jessels Jewelry, Ye Campus Shoppe, Palace Theatre, Tucker - Hayter 7 Co., Co - Operative Furniture Co., J.F. Summers & Sons, Orton Furniture, Guaranty Bank and Trust, Commercial Guaranty State Bank, Burrows Bros., Branch - Patton Grocery Co., Swift Bros. & Smith, Inc., and others.<sup>16</sup>

When the students returned for the Fall term in 1924, the staff of *The Pine Log* continued the routine business of reporting and documenting the life of the College. The first issue of volume two was published on October 18. It proudly proclaimed from its banner and masthead that it would appear every two weeks

during the school year.<sup>17</sup> Campus society resumed its frantic pace with the addition of the Young Women's Christian Association,<sup>18</sup> the Thomas J. Rusk Literary Society,<sup>19</sup> and the Karle Wilson Baker Dramatic Club.<sup>20</sup> The faculty and staff welcomed new faces. George Millard, a graduate of Sewanee University and captain of its football team, became SFA's line coach.<sup>21</sup> Professor C.C. Johnson, who was graduated from the University of Colorado and the Simmons College, assumed his duties in the Mathematics and Science Department.<sup>22</sup>

On November 7, 1924, Aikman Gymnasium was dedicated.<sup>23</sup> The new building quickly became the center of cultural and social life for the College. An open house for students was held there every Saturday night from 7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. The stage became the site for productions presented by the Karle Wilson Baker Dramatic Club, concerts, and speakers.

The humorous talents of *The Pine Log* staff resulted in "The Log of Alexander Salamander Johenery Jones, Freshman." The series first appeared on November 15, 1924, and continued through the Spring term in 1925. In diary form, it "chronicled" the trials and tribulations of a "typical" college freshman and his attempts to negotiate the hurdles and pitfalls of college life in the 1920s. It also served as a gossip column.<sup>24</sup>

Primarily a college paper, the staff of *The Pine Log* could not ignore events in Nacogdoches. The rivalry between Nacogdoches High School and Lufkin High School was captured on November 11, 1924, when the Nacogdoches football team (no mascot named) defeated the Lufkin Panthers in a hard-fought game. The score was 9 to 0, and the game was played in Lufkin before a crowd of 3,000 spectators.<sup>25</sup> It seems not much has changed in seventy-five years.

In December, the College Football Banquet was held at the Redland Hotel, later the site of the Godtell Ministry. Head coach Robert Shelton presented fourteen letter sweaters to members of the Lumberjack team. The letter was a "T" in those early days. Sam Davis was elected team captain for the coming season.<sup>26</sup>

When the Spring term got under way, the editor of *The Stone Fort* year book called for all students to have their pictures (Kodaks) taken.<sup>27</sup> He also pressed the need for everyone to support *The Stone Fort* by buying a copy of the annual. He published figures that showed the cost to produce the book was estimated at \$2,834.<sup>28</sup>

That spring, the SFASTC campus was growing again. Work on the A.W. Birdwell athletic field with a new quarter-mile track and college field was nearly complete.<sup>29</sup>

The formation of an athletic association for women was announced in the issue on February 7, 1925. The new Lumberjack members of the Women's Athletic Association moved immediately to seek admission to the Athletic Conference of American College women.<sup>30</sup>

Crossword puzzles were popular, so inevitably they appeared in *The Pine Log*. The puzzle on February 7 was created by the staff, and knowledge of campus life was required to fill the blanks successfully. The instructions

informed the reader that the puzzle should be solved in not less than thirty-two minutes, but a person of superior intellect could complete it in thirty.<sup>31</sup>

British soldier, writer, lecturer, and poet Tom Skeyhill presented his famous lecture, "The Trojan Way," in Aikman Gymnasium on February 11, 1925. Skeyhill said, "The youth of today must find a way to keep peace; the three great gifts of the late war are skepticism, a desire for peace, and a new sense of religious values – all three gifts together will result in a new civilization opposed to war."<sup>32</sup>

In addition to the location of SFASTC home basketball games, Aikman Gymnasium continued to serve as a cultural Mecca for Nacogdoches. Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro*, a comic opera, was presented to an immense audience by a traveling group, the William Wade Hinshaw Company.<sup>33</sup> Pianist Reuben Davies, along with violinist and vocalist Caroline Powers Thomas, also entertained a huge audience.<sup>34</sup> The world-renowned baritone Oscar Seagle offered an excellent performance,<sup>35</sup> while the Sewanee Glee Club also was a crowd pleaser.<sup>36</sup>

The College hosted the first regional track meet for high school teams in the East Texas area. The first Piney Woods Track Meet was held April 10 - 11, 1925. Sixteen East Texas high schools sent 175 athletes to compete. Houston's Central High School took top team honors, while [no first name listed] Marsalis, from Humble, was individual champion.<sup>37</sup>

Throughout the year, *The Pine Log* kept the campus community informed on the struggles of the football and track teams, as well as the triumphs of the basketball and baseball teams. Sam Davis became SFA's first true sports hero when he lettered in four different sports. Davis played fullback for the football team, guard for the basketball team, first base during the baseball season, and hurled the javelin during track season.<sup>38</sup>

By the end of the school year in May 1925, the staff of *The Pine Log* had swelled to twelve students as budding journalists flocked to the paper's banner.<sup>39</sup> In the beginning there had only been Mary Edwards and Greer Orton. Together with professor of English Thomas E. Ferguson, the faculty advisor, they began a tradition that has become one of the important threads that binds all who have attended SFA throughout the years.



Mary Edwards



Professor T.E. Ferguson



Greer Orton

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Making Our Editorial Bow," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 2.
- <sup>2</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Masthead," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 2.
- <sup>3</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Stephen F. Austin Teachers College Has Fine History," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>4</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Phenomenal Increase of Enrollment in College," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>5</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Making Our Editorial Bow," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 2.
- <sup>6</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Does Higher Education Pay?," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 2.
- <sup>7</sup>*The Pine Log*, "The Anne Birdwell Club," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>8</sup>*The Pine Log*, "The Stone Fort Library [sic] Society," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>9</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Do You Know the Laffalots?," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>10</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Blue Bonnet Literary Society," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 3.
- <sup>11</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Girl Scouts Have An Excellent Organization," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>12</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Commencement Program," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1.
- <sup>13</sup>*The Pine Log*, "College Has Received Many Gifts," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 4.
- <sup>14</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Will Teach in the Summer School," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 3.
- <sup>15</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Athletic Retrospective and Prospective," May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 4.
- <sup>16</sup>*The Pine Log*, May 31, 1924, V. 1, No. 1, p. 1. - May 16, 1925, V. 2, No. 15.
- <sup>17</sup>*The Pine Log*, October 18, 1924, V. 2, No. 1, pp. 1, 2.
- <sup>18</sup>*The Pine Log*, "The Y.W.C.A.," November 1, 1924, V. 2, No. 2, p. 1.
- <sup>19</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Thomas J. Rusk Literary Society," November 1, 1924, V. 2, No. 2, p. 1.
- <sup>20</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Karle Wilson Baker Dramatic Club Re-organizes," November 1, 1924, V. 2, No. 2, p. 4.
- <sup>21</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Captain Millard Secured As Line Coach," November 1, 1924, V. 2, No. 2, p. 1.
- <sup>22</sup>*The Pine Log*, "New Man Added to Faculty," November 1, 1924, V. 2, No. 2, p. 1.
- <sup>23</sup>*The Pine Log*, "New Aikman Gymnasium Is Dedicated," November 1, 1924, V. 2, No. 2, p. 1.
- <sup>24</sup>*The Pine Log*, "The Log Of Alexander Salamander Johenery Jones," November 15, 1924, V. 2, No. 3, p. 1.
- <sup>25</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Nacogdoches Defeats Lufkin High 9-0," November 15, 1924, V. 2, No. 3, p. 3.
- <sup>26</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Lumberjacks Banqueted at Redlands Hotel," December 13, 1924, V. 2, No. 5, p. 1.
- <sup>27</sup>*The Pine Log*, "All Pictures For The Annual Must Be Made By Monday," January 10, 1925, V. 2, No. 6, p. 1.
- <sup>28</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Annual Estimates," January 10, 1925, V. 2, No. 6, p. 1.
- <sup>29</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Track Field Is Nearing Completion," January 24, 1925, V. 2, No. 7, p. 1.
- <sup>30</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Athletic Ass'n Is Organized For Women," February 7, 1925, V. 2, No. 8, p. 1.
- <sup>31</sup>*The Pine Log*, "This Week's Crossword Puzzle," February 7, 1925, V. 2, No. 8, p. 4.
- <sup>32</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Tom Skeyhill Is Heard By Big Audience," February 21, 1925, V. 2, No. 9, p. 1.
- <sup>33</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Marriage Of Figaro Is Musical Success Of Season," March 7, 1925, V. 2, No. 10, p. 2.
- <sup>34</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Davies-Thomas Joint Recital Is Well Liked," April 10, 1925, V. 2, No. 12, p. 1.

- <sup>15</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Oscar Seagle Renders Very Fine Performance," May 2, 1925, V. 2, No. 14, p. 1.
- <sup>16</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Sewanee Glee Club Delights Music Lovers," May 2, 1925, V. 2, No. 14, p. 1.
- <sup>17</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Piney Woods Track Meet Is Well Attended," April 18, 1925, V. 2, No. 13, p. 1.
- <sup>18</sup>*The Pine Log*, "Sam Davis SFA's First Four-Letter Man," May 16, 1925, V. 2, No. 15, p. 3.
- <sup>19</sup>*The Pine Log*, May 16, 1925, V. 2, No. 15, p. 2.

**ADVANCING FROM HISTORY'S  
HOLLOW TO HISTORY'S MOUNTAIN:  
SOURCES ON AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY IN TEXAS**

by *Alwyn Barr*

During a conference on Civil Rights in Austin at the Lyndon Johnson Presidential Library in 1972, former President Johnson declared:

Until we overcome unequal history, we cannot overcome unequal opportunity. But to be black in a white society is not to stand on equal and level ground. While the races may stand side by side, whites stand on history's mountain and blacks stand in history's hollow ... It's time we get down to the business of trying to stand black and white on level ground.<sup>1</sup>

These words of Lyndon Johnson provide the theme of this essay: advancing from history's hollow to history's mountain. An important contribution to that advance will be the writing of more and better articles and books on African Americans in Texas. To produce those studies it is necessary to know about the source materials that are available and what additional materials should be collected.

Two essays offer starting points. In a bibliographical chapter on "Black Texans" in *A Guide to the History of Texas* (1988)<sup>2</sup> I described what had been written at that time. My historiographical essay, "African Americans in Texas: From Stereotypes to Diverse Roles," in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations* (1991)<sup>3</sup> provides an analysis of books and articles as well as suggestions about topics in need of further research.

To pursue new research, writers must make full use of a wide range of original sources. Major newspapers of most cities and towns are useful, although they usually reflected bias against blacks until the mid-twentieth century. A good example of their effective use is Lawrence D. Rice, *The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900* (1971). African American newspapers began to appear in the larger towns after the Civil War. Few copies from the late nineteenth century have been found; the discovery of others would be most enlightening. For the twentieth century the most valuable black newspapers are the *Houston Informer* and the *Dallas Express*, since extensive runs of each have been microfilmed and are available in major city and university libraries. The *Galveston City Times* and the *San Antonio Register* are available on microfilm for briefer periods. National black papers, such as the *Washington New Era* during Reconstruction, the *Indianapolis Freeman* late in the nineteenth century, and the *Chicago Defender* early in the twentieth century, contain accounts of events, persons, and communities in Texas. They, too, may be found on microfilm. Tuskegee Institute kept files of newspaper clippings from 1899 to 1966 on events involving African Americans, including those in Texas, that may be viewed on microfilm.

Several national African American magazines have published articles on

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Texas in the twentieth century. *Crisis*, the voice of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has carried discussions of civil rights issues and activities. In *Opportunity*, the National Urban League has mentioned economic and social concerns. *Ebony* has explored social events and focused on rising leaders, as did *Sepia*, published in Fort Worth for readers across the nation. The newspapers or magazines of various religious denominations are valuable for comments on churches and religious leaders.<sup>4</sup> Two topics that deserve further exploration through newspapers and magazines are literary efforts and sports activities.

Books and pamphlets also represent important printed sources. A few autobiographies have been written by black Texans, including Jeff Hamilton, *My Master* (1940; reprint 1993), by a slave of Sam Houston; J. Vance Lewis, *Out of the Ditch: True Story of an Ex-Slave* (1910), who became an attorney; Henry Flipper, *Negro Frontiersman* (1963; expanded edition 1997), by an army officer; and James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement* (1985), by one of its leaders. City directories provide useful information on individual occupations, businesses, churches, and schools. The directories for Dallas, Galveston, and San Antonio are on microfilm through 1900. Some volumes privately printed by blacks remain elusive but are extremely valuable for research. The *Red Book of Houston* (1915) offers sketches of individuals and institutions in the black community of that city. Other examples are H.T. Kealing, *History of African Methodism in Texas* (1885), W.A. Redwine, *Brief History of the Negro in Five Counties* (1901, reprinted in the *Chronicles of Smith County, Texas*, 1972), and Ira Bryant, *Negro Church of Houston* (1936). The centennial histories of many churches appeared in the 1960s and 1970s, but are little known outside the local community. Other volumes that fall into these categories need to be located, preserved, and possibly reprinted for wider use.

Related to printed sources are photographs that offer important insights about individuals, groups, homes and institutions, and clothing. Major collections are in the Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, the Center for American History at the University of Texas in Austin, the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, the Rosenberg Library in Galveston, and the archives at Texas A&M University. The Museum of African American Life and Culture in Dallas recently obtained the *Sepia Magazine Collection* of over 40,000 photographs that span 1945 to 1983.<sup>5</sup> Visual materials have not been published extensively, but good presentations are Lynne Adele, *Black History/Black Vision* (1989) and *Behold the People: R.C. Hickman's Photographs of Black Dallas, 1949-1961* (1994) which offer illustrations of work by African American artists and a photographer. A history of photographers and examples of their work appear in Alan Govenar, *Portraits of Community: African American Photography in Texas* (1996).

Studies of black material culture provide important insights into the clothing, furniture, and daily lives of people in earlier periods. Museums with valuable collections and exhibits include the Institute of Texan Cultures in San



Antonio, the George Washington Carver Museum in Austin, and the Museum of African American Life and Culture in Dallas. Archaeological work can supplement material culture collections with artifacts or careful restoration of historic sites. One possible example may be the work conducted at the Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas.<sup>6</sup> A study that clarifies the value of such efforts is Terry Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (1982).

Oral history interviews have been gathered during the twentieth century to provide information not available in written records. The Federal Writers' Project during the 1930s collected narratives of former slaves who also offered information on emancipation and Reconstruction. Selections from these interviews were published by Ron Tyler and Lawrence Murphy as *The Slave Narratives of Texas* (1974, reprinted 1996). A multi-volume series edited by George Rawick, *The American Slave* (1972-1977), contains eleven volumes of interviews with former slaves in Texas. Their value is reflected in two important studies by Randolph B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas* (1989), and by James M. Smallwood, *Time of Hope, Time of Despair: Black Texans During Reconstruction* (1981). Other projects have focused on twentieth-century events and people. Ruth Edmonds Hill has edited *The Black Women Oral History Project* (1992) in eleven volumes that include interviews with Christia Adair of Houston and Juanita Craft of Dallas. The Oral History Collection at Baylor University has gathered unpublished interviews with black teachers, sports figures, and political leaders. East Texas State University and Texas Tech University have taped personal accounts by local black leaders in education, farming, and politics. Texans, including James Farmer of CORE and Juanita Craft of the Dallas NAACP, are among those who were interviewed for the Civil Rights Documentation Project at Howard University in Washington, D.C.<sup>7</sup> Probably the most extensive published example of a modern oral history project is Ruthe Winegarten, *I Am Annie Mae* (1983), based on interviews with a Dallas woman about her range of economic and civic activities. There is a need for additional oral history interviews, especially with African American musicians, such as those edited by Glen Alyn in *Mance Lipscomb: Grimes County Blues Master* (1993).

Researchers also should be aware of a variety of unpublished manuscript sources. First, there are public records at the local level. These include tax rolls, deed records, probate records, as well as county court and district court records – all useful for the history of slavery and for individuals and events after the Civil War. Campbell employed them skillfully in *Empire for Slavery*. For the post-1865 period, the records of city councils, health departments, and school boards are valuable sources for studies of topics such as education and law enforcement.<sup>8</sup>

State records are equally important. The Archives Division of the Texas State Library in Austin has several collections that relate to black history. There are lists of voters who registered during Reconstruction, records of the legislatures and constitutional conventions that had black members, and letters

to governors from black leaders and citizens. The papers of the Texas adjutant general provide material on the state police during Reconstruction and the militia that included black members, as well as on lynchings, segregation, and voting rights. Civil rights cases are among those in the records of the Texas Supreme Court. The Archives and Records Division of the Texas General Land Office holds information on land grants to free blacks who served in the Texas Revolution.<sup>9</sup> George Woolfolk used state records in his account of *The Free Negro in Texas* (1976). Further study could explore African American land acquisition in a state that controlled its public lands.

Records of the federal government are crucial for many African American topics. The primary depository, the National Archives in Washington, D.C., has a branch in Fort Worth that holds some original records for the South Central region as well as microfilm of several record groups in Washington. These include United States manuscript census returns, presently available up through 1920, which can provide biographical information on individuals and families such as occupation, age, place of birth, education, and, from 1850 to 1870, property holdings. Microfilm of these census returns also may be found in larger city and university libraries. The Federal Records Center in Fort Worth also contains military records of black soldiers and several rolls of microfilmed Freedmen's Bureau papers on Texas which offer insights into labor, violence, and education during Reconstruction. Barry Crouch elaborates on "Hidden Sources of Black History: The Texas Freedmen's Bureau Records as a Case Study," in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (January 1980). Other valuable records include those of the Federal Extension Service, which contain information on black and white farming and rural living conditions from 1909 to 1944. Records of the Fair Employment Practices Committee reveal job discrimination during World War II. Federal court records include civil rights cases from Texas. Another branch of the National Archives, the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, holds papers on the civil rights movement in the 1960s and the political career of Barbara Jordan, the first black member of Congress from Texas.<sup>10</sup> A study partially based on federal records is Robert V. Haynes, *A Night of Violence: The Houston Riot of 1917* (1976).

Private papers of individuals and groups form another significant type of manuscript source. Public libraries and local historical societies contain several valuable collections. For example, the Metropolitan Research Center of the Houston Public Library has the papers of black businesses and churches, such as the Antioch Baptist Church materials, in the Vanita Crawford collection. The center also has papers of social organizations, including the City Federation of African American Women's Clubs. In the library are records of the Colored Trainmen of America and other labor unions, as well as papers of prominent families and individuals such as Christia Adair, a leading civil-rights advocate in Houston.<sup>11</sup> The Museum of African American Life and Culture in Dallas has collections on the political and social history of the community as well as the Bishop College Archives and a collection on black women in Texas. At the Dallas Public Library are some papers of Juanita

Craft, a Dallas city council member, and the records of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce. In the Dallas Historical Society may be found records of fraternal, educational, and business institutions, especially the Crawford Funeral Home. The Rosenberg Library in Galveston holds the papers of Leon Morgan, a black educator who was also active in cultural and religious endeavors. Records of slavery, schools, churches, and individuals, such as writer Ada Simonds, are available in the Austin Public Library.<sup>12</sup> Local history journals, especially the *Houston Review*, the *Chronicles of Smith County, Texas*, and *Legacies* in Dallas, have begun to publish more on these topics, but the need remains for further studies, especially of women's activities.

Universities and colleges also hold important collections of manuscripts. For example, the Center for American History at the University of Texas in Austin recently acquired the papers of James Farmer, a Texan who became the national leader of the Congress of Racial Equality. Other collections in the Center for American History include the papers of J.B. Rayner, a Populist political leader and later a college president; musician Mance Lipscomb; material on desegregation of the University of Texas at Austin; and some papers of Dallas civil-rights and political leader Juanita Craft.<sup>13</sup> A fine study based on such materials is Gregg Cantrell, *Kenneth and John B. Rayner and the Limits of Southern Dissent* (1993).

The Texas Collection at Baylor University holds the papers of nationally prominent singer Jules Bledsoe, the Farmers Improvement Society of Texas and its founder R.L. Smith, and various Waco political and civil-rights leaders. In the archives at the University of Texas at Arlington are the Lee Lewis papers, which include records of the Texas Federation Club, a black union group. The papers of Joseph Chatman, a president of the Lone Star Medical Association, are in the Southwest Collection at Texas Tech University.<sup>14</sup>

The several colleges originally founded for black students are important because of their own archives and publications including catalogs. Prairie View A&M University also holds the records of the Interscholastic League and the Agricultural Extension Service for African Americans. Texas Southern University in Houston has established a Barbara Jordan Archives. The papers of W.R. Banks, a former president of both Texas College and Prairie View, are at Texas College in Tyler.<sup>15</sup> The best use of these materials has been by George Woolfolk in a study of *Prairie View* (1962) and by Michael Heintze in *Private Black Colleges in Texas* (1985).

Universities and libraries outside the state hold several manuscript collections on Texas topics. For example, the Bennett College library in Greensboro, North Carolina, holds the papers of N.W. Cuney, the late nineteenth-century Republican leader. The Fondren Library at Rice University has microfilm of the Cuney materials. Records of schools, churches, and ministers in Texas are among the records in the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee. Texas materials also are available in the records of the General Board of Christian Education for the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church in Memphis, Tennessee. The Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., has two

collections important to Texans. The Booker T. Washington papers, now partially published, contain letters from state leaders such as Emmett J. Scott. The papers of the NAACP, some portions of which have been microfilmed, include materials on local chapters and leaders as well as significant legal cases such as *Nixon, Smith, and Sweatt*.<sup>16</sup> The best study based on those records is Darlene Hine, *Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas* (1979).

Finally, many important manuscripts remain in private hands, including the papers of individuals, major fraternal organizations such as the Masons, local chapters of civil rights groups, women's clubs, labor unions, businesses, and church congregations. Some of these records need to be located. Other materials could be better preserved and used if they were placed in libraries. Papers that cannot be transferred to a library because of individual or group restrictions might be copied or microfilmed for greater use. All of these topics deserve further study.

The more extensive use of available sources and the discovery and preservation of new materials should lead to additional books and articles, especially on previously unresearched topics. Those publications in turn will help answer the call to advance studies of the African American community in Texas from history's hollow to history's mountain.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Life* (December 29, 1972), p. 16D.

<sup>2</sup>Light Townsend Cummins and Alvin R. Bailey, Jr., eds., *A Guide to the History of Texas* (New York, 1988), pp. 107-121.

<sup>3</sup>Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert, eds., *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations* (College Station, 1991), pp. 50-80.

<sup>4</sup>Some of the magazines have been microfilmed and should be available in major city and university libraries, or through interlibrary loan.

<sup>5</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, December 15, 1990; Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, *Black Dallas in the 1950s: Photographs from the R.C. Hickman Archives* (Austin, 1987); Charles R. Schultz to A.B., March 27, 1986 (Texas A&M University Archives).

<sup>6</sup>Paula Eyrich Tyler and Ron Tyler, *Texas Museums: A Guidebook* (Austin, 1983); *Dallas Morning News*, October 5, 21, 1990 (Freedman's Cemetery).

<sup>7</sup>Jim Conrad to A.B., March 26, 1986 (East Texas State University); Rebecca Sharpless Jimenez and others, eds., *Baylor University, Institute for Oral History: A Guide to the Collection, 1970-85* (Waco, 1985).

<sup>8</sup>Some county records are available on microfilm through interlibrary loan from the Local Records Division of the Texas State Library in Austin.

<sup>9</sup>Michael R. Green to A.B., March 26, 1986 (Archives, Texas State Library); Michael Q. Hooks, "The General Land Office: Preserving Texas History Through Land Records," *Heritage 2* (Summer, 1985), pp. 8-11, 17.

<sup>10</sup>National Archives, *Black Studies: A Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications* (Washington, 1984).

<sup>11</sup>Howard Beeth to A.B., March 27, 1986 (Houston Metropolitan Research Center); Cummins and Bailey, *Guide to the History of Texas*, p. 223; Texas State Historical Association, *Women and Texas History: An Archival Bibliography* (Austin, 1990), pp. 19-21.

<sup>12</sup>W. Marvin Dulaney to A.B., December 17, 1990 (Museum of African American Life and Culture); Museum of African American Life and Culture, *Preserving and Sharing a Precious Legacy*; Donald Payton to A.B., April 6, 1986 (Dallas Historical Society); Casey Edward Greene to A. B., April 5, 1986 (Rosenberg Library); May Schmidt, "Sources of Information Relating to Blacks in the Austin-Travis County Collection of the Austin Public Library" (1979); Cummins and Bailey, *Guide to the History of Texas*, pp. 200-201.

<sup>13</sup>Don E. Carleton to A.B., April 1, 1986 (Barker Texas History Center); Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, *Newsletter* (Fall, 1985), Spring, 1988); University of Texas at Austin, *Library Resources for the Study of African American History and Culture*; John Slate, "Sources for Black History at the Barker Texas History Center" (1991).

<sup>14</sup>University of Texas at Arlington, "Texas Black History Sources in the Archives," Texas State Historical Association, *Women and Texas History*, p. 66; Ellen Kuniyuki Brown to A.B., April 21, 1986 (Baylor University).

<sup>15</sup>Esther H. Baker, "Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Prairie View Interscholastic League of Texas" (1974); Texas Southern University Library, *The Special Collections*.

<sup>16</sup>Walter Schatz, ed., *Directory of Afro-American Resources* (New York, 1970).

**HARMON GENERAL HOSPITAL**

*by Ken Durham*

When the citizens of Longview, Texas, heard the shocking news of the surprise attack upon Pearl Harbor by Japan they did not realize how directly the war would be brought home to them. With the entrance of the United States into World War II in December 1941, the government began selecting sites across the nation for naval and air bases, Army training centers, hospitals, and many other facilities.

Longview community leaders joined the rush of cities competing for these essential military establishments. Led by Carl Estes, publisher of the *Longview Daily News*, a group of thirty Longview businessmen sent Grady Shipp to Washington in January 1942 to present Longview's advantages to Representative Lindy Beckworth, Senator Tom Connally, and military and political leaders. Shipp, the director of the Longview Chamber of Commerce, secured an Army hospital for Longview late in March 1942.<sup>1</sup>

The Army chose part of James A. Holloway's farm, located just south of Longview, as the hospital site. Holloway reluctantly agreed to sell part of his farm to the government, but when the Army forcibly took additional acreage which Holloway had not agreed to sell, he refused the government's offer. He could not believe his government would treat him this way when it was fighting a war to destroy Nazi Germany for treating its citizens in a similar fashion.<sup>2</sup> A land condemnation suit was filed in the federal district court in Tyler, but Holloway still refused to accept a price set by a court-appointed, three-member commission or one subsequently set by a trial jury. His heirs, however, accepted the payment after Holloway's death in 1946.<sup>3</sup> The Army officially announced the choice of Longview as the site of a 1,500 bed hospital in April and work began a few weeks later on the 156-acre plot.<sup>4</sup> Construction was of the cantonment-type, consisting of wooden frame barracks with asbestos shingle siding. During the summer and early fall over 150 buildings were erected by thousands of local laborers.<sup>5</sup>

The hospital had a major impact on Longview. It continued the economic and population boom begun a decade earlier by the discovery and development of the East Texas Oil Field. It helped to enlarge Longview's population from less than 14,000 in 1940 to approximately 30,000 in 1946,<sup>6</sup> and it brought to Longview, for the first time, large numbers of people from outside the South. The Federal Housing Administration designated Longview as a Defence Housing Area because of inadequate housing for hospital personnel. This designation allowed Longview to construct apartments and houses during the war.<sup>7</sup>

The Army named the hospital in memory of Colonel Daniel Warrick Harmon, who served in the Army Medical Corps from 1904 until his death in 1940.<sup>8</sup> Colonel Governor V. Emerson, a native of Pennsylvania, an orthopedic surgeon, and a twenty-six-year veteran of the Army Medical Corps, was appointed commander of Harmon General Hospital in October 1942.<sup>9</sup>

The number of buildings and facilities grew constantly throughout the life of the hospital, which included 119 buildings and provided 1,525 beds when activated on November 24, 1942,<sup>10</sup> but at its peak early in 1945 there were 157 hospital buildings and 2,939 beds.<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, the entire complex consisted of 232 buildings and cost over \$5,000,000.<sup>12</sup> In addition to the hospital staff of over 700 officers and enlisted men and about seventy nurses, the facility housed 270 Women's Army Corps personnel, two or three training hospitals of 300 people each, and over 200 German prisoners of war.<sup>13</sup> Three and one-half miles of covered ramps connected the hospital buildings.<sup>14</sup> The post also had a 120,000-gallon water tower, a railroad spur and detraining platform, and a fire department. A post exchange had a restaurant, barbershop, beauty shop, tailor shop,<sup>15</sup> and a branch of Longview's First National Bank.<sup>16</sup> Protestant and Catholic chaplains and the Jewish rabbi from Marshall, Texas, conducted services in the chapel.<sup>17</sup> There was a library with 8,000 books, a weekly newspaper, *The Harmonizer*, and a Western Union office.<sup>18</sup> The hospital complex provided a self-contained community for the 4,000 to 5,000 hospital patients, personnel, and the associated training detachments. A welcome improvement during 1943 was the installation of attic fans in all the hospital wards and living quarters and air conditioners in all operating and recovery rooms.<sup>19</sup>

Harmon General Hospital was one of fifty-nine Army general hospitals in the nation and one of ten in the southwestern states of New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Arkansas which comprised the Eighth Service Command, headquartered in Dallas. The other Army hospitals in Texas were William Beaumont in El Paso, Ashburn in McKinney, Brooke in San Antonio, and McCloskey in Temple.<sup>20</sup> At its peak Harmon had over forty medical and dental officers who presided over ten medical sections.<sup>21</sup> Due to its specialties in central nervous system syphilis and psychiatry<sup>22</sup> and its designation as a center for tropical and dermatologic diseases, the great majority of patients were ambulatory upon arrival, and it was unusual to have patients on the seriously ill list.<sup>23</sup> In fact, 73.3 percent of the patients admitted during 1944 and 1945 were admitted for disease. Only 14.7 percent were battle casualties, and twelve percent were admitted for injuries.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, only thirty-eight military patients died at Harmon out of more than 23,000 treated, and six of these deaths resulted from automobile accidents involving patients who were allowed to leave the hospital grounds.<sup>25</sup>

Harmon's average daily patient load rose throughout the war. It increased from 824 patients in 1943 to 1,247 patients in 1944, and 2,108 patients in 1945.<sup>26</sup> Of the 23,405 active-duty personnel admitted to Harmon, almost eighty-five percent were Army enlisted men, thirteen percent were Army officers, and there was a small number of Army nurses, WACs, and Navy and Marine personnel.<sup>27</sup>

During the early months of 1945, 20,000 overseas casualties arrived at the nation's military hospitals each month.<sup>28</sup> According to U.S. Surgeon General Norman T. Kirk, the peak patient load for the stateside Army general hospitals was reached on August 12, 1945, when 320,000 were hospitalized.<sup>29</sup> The highest patient load at Harmon was 2,804 on April 4, 1945.<sup>30</sup>

Colonel Emerson encouraged the use and development of new medicines and medical innovations. Mass production of penicillin did not begin in the United States until 1941 and Harmon received its first supply on December 30, 1943.<sup>31</sup> Penicillin was so successful that by the end of 1944 only seven gonorrhea patients remained in Harmon.<sup>32</sup> The Harmon pharmacy also devised enteric-coated penicillin capsules for oral use six months before the development was published in medical journals.<sup>33</sup>

Syphilis and malaria were two of the major diseases weakening American troops in all theatres of the war,<sup>34</sup> and an interesting technique at Harmon was the use of malaria to cure patients of central nervous system syphilis. In June 1944, Harmon was designated for specialized treatment of this disease.<sup>35</sup> Patients with syphilis were allowed to volunteer for the malaria fever therapy or to use the traditional thermal therapy. The volunteers were inoculated with malaria by anopheles mosquitoes. When the patient's temperature reached 105 or 106 degrees, the fever killed the syphilis. The patients were then treated for the malaria.<sup>36</sup> However, the patients could not be cured of malaria. The best treatment was atabrine, a preparation of quinacrine, which merely suppressed malaria attacks but did not cleanse the blood system of the plasmodia.<sup>37</sup>

Working closely with the Syphilis Center was the Laboratory for Imported Malarial Studies. This research laboratory, established in April 1944, was one of four in the country operated by the U.S. Public Health Service.<sup>38</sup> The laboratory included an insectory where colonies of several native species of mosquitoes were maintained. They fed on voluntary subjects who had returned from tropical war zones with malaria. The infected mosquitoes were then used to inoculate the syphilis patients for malaria therapy, and research was conducted on the ability of various species of native mosquitoes to transmit malaria.<sup>39</sup>

In January 1945, Harmon was permitted to establish an artificial eye center in the eye, ear, nose, and throat section. A process of making artificial eyes from plastic rather than glass had been developed by two dentists using the same material they used in making dentures, and consequently, a dental officer at Harmon received training in this process at Brooke General Hospital in San Antonio. Eye coloring could be matched much more closely using plastic than glass, and plastic eyes proved popular among the 158 Harmon patients who received them in 1945.<sup>40</sup>

Colonel Emerson established two advanced and distinguishing medical practices at Harmon. These were the conservative policy of performing surgery only if the need was clearly and unmistakably indicated by the patient's medical records, and the policy of early ambulation. All sections encouraged this latter practice because it reduced post-operative nursing care and promoted early return to duty.<sup>41</sup>

Most of the doctors at Harmon were highly qualified, and the heads of the various sections were American Board Members in their fields.<sup>42</sup> The pathological laboratory, under the direction of Colonel Stuart W. Lippincott, was recognized as the most efficient laboratory in the Eighth Service Command.<sup>43</sup> Emerson promoted cooperation among the various medical sections by the exchange of information at daily pathological conferences



where the doctors discussed unusual cases in diagnosis and treatment.<sup>44</sup> In addition to these daily conferences, Emerson scheduled leading medical authorities to speak at Harmon.<sup>45</sup>

Most of the medical officers at Harmon were involved in conducting research, speaking to medical societies, and publishing professional papers. During 1944 and 1945 the medical staff made nineteen presentations to county, state, and national medical societies and had thirty-three papers published or accepted for publication.<sup>46</sup> The papers covered various aspects of medicine, but many of them dealt with malaria research at Harmon.

Training of medical personnel was also a vital part of the work of Harmon General Hospital. During 1944, forty-nine recent medical school graduates received six weeks' training at Harmon, which also trained the staffs of seven Army general hospitals for overseas duty during 1943 and 1944.<sup>47</sup> Each of these training units consisted of 200 to 300 medical officers, nurses, and enlisted men who were quartered in the barracks at Harmon. When Harmon was short handed the trainees worked as an integral part of the Harmon medical team.<sup>48</sup>

During 1945, two Women's Army Corps hospital companies, each numbering between 100 and 200 members, were trained at Harmon as reconditioning therapists, medical and dental technicians, and as nurses.<sup>49</sup> In addition, one WAC service unit was stationed permanently at Harmon to assist in various capacities after receiving training there. Nine members of this service unit served as military police.<sup>50</sup> The arrival of these WAC units broke the monotony and created a great deal of extra-curricular excitement for the patients. According to Eunice Todd, a medical technician, "Those soldiers just did everything you could imagine—broke every rule. It was bedlam around there for a while."<sup>51</sup>

The hospital staff and East Texas citizens provided more formal ways of breaking the monotony. The special services and reconditioning section cooperated with the Red Cross to bring quality entertainment and recreation to Harmon. A large gymnasium, completed in January 1944, and a theatre, completed later that year, contributed greatly to the recreational program.<sup>52</sup> Entertainment was also provided by Harmon's resident band and orchestra, by USO groups, and by the appearance of celebrities, including movie stars.<sup>53</sup> The more advanced reconditioning patients were provided bicycles for extended rides around the country side,<sup>54</sup> and they worked in the hospital and engaged in athletic tournaments.<sup>55</sup> These patients also were reconditioned by refreshing their marching skills. One such group, when marching down a post street, found itself on a head-on collision course with a group of German prisoners marching to their work assignment, and all the patients scattered because their marching skills were too rusty to obey the command "Right About March." The patients did not know who got the biggest laugh, themselves or the German prisoners who continued marching.<sup>56</sup>

Harmon male staff members organized inter-base athletic teams. Their baseball team, the Harmonknights, compiled a record of 35-2 in 1945.<sup>57</sup> The same year the basketball team won the Eighth Service Command tournament championship. Civilian and military staff women formed intra-base volleyball,

bowling, tennis, archery, and softball leagues.<sup>58</sup>

World War II generated tremendous patriotism across the nation, and Harmon did its part to promote patriotism in Longview and East Texas. During 1944 and 1945, radio station KWKH in Shreveport broadcast a daily show, "Heroes Come to Harmon," which spotlighted the military action of the patients, from hospital wards.<sup>59</sup> Beginning the first Friday in May 1943 and continuing throughout the war, Emerson held military awards ceremonies at the flag pole in front of the headquarters building.<sup>60</sup> Harmon's patients and personnel participated in the Fourth through the Seventh War Bond Drives by sponsoring war-bond dances, queen contests, and speaking at rallies.<sup>61</sup> Over 1,200 people attended the Seventh War Bond Dance held at the Harmon gymnasium in June 1945.<sup>62</sup>

Colonel Emerson was impressed with how deeply the people of Longview and East Texas took the institution to their hearts. Hundreds of citizens attended the dedication ceremony and open house in December 1942, and through their churches, schools, and civic clubs purchased shrubs and flowers to beautify the grounds, collected money to pay for each patient's "First Call Home," took patients on tours of East Texas, and donated such items as furniture for the ward sunrooms and music instruments for a patient orchestra.<sup>63</sup> At Christmas they provided each patient with two gifts, plus decorations, nuts, and candy. Emerson said that Christmas 1943 was as fine and complete a Christmas celebration as he had witnessed in an Army hospital during his twenty-seven years in the Medical Corps.<sup>64</sup>

The Red Cross also organized and trained the Gray Ladies and the Red Cross Motor Corps which consisted of local women and the wives of hospital personnel. Between seventy and ninety Gray Lady volunteers spent between 7,000 and 8,000 hours a year with the patients. They played games with them, worked in occupational therapy, wrote letters for them, and brought them books, playing cards, magazines, and other things to occupy their time. The approximately twenty women in the Motor Corps spent over 4,000 hours annually running errands, purchasing and mailing gifts for patients, and taking them fishing, golfing, swimming, and to football games.<sup>65</sup>

It is difficult to know how local support for Harmon compared to that at other military hospitals, but there is one indication. As editor of *The Harmonizer* for two and one-half years, Joe Biondi was aware of the many civic endeavors on behalf of the patients. After returning to civilian life he met veterans who had been patients in other military hospitals who were astonished to learn about the recreational activities provided by East Texas citizens. Most told Biondi, "Heck, we didn't have anything like that at our hospital."<sup>66</sup>

In May 1945, German prisoners of war in the United States peaked at more than 370,000,<sup>67</sup> and that month Harmon acquired a satellite POW camp, a branch of a base compound at Camp Fannin, an Infantry Replacement Training Center located near Tyler. One hundred forty-three German POWs were transferred to Harmon to work in various capacities. America required its POWs to work since it was permitted by the Geneva Convention, because it allowed additional American servicemen to be sent overseas, and work had a

positive effect on the morale of the prisoners.<sup>68</sup> The POWs at Harmon worked in the mess halls, in the orthopedic brace shop, as draftsmen, in warehouses, and as yardmen. By all accounts the prisoners were hard working and cooperative.<sup>69</sup> In appreciation for being treated well, some of the prisoners gave their American supervisors hand-carved, wooden gifts, including ashtrays, jewelry boxes, and a cigarette dispenser.<sup>70</sup> The prisoners, all enlisted men, lived in a separate compound located in a fenced area on the southwest corner of the property, and the number of prisoners varied from 133 to 205 during the operation of the prison camp from May 3 until it was closed on January 20, 1946.<sup>71</sup>

U.S. Surgeon General Norman T. Kirk commended Colonel Emerson for his excellent work as commander at Harmon in a public ceremony in Longview on October 3, 1945, and announced his appointment as commander of Crile General Hospital in Columbus, Ohio.<sup>72</sup> Colonel Paul M. Crawford replaced Emerson on October 6.<sup>73</sup> On October 10 Harmon was blocked from further admissions. By the end of that month only 759 patients remained;<sup>74</sup> the last patient was evacuated and all wards closed on December 6. The previous day the headquarters of the Eighth Service Command had declared Harmon General Hospital surplus property. Colonel Crawford turned over the duties of closing the post to Major M.K. Moulder.<sup>75</sup> The Longview Chamber of Commerce and business leaders had hoped the federal government would transfer Harmon to the Veterans Administration as a veterans hospital, but when that hope faded they turned their attention to other uses for the abandoned buildings. Christian industrialist R.G. LeTourneau discovered the abandoned hospital while in East Texas investigating sites for a new factory. He and his wife wanted to establish an industrial school and the complex of buildings seemed ideal, so the LeTourneau Foundation took possession of the 232 buildings and 156 acres on January 20, 1946.<sup>76</sup> Emerson was a platform guest at the dedication of LeTourneau Technical Institute on February 25, 1946.<sup>77</sup>

Today the former site of Harmon General Hospital is the main campus of LeTourneau University, a Christian engineering and liberal arts institution which offers bachelor's degrees in thirty-eight fields and a master of business administration. A few of the old hospital buildings are still in use, one of which is the chapel. Several years ago the University restored the chapel and a benefactor endowed it in honor of the military patients and personnel of Harmon General Hospital. It was a popular place for weddings of hospital patients and personnel who met at Harmon during the war, and it remains a favorite place for LeTourneau student functions, including weddings.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Longview Daily News* April 5, 1942; hereinafter referred to as *LDN*.

<sup>2</sup>William A. Holloway, "The Rest of the Story, A Family Narrative," unpublished, 1977.

<sup>3</sup>*U.S.A. vs. 34 Acres of Land More or Less in the County of Gregg, State of Texas, James A Holloway*, and other documents from the proceedings in the federal district court in Tyler, Texas, December 22, 1943 - June 2, 1946 (National Archives Depository, Fort Worth, Texas).

<sup>4</sup>LDN April 3 and May 5, 1942.

<sup>5</sup>LDN April 6, 1942, and *Annual Report of Harmon General Hospital, Longview, Texas, 1942*, pp. 1 & 2; hereinafter referred to as Annual Report.

<sup>6</sup>Eugene W. McWhorter, *Traditions of the Land: The History of Gregg County, Texas* (Longview, 1989), p. 85.

<sup>7</sup>LDN February 21, 1943.

<sup>8</sup>LDN September 27, 1942.

<sup>9</sup>LDN October 7, 1942.

<sup>10</sup>*Annual Report*, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 1 & 2.

<sup>12</sup>LDN April 6, 1942.

<sup>13</sup>*Annual Reports*, 1944, p. 2 & 1945, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>*Annual Report*, 1942, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>*Annual Report*, 1943, pp. 2-4, & LDN April 11, 1943.

<sup>16</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, p. 90.

<sup>17</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 69.

<sup>18</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, pp.67, 88, 84.

<sup>19</sup>*Annual Report*, 1943, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup>LDN April 2, 1944.

<sup>21</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, p. 10, & 1945, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup>*Annual Report*, 1942-1945.

<sup>26</sup>*Annual Report*, 1943, p. 8, & 1945, p. 11.

<sup>27</sup>*Annual Report*, 1942, p. 6; 1943, p. 8, & 1945, pp. 9.7.

<sup>28</sup>LDN February 18, 1945.

<sup>29</sup>LDN October 3 and October 7, 1945.

<sup>30</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup>*Annual Report*, 1943, p. 15.

<sup>32</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, p. 24.

<sup>33</sup>LDN July 22, 1945.

<sup>34</sup>Charles M. Wiltse, *The United States Army in World War II: The Technical Services: The Medical Department; Medical Service in the Mediterranean and Minor Theaters* (Washington, D.C., 1965), pp. 89, 91, 173, 260-261.

<sup>35</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup>LDN June 21, 1944, interview with Harold Unker (med. tech.), June 23, 1998.

<sup>37</sup>Interview with Unker, June 23, 1998, and *Dorland's Illustrated Medical Dictionary*, 24th ed. (Philadelphia, 1965).

<sup>38</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, p. 61.

<sup>39</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, pp. 61-62.

<sup>40</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 44, 45, & LDN January 17, 1945.

<sup>41</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 45.

<sup>42</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, pp. 42, 32.

<sup>43</sup>Interview with Harold Unker (med. tech.), June 23, 1998.

<sup>44</sup>LDN May 27, 1945, and *Annual Report*, 1944, p. 32.

<sup>45</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 40.

- <sup>46</sup>*Annual Reports*, 1944, pp. 37-38; 1945, pp. 37-40.
- <sup>47</sup>*Annual Reports*, 1944, p. 43; 1943, p. 39.
- <sup>48</sup>*Annual Report*, 1943, p. 33.
- <sup>49</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 73-74, & *LDN* July 22, 1945.
- <sup>50</sup>*LDN* May 11 and September 14, 1945.
- <sup>51</sup>*LDN* August 7, 1945.
- <sup>52</sup>*LDN* January 22, 1945, & October 3, 1945.
- <sup>53</sup>*LDN*, various issues 1943-1945.
- <sup>54</sup>Walt Matthews, patient, personal interview by the author, August 6, 1985.
- <sup>55</sup>*LDN* July 5 and October 3, 1945; Evelyn Watters, medical technician, personal interview by the author, August 8, 1985.
- <sup>56</sup>Matthews, interview, August 6, 1985.
- <sup>57</sup>*LDN* August 20, 1945.
- <sup>58</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 66; *LDN* April 5, 1945; and interview with Jo Diehl (med. tech.), July 17, 1998.
- <sup>59</sup>*LDN* June 1, 1945.
- <sup>60</sup>*LDN* May 2, 1943.
- <sup>61</sup>*LDN* April 17, 1945.
- <sup>62</sup>*LDN* June 14, 1945.
- <sup>63</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944 p. 73, & *LDN* October 25, 1944.
- <sup>64</sup>*LDN* January 3, 1944.
- <sup>65</sup>*Annual Report*, 1944, pp. 71, 75; "Good Neighbors of Wounded Veterans." *Life*, April 3, 1944 (Vol. 16, No. 14), pp. 82-84; various issues of *LDN* 1942-1945, and interview with Louise Mealy (sec. to Col. Emerson), July 19, 1998.
- <sup>66</sup>*LDN* August 20, 1945.
- <sup>67</sup>Arnold Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of World War II in America*, (Lanham, MD, 1992), pp. 271-272.
- <sup>68</sup>Krammer, pp. 79-113.
- <sup>69</sup>Interviews with Earl Gillcoat (mess sergeant.) August 8, 1985; George Dragisic (brace maker) September 11, 1985; Evelyn Watters (med. tech.) August 8, 1985; Camilla Koford (librarian) August 6, 1985; and Anthony (Red) Ronzello (patient) July 16, 1998.
- <sup>70</sup>Interview, Koford, August 6, 1985.
- <sup>71</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 3; and *Prisoner of War Camp Labor Reports*, May 3 to December 31, 1945 (copies of National Archive documents in LeTourneau University Library).
- <sup>72</sup>*LDN* October 4, 1945.
- <sup>73</sup>*LDN* October 7, 1945.
- <sup>74</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, pp. 13, 15.
- <sup>75</sup>*Annual Report*, 1945, p. 85.
- <sup>76</sup>*LDN* December 30, 1945 and *LeTourneau NOW* February 8, 1946 (vol. X, No. 39).
- <sup>77</sup>*LDN* February 24, 1946.

**“FROM THE PINEY WOODS OF TEXAS:  
A SMALL FARMER’S IMPROBABLE VOICE”**

*by J. Armand Lanier*

In 1887, Joseph Benjamin Lanier, an East Texas backwoods farmer, achieved his dream of authorship. His book, *A Guide to the Southern Farmer, or How to Beat the Caterpillar*, was published that year despite remarkable odds. Of elementary education, poor, and with little distinction beyond his immediate farm community, Lanier conceived his treatise while plowing and working his fields located in the great timberlands of Jasper County, Texas, in what is now the Big Thicket’s northern reach.

So far as is known, this book received no recognition in agricultural or literary circles. Few copies were sold. Most ended up as “gifts” in the hands of friends and relatives.<sup>1</sup> The author’s fond goal of saving “millions of dollars, not only to the southern states and the United States, but to the whole world,” was never realized. These shortfalls notwithstanding, Lanier’s *Guide* is historically relevant in its transmission of a compendium of Southern, small-farm heritage. Included in its range of topics are the culture of cotton, corn, sugarcane, potatoes, oats, tobacco, and other crops; the care and treatment of livestock; how children should be raised; how to get rid of bedbugs and the itch; the treatment of croup and corns on the toes; and a sprinkling of down-home philosophy.

Born June 17, 1847, near Shellman, Georgia, Lanier removed to Jasper County with his family in 1859 where he farmed and kept small stores for most of his life. In his late thirties, Lanier experienced a driving need for authorship, but major academic and financial obstacles awaited him. Nevertheless, by bartering eighty-seven acres of land for rhetorical assistance from Eddie Pibus Huffman, a country schoolmaster and farmer, he completed his private publication.

Insomuch as one’s *modus operandi* is influenced by cultural milieu, it is well to note that Lanier’s farm community was settled largely by immigrants of Anglo Saxon stock from the South Atlantic states. And Jasper County, though geographically in Texas, was culturally Deep South and Bible Belt. From this context one can better appreciate the author’s Puritanism and religious bent.

Profoundly reverent, a Methodist, and of simple, evangelical faith, Lanier eschewed liquor, tobacco, coffee, tea, and swearing; he wore no jewelry; and he once walked fifteen miles rather than ride the train on Sunday. Finally, he ascribed to his “kind Parent” the motivation for all his significant achievements in life, including his book’s publication.

What follows are excerpts from *A Guide to the Southern Farmer*. I have exercised considerable license in the ordering of chapters but have not altered the spelling, grammar, or style.

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*J. Armand Lanier lives in Austin, Texas.*

### Preface

“The chief object aimed at in this book is to teach farming by theory. . . . Providence nearly always sends us sufficient seasons to make the important or most necessary crops if we know when to plant and how to cultivate. . . . [The author] will also prove that only a certain quantity of plowing is necessary to make crops, and that any more is injurious. . . . Many farmers pray for rain, when if their crops had have been correctly cultivated rain would have been injurious. . . .

### Chapter 1 Cotton Culture

“. . . Many farmers have depended on their cotton crops to buy everything they used. Even the most luxurious crops have been neglected for it; in short, cotton was almost worshiped, as is the almighty dollar. This, of course, was imprudent. . . . Farmers should first secure a provisional crop, and cotton next. Then, no doubt, for the many sins that cotton has caused, in the way of speculation, theft, etc., our Maker has sent the caterpillar to destroy it.<sup>2</sup> But when . . . attacked by diseases, and pestilences, and reform, we are provided with curatives and preventatives. So it is with the caterpillar; they may be annihilated, and a full crop of cotton made by the first of September, in as simple way as planting at a certain time, and cultivating in a certain way. The caterpillar has never been known to destroy the cotton crop before the first of September, except in 1867—then they ate the crop in July and August. . . .

“. . . [T]o be sure of good crops we should have good land, good team, and good tools to work with. The following plows are required: a turn plow, a sweep, a solid shovel (some call them round points, or straight shovels), a scooter, or bull-tongue. Cotton should never be planted on the same land for more than two years in succession; the land should be changed to something else, and a change every year would be better. If planted on corn land, it is best to . . . chop the cornstalks in short pieces, instead of burning them. The land will not bake or run together so bad; in fact the more litter . . . of any kind on the land the better, so it is not too long or large to interfere with the plow, or tear up the cotton in chopping out to a stand.

### Chapter II How to Plant Cotton, and When to Plant It

“After the land has been cleaned up, it should be laid off deep, in three-and-a-half foot rows, with a scooter plow, then take a turn plow and bed up, plow deep, the deeper the better. One of the greatest secrets of making any kind of crop is to plow deep as long as it can be done without . . . breaking the roots of the plant. . . . If the land is very turfy and cloddy it should be pulverized. . . . After the land has been bedded up, it is best to have a rain to settle it before beginning to plant. Then if we have a planter, it may be used with a careful hand, holding it straight on the ridge or row. If planted with a plow, open on the top of the ridge or row very lightly with a small scooter, or bull-tongue, and cover with a board or harrow. Two horses and three hands

may plant from eight to ten acres per day in this way.

“Cotton is different from some other crops; the rows should be as close, and the stalks as thick in the drill, as it can conveniently be worked. Then no matter how wet . . . dry, how rich, nor how poor the land, three and a half feet is the proper width for the rows.

“Commence planting cotton on the sixth of April, finish planting on that day if possible, but never plant earlier, unless the land is manured with horse-stable manure, or some other warming fertilizer. Cotton may be planted any time in May, and even the first of June, and good crops made, if seasonable and the worms do not injure it. But commence planting the sixth of April, and finish by the tenth, for a sure crop. The old way of planting cotton is to crowd it on poor land, and give distance on rich land. Most every planter thinks unless his cotton has distance every way on rich land, the bottom and middle crop will rot. This is a grand mistake; the thicker it is the better it opens, the quicker it takes the strength of the land, and the quicker it matures and gets out of the way of the worms. When cotton is crowded, it doesn't grow so fast, nor make as large a stalk. For this reason there is not so much sap, and at a certain age the bottom leaves will turn yellow and drop off, giving air and sun sufficient to open matured bolls. The sooner cotton seed, or any other kind of seed, gets out of the ground, the healthier and thriftier it is. Though it is necessary to cover some seed deep, that are planted in the fall or winter, to prevent severe freezes from killing the roots of the plant. Then the shallower cotton seed are covered the surer of a stand, and the better. Careful hands generally plant from one to one and a half bushels of seed per acre, though more or less may be planted, and no harm done.

### Chapter III

#### How Cotton should Be Cultivated

“After your cotton comes up, and has three or four leaves on it, you may then bar it off with a good turn plow; a steel plow is best for clay or sticky lands. Bar close, but shallow, to prevent falling down. In barring be sure and let the dirt lap well in the middle, or between the rows, so as to cover up all vegetation. After this has been done, chop out to a stand, leaving it straight in the drill, and one stalk in a place, from ten to fifteen inches apart. After chopping out, take a small sweep, run round and dirt it; either a solid or buzzard-wing sweep will do.

“Cotton may be run round and dirted immediately after being chopped out; but should not stand longer than five or six days without it. . . . If the land is strong, and there is much rain, the crop should be worked faster than poor land with little rain. It is best to always have a rain between plowings. Crops do much better plowed when there is a season in the ground. But never plow immediately after a heavy rain. . . .

“After your cotton has been run round with a small sweep, let it stand from nine to fifteen days, then go over with a hoe, if necessary, taking out the scattering weeds, if any. Then take a long, solid shovel and run round it again,



dirting nicely. The shovel should be six and a half or seven inches wide. . . .

“. . . [A] crop should be plowed deep all the time, except the last plowing. At that time there is no way of plowing deep without cutting the roots of the plant, and causing serious injury. Then shallow plowing is very necessary, the last plowing in any crop except a vine crop.

“After your cotton has been run round with a solid shovel, let it stand from nine to fifteen days; this forces the side, or fiber roots deep in the ground, causing them to go below the shovel furrows, to cross into the middle of the row. Then, plow out the middles deep with a turn plow, running close enough to shovel furrow to dirt the cotton a little again, if necessary. This leaves your cotton with a deep and thorough plowing, and no roots cut.

### Chapter IV

“. . . After your middles have been thoroughly plowed out with a turn plow, let your cotton stand from nine to fifteen days, then take a sixteen or eighteen-inch sweep, and run round again *very lightly*. This will dirt the cotton and fill the water-furrow or middle. Then let stand, run round from nine to fifteen days, or until it rains. Then sweep out the middle lightly. One furrow with a large sweep will generally do the work. This is all the plowing necessary to make a cotton crop; any more is injurious. . . . There is also many that think cotton sheds worse by having narrow rows, and leaving thick in the drill, but this is a mistake. . . . [C]rowding the plant forces it to maturity, after it has put on all the fruit the land is capable of supporting. Another advantage is, by having cotton thick it shades the ground quicker, and checks vegetation and as there is not so much fruit to the stalk it is not so apt to break or fall down. And though cotton may appear to shed worse when thick, yet it will hold and mature all the land is capable of bearing. And as the caterpillar can only subsist on the tenderest food when young, there will not be so many tender buds for them to grow . . . on. No matter how you plant and cultivate cotton, some of its fruit will drop off. But two stalks will take the strength of the land quicker than one. And when the sap in the stalk is sufficiently checked with age and maturity, the blooms will make open cotton in six or seven weeks. Some farmers top their cotton, but it is seldom necessary to top cotton if planted and cultivated by theory. If your cotton is in a thrifty, growing state the first of September, then to take out three or four inches of the bud, may mature a few more bolls. But it should never be topped earlier than from the first to the tenth of September. . . .

### Chapter V

#### **When and How Cotton Should Be Gathered and Housed**

“As soon as hands can pick fifty pounds of cotton per day, they should commence and keep picking until it all opens. Good hands may pick from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty pounds of clean cotton per day. If picked when wet, or even damp, it should be dried in the sun before bulking away. If picked out early and bulked away dry, and allowed to remain for several weeks—as the cranium affords oil for the hair—so the oil of the seed

seems to evaporate into the lint, making it much heavier and may be better. . . . By following the above directions of gathering and housing, three pounds of seed cotton will make one of lint, and probably more.

## **Chapter XXIX**

### **How to Raise, Gentle, and Train Horses**

“. . . We should commence to rub and handle colts from the time they are a day or two old until they are large enough to ride. Rub them all over once or twice a day with the hand, tickling them under the lower jaw and about the throat, and as soon as old enough, learn them to eat out of your hand, and calling them by some name. When quite young, or at a few months old, bridle them and learn them to lead, but they should never be led too far at a time. But bridle often and do not keep it on long enough to worry them, and when the bridle is taken off they should not be frightened by striking at them, as it will learn them to be hard to catch. . . . It is best to break a colt about the lot or pasture where it is used to staying. When they get large enough to ride, the bridle and saddle should be put on them cautiously, then lead them a while after their mother or some gentle horse that they have been running with. After the colt gets used to the saddle, someone may hold it until the rider gets up, holding it by the bits of the bridle. Then it should be led again until it gets used to carrying its rider. After it gets to following good the leader may gradually fall behind. After riding a half hour or so, the rider should then dismount as cautiously as possible and take the saddle and bridle off with equal caution so as not to frighten the colt. This process should be repeated several times before he is rode by himself. Ride often but not too long at a time (say two or three times a day), as the colt may become jaded and contrary. After dismounting always pet the colt a little by rubbing and tickling it under the neck and calling it by name, etc. If it should become necessary to hitch or tie a colt it should always be done with a rope or something it can not break. After it becomes gentle, then the bridle will do to tie with. Never whip or even scold a horse for being frightened, but treat them as you would a child. You may shame or rather encourage them by talking and calling them by name, and they will eventually become ashamed, apparently, to scare.

## **Chapter XXX**

“It is a great satisfaction to have horses broke gentle and trained to pull heavy draughts, but to do this requires judgment and patience. Kind treatment is the first thing. Let the horse believe that you are his protector. . . . It has a good effect to act with apparent unconcern; whistling, singing, etc., while handling or training an unbroke horse. . . . Never overload a team of any kind, for nothing is more aggravating than a balky team. As a rule, the remedy for breaking one from balking is as bad as the disease. If you have a horse that pulls a little way and stops, or is inclined to balk, always say, “Ho!” just before he stops of his own accord. Then get out and go to his head, and shake and work at the collar and harness. This makes him believe there is something that causes him to stop, or that his driver thinks so. Then no matter if he only pulls three steps at a time, continue the above process as long as he is inclined to

stop, and it will generally do more good than whipping, and the horse will become a good puller. . . .

“. . . Never cluck to horses with a load, as it inclines to fret them. A good word to use when we want to start a team is “Hape!” in a low, calm voice. And if we get in a tight place and want to excite our team, holloa “Hop!” in a loud, sharp voice. To cluck to horses will do while driving in a buggy when we want them to trot, but not while in a loaded wagon. These are the rules that I have always followed in managing stock and have never had a horse to jump with me in breaking them to the saddle nor to balk in harness. . . .

“. . . [I]t is more necessary to be particular in selecting good and well made stallions, than the males of most any of our domestic animals; and for this reason it is more necessary to be good judges of horses. . . . Then in saving a stallion or selecting a good horse, the following marks are necessary, to wit: First: He should be large. Second: He should have a short back. Third: He should be broad across the loins, or from hip to hip. Fourth: He should have long hams. Fifth: He should have a broad and deep chest and breast. Sixth: He should have a large foot; and Seventh: He should have a Roman nose. Eighth: He should have a full convex eye. A stallion with these marks will do to breed from.

### **Chapter XXXII Hooks and Lampas**

“If horses are used very hard and fed on dry food for a long time without change, they sometimes lose their appetite and become weak, stumble with their hind feet, their eyes run water, etc. Then a great many people say they have the hooks, and use the cruel remedy of cutting great flakes of flesh out of the corners of their eyes. And if a horse’s upper gums swell so that it is difficult for him to bite corn, it is commonly called lampas, and the common remedy among quacks is to heat an iron and burn them out. But this is very cruel. All that is necessary for hooks or lampas, the horse should have plenty of green food with their corn or oats, with a level table-spoonful of salt once a day; and with sufficient rest and good treatment the horse will soon recover.

### **Chapter XXXIV Blind Stagers, Chokes, Etc.**

“When horses have blind stagers they appear perfectly blind and crazy. They will run against anything, fall on their heads, etc., and at times appear to be sound asleep. As soon as they are taken with this disease, first, bleed in the mouth, as directed in preceding chapter, then cord and bleed in the neck. . . .

“If horses are allowed to get very hungry, then given dry fodder or hay, it is not uncommon for them to get choked on account of greediness, or putting more in their mouth than they can swallow. . . . [T]hey may often be relieved by running and jumping them over logs, etc. But if this should fail, cord and bleed freely in the neck. In severe cases it is sometimes necessary to bleed until they fall. This will always give relief if done in time.

“Horses should be regularly watered and fed, and salted at least twice a week; or if a lump of rock salt is laid by them so that they can lick at their leisure, it would no doubt be better.

### **Chapter XXVII** **How Children Should Be Raised—** **What They Should Be Taught, Etc.**

“The whole human family originated . . . from Adam and Eve, and since the Creation they have been divided into three classes: the white, black, and red. The most enlightened of us consider some one of these classes heathen; and there may be some difference in the blood or stock of the different classes of people . . . but no doubt there is more in the raising and training than any thing else. . . . After children are old enough the most important thing to teach is morality and Christianity, and to reverence the teachings of the Scriptures—teach them there is a God, and without him they can do nothing. . . .

“Children should never be scolded unless they necessarily deserve it, and by all means never whip one as long as it can be avoided. . . . [K]ind talk with good advice, while their hearts are young and tender, will do more good than all the whipping and scolding. . . . Using profane language and even by-words, and vulgar remarks . . . are bad and unnecessary examples.

“. . . Parents should never try to teach their children something that they do not practice themselves; but should always lead the way by setting good examples. If Noah had not have entered the ark first in all probability his family would not. Children should be taught industry and economy. It is very essential first, to accumulate or make; and it is equally essential to take care of what is made. . . . [T]hey should be raised to have confidence in themselves by allowing them to consider themselves as good as any one, and at the same time they should always extend the necessary courtesy to every one that respect themselves. . . . I maintain that two gentlemen never quarrel and fight. In case a misunderstanding should occur between two gentlemen they always meet and understand each other before getting angry. One at least is apt to be in fault, and should apologize to the other, thus settling without having any difficulty. . . . Some people seem to take a pleasure in making game of poor and ignorant persons, simply because they are poor and ignorant. This is very wrong; no matter how poor and ignorant either white or black, the necessary courtesy should always be extended to them.

### **Chapter XXVIII**

“Young men should be discreet in all their practices, and remember that virtue alone is happiness. Troubles and pestilences are brought on by violating the commandments. . . . God intended that virtue should be practiced among men as well as women. In the eyes of the world men practice things and it passes almost unnoticed, when if women are guilty of the same acts they would be disgraced and ruined forever. . . . [L]et your actions be such as will enable you to say: I will do right and fear not; I will live like a man, so that I may die like a man.

## Chapter XL General Remarks

"I look upon the use of tobacco with the greatest horror, and had nearly as soon be an opium eater as to use it. There is said to be seventy different diseases caused from the use of it. Of course this may be exaggeration, but remember our saliva is intended to moisten the food of the stomach, and the tobacco user is constantly spitting or throwing off the saliva. . . . The whole system becomes poisoned from the use of it. . . . Incurable sores, such as cancers, etc., no doubt they generally originate from the use of tobacco. It is perfectly natural for the flesh to heal if the system is healthy, and tobacco poisons the whole system. For this reason if I were to cure a cancer, or an old sore of any kind, the first thing I would require of the patient would be to quit the use of tobacco. . . . It is not only throwing money away . . . but no doubt it . . . will shorten our lives at least twenty years. . . .

## Chapter XLI

"As I have already advised the men in regard to their imprudence, I feel that I would hardly be doing my duty without mentioning a few things . . . detrimental to the general health and prosperity of women. This is vanity, fashion, and extravagance generally. . . . Any one may dress fine and . . . yet be very economical. They may also be very stylish and yet possessed with very little vanity; but to lace so that it is difficult to breath, and to wear a dress with a yard or two dragging on the ground is all vanity and extravagance. . . . Any one can scarcely make or have so much but what they can spend or get rid of. Many desolate and dilapidated homes have been made on account of extravagance. . . .

"Any thing once well done is worth several times half done. . . . [I]t is plain that any one may not only be extravagant in having a surplus, and breaking and throwing away, but even in their work. . . .

## Chapter XLIII Household Recipes, Etc.

### For Burns and Scalds

"There is said to be nothing more soothing than the white of an egg, which may be poured over the wound. The egg is also considered one of the best remedies for dysentery, beaten up lightly with or without sugar and swallowed at one gulp. . . .

### Itch

"Itch is supposed by some to be nothing more than a blood disease, but it is an ugly, filthy insect. . . . These insects, like body lice, and mange on hogs, are generally caused from actual filth, such as using bed clothes too long without washing, sunning, or changing. After the disease makes its appearance, first wash with tobacco tea and salt dissolved in it, then after drying off, grease thoroughly with sulphur and lard. Repeat the application three or four times, keeping the same clothes on several days after greasing.

Then wash off clean and change both wearing and bed clothes. Three drachms of tobacco, or one twentieth of a quarter pound of plug, three or four tablespoonfuls of salt to a gallon of water is the proportion to use for the wash. . . .

#### For Bed-Bugs

“Bed-bugs, like some other insects, may be avoided by good house-keeping and cleanliness in general. . . . Should these insects become troublesome take down the bedsteads and carry them out in the yard, and undo every screw, and scrape and brush out every crevice about them. Then take one pint of spirits of turpentine, one ounce of corrosive sublimate, one ounce of gum camphor, put in a bottle and shake up well, put on with a mop early in the spring, and it will not fail to destroy them, neither will it destroy furniture. If . . . well put on one application will last at least twelve months or longer. . . .

“ . . . To make a good fertilizer build a pen out of rails . . . and throw in two loads of pine straw and oak leaves, then throw on top . . . a half bushel of salt and a bushel of lime, then throw in a load of cow-pen, horse-stable manure, or cotton seed. . . . If the manure or cotton seed cannot be had, use muck from a creek or river bottom, or a pond, which is a good substitute. Continue the process of the leaves, pine straw, salt, lime, and manure until the pen is filled. . . .

“It is said tie a fresh onion around the neck and bruise it to make its odor thorough and you secure sound sleep from its nightly inhalation. . . .

“ . . . Boys should be taught while young to have every respect for the female sex, especially for ladies. They should never speak slightly of them in the least; always be ready and willing to assist them in any way. . . . When walking with a lady on the streets the lady should always be on the safest side. . . . [O]n railroad cars the ladies should always have the most comfortable seats. Old age should always be respected, and young people should never talk while older ones are talking; and they should never sit while older ones are standing. . . .

“Where there are both boys and girls in a family let it be early understood that there is a certain amount of deference due the girls from the boys. This has a refining influence upon the boys. It is necessary to teach the boys that they are the natural protectors of their sisters. . . .

“Politeness costs us nothing, and there is nothing . . . more becoming in employers than to be polite and agreeable with their servants or hirelings. In fact there can be no true gentleman unless he is polite and has the proper respect for others' feelings. . . .

“ . . . No one should ever think they are too wicked to get forgiveness, and should never think it is too late to do good. In company and among strangers and acquaintances, endeavor to learn something from all. Be swift to hear, but be cautious of your tongue lest you betray your ignorance and perhaps offend some of those who are present, too. Be not frightened or provoked at opinions differing from your own.

### A Prayer for the Young and Old

“. . . Then, kind Parent. . . Teach me what to do and how to do, and when to do in every thing that is pleasing in thy sight. Send us such seasons as will be beneficial to our crops, our health, and our general welfare. Then, heavenly Parent, when thou hast done with us here on earth let us rest, for Christ's sake. Amen.”

Lanier's book is an exceptional document because of the limiting circumstances surrounding its publication, and because it depicts the farm methods of a generally silent population—the small Southern farmer. It presents a range of farm practices from folk remedies to soil conservation. The author's advocacy for crop rotation, diversification, and the use of manures and humus, for example, has been viewed as advanced for the small farmer of that day.<sup>1</sup> His recommendation of bloodletting for the treatment of “Blind Stagers” in horses, however, contrasts with his admonition to “never whip nor scold a horse for being frightened, but treat them as you would a child. . . . Let the horse believe you are his protector.”

To relate Lanier's proffered practices without due reference to his moral and religious values would be to serve the whole man poorly. He espoused asceticism and a Puritanical morality. As related above, these principles and the Protestant ethic permeated his style of living: witness his attitudes toward tobacco (which he refused to sell in his small store), the Sabbath, profanity, and his advocacy of self-control, self-denial, simplicity of dress, and the moral value of work. But there was also a softer side to his practices, as seen in his ideas about child rearing, human relations, and the handling of horses.

Many years ago, a great niece of Lanier's related to me how, as children, she and her siblings thought “Uncle Joe” too good to die; rather, “he would be lifted up like Elijah.” And there is evidence that he, himself, believed he would be “translated.” Nevertheless, on December 22, 1916, at his son's residence in Newton, Texas, Joseph B. Lanier left this life through the medium of mundane pneumonia.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>A recent search via the Interlibrary Loan Office and OCLC for Lanier's book: Joseph Benjamin Lanier, *A Guide to the Southern Farmer, or How to Beat the Caterpillar* (Nashville: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1887), has revealed but two cataloged copies; one each at the Texas State Archives Commission in Austin and the University of Georgia Library in Athens. The first of these is “non-circulating;” the accessibility of the latter is unknown. Earlier searches of the *National Union Catalogue* and the *National Agricultural Library Catalogue* found no listing of this volume.

<sup>2</sup>Supportive of Lanier's concern for the “caterpillar” problem is the finding that twenty percent of the cotton crop in Jasper county, Texas, was destroyed by worms in 1887-1888, according to L.L. Foster in *First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History, 1887-1888* (Austin, 1889), p. 117.

<sup>3</sup>In a letter to J. Armand Lanier dated September 18, 1967, L. Vaughn and Cloe Smith of Garner, Texas, tendered a detailed review of the field crops section of Lanier's *Guide*. That they were qualified for such an evaluation follows from their combined experience of more than fifty years as small farmers in north central Texas, dating from the first decade of the twentieth century. It is largely the Smiths' impressions that the compiler has drawn upon for current assessment of Lanier's “theories.”

**“YOURS FRATERNALLY UNTIL DEATH:  
“THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF THE BROTHERS LOVE**

*by Jennifer S. Mansfield*

**I**

I was not aware that you had made so good a degree of progress in the knowledge of words the use of the pen and the correct use of language –

I hope you will make use of all your spare time for the improvement of your mind. Our first duty is to do that which is right towards our Creator and our fellow beings and the next duty is the improvement of the mind in the knowledge of the arts and sciences so that we may be able to render the labor we have to perform for the support of ourselves and the ability to help others easy and pleasant.<sup>1</sup>

Late in October 1859, Cyrus W. Love, a twenty-nine year old school teacher, wrote these words to his youngest brother, Robert M. Love. Cyrus lived in the Freestone County, Texas, town of Fairfield and was engaged with his brother-in-law, John Karner, in the development of a Male and Female Academy.<sup>2</sup> Robert, age twelve, lived at the family home in “Tewokony Springs,” now the little town of Tehuacana, in Limestone County. Also still living at home were younger brothers Sam, John, and James, and young sisters, Eliza T.G. Love and Tea (Tennessee Angeline Love).<sup>3</sup>

The excerpt above is taken from the first of a collection of letters held by Texas Christian University’s Mary Coutts Burnett Library, donated to the archive by a Fort Worth garage-sale shopper who purchased a locked strong-box and found the letters inside. Composed of over seventy letters written by Cyrus, Sam, John, and James Love to their parents, friends, sisters, and younger brother, the collection spans the war period from 1861 to 1864. As soldiers of the Trans-Mississippi department and Army of Tennessee, their communications offer personal insight into the thoughts and trials of Texan soldiers during the Civil War. The following is an introduction to the collection, with selections that reveal not only particulars of the period, but the personalities of these young soldiers.

The passage cited above certainly sounds like the philosophy of a school teacher; the remainder of Cyrus’ letter tends more toward the personal and chatty than the didactic:

I was glad to learn as I did from your letter that you were all in good health – It seems to me that you are rather late in collecting your beeves if you intend driving to the New Orleans market. If you aimed to collect many beeves after the date of your letter [Oct. 20] you will hardly be able to get away from home until several days of Nov. are gone which will cause you to be as late as the first of Dec. getting them into market ...

Mr. Karner and Mr. Jos Philpott purchased some seventy or eighty head of brood mares not long back – they with several other gentlemen conjointly have purchased the Flying Dutchman and are now keeping him at Avant Prairie ...

I hope if you go to school that you will make a good use of your time by keeping out of bad company, studying hard and learning all you can –



our schools are doing very well — there are seventy or eighty scholars in the female school and thirty-five or forty in the male school...

I write you this short letter Robert by candle light with a bad pen so you could not expect it well done ...

Happiness and good fortune to you and the balance of the family,  
Truly, Your brother, C.W. Love<sup>4</sup>

Listed simply as a farmer with eleven children in the Limestone County Census in 1850,<sup>5</sup> Cyrus' father, James M. Love, had come to Texas with his wife, Terrissa A. Love, in 1836, settling in Robertson's Colony.<sup>6</sup> James and Terrissa had either followed or accompanied James' father, Joseph Love, and brothers David and William, to settle in the town of Franklin. James later brought his family to Tehuacana, and built a blacksmith shop and log cabin that still stands as the inner support of a later pine-board, two-story structure in present-day Tehuacana.<sup>7</sup> In their new community, the Loves became active in establishing the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in that part of the state.<sup>8</sup>

It is no wonder that Cyrus mentions the gathering of cattle for market and the purchase of brood mares and a racehorse sire. The prairie land of Robertson's Colony, from which Freestone and Limestone counties were carved, was well suited to pasture. One contemporary of Cyrus, struck by the beauty of this countryside while on march with his newly formed Confederate regiment from Marshall, Texas, to the Rio Grande, lauded "the tall waiving grass, the merry chirp of the Birds, the snow-white Lamb as it gambols around the Herd, and the wild frolicsome Colt ...", finally concluding that Limestone County must be "the most lovely part of the inhabited earth."<sup>9</sup>

Cyrus' subsequent letters reflect an awareness of and interest in the agricultural, geological, and economic particulars of the regions in which he was to travel. No subsequent letter, however, voices the cheery "Happiness and good fortune" of Cyrus' farewell to Robert, and the next communication finds him far from home. on his way east across the Mississippi River:

At Camp 15 miles East of Minden  
Clayborn Parrish La. Oct. 14th A.D. 1861  
Jas. M. & T.A. Loves:

Dear parents:

I have been in the land of Cypress, Beach and Maple since I crossed the Red River. We are to night in 60 or 65 miles of Monroe. We are now to go to Memphis instead of Corinth and it is my belief that we will be ordered from there up into Kentucky ...

I have been in good health since I left home. We are all walking. Some do not stand it so well so far but they are getting better every day. I can walk about as well as the best of them. I have not ridden on horse or wagon more than 20 miles since I left Fairfield. We all rode on the cars about 18 miles out from Marshal...

There will be but a small crop of cotton gathered in this State (about such as will be gathered in Texas)... Nearly all the young men have gone from this section to the war...

We heard ... Galveston had given itself into the hands of the Federal forces without any sort of resistance but we can hardly believe this ...

I wish you would write to me at Memphis. Direct your letters to the Care of Capt W.L. Moody Co. Gregg's Regiment. Be sure if you hear from the

boys to let me know what you have learned and let me know where they are gone. No more at present.

Yours truly till death C.W. Love<sup>10</sup>

It did not take long for Cyrus to respond to Governor Edward Clark's request for Confederate troops late in August 1861.<sup>11</sup> By June of that year, prominent secessionist John Gregg of Fairfield had begun organizing troops, for which he had authority from the Confederate secretary of war. The regiment he raised became the Seventh Texas Infantry. In a company of ninety-five men organized in Fairfield by W.L. Moody, Cyrus became a foot soldier for the Confederacy as part of Gregg's regiment, Company G.<sup>12</sup> Gathering in Marshall, the regiment received orders from Richmond to make their way to Memphis, Tennessee.<sup>13</sup> The cars he mentions riding were those along the twenty miles of newly built track of the Southern Pacific Railroad.<sup>14</sup> The distressing report that Galveston had "given itself up without any sort of resistance" was erroneous, and Cyrus was wise not to believe it. However, the rumor foreshadows the actual surrender of Galveston to the blockading Federal fleet in October 1862. Cyrus' prediction in this letter regarding his regiment's movements proved to be correct; they were encamped at Hopkinsville, Kentucky, by November.

"The boys" that Cyrus was anxious to hear about were Sam, John, and James, who had also mustered into the army in September 1861. Their gathering place was Dallas,<sup>15</sup> where they became part of the Sixth Texas Cavalry under Colonel B. Warren Stone. Muster records show Sam B. Love and John W. Love enlisted in Company I, then G, and James joined Company F. Muster cards indicate that they all joined at the same time and place, although they would become separated as is shown in subsequent letters. The following letter gives an account of their early days of enlistment. At this time, Sam was twenty-three, John nineteen, and James twenty-four years of age.<sup>16</sup>

Camp Beauregard Sept The 8. 61

Dear Sister I wrote you a few lines the other day but as I had but a very short time to write it I did not write but very little. Almost every one in camps have been sick within the last week though all are about well now – We marched from Camp Tarrant on last monday – the line of men in double file was about six hundred yards long. The regiment I think will be filled this week though no one knows when or where we will be ordered. There is about as many opinions as there is men – however there is a great deal of advantage in us being here for we are learning the cavalry drill very rapidly – there is a report here that six war steamers have left fortress Monroe with four thousand men on board if so Texas may look out.

There is no more news of importance. Pete & I went to see the Misses Fares this evening & enjoyed ourselves finely – they told us that they were going to take supper with us tomorrow evening. They also gave us a potatoe apiece as they did the evening after they supped with us before. I like them very much for the acquaintance I have with them.

I am intruding on the sleeping hours of a family & will have to bring this to a close and as I have no other word to send to Nannie give her my love. I hope these few lines will find you all enjoying good health so with these few lines I remain your brother

Sam

P.S Give my love to all the family S.B.L.<sup>17</sup>

## II

[Cyrus, probably December 1, 1861]

The weather has been of that changable character calculated to create colds – Our camp life is generally dull and monotonous but is some times relieved by exciting preparations for a march and at others by the presence of the ladies of Hopkinsville ...

I can now appreciate the rich and endearing blessings of a home, peace and plenty and if God will I will enjoy them again but not before the three years are out and possibly not then; certainly not then if my services should continue to be needed in the war.<sup>18</sup>

Writing to his young sister Terrissa, Cyrus described camp conditions and shared his experience of the war during the first hard winter, a period in which the Army of Tennessee suffered great losses of men to disease. Twenty-three men died of sickness from Cyrus' company alone. Gregg's regiment was stationed at Hopkinsville, Kentucky, and remained inactive for three months until ordered to reinforce the garrison at Fort Donelson.<sup>19</sup> Cyrus' letters from this period are full of reports of illness, and his tone becomes increasingly depressed through the winter. Without questioning the Southern cause, the following excerpt from this period shows a disillusionment in some of the Southern citizens the boys had sworn to protect from the "dark invasion:"

I find some men as I pass along through this region of country particularly since we crossed the Mississippi who if they and their Interests were all that was to be defended I for one would do nothing but leave them to the Mercy of the Yankees...

The Love brothers' uncle, Andrew C. Love, and cousin, Andrew Jr., of Tennessee, are mentioned often in Cyrus' letters of this period. Andrew Love, "Gen & Staff AA Surgeon," was a doctor in Cyrus' regiment and Andrew Jr. a private.<sup>20</sup> Both narrowly escaped the siege and surrender of Fort Donelson, and Andrew Jr. died of illness soon afterwards. As far as current events went, Cyrus made it clear in a number of letters that he could not guarantee the truth of war information he heard; any news he had of relatives or friends of the family (especially the "Limestone Boys") he passed along.

Camp Alcorn at Hopkinsville Ky. Nov 6th A.D. 1861  
Jas. M. & T.A. Loves:

Dear Parents:

I wrote at Memphis but did not have an opportunity to mail the letter ...

We were hurried through in quick time from Memphis to this place traveling in open Stock Cars most of the time traveling both night and day in this condition sleeping as best we could on the cars living on molasses and bakers bread or hard bread the last of which is nothing more than a thin cake of flour baked hard ... there is at least one third of the Regiment that have had colds but there is hardly a man who would be kept out of a fight if one should take place...

Terry Regiment<sup>21</sup> is at Boling Green 50 or so miles from here one of his companies attacked two companies of the enemy and hardly left one of them to tell the tale (So report has it) and it is generally believed here – there is a strong enough force here now to cause Gen. Tilman<sup>22</sup> to feel confident that he will be able to whip any number of the enemy that can come against

him. Two or three of our company were left at Clarksville sick and Uncle A.C.L.<sup>23</sup> was left in charge of them. They were getting well now and will be here soon ...<sup>24</sup>

[November 10, 1861]

We are today finishing the election of Officers of the Regiment<sup>25</sup> – Gregg is elected Col., Clough of Marshal Lieutenant Col. and I think Capt Granberry<sup>26</sup> of the Waco Rifles will be elected Major...

Geo. B is lying in foot of me now. He thinks it exceedingly doubtful whether he will get home again but if he does he says if he does he will bring one of these Mississippi Rifles. They are a fine gun. The Regiment are almost entirely armed and equipped – we are now ready for any thing that can come against us and the Almighty being with us we will whip any thing that does come.<sup>27</sup>

[December<sup>28</sup> 1, 1861]

I have learned through letters to others that the clothing prepared for our company has been started to us.<sup>29</sup> They may get to us and they may not, but if they do not we stand a chance to suffer if the Winter should be cold as there is but little likely hood that the Government will be able to supply the soldiers with anything like enough of clothing to keep them comfortable.

Situated as I am here I can learn but very little of interest. Things of considerable importance might take place in a short distance of me and you would learn of it before I would – I am at all times anxious to get word from some of you to know how you are getting on and particularly to learn something from S.B. and J.W.L.'s<sup>30</sup> where they are and what they are doing whether they are pleased with the place they are at...

When you write let me know whether father and Uncle David have sold their wool or not and what they got for it – I will write to you again soon.

Sam and John were involved in movements along the Arkansas/Missouri border at this time, and their regiment had joined Brigadier General Ben McCulloch's command. The following letters are written on the same continuous pages of paper, the first from Sam, and the second added by John – his first communication in the collection.

Camp Washington Ark Dec the 5th 1861

Dear father as Mr. Scharp is going to start home in the morning I thought I would write you a few lines to let you know how we are getting on ... I wrote from Camp Evans on the 15th of last month. We were then camped near the line of Mo – the next day after I wrote an order come for us to march within two hours to Springfield. We were ready at the allotted time & soon on the march. The fourth day about 10 O'clock we marched into the town but we found nobody there to oppose us – Gen McCullough sent out a scouting party to find out what they could about the enemy – we [the scouts] started without anything to eat & just as a heavy rain commenced falling & marched very fast till near night & camped. Next morning we marched 6 or 8 miles & took some Union men but turned them loose... Next morning early we were on the march for a town by the name of Lebanon 55 miles from Spr. ... we over took 12 moving waggons & searched them for guns and found 15 or 16 guns. They were moving North. We searched 50 or 60 wagons during the day & found about 50 guns – We threw all away but two minnie rifles & 2 shot guns. When we got to Lebanon the citizens of the town give us dinner & we turned back for Spr – & marched about 10 miles & camped. That night was the second that I stood guard during the scout &

about 10 O'Clock it commenced raining and rained till 12 & then it commenced blowing from the north & the way it was cold was not a little...

Pa Sam finished his letter. I thought I would say a few words partly to let the people of our country together with yourself know that i could write a short letter yet. In a few days I will write a general history of our trip.<sup>31</sup> All that I write for now is that I want something to eat. I wish you could send me some butter, a dozen or so of eggs, tie about a peck of sweet milk up in a sack, a hat full of sausages when you kill hogs. Pa I never hooked a hog in my life until I come up here. I have been compelled to kill them up here. We always took them from union men when we could get them – yes I forgot send me a loaf of light bread made of shorts. I want to have a big toast a bit of the sweet milk butter & light bread.

I have not been in good health for several weeks I had the Flue about 8 weeks ago & have had the diarrhea ever since or nearly so. We have good clothing. We have 3 good pair of pants 4 coats good boots though I believe our socks are about to run out. Send me a chew of tobacco & a pocket knife & all will be regular. Tell ma and the family good evening for me. I haven't been drunk since I left. Now wont you send me the butter.

Good bye for to night John

NB Pa when you send your letters direct them Ft. Smith Cap Ross Com Col Stones. Regiment McCulloch Brigade – Then we will get them by a direct express from there to our camps.

J.W.L.<sup>32</sup>

As the winter of 1861 - 1862 wore on, Cyrus had more and more comments about the particulars and personalities of Confederate army life:

[December 18, 1861]

Two or three of the men of our Regmt have been found asleep on their posts – Genl Clark had the different Regmts of Infantry 5 in number in general review day before yesterday. At the end of review he said on account of the men not having been informed fully as to their duties he would spare them but that after that time the man who went to sleep on post should certainly be Shot (I hope he has scared those fully who are inclined to sleep)...<sup>33</sup>

[January 8, 1862]

We have been very badly treated by the chief physician of this brigade. He has neglected the sick in a most wanton manner rarely ever seeing any of them himself and has not had the Hospitals kept clean at all. They smell exceedingly bad and in the old hospital there have to his and everyone elses knowledge been a great number of body lice which he has taken no pains to have destroyed. They have had hardly any medicine here until today. This however may have been to our advantage. This chief physicians name is Lile and from his language and actions it seems to have been his chief object to show his power and authority at the Hospitals by rudely treating all the sick men he might happen to see and by insulting with sirly language threats of arrest and the publication of notices at the doors of the Hospitals – That no commissioned officer should go in except at certain hours of the day and not then unless they had first got the presence of a physician who belonged to the Medical Staff to conduct them about the rooms – Some of these commissioned officers however have concluded not to bear with him any longer – Some of them have cursed the whole concern General, Medical Staff and all, others have intimated things of a serious character to Dr Lisle and one that I know of sais if Lisle will just speak cross to him he'll kill him

in an instant. He was insulted by him two or three times and once in circumstances which he will not easily forgive. Many of them say they would rather kill him than an enemy from the Lincoln Government.<sup>34</sup>

Written during the same period, the following letter contains an account of Sam's first experience with battle, as well as an expression of his concern for Cyrus. The "battle of Chewstinella [Chustenalah]," which Sam describes, was an engagement in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in which Confederate forces met a large force of Creek and other Indians supported by Federal troops. The Indians were led by Creek Chief Ho-po-eith-le-yo-ho-la; after a fierce battle on December 26, 1861, the Chief's forces were defeated.<sup>35</sup>

Camp Washington Jany the<sup>36</sup> 1862

Dear Sister Yours of the 29th of Dec. came to hand to day & I proceed to answer it immediately.

I was very sorry to hear of the sickness of Capt. Moody's Company<sup>37</sup> and very sorry to hear of the death of so many of the boys – but it is the fate of war & the adge is true that disease takes off more than the Sword – for there has more than 40 of this Regt died of disease while there has'nt been but 5 killed and 12 or 15 wounded in our late battle on the head waters of the Vertigres [Verdigris] River – called the battle of Chewstinella ... I want you to write me how to direct a letter to Cy.

After cooking 4 days provision on the night of the 25 Dec {I made biscuit for near 3 hours without stopping} we set out on the morning of the 26th {while one of the coldest northers I ever felt came full in our faccs} to see if we could find the enemy ... and after traveling about 12 miles we crossed a large creek and directly after we saw a large smoke – Some said Indians while others laughed at the idea myself among the latter and soon after we saw the smoke I took a biscuit & piece of pork out of my pocket and after dividing it with my file partner We commenced eating and laughing at the idea of getting into a battle for just as we commenced eating the order was given to cap our guns. But our skepticism did not last long for we had'nt gone more than 20 yds before we heard a gun fire toward the van of the army and then 3 or 4 and then 15 or 20 and directly about 300 or 400 along a line of something near 3/4 of a mile. After that my friend said Sam that sounds like battle...

Col Griffith was ordered to the right – to dismount and charge the hill on foot while Col's Lane and McEntosh'es Regt's charged gallantly on horse back while we charged through a creek about 1 1/2 in water and ice and the same in mud – but when we got to the top of the bank on the opposite side from where we started our Col saw that we would not get into the fight on foot so he took the responsibility of ordering us back to our horses. So we charged through the creek again and got back to our horses but we were so exhausted that we could hardly mount our horses but when we did we made them git faster for the other Regts had got the start of us and were likely to gain the laurels of the day. But by moving to the right and charging another hill we got the lead and killed about as many as Col Greer's & Youngs and more than the Arkansawyers did ...

One thing I forgot to mention – that while we were forming the Indians were barking like a dog howling like a wolf & yelling and gobbling like a turkey ...

Cyrus had his first experience in battle when Gregg's regiment was called to support Confederate troops beseiged at Fort Donelson on February 15. As he explains, he was wounded early in the fight and was fortunate enough to

leave the field of battle. For that reason he was not taken prisoner, as was most of his regiment when the fort was surrendered by the Confederates on February 16.

Franklin Co Tnn March the 15th 1862  
John & Elizabeth Karner:

Dear brother and sister:

I have written to no one in smartly more than a Month – today is a Month since I was wounded at Donaldson ...

I did not wish to write until I was able to say that I was improving – My wound is nearly well but the disease it caused in my liver lungs and body generally is not out of me yet and I am very weak, not able to walk but a few hundred yards at a time without rest. I am improving though very fast and will no doubt by the favor of Providence be able to join the army in time for the next big fight ...

I do not know at this time what part of the army I will join. I think however at this time that I will join Col Wharton's Texas Cavalry<sup>38</sup> for the sake of being with the Texans and more particularly to be with some persons that I know – but I do not know that I will do this as the Cavalry Service is much harder and not so effective in a fight as the infantry ...

The enemy is no doubt gloating over what they did at Donaldson but they have no cause to glory if they would only admit the facts in the case...

The reasons why I am here and not a prisoner with the other boys is just this. I was wounded about 11 O'clock in the morning (Saturday Morning on the 15th Febr) and the wounded were all taken aboard of the boats to be taken to Nashville. The boats started up the river about sundown just as the fight began again in the evening – We were taken on up to Nashville where every thing was in great confusion Nashville having been given up to the enemy. We got to Nashville late Sunday night. In the morning the Surgeons told us that the wounded who were able to report themselves to R.R. conductors would get free passes to their homes until they got well. I took passport with a young man by the name of Robt Grey expecting to go with him to his fathers down in Alabama but my wound had not been dressed at all and was doing badly so that I was compelled to stop at Tullahoma in this county and have it dressed. I then came here to Mr. Petrys 5 miles from Tullahoma where I have been treated as kindly as if I had had my pockets full of money of which I had none until about two weeks ago. A Dr. Ripits agent for the State of Texas for the relief of soldiers gave me a \$20.00 Confederate bond –

Nothing more now. I will write again when I join the army –

Yours & etc. C.W. Love<sup>39</sup>

Cyrus had to flee Tullahoma, but in doing so found several soldiers from Limestone county, men of Gregg's Regiment who had been too sick to take part in the Donelson fight. He reports walking the crossties over twenty-eight miles of railroad track carrying his twenty-pound knapsack from Tullahoma to Corinth. Once he got to Confederate camps at Corinth, "as I was not able to do active service I felt very gloomy and bad at the prospect of being sent to any regmt regardless of the consequences to me but as good fortune had it I was but a little time in finding the boys with whom I am now staying."<sup>40</sup>

Sam also travelled to Corinth. After capturing a Union battery at the Battle of Elkhorn on March 7, 1862 (a battle Sam reported but did not take part in), the 6th Texas Cavalry was dismounted and sent east of the Mississippi.<sup>41</sup> At this time John was sent to Texas to procure fresh horses for the regiment.

Having seen a good bit of fighting, Sam drew some conclusions about the war and its implications. In a letter dated April 27 and posted from Memphis, he writes:

I believe it is the determination of all to fight them as long as there is any of us living so that if they get it they will get a Depopulated Country... There is one thing I wish to say. It is this the people of Texas as well as all the other States ought to prepare for the worst or in other words they ought to organize into companies and Regts one and all for the purpose of repelling an invasion for I believe it is the policy of the Northern Government to take possession of all the Southern States and they by doing so will possibly weaken there forces so much that we can invade. But to prevent them from getting entire possession it would be well to be prepared to receive them at home.<sup>42</sup>

By May 11 Sam appears to have gained a cheerier (or at least less nihilistic) attitude, reporting that he had had news of Cyrus, and that "it is the opinion of almost every body that the war will not last longer than this year..."<sup>43</sup> Of the Confederate Conscript Law,<sup>44</sup> he writes:

We are in for two years longer if the war does not terminate sooner. I did intend to come home this coming winter but the conscript law will not allow any one to leave. So we all volunteered again and I reckon it is well enough that the act was past and became a law. The worst feature that I see in it is this — it is a tyrannical law and is consequently a bad precedent but I think the necessities of the cause required that something should be done.<sup>45</sup>

Cyrus, in the meantime, had joined Terry's Texas Rangers, now under the command of Captain John A. Wharton since the fall of B.F. Terry in December 1861. This regiment, the 8th Texas Cavalry (Cyrus joined them in spite of his misgivings about infantry being superior in a fight), had fought alongside Sam's and John's 6th Texas Cavalry at the battles of Chustenalah and Elkhorn. Still recovering from his wound and unable to take part in the Battle of Shiloh, but close enough to hear the cannon, Cyrus later accompanied Terry's Texas Rangers from Corinth to Chattanooga and was involved through May and early June in skirmishes around Winchester and Huntsville, Alabama, along the Tennessee River.<sup>46</sup>

It is not revealed in their letters whether the brothers came in physical contact with each other, although they certainly came very close. In a letter dated June 14, 1862, Cyrus reports:

S.B.L. sent me his pistol — I learned also that J.W.L. had gone with the horses — Sam was well about two or three weeks ago when the balance of the rgmt left for this place — I understand that Sam and John will if they are permitted to live until they can do so get transfers and join this Regmt — I hope they may be able to do so. I do not know but suppose Jas is with [Tyus] in Arkansas. I guess it is almost impossible for us all to get together — but I hope the Almighty will save our lives through the war until the Southern Confederacy is fully established and at peace with all the other nations of the world on good and honorable terms and let us all meet together with you again. Yet if it is the will of the Deity that we should die in defence of our cause I hope we may be permitted to meet again beyond the confines of time...<sup>47</sup>



On July 15, Cyrus took part in the capture of Murfreesboro, Tennessee, with his regiment placed in a brigade under the command of Nathan Bedford Forrest. In an undated letter that appears to be from this period posted from Shelbyville, Cyrus tells of skirmishes in and around the town:

We have been picketing until the last two or three days on the pike leading from Shelbyville to Nashville ...

The Yankee army is no doubt concentrated at Murfreesboro with the intention of making a move in some direction but none of us know which way...

Rosencrantz has ordered that the citizens about Murfrees shall not raise crops this year and to prevent it has destroyed their farming utensils. About Murfreesboro the fences are nearly all burned and also a good many houses — he has taken all the forage and provisions from the citizens and the richest men at Murfreesboro are now under the necessity of going to the Yankee Commissaries for their daily provisions.

Do not look for me until you see and know I am at the house.<sup>48</sup>

During these summer months, Sam was stationed with Brigadier General Charles Phifer's<sup>49</sup> brigade in Mississippi. Although Sam expressed a keen interest in securing transfers for himself and John into Cyrus' regiment, it does not appear that he succeeded. August 11 he wrote from Tupelo complaining that the regiment had been unmounted for some time: "we have been run near to killing almost ever since we have been Infantry." He states, perhaps wishfully, that the officers think they would make better cavalry than infantry — better than the present cavalry.

The good boots that John spoke of in December appear to have worn out: Sam sends his father \$40.00 with the request, "if it is possible for you to get a pr. of boots made by Brooks at Corsicana I wish you would do it."<sup>50</sup> In a following letter, also dated August 11, he requests an overcoat, shirts, socks, and overshirts for himself and John, but also shares the heartening news that his regiment will once again mount:

Gen. [Sterling] Price has given Col. [L.S.] Ross permission to mount this Regt. again if the men are willing to risk loosing their horses on their way from Texas which they were willing to do without a dissenting voice and the men are to start in a few days {three or four at farthest}.<sup>51</sup>

During this period of relative inactivity, Sam's letters speak again of "the ladies," reveal some anxiety about his family at home, and express a few more startling observations regarding the war:

There is not the least reason now why the foreign powers should not acknowledge our Independence. Now they will either have to do it or acknowledge the real reason that they have not done it before. The reason in the opinion of here is that they wanted us to fight as long as possible or until we had weakened each other so much that they could come in and bag the whole of both parties...<sup>52</sup>

Waiting and skirmishing ended for Sam when his regiment joined Confederate forces against Buell yet again in the Battle of Corinth, Mississippi, on October 3-4, 1862. In an unsigned letter dated October 14 and posted from Holly Springs, Mississippi, Sam<sup>53</sup> tells of the battle:

Dear Father & Mother

It is with the most Sincere thanks to god for preserving my Life in the terrible battle that we have just passed through that I attempt to write you a few lines...

In the first place – after we had rested two or three days at Saltillo on our retreat from Iuka we Started by the way of Riply for the purpose of forming a junction with Lovell and VanDorn to attack Corinth in the rear.

After marching six days the battle opened on Friday the 3d. about 5 miles from town and about 9. O'clock...

We were about 1/2 a mile from [the enemy's batteries, about 1/4 mile in front of their entrenchments] when the charge commenced. We started at a double quick and directly after we started both of the batteries commenced throwing grape and canister Shot by the bu. but it did not Stop us untill we had driven all the gunners and Infantry from both of the batteries but we could not hold it or bring it off. The reason we could not hold it was we were not strong enough to fight the Supports that was brought against us for we had no support at all. The reason we did not bring them off Spike<sup>54</sup> them or brake them down was all the horses were killed we had no Spikes to Spike them nor axes to brake them down. But we did not do all this without a Sacrifice of life as well as wounded. Of the latter was J. B. Prendergast. He was wounded by a piece of Shell when we were in about 100 yds of the battery that done it. He fell charging as fast as he could run...

There was nothing of importance done the next morning except Some heavy firing of artillery which done no mischief untill 10 O'Clock when the order for the attack along the whole line was given. Now comes the hard fighting. The enemy had brest works with post holes for the Infantry and artillery and ditches in the rear of them making all within very secure and besides that they had an abatis of fallen timber in their front about 300 yds in width. The artillery commenced throwing grape & canister shot as soon as we come in Sight and when we got into the edge of the fallen timber the Inf. commenced firing but we Still advanced on them and commenced firing about 150 yds. We kept it up and Still advanced untill we drove them from their works took their artillery and planted our banners on the Breast works. But you can imagine our mortification when we Saw a column advancing to the Suport of the Feds. about twelve deep. Then we turned to see if we had any Support and there was none to be seen. The result was we had to give up all that we had taken at a Sacrifice of the life of some of our best boys besides a great many wounded ...

In a following letter, Sam informed his family that “we were in an enemy's entrenchments with 3 or 4 to one against us and no support. It was a badly managed affair on the part of our Commanding Gen. Van Dorn.”<sup>55</sup> Sam also told of an exchange with Federal soldiers burying Confederate dead:

[the Federal soldiers] said that they were burying them and that they were burying them decently for said that men like them deserve it. When they come to our boys the first thing they said was well boys have you got Sober. They say we were all drunk for they say no Sober men would undertake to do what we done...<sup>56</sup>

In an accompanying letter, John let his family know that he had reached Sam and his regiment with the horses, and that

Sam is in good health & has the appearance of a good soldier. He has been in several fights since he come over the river. The last fight [Corinth] he was in was a very serious one. There was 14 wounded & 3 killed out of our Co. Sam had a hole shot through his cap...<sup>57</sup>

## III

[March 25, 1863 : Cyrus Love]

We now have Roll Call five times a day whether in camp or on the march. Any man missing roll call three times in succession without leave of absence from a Brigade or Major General is to be put in irons sent to the rear of the army, his horse and arms to be taken from him and he put into the nearest Infantry regt from his State. And other instances where they are absent without leave for a few days they are to be considered deserters and shot accordingly.<sup>58</sup>

Cyrus had spent the winter with the 8th Texas Cavalry, now referred to as Wharton's Brigade, in what has been called a "shadow war" in Kentucky and Tennessee.<sup>59</sup> Union troops had advanced into that region starting with the victories at forts Henry and Donelson, then Shiloh and Corinth. In October, Cyrus' unit made a stand at Perryville with heavy losses on both sides while Bragg attempted to join his widely scattered forces in that region. The maneuver succeeded, and Bragg started toward the Cumberland Gap, leaving cavalry units, including Wharton's, to protect his rear and retard the onward march of Federal forces.<sup>60</sup>

In a letter dated December 20 and posted from Franklin County, Tennessee, Cyrus referred to the winter months of traveling and skirmishing as a "long and apparently useless trip."<sup>61</sup> Another member of Wharton's Brigade reported that the soldiers "had to form line and skirmish several times a day ... For more than a week there was no order to unsaddle."<sup>62</sup> Cyrus' mention of disciplinary actions taken against potential deserters reflected a growing problem in the Confederate army. Unwarrented absentees had been a source of concern from the beginning of the war, and absenteeism and downright desertion increased steadily, especially after the Conscription Act compelled volunteers to re-enlist.<sup>63</sup>

Even during this dreary winter, writing from a "camp 20 miles north of Grenada,"<sup>64</sup> Sam commented on the local Southern Belles:

Bettie it [may] amuse as well as interest you to have seen the Ladies of Tenn. In marching through that portion of the country we had on our Fed. overcoats that we captured at H.S. [Holly Springs] and they always thought we were Feds until we told them better or they found out themselves for it was very hard to to fool them long. They would then open their doors and come out on the streets and get as close to us as they could without getting in the way of our horses and some would Shout while others would laugh ... Some would run and bring everything they had cooked for us to eat while they would put every body on the premises to cooking more.

I do'nt think I ever saw any people as highly elated in my life. They were perfectly beside themselves with joy. But there was one draw-back to the enjoyment of the Soldiers. It was because we new we could not Stay there for we were not Strong enough and the thought that all those pretty girls had to be left to the tender mercies of the Feds. put a damper on our enjoyment. But I hope it will not be long before we can drive the hireling hosts of the north to their homes and never be interrupted by them more when all can live in peace at home ...

The only letters in the Brothers Loves collection from James Love<sup>65</sup> date from this winter. He was stationed at Little Rock, and his regiment had taken part in the defense of Arkansas Post when it was attacked from the Arkansas River by Federal transports and gunboats in January 1863. The following communication indicates that James had not taken part in that fight. The limited correspondence from James—two letters, apparently posted simultaneously—gives little insight into this man's experiences and feelings about the service. The fact that he was war weary at this point is clear, however, in his request for a substitute and his expression of anxiety regarding persons at home:

I should like to have Bob come and stay in my Place awhile. It is impossible for a man to get a furlough unless he is a favorite of the officers or he will honey them and the reason for my wanting Bob to come is my horse has been sick and is now so Poor that he is not fit to use... If he should come I do not want him to stay more than one or two months...

Tell Ellen that I am trying to conduct myself as near right as Possible. I have not learned to Swear nor drink. There is not three men in camp but What does Both.<sup>66</sup>

The second letter, addressed to 'Dick', is even more revealing<sup>67</sup>:

We are having a rough time of it here. It has rained or snowed all the time. I have not been in a fight yet nor do I want to be...

I wish I was with you. We would have a good time of it. When are you coming up here? Bring Bob with you and I will return with you. Bring a bottle of the old Mans wine and a plug of tobacco. Bring me something that is fit to eat for we do not get any thing that is fit to eat. We had poor beef and bread with a little sugar. After this is said all is said. Oh for such times as we have seen together. Don't tell the old Lady how we are faring it may trouble her.

Come up here dick and bring me a letter from Ellen. I have never heard from her since I left home. If you cant come write to me and tell me something about my people. I am troubled about Ellen she was sick when I left...<sup>68</sup>

Very few mentions are made of James in his brothers' letters, and the collection contains no further communications from him. In a letter posted June 12, Cyrus reported with one simple sentence, "James is dead."<sup>69</sup>

The 'Bob' whom James had wanted to take his place may have been youngest brother Robert Love (although Robert is not referred to as Bob in any other correspondence); letters which discuss Robert make it clear that he was anxious to join the war at this time:

[June 28, 1863 : Sam]

If Robt is determined to come in to the service before he is of age he might wait until I can come home (if I ever do) for I will come this fall if I ever get a furlough & then I could have got him into a place where he could have done well - & Tea. I want to know whether you get it or not as soon as you have an opportunity of writing to me - & by all all means tell Robt to stay at home until fall - for if I repeat what I have already wrote to him that the service is something he knows nothing atall about & it does seem to me that he ought to have confidence enough in me to take my advice - and advantage of the experience that 3 years of hard service has given me. But if he will not do it let him go & do as he will.<sup>70</sup>

Robert eventually joined the Confederate army, enlisting in the 6th Texas Cavalry, Company G, presumably to fight alongside Sam and John in Ross' Brigade. A passage in Webb's *Handbook of Texas*<sup>71</sup> contradicts itself in saying that he was born in 1847, volunteered at the age of seventeen, and then served "throughout the war." In spirit, perhaps; both the letter cited above and simple math show us that it was probably 1864 before he enlisted.

Perhaps in later years Robert found it politically expedient to inflate his Confederate career. After becoming deputy sheriff of Limestone County in 1872, he filled a number of public offices, including sheriff and United States marshal. He finally made it to Austin as state comptroller in 1900, but his political career ended along with his life when a disgruntled ex-employee assassinated him on June 30, 1903. No letters from Robert M. Love are included in this collection, although there is an original copy of the *Dallas Morning News* front page announcing his murder.<sup>72</sup> His body was laid to rest in the Tehuacana cemetery, alongside his mother, father, and brothers, and is honored there with an historical marker.

John lived through the war to become sheriff of Limestone County with Robert as his deputy. Near the close of the Reconstruction period in 1873, he and Robert had cause to take up arms once again in behalf of constitutional rights. Contesting the election of Richard Coke to the office of governor, incumbent Edmond J. Davis issued prohibitory orders against the convening of the Fourteenth Legislature. John and Robert stood with pistols bared at the foot and head of the stairs of the State Capitol and protected the members of the legislature as they went up to the second floor, enabling them to organize and administer the oath of office to Coke.<sup>73</sup>

According to the *Dallas Morning News* article in 1903, the Love family had "a singular line of fatality among them." In 1873 the boys' father, James M. Love, was killed "from ambush" as he served as sheriff of Limestone County.<sup>74</sup> John, in the same office the next year, was killed by escaped prisoners as he transported them from Shreveport to Limestone. Probate minutes held at the county courthouse in Groesbeck show that it took his brother, Sam B. Love, seven years to settle John's estate in behalf his orphaned daughter, Maud.<sup>75</sup>

Sam passed away at the age of seventy-four in Fort Worth, Texas, where descendants of the brothers live today. Rumors persist in Tehuacana that he was active in Confederate Veteran's organizations, frequented the nearby Confederate Veteran's Reunion Campground, and was a ladies man well into his senior years.<sup>76</sup>

Cyrus remained with the 8th Texas Cavalry through the spring and summer of 1863. His letters give descriptions of the Battle of Murfreesboro and other engagements. The collection contains no letters from Cyrus after August 20, 1863. In a recounting of "Wheeler's Great Raid" in October, the memoirs of fellow soldier L.B. Giles contain this epitaph: "Love, of Company C, was killed."<sup>77</sup> In his last letter home,<sup>78</sup> Cyrus, the educator turned soldier, told of recent skirmishes, asked about Sam and John, invoked the will of the

Deity, and closed: "Tell Jenny, Alice, Mary, Lizzie and Johy K. to be good children and study hard."

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Letter 1, October 30, 1859; Cyrus W. Love to Robert M. Love. The entire known Letters of the Brothers Loves collection is held by Mary Coutts Burnett Library Special Collections, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas. Transcriptions were done by Jennifer Mansfield, June - August 1997, and are held by the library on PC disc. All references to these letters will be by their chronological number given at the time of transcription with date, author, and addressee, as shown above.

An effort has been made to preserve the original tone and flavor of the letters; consequently, spelling has not been altered except in obvious cases in which the author doubted her reading of the writers' handwriting. Punctuation in the form of periods for sentence separation and paragraphing has been added to aid clarity of expression. Use of ... indicates an edit of the originals, as does [ ]. Any other punctuation indicated in this paper represents that of the original letters. It is suggested that interested parties view the original letters.

<sup>2</sup>Freestone County Historical Commission, *History of Freestone County, Texas*, Vol. I, p. 16. (Hillsboro, 1978).

<sup>3</sup>Letters are addressed variously to Elizabeth Karner, known to be the brothers' sister and wife of John Karner; E.T. G. Love, who appears to have been called Terissa; Tea, believed to be youngest Love sister, Tennessee Angeline; Lizzy; Bettie; and simply "Sister" or "Sisters." Whether Lizzy and Bettie could have been alternate names given to the sisters listed above is not known; it is possible that they were cousins or friends. Only Mary Elizabeth (Love-Karner), Eliza T.G., and Tennessee Angeline are listed in the family Bible and in other family records. Records of Jule and Jas Floyd, present (1998) owners of Love Springs property in Tehuacana, Texas.

<sup>4</sup>Letter 1, October 30, 1859; Cyrus W. Love to Robert M. Love.

<sup>5</sup>Mrs. V.K. Carpenter, ed., *1850 Census Limestone County, Texas* (Huntsville, 1909).

<sup>6</sup>H. Steele, *A History of Limestone County, Texas 1833 - 1960* (Hillsboro, 1960) p. 4; also McLean, *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas* (Arlington, 1982), Vol. 9, p.238.

<sup>7</sup>Records of Jule and Jas Floyd, present (1998) owners of Love Springs property in Tehuacana, Texas.

<sup>8</sup>Tehuacana Anniversary Celebration 1990 History Committee, *Tehuacana : A Collection of Recollections ...* (Mexia, 1990).

<sup>9</sup>W.W. Heartsill, Bell I. Wiley, ed., *Fourteen hundred and 91 days in the Confederate Army: A journal kept by W.W. Heartsill for four years, one month and one day* (Jackson, Tenn., 1954), p.16.

<sup>10</sup>Letter 6, October 14, 1861; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Loves.

<sup>11</sup>Edward Clark, *Proclamation to the People of Texas. State of Texas, Austin, August 26, 1861*, various sources, including: Wright & Simpson, eds., *Texas in the War 1861- 1865*. (Hillsboro, 1965), Plate 70.

<sup>12</sup>Freestone County Historical Commission, *History of Freestone County, Texas*, (Hillsboro, 1978), Vol. I, p. 18. Also, Janet B. Hewett, ed., *The Roster of the Confederate Soldiers*. (Wilmington, NC, 1996).

<sup>13</sup>Freestone County Historical Commission, *History of Freestone County, Texas*, (Hillsboro, 1978), Vol. I, p. 18. Also, Letter 6, October 14, 1861; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Loves.

<sup>14</sup>B.P. Gallaway, ed., *The Dark Corner of the Confederacy: Accounts of Civil War Texas as Told by Contemporaries*, (Dubuque, 1968), p. 37.

<sup>15</sup>Muster cards of 6th Texas Cavalry. Microfilms held at The Harold B. Simpson Confederate Research Center, Hill College, Hillsboro, TX.

<sup>16</sup>As few letters from James survive in this collection and he is rarely mentioned in the letters of his brothers, the particulars of his CSA involvement are mysterious. In mode of speech and

writing, he appears younger than John, yet family records suggest that he was twenty-four years old by 1861. This information is contradicted by muster cards dated September 1861 for Colonel Stone's regiment (see previous note) which show a James Love, twenty yrs., and a John Love, twenty-five yrs. The idea that James enlisted at this time and place is further confused by Cyrus' letter of [presumably - see note III, 1] December 1st, 1861: "I thought three of us were enough to be out at one time and James should have staid at home and not have gone to Galveston." The issue of James' identity is addressed in more detail in Section II of this paper.

<sup>1</sup>Letter 4, September 8, 1861; Sam Love to Sister.

<sup>18</sup>Letter 3, September 1 [December 1], 1861; Cyrus Love to Miss E.T.G. Love. It appears from the content of this letter that Cyrus' date is incorrect. Probably the letter was written on December 1, which would account for its references to regimental activities and other letters. It is also logical that a mistake could have been made in just one element of the date, the abbreviated month.

<sup>19</sup>Freestone County Historical Commission, *History of Freestone County, Texas*, (Hillsboro, 1978), Vol. I, p. 19.

<sup>20</sup>Janet B. Hewett, ed., *The Roster of the Confederate Soldiers*. (Wilmington, NC, 1996).

<sup>21</sup>Terry's Texas Rangers, the 8th Texas Cavalry Regiment.

<sup>22</sup>Confederate General Lloyd Tilghman. Cyrus spells Tilghman's name correctly in the next letter.

<sup>23</sup>Andrew C. Love, Confederate surgeon.

<sup>24</sup>Letter 9, November 6, 1861; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Loves.

<sup>25</sup>Although he mentions the election of officers in his company, Cyrus does not suggest that he himself won any rank of honor. According to Confederate rosters, however, it appears that he won the rank of sergeant while in the Seventh Infantry. Janet B. Hewett, ed., *The Roster of the Confederate Soldiers* (Wilmington, NC, 1996).

<sup>26</sup>Hiram B. Granbury, later to become general; his company is remembered as the Waco Guards.

<sup>27</sup>Letter 10, November 10, 1861; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Loves.

<sup>28</sup>Letter 3, September 1 [December 1], 1861; Cyrus Loveto Miss E.T.G. Lovc. See note 18.

<sup>29</sup>It is noted in *History of Freestone County, Texas* that Moody's company was one of only two formed in Freestone County for which money was allotted from the county court, a sum of \$800.50. An agent of the court was sent to the penitentiary to "receive such cloth and clothing from the state as might be Freestone's portion for her soldiers."

<sup>30</sup>Sam B. and John W. Loves

<sup>31</sup>If John ever wrote a "general history" of his trip, we have no record of it.

<sup>32</sup>Letter 13, December 5, 1861; Sam Love and John Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>33</sup>Letter 16, December 18, 1861; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>34</sup>Letter 18, January 8, 1862; Cyrus Love to Tea Love.

<sup>35</sup>In his report of the incident, Confederate Colonel James McIntosh noted that the Texas regiment "breasted itself for the highest point of the hill, and rushed over its rugged side with the insatiable force of a tornado ... ." *Confederate Military History*, Extended Edition, (Wilmington, NC, 1989), Vol. XV, p. 240.

<sup>36</sup>Letter 17, January 1862: Sam Love to Betty (sister) and Lou. On the original, Sam left a space for the day after the month abbreviation, as if he were going to ask somebody for the date but never did. It has been placed in this order in the collection according to its content.

<sup>37</sup>Cyrus' company.

<sup>38</sup>Formerly Terry's Texas Rangers, the 8th Texas Cavalry Regiment.

<sup>39</sup>Letter 23, March 15, 1862; Cyrus Love to John and Elizabeth Karner.

<sup>40</sup>Letter 25, April 1, 1862; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>41</sup>Col. H.M. Henderson, *Texas in the Confederacy* (San Antonio, 1955).

<sup>42</sup>Letter 26, April 27, 1862: Sam Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>41</sup>Letter 28, May 11, 1862: unsigned. This letter, by virtue of penmanship and content, appears to be a letter from Sam.

<sup>42</sup>In 1862 the Confederacy passed the first national conscription law in American history, and reactions in Texas ranged from resignation to outrage. The implications of the act do not appear to have escaped Sam, and his account of his regiment reenlisting is commonly recorded among soldier letters of the period. F. Pruitt, "'We've got to fight or die:' Early Texas reaction to the Confederate draft, 1862," *East Texas Historical Association Journal*, 1998, No. 1.

<sup>43</sup>Letter 28, May 11, 1862; unsigned.

<sup>44</sup>Letters 30, 32

<sup>45</sup>Letter 30, June 14, 1862; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>46</sup>Letter ??; Cyrus to parents. The transcriber did not, at the time of her initial work, have the confidence to order this letter in with a numeral. It exists in the collection with the label ??.

<sup>47</sup>Cyrus notes Sam's station in Letter ??; Phifer, also listed as Phyfer, is mentioned in *Rebellion Record* in a letter from Sterling Price to Secretary of War James A. Seddon detailing the CSA's actions at Corinth. Frank Moore, ed., (New York, 1977), Vol. 10, p. 640.

<sup>48</sup>Letter 36, August 11, 1862; Sam Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>49</sup>Letter 37, August 11, 1862; Sam Love to Tea Love.

<sup>50</sup>Letter 41, September 8 and 9, 1862; Sam Love to Sister.

<sup>51</sup>Letter 43, October 14, 1862; unsigned to parents. By handwriting and content, this certainly seems like a letter from Sam.

<sup>52</sup>To spike a cannon meant to disable it by driving a spike or large nail into the vent.

<sup>53</sup>Letter 44, October 20, 1862; Sam Love to Sister.

<sup>54</sup>Letter 44, October 20, 1862; Sam Love to Sister.

<sup>55</sup>Letter 45, October 20, 1862; John Love to Father.

<sup>56</sup>Letter 57, March 25, 1863; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>57</sup>B.F. Cooling, *Forts Henry and Donelson: The Key to the Confederate Heartland* (Knoxville, 1987).

<sup>58</sup>Leonidas B. Giles, *Terry's Texas Rangers* (Memoirs published by author, 1911).

<sup>59</sup>Letter 50, December 20, 1862; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Loves.

<sup>60</sup>Leonidas B. Giles, *Terry's Texas Rangers* (Memoirs published by author, 1911).

<sup>61</sup>Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1978).

<sup>62</sup>Letter 51, January 12, 1863; Sam Love to Bettie Love.

<sup>63</sup>There were a number of James' in the Love family, and it is possible that these letters were not written by Jas. A. Love, son of Jas. M. Love. However, its inclusion by the original collector of the letters (presumed) as well as its content allow this reader a reasonable assertion that they were. A James Love is listed in the Roster of Confederate Soldiers (see note III, 6. of this paper) as having joined the 6th Texas Cavalry, Co. F, and a James Andrew Love as having joined the 20th Texas Cavalry, Co. G. The writer of these two letters identifies his unit as "McKies squadron Texas Rangers." It appears that McKie's Texas Cavalry Squadron was a unit of several detached companies of Morgan's Texas Cavalry Battalion which operated almost continuously on detached service. M. J. Wright & H.B. Simpson, eds., *Texas in the War 1861-1865* (Hillsboro, 1965).

<sup>64</sup>Letter 52, Jan. 24, 1863; Jas. A Love to Father.

<sup>65</sup>Letter 53, Jan. 24, 1863; Jas. A Love to Dick.

<sup>66</sup>It is unknown who Ellen was, but James' concern for her was well founded. On March 16 (Letter 57), Sam commented on a report of her death: "I was very sorry to hear of Ellens death though I was not surprised for she was very sickly. If I was half as good as Ellen I would not fear to die for I believe she was one of the best Women I ever saw."

<sup>67</sup>Letter 61, June 12, 1863; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

<sup>68</sup>Letter 63, June 28, 1863; Sam Love to Tea Love.



<sup>71</sup>Walter P. Webb, ed., *The New Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1952).

<sup>72</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, Wednesday, July 1, 1903, p. 1. Headline: "Controller Love Killed."

<sup>73</sup>Walter P. Webb, ed., *The New Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1952).

<sup>74</sup>*Dallas Morning News*, Wednesday July 1, 1903, p.1. Headline: "Controller Love Killed."

<sup>75</sup>Probate Court Minutes Vol. B, pg. 380. Case number 156, 1874-1881. Groesbeck County Courthouse.

<sup>76</sup>Records of Jule and Jas Floyd, present (1998) owners of Love Springs property in Tchuacana, Texas, and Limestone County natives.

<sup>77</sup>Leonidas B. Giles, *Terry's Texas Rangers* (Memoirs published by author, 1911), p. 67.

<sup>78</sup>Letter 69, August 20, 1863; Cyrus Love to Jas. M. and T.A. Love.

**BOOK NOTES**

by Archie P. McDonald

This section provides notice of books and other publications concerned with Eastern Texas history. Elsewhere are formal reviews of other books written by scholars; herein are expressions of opinions of the editor about such.

Donald W. Whisenhunt, who formerly taught and administered things at the University of Texas in Tyler, moved to Nebraska, and now works at Western Washington University, has authored *Poetry of the People, Poems to the President, 1929-1945* (Bowling Green State University Popular Press, Bowling Green, OH 43403). Don has published several books on the Depression, is the editor of *Encyclopedia USA*, and edited the index to the first twenty volumes of our *Journal*. But Don's primary interest remains the Great Depression, especially its impact on ordinary folk. Herein are many poems arranged according to themes such as the bleakness of the Depression, President Herbert Hoover's role in causing-dealing with the economic plight, the New Deal, and other aspects of the era, with the overriding emphasis on FDR as the savior of the nation. Photos and cartoons are included. A New Deal baby, most of my memories of FDR are associated with WWII, but I still recall that voice on our Philco radio, and knew that even a spoiled child must be still when "Mr. Roosevelt" was on the air.

Ace Reid and the *Cowpokes Cartoons*, with an introduction by Elmer Kelton and foreword by Pat Oliphant, fulfills the dream of Madge Reid to see Ace's work featured in a collection that enlarges the cartoons beyond what is possible in daily newspapers to show off their art. Elmer worked with Ace when the cowboy cartoonist got his start at the *San Angelo Standard-Times* after World War II, and provides a biographical sketch that reflects their friendship; Oliphant is a transplanted South Australian whose foreword emphasizes the frontiersque similarities of his native soil to Ace's, something that F.E. Abernethy and I also observed in our visit to the Land Down Under in 1986 as cultural exports from the Sesquicentennial to South Australia's Jubilee 150 (at least the Aussies used a term everyone could spell). The cartoons are grouped as Work, Economics, Bankers, Weather, Ma-cowpoke Jake's long-suffering and overly tolerant wife, Outsiders, and Friends & Neighbors, but really there is only one theme: the hard life of the cowpoke in fairly modern West Texas. Yet much of it resonates with this East Texan who was baptized with cow manure in his father's and uncle's cattle commission business in the 1940s. We, too, knew drought, tough bankers, tight money, and other vicissitudes of the working side of life. Reid's line drawings present well this philosophy of dealing with hard times: laughing instead of crying.

*The Law Comes to Texas: The Texas Rangers, 1870-1901* (State House Press, Box 15247, Austin, Texas 78761, paperback), continues Frederick Wilkins' history of the Rangers. Wilkins is rewriting the history of our state's legendary law enforcement agency in several volumes—I think at least

four—and remodeling the previous consensus on the subject laid out by Walter Prescott Webb in the 1930s. There are at least two schools of thought about Rangers, like everything else in Texas: the “liberal” line that early Rangers were at home on either side of the law and later Rangers were as much strike breakers and agents of perpetuating corrupt oligarchic rule as any thing else; and the “conservative” cause that holds these straight-shooting, right-minded, bastions of law-n-order in high regard. Gus McCrae or “Walker: Texas Ranger?” There is a little of both. Wilkins says his “only agenda in this tale is to tell an accurate story without apology, glorification, or revisionism” (p. xii), which means, I suppose, that “revisionism” is automatically pejorative. So here is the Ranger story from John B. Jones and L.H. McNelly to Ira Aten of fence-cutting wars fame, or the first focusing of Rangerdom on actual law enforcement as opposed to Indian hunting and service as quasi-soldiers. There are several appendices dealing with the organization of the Rangers, endnotes, and bibliography and index. The Rangers are among those topics that never tire us Texans, and here is a series that offers one more look at our guys who bore the badge and the gun and made a history for themselves, revised or not.

*Sweetie Ladd's Historic Fort Worth: Paintings by Sweetie Ladd*, with text by Cissy Stewart Lale (TCU Press, TCU Box 298300, Fort Worth, TX 76129), presents reproductions of thirty-eight works in watercolor that feature historic buildings in Fort Worth. Ladd began painting in her sixties after working with husband Homer at the Ladd Furniture Company. Cissy tells us that Sweetie Ladd took her art seriously even if she did not admit it, and even studied in Spain, Paris, and Mexico. But when advising another artist who studied her folk-art, primitive style, Ladd told her to “just paint poorly, dear.” The watercolors depict historic buildings (some are interiors) and landscapes, but are filled with people doing things. Cissy Lale contributed a biographical essay on the artist and a commentary on each watercolor, and is well qualified to do so after a career of “covering” the Fort Worth scene as women’s editor for the *Star-Telegram*, the city’s distinguished newspaper. She also is a past president of the East Texas Historical Association. The publication was made possible by grants from Kay Dickson Farman, the Summerlee Foundation, and the Fort Worth Public Library and the Friends of the Fort Worth Public Library in memory of Irvin S. Farman.

*The Historic Seacoast of Texas* (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819), with paintings by J.U. Salvant and essays by David G. McComb, is another visual presentation of historic Texas. The artist headquarters in Austin and the essayist lives in Colorado, but both are familiar with coast. I met David when he joined our oppressed corps of master’s candidates at the old Rice Institute in 1959, so I know he knows about the Gulf Coast; besides, he has written excellent histories of Galveston and Houston, among other topics, and comes down out of the mountains once each year to renew his acquaintance with us. The subject, at least partially, is my first homeland, for it involves “The Sabine Crossing” and “The Bolivar Peninsula,” or the Gulf Coast from the Louisiana border to Galveston. Other chapters concern “Galveston Island,” “The Brazos Landing,” “Troubled Waters At

Matagorda Bay,” “The Aransas Passage,” “Corpus Christi And The Cowtowns Of The Coast,” and “Padre Island–Shipwrecks And Tourists.” Each features an essay on the area by McComb and one to four watercolors by Salvant. Mountaineers and prairie dwellers may find little with which to identify here, but beachcombers and others oriented to the coast will find a feast.

One of the questions asked on my doctoral oral exam addressed the “appropriateness” of using historical fiction to teach real history. Since I knew the interrogator favored such, of course I endorsed the methodology. Since, I have come to a more sincere accommodation of it because of the observation that the majority of us learn more of our history through fictional film and literature than from traditional lectures and “serious” tomes. The premium, then, is for the fiction to be as factual as possible. Here are two good examples: *Wave High The Banner: A Novel Based On The Life Of Davy Crockett*, by Dee Brown (University of New Mexico Press, 1720 Lomas Boulevard NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1591), and *Alamo Heights*, by Scott Zesch (TCU Press, TCU Box 298300, Fort Worth, TX 76129). The novel “based on the life of” David Crockett first appeared in 1942 and was republished with a biographical section on Brown by Paul Andrew Hutton, our contemporary Alamo and Western history scholar. *Alamo Heights* concerns not the battle for the Alamo in which Crockett and a few male friends engaged in 1836; instead it is an account of the battle for preservation of the original battle site waged by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas three quarters of a century later. Take your history where you find it, I always say—and did so on my doctoral exam, too.

Here is an interesting way to combine a “sweet tooth” and an interest in historical preservation: *Sweet Heritage, A Collection Of Dessert Recipes And Biographies From Days Gone By...A Baker's And Genealogy Enthusiast's Delight* (Franklin County Historical Association, Box 289, Mount Vernon, TX 75457, \$16), sent by B.F. Hicks, the principal preserver of Mount Vernon’s and Franklin County’s history. *Sweet Heritage* contains an overview of Franklin County’s story, historic photographs, and fifty-two pages of recipes for cakes, fourteen pages on candies, twenty-two pages on cookies, twenty-one pages on “miscellaneous desserts,” and forty-three pages on pies. Each recipe includes biographical sketches on Franklin County pioneers and predecessors, usually the original source of the recipe, and the contemporary contributor of each is acknowledged. Recognition is given to Hicks, Jean Ann Marshall, Rae Harper, Martha Hare, and Patricia Evans for gathering and preparing the collection. I have a background in the dessert/history combination. I once had a graduate student who was accused of “cooking” her way to a master’s degree by her otherwise thoroughly supportive husband because she rarely appeared for a thesis conference without an exquisite dessert in hand. It helped that she was an excellent student, but the “lucious lemon bars” did not harm her case with the thesis committee.

Old Friend, mentor, and ETHA Past President Ralph A. Wooster’s latest publication is *Civil War Texas: A History And A Guide* (Texas State Historical

Association, 2.306 Sid Richardson Hall. University of Texas, Austin TX 78712, \$7.95), a part of the *Fred Rider Cotten Popular History Series*. The series was the idea of another friend, Lee Lawrence, during his tenure as president of TSHA. Wooster's eighty-two page monograph is an excellent sketch of this pivotal period. It is divided into five chapters, and concludes with a chronology of events, notes, and index, and suggestions for additional reading. "Then And Now" sidebars scattered through the text, plus many illustrations, provide an attractive appearance. *Civil War Texas* would make an excellent reading assignment for college or secondary classes—and a good refresher for old know-it-alls like your correspondent, who first learned what he knows about this war in Wooster's class at Lamar University during the Middle Ages.

Another past president, Bill O'Neal, the sage of Panola College, has produced yet another shooter book, *A Half Century of Violence in Texas: The Bloody Legacy of Pink Higgins* (Eakin Press, Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159, \$18.95). Bill is our authority on baseball and gunfighters. Herein he introduces us to John Calhoun Pinkney ("Pink") Higgins, a shooter among the best of them, though not, says Bill, a pathological killer, merely an efficient and successful one. I love this blurb: "I didn't kill all them men—but then again, I got some that wasn't on the bill, so I guess it just about evens up."

Another Eakin publication—see address above; price \$14.95—is *Rezepte: German-Texan Culinary Art When Everything Was Hausgemacht*, by Nevilee Maass Weaver. As an accomplished writer of such—O.K., I only wrote one cookbook—this interests me so I can add variety to the fare served to a certain Uppity Woman. What we have here is on Texas-German cooking and lore, followed by recipes on the preparation of *Fleisch* (meat), *Sosse* (sauce), *Suppe* (soup) and *Salat* (salad), *Brot* (bread), *Kuchen* (cake), *Kleines Backwerk* (little pastry), and *Eingemachtes* (canning), with an index to recipes. This alternation of German and English continues in the titles of individual recipes, but fortunately the directions are in American English. Interspersed are box homilies; I like this one on page 28 because even the translation has to be translated: *Die Suppe Ausessen Mussen*, which means The Soup Must All Be Eaten which means You Have To Abide By The Consequences. *Bon Appetite*, or however you say that in German.

Madge Thornall Robert's third volume, *Sam Houston: The Personal Correspondence, 1848-1952* (University of North Texas Press, Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336), continues a series which won our Ottis Lock Best Book on East Texas Award with its initial volume and brings it within a single volume of conclusion. Houston represented Texas in the US Senate during these years, so even his personal correspondence was laden with political matters; but also here are family concerns. The series is an important one. Although Houston was the subject of several excellent biographies, some with revisionist tendencies, during this decade of his Bicentennial, the equally valuable resource of his correspondence remained as it had been for over half a century in the previous edition of Amelia Williams and Eugene Barker.

Every research library needs these volumes.

Almost too late for the flood of WWII books, but still a good read, is Samuel E. Stavisky's *Marine Combat Correspondent: World War II In The Pacific* (An Ivy Book by Ballentine Publishing Group, 201 East 50th St., New York, NY 10022, 1999, \$6.99). Stavisky worked for the *Washington Post* when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor; that grim news made him attempt to enlist in the Army and Navy but both turned him down because he could not pass the eye examination without coke-bottle glasses, a requirement for combat. So the Marines took him in as a Combat Correspondent, or, as are all Marines, a rifleman first and then a correspondent who had a license to prowl the Pacific Theatre to find "hometown hero" stories that would give the service good press at home. In this capacity Stavisky saw more combat than most mainline personnel, and did so in more places than most. It is a good companion piece to James A. Michener's *Tales Of The South Pacific*.

Martha Tannery Jones continues her excellent work for younger readers in *Terror From The Gulf: A Hurricane In Galveston* (Hendrick-Long Publishing Company, P.O. Box 25123, Dallas, TX 75225), which tells the story of the worst natural disaster yet sustained in the continental United States. The famed Galveston hurricane on September 8, 1900, took over 6,000 lives and destroyed what was then Texas' largest city. The story is told from the viewpoint of Charlie Byrd and family, fictitious stand-ins for real people who endured the mighty winds and waves that swept over the island. This is a good way for young readers to learn about the consequences of nature.

Gregg Cantrell's eagerly anticipated biography, *Stephen F. Austin, Empresario of Texas* (Yale University Press, P.O. Box 209040, New Haven, CT 06520-9040), officially released in October 1999, arrived just in time for inclusion in our column for this issue. As one who has worked at an institution named for SFA, and one who has taught Texas history for thirty years, this is an event. It probably won't attract as much attention as the release of James A. Michener's *Texas* in 1985, but it should. Sometimes the stars line up, or, more accurately, sometimes a young person takes on a challenge considered too formidable for a couple of generations, and things work out just right. What that means is: the publication of Eugene Barker's *Life of Stephen F. Austin* in 1925 preempted the field for three-quarters of a century. My generation, and the one that preceded it, considered Barker's the definitive biography of the founder of Anglo Texas, or perhaps we were just too awed by the shadow of Barker. Along comes this brash young scholar. The product is magnificent. I like especially Cantrell's introduction and epilogue. The introduction places Barker's work in line with Fredrick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis and explains the more recent interpretations of New West historians succinctly and well; the epilogue traces the hard work of Austin family descendants, mostly Bryans, because, of course, the bachelor SFA had no direct descendants, in making Austin the man into the monument for whom cities, universities, and much else has been named. Cantrell said he would stick closely with Austin, and he does, but he does not fulfill one other goal articulated in the

introduction—that this would not be a history of the “times” of Austin. To the contrary, it is an excellent history of Austin’s time, whether in Missouri or Mexican Texas. As a veteran writer/teacher of some of Austin’s times, I was gratified to find confirmation of most of what I have written and taught about Austin, found myself corrected in some instances, and learned much, much more than I have ever known, especially the circumstances of Austin’s imprisonment in Mexico. This is more than just an important publication of Texana; it is an event, perhaps even a pivotal event, in the scholarship of that genre. More than just me will say, however more silently, “I wish I could have done that.”

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henri Joutel, 1684-1687*, edited and with an introduction by William C. Foster, translated by Johanna S. Warren (Texas State Historical Association, 2.306 SRH, Austin, TX 78712) 1998. Contents. Introduction. Illus. Appendices. Translator notes. Index. P. 350. \$39.95. Hardcover.

Henri Joutel's journal of the La Salle expedition is an exciting, suspenseful, educational good read if you have even the slightest interest in colonial American-Texas history. Joutel was La Salle's second in command, and he tells the story of that ill-fated expedition from its sailing from France in August 1684, through its mislanding in Texas early in 1685, and to La Salle's unfortunate exodus in 1687. Joutel continues his journal after La Salle's death until he has reached the Mississippi River on his way back to Canada.

La Salle was an arrogant, dominating, and self-righteous leader. His ship captains were mutinous, and his army captains were resentful. The bulk of his company were shanghaied from the skid rows of various French ports. And La Salle missed the hell out of the mouth of the Mississippi, his planned port of call. He landed in Texas, in Matagorda Bay, among rattlesnakes, mosquitoes, and unfriendly Indians. He did not have an auspicious beginning.

Henri Joutel was the recorder of La Salle's mishaps. He was there and keeping his journal when La Salle's ships sank or sailed away, leaving the expedition beached and far from friendly Frenchmen. And Joutel was with La Salle in January 1687 when La Salle began his trek eastward to find his lost Mississippi River.

The animosities ran deep in this expedition, and in March, near where the Navasota flows into the Brazos, one faction set upon La Salle and slew him, his nephew, a servant, and his Indian guide. Joutel was spared and lived to see the murderers slain by one of their own conspirators. Joutel and those who were left were bound closely enough together to make it to the Mississippi, and then to Quebec, and in the following year back to France, where Joutel told his story.

If Joutel's story of the La Salle expedition were all, the book would be worth the purchase. But Joutel's journal is complimented by William Foster's intelligent editing, his insightful historical introduction, his supplementary and explanatory footnotes, and his logical and educated deductions about the route of La Salle's journey. The maps of La Salle's and Joutel's route through East Texas are as close to definitive as we are likely to ever get. And his location of the deathplace of La Salle should satisfy most scholars and put an end to that debate.

I was most amused by finding La Salle's deathplace as being near Navasota. Navasota's Main Street statue of La Salle has been much maligned by historians as the product of Chamber of Commerce wishful thinking and creative history. Now that city can stand fully justified by academia as the site of one of the dramatic episodes in Texas-American history.

La Salle's misadventures in Texas gained him nothing but his death and



gained France the animosity and scrutiny of the Spanish. What it did for Texas was to start its beginning as a province, then a republic, and finally the state we know now. As soon as the Spanish learned of the French intrusion of their territory they began activities northward into the land of the Caddo-Tejas that culminated in the selling of the East Texas frontier as a barrier against further French intrusion. Texas began as a result of La Salle's mistake.

I admire and cherish the richness of William Foster's edition of Joutel's journal of La Salle's expedition. I shall recommend it to my friends for the sake of their minds' betterment and for their recreation amidst substance. And I shall keep it at my bedside (along with Foster's *Spanish Expeditions into Texas: 1689-1768*), as the ultimate reference to this most dramatic and influential episode in early Texas-American history.

F.E. Abernethy

Stephen F. Austin State University

*1836 Facts About The Alamo & The Texas War For Independence*, Mary Deborah Petite, Editor (Stackpole Books, 5067 Ritter Road, Mechanicsburg, PA 17055-6921) 1999. Contents. Biblio. Photographs. Maps. P. 178. \$11.95. Paperback.

For longer than most of us can remember, writers and historians have been turning out books about the Alamo. Unfortunately, few of them have developed any new information about the 1836 landmark battle.

While Mary Deborah Petite's new book doesn't contain much new information, it is presented in an unusual and interesting way.

As a result, *1836 Facts About The Alamo & The Texas War for Independence* is a easy-to-browse compendium of essential facts not only about the Alamo, but on the Texas Revolution itself.

Scattered here and there are nuggets of information that remind you of how interesting the Alamo battle was.

For example, most of the Mexican infantrymen were armed with British Brown Bess muskets. And many of the Alamo's defenders had the same muskets. What they didn't lack in firearms, the Alamo garrison lacked in proper artillery ammunition. They did not have enough to keep the enemy from reaching the walls. The gunners had enough powder to fire more than 1,200 rounds, but the 686 solid shot were all but useless against the attacking infantry. The Alamo had less than 500 grape and canister loads to beat back the enemy assault.

Petite's book is the second in a series of similar "facts" books. She has also produced *1876 Facts About Custer And The Battle of Little Bighorn* and *1912 Facts About Titanic*.

Bob Bowman

Lufkin, Texas

*Uniforms of the Republic of Texas: And the Men that Wore Them*, Bruce Marshall (Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 77 Lower Valley Road Rt. 372, Atglen, PA 19310) 1999. Appendices. Biblio. Color Photos. P. 83. \$19.95. Paperback.

Bruce Marshall is an internationally recognized artist-historian who specializes in Texas history. In this work he combines his artistic talent and reveals his passion for historically accurate detail—the result of extensive research into archival collections in Texas and Mexico as well as numerous secondary sources. The result is a colorful and accurate account in words and pictures of the uniforms worn in the Republic of Texas, 1836-1846.

Historians have been skeptical that there even were uniforms during the Republic period. Marshall believed they did exist, then discovered and developed proof that uniforms were not only designed (based primarily on the then current US uniform designs) but then ordered, inspected, paid for, shipped and received and worn, and worn out. Marshall's research was more productive than even he anticipated: one surprising fact he discovered was that at one point there were more uniforms than there were soldiers to wear them! The result of Marshall's efforts is an exhaustive textual interpretation of those uniforms illustrated with twenty-six, full-page, water colors depicting them on soldiers, sailors, marines, and coast guardsmen.

The documentation verifying the existence of these colorful uniforms is sparse and scattered, but a few actual uniforms still exist in part. Further assistance came from contemporary descriptions by men who wore them. A few artists of the Republic period left their own renderings as well.

*Uniforms* is published in an 8-1/2 x 11 inch format; the text is illustrated handsomely with full-page water colors. The appendices include a facsimile reproduction of the Army of the Republic of Texas Uniform Regulations (1839), a facsimile reproduction of the Navy of the Republic of Texas Uniform Regulations (1839), and twelve black-and-white photos of Republic of Texas military buttons. The book concludes with an extensive bibliography for further reading.

Chuck Parsons  
Luling, Texas

*Texas Volunteers in the Mexican War*, Charles D. Spurlin (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1999. Contents. Appendix. Notes. Illus. Bibliography. Index. P. 302. \$19.95. Paperback.

This volume builds upon the author's work published in 1984 under the title, *Texas Veterans in the Mexican War, Muster Rolls of Texas Military*. This prior work was limited to muster rolls of the various Texas military units and an index of the individual soldiers in alphabetical order. These muster rolls were mined by the author from nineteen rolls of microfilm published by the National Archives as "Microcopy 278" which contain the service records of the volunteer soldiers from Texas. These consist of a jacket-envelope for each soldier, giving his name, rank, unit served, and includes vouchers and other

papers relating to that particular soldier. One is immediately struck by the Herculean task the author accomplished in compiling the muster rolls from these microfilms.

The recent publication contains an interesting 140-page chronicle of many of the major contributions and exploits of the Texans under the commands of General Zachary Taylor and General Winfield Scott. To this narrative the muster rolls published in 1984 are added as "Appendix." It would seem that the useful alphabetical index of the volunteers, included in the 1984 publication, would have been appropriate in this work. The endnotes and bibliography provide a list of rich research material.

Walter Prescott Webb, Henry W. Barton, Frederick Wilkin, and Spurlin are among those who have written excellent summaries of the contributions of these frontier seasoned Texans to the successful conclusion of the Mexican War. But the story of the Texas Volunteer has not been exhausted. The breadth of the events, recollections, myths, interpretations, and records accumulated concerning these Texans, together with the multiple incentives for participating, are limitless. I agree with the author that the great story of the Texas Volunteers is yet to be told.

Those interested in the Mexican War, and particularly Texans, should enjoy this volume.

Jenkins Garrett  
Fort Worth, Texas

*Touched By War: Battles Fought in the Lafourche District*, Christopher G. Peña (C.G.P. Press, 714 Highway 308, Thibodaux, LA 70301) 1998. Illus. Maps. Contents. Appendices. Biblio. Index. P. 454. \$28.75. Hardcover.

One of the more obscure backwaters of the Civil War was that along the bayous and swamps of southeast Louisiana. David G. Peña, assistant professor of Nursing at Nichols State University, has published a history of those clashes in that region. Since Peña is author, publisher, and owner of C.G.P. Press, he may have overtaxed his abilities to produce a clean book. This is one of the few works I have seen in recent decades with an erratum sheet containing twenty-four corrections pasted to the front page.

In spite of the author's efforts to correct his typos after the fact, many misspelled words and typographical errors abound throughout, even to misspelled words on maps. So many errors suggest that serious proof-reading was abandoned prematurely. The book is flawed by this.

Civil War buffs interested in history and not so much in term-paper correctness will enjoy Peña's bringing to light military operations that occurred in the swamps of South Louisiana from 1863 to 1865. The research seems thorough enough and Peña's style of writing moves quickly. This reviewer enjoyed learning more about the war in that area, although it becomes tedious at times. It really is not necessary to repeat verbatim the

official reports of federal naval commanders looking for Confederate snipers along the banks of the lower Mississippi River.

For all the book's flaws, Peña does end it with an interesting epilogue on the effect of the war on the economy and demography of that region. His statement that the property values of the Lafourche District did not regain their 1860 level until 1920 underscores the lingering tragedy of that war throughout the South.

This book is recommended for Civil War buffs and public school libraries.

Robert W. Glover  
Shiloh Ranch

*The Conquest of the Karankawas and the Tonkawas, 1821-1859*, Kelly F. Himmel (Texas A&M University Press, John Lindsey Bldg, Lewis St, 4354 TAMUS, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1999. Contents. Appendices. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 192. \$32.95. Hardcover.

Renewed interest in the Karankawas of the Texas Gulf Coast and the Tonkawas of interior Texas has stimulated innovative scholarship on these lesser-known tribes. Here the eradication of the two societies is explained in terms of world-system theory, a macro sociological approach for understanding local human organizations in relation to global modernization, specifically the spread of Western European industrialized capitalism. The arrival of sociology to the study of historical Texas Indians is itself notable. And the theme of rapid and total supersedence under an expanding modernity, laid forth in the preface and supported with two appendices, plays well enough in this particular inquiry, as the author anticipates many of the criticisms effectively aimed at the general theory since its development in the 1970s.

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the tribal cultures and the development of Anglo-American Indian policy prior to 1821, the watermark year in the American surge toward Hispanic Texas. The Anglo-Texan invasion of the tribal areas, construed as a shift in the regional political economy, is then detailed in the second chapter. Chapters 3 and 4 look respectively at the eras of the Republic and early statehood, each tracking further the evolution of the political and economic environment as it affected the two tribes. The last chapter returns to sociological theory, summarizing the tribes' experiences as a case study in conquest.

So little is retrievable of the actual lives of Karankawas and Tonkawas that the Indian "social mind" can only be inferred, yet the author provides a number of valuable insights about human agency, showing in the words of Stephen F. Austin and others how the tribes were saddled with claims of savagery and cannibalism that served the process.

Daniel J. Gelo  
University of Texas at San Antonio

*Twentieth Century Doctor: House Calls in Space Medicine*, Mavis P. Kelsey, Sr. (Texas A&M University Press, John H. Lindsey Bldg, Lewis St., 4354 TAMUS, College Station, TX 778434354) 1999. Contents. Illus. Notes. Index. P. 408. \$29.95. Hardcover.

Telling our own story is a challenge for anyone. Selecting what to include and what to leave out can border on the impossible. This long book, if it errs, errs on the side of inclusion. Many readers will find more than they might want to know about this man's life, i.e. the courses he took while a scholar and the foods cooked for meals he served while entertaining socially. But, if the reader is looking for an appealing account of student life at A&M, the experience of an East Texas boy turning into a superbly educated physician, the business history of a well-renowned clinic central to the medical development of Houston, and the choices made during those mature years of life, this book is for you. Mavis Kelsey, Sr. took to the challenge of writing a personal and professional life story with great enthusiasm and has created a nostalgic and readable ramble through those experiences. Do not look in these pages for an historian's meticulously researched story, but do enjoy reflections on the past that have been placed into the ongoing changes time brings to life. There is no formal bibliography because the material comes from the mind's scrapbook that Dr. Kelsey shares with his readers. A few endnotes exist to supply additional contextual information. A solid index provides a crucial means for navigating such an extensive autobiography.

As the medical community in Texas moves past the frontier era of starting something new in a fast-growing Southern community and reflects on the solid accomplishments of the past forty-five years, more and more medical personnel are recording their contributions to that growth. Dr. Kelsey's participation in capturing his experiences provides an insider's eye to the group-practice physician and the development of the Kelsey-Seybold Clinic of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. He is to be commended for making the effort to hold onto that past. Other writers will follow and eventually tell the fuller tale of the Houston medical community in which Mavis Kelsey, Sr. was a key player.

Barbara Rozek  
Houston, Texas

*The Santa Claus Bank Robbery*, A.C. Greene (University of North Texas Press, P. O. Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336), 1972, 1986, 1999. Photos. Index. P. 231. \$26.95. Hardcover.

Legendary Texas writer A.C. Greene has experienced a lifelong fascination with the "Santa Claus bank robbery." Two days before Christmas in 1927, four men looted the First National Bank of Cisco. One of the thieves, Marshall Ratliff, wore a Santa Claus suit as a disguise because he was known in Cisco. A wild shoot-out ensued and men were struck on both sides. One of the thieves was wounded fatally, and two policemen went down, apparently shot by "friendly fire" from excited citizens. The surviving robbers managed

to escape but they left behind their sack of stolen currency. Soon they also left behind their car, because they had forgotten to check the gas tank.

When this bungling trio of ex-cons fled into the countryside, officers launched a massive manhunt. Wounded and starving, the fugitives finally were cornered. One was sentenced to ninety-nine years and another died in the electric chair at Huntsville. But Marshall Ratliff engineered a jailbreak while in custody in Eastland. Before he could be subdued, Ratliff fatally wounded a popular local officer. A huge mob descended upon the jail and dragged Ratliff from his cell. Half a hundred men and boys hoisted the killer on a makeshift gallows, but the rope broke. Ratliff was still alive, so another rope was found, and the grisly lynching was completed.

A.C. Greene grew up in Abilene, only forty miles west of Cisco. From boyhood he heard stories about the spectacular crime. While later working for an Abilene newspaper, Greene interviewed participants, including the sole surviving bank robber, who had been pardoned in the 1940s and changed his name. After writing journalistic accounts of these dramatic events, Greene crafted a “nonfiction novel,” *The Santa Claus Bank Robbery*. First published in 1972, the book is not a conventional history, but there is a fine photo collection, and Greene’s prose indeed reads like a novel. The most recent edition of *The Santa Claus Bank Robbery* brings to life one of the most famous crimes in Texas history.

Bill O’Neal  
Panola College

*Early Texas Physicians, 1830-1915*, R. Maurice Hood, M.D., ed. (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX., 78761). 1999. Contents. Endnotes. Bio Sketches of Authors. Illus. Index. P. 370. \$39.95. Hardcover.

*Early Texas Physicians* is a welcome addition to the body of Texas medical knowledge. Surprisingly, medicine is one area needing more research and publication—especially documentation of early physicians, nurses, procedures, and hospitals. Robert S. Sparkman, M.D., originally came up with the idea for this book, but failing health prevented his completion of the rather extensive project. He turned it over to R. Maurice Hood, M.D., who had been professor and chairman of the Department of Thoracic Surgery at Texas Tech School of Medicine in the 1970s and who had authored four surgical textbooks. Hood’s credentials include other writing and editing projects in the medical field.

*Early Texas Physicians* is a collection of nineteen chapters covering early physicians, each written by various members of the Texas Surgical Society and other Texas physicians. This structure is both a credit and a discredit to the published volume. Inclusion of nineteen authors gives the book great variety in writing styles and scholarship levels; Sparkman’s original directive to the chapter authors must have been fairly limited because there is no pattern or criteria visible when chapters are compared. This structure leaves the reader wondering what the editor’s purpose was in putting the book together. From the title, it might be assumed that the common thread was the development of

medicine in Texas from frontier days to 1915. However, the chapters do not back up this assumption. Some chapters present a chronological picture of the development of medicine in Texas, some present the backgrounds and contributions of individual physicians, and some outline Texas history itself, mentioning the featured physicians only briefly.

Even with these faults, *Early Texas Physicians* provides useful information in many areas. Early conditions in the state are evident in each chapter, including common illnesses, environmental conditions, and population characteristics. The level of physicians' medical knowledge and experience are presented along with comments on ethics. Finally, nearly every chapter chronicles medical "firsts" in the state that were important to the general development of medicine.

Overall, *Early Texas Physicians* is a valuable contribution to the history of medicine and its practitioners in the state and should be appreciated for its effort to document information before it is forever lost. In spite of its wandering focus, this book is a valuable addition to the history of Texas medicine.

Beverly J. Rowe  
Texarkana, Texas

*Texas Trailblazers! San Augustine Pioneers*, Harry P. Noble, Jr. (Best of East Texas Publishers, P. O. Box 1647, Lufkin, TX 75901)1999. Contents. Index. Illus. P. 296, \$24.95. Hardcover.

Harry Noble examines the lives of fourteen San Augustinians through this reprinting of sixty-eight articles that first appeared in his weekly series in the *San Augustine Tribune*. They range from one article on Dr. Oscar Fitzallen to eight each on William G. Anderson, John G. Berry, and Iredell Dickinson Thomas. Though the fourteenth section centers on an evening's shoot-out in 1919, the other articles emphasize the period from 1825 to 1865, time "at the heart of this research" (p. 9). Here Noble recounts, in an informal and sometimes conversational tone appropriate to the original weekly format, the personalities of these early citizens and ties them to larger developments of Texas history, such as the Siege of Bexar, the Battle of Coletto Creek and subsequent slaughter at Goliad, and the fighting between the Regulators and Moderatos. George L. Crocket's *Two Centuries in East Texas* and Margaret Henson and Parmelee's *The Cartwrights of San Augustine* provide points of reference for his material combed from old newspapers of East Texas, records in the San Augustine courthouse, the Robert Blake Collection at SFASU, collected papers of old families, and the like. Although Noble provides no footnotes or endnotes within the text, his context, frequent internal references, and lists of sources at the back of the book afford the family historian-genealogist locations for his own further research.

In his introduction, Noble says that "(t)he-narrative could become a bit heavy at times with land transactions or court appearances, but these were integral parts of pioneer living in Texas" (p. 10). Indeed, these transactions may

be the only documentary evidence left by some of our forebears, precious scraps that Noble has collected in his series for those who have not the opportunity for such time-consuming research on persons not known outside a small area and now dead. The eight-page index of approximately 1200 names lists even those that appear only once on a list of buyers at an estate sale. For a reader with no family mentioned even so fleetingly, the beginnings of each section concerning the fourteen subjects' origins in the older states and their travels to the Ayish Bayou country provide something on the patterns of migration shared by so many of the early settlers to the state in general and to East Texas in particular.

William Lynch Fuller  
Bellville, Texas

*Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939*, Julia Kirk Blackwelder (Texas A&M University Press, John H. Lindsey Bldg, 4354 TAMUS, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1998. Reprint. Contents. Illus. Tables. Appendices. Sources. Index. P. 279. \$17.95. Paperback.

In this important study Blackwelder focuses on the lives of women—Anglo, Hispanic, and African American—in the Alamo City during the Depression, detailing the extent to which the Depression affected women's lives socially, politically, and economically. Not only is the study of these women important in a sociological sense, it shows the effects of economic and ethnic factors on them as individuals as well as members of groups.

Classified by segregation and lifestyle, the three distinct groups of women often were separated by economic and social factors that are brought into stark relief by the effects of the Depression. Using primary source materials and interviews, Blackwelder gives us poignant portraits of the lives and miseries of San Antonio women, their concerns for their families, their work or lack of it, and their social and economic status. The portraits of poverty, misery, and lack of power are compelling.

Particularly important are the studies detailing unemployment relief and the ways in which emergency job programs were set up using women workers. Also important are studies focusing on the labor movement and the role of women within union movements, including one of the most extensive studies of Emma Tenayuca and Rebecca Taylor in the San Antonio labor movement.

Blackwelder's book, with its sociological basis, is also important as an inclusive study of the politics, economics, and lifestyles of one Texas city during the Depression and the role of women. Her quantitative studies and her portraits of three distinctive groups of women, separated by caste and culture, mark her book as important to anyone studying the lives of Texas women.

Ann Fears Crawford  
Houston, Texas



*Fertile Ground, Narrow Choices: Women on Texas Cotton Farms, 1900-1940*, Rebecca Sharpless (The University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288) 1999. Contents. Notes. Biblio. Illus. Index. P. 319. \$19.95. Paperback. \$59.95. Hardcover.

*Fertile Ground, Narrow Choices* analyzes women on Texas cotton farms in Hunt, Ellis, McLennan and Williamson counties. With interesting recollections of women, Sharpless considered gender and family relationships, housekeeping and clothing in the Blackland Prairie, food production and preparation, women's labor in the fields, women and their communities, and urbanization and the depopulation of the rural Blackland Prairie, 1900 to 1940. She correctly presented a proper balance of the topics. For example, the most important subject, gender and family relationships, received the most emphasis.

Throughout the book, Sharpless identified, compared, and contrasted proportionally by population the experiences of Anglo American, Mexican, German, and Czech women in a very clear, organized and logical order. Practical conclusions ended each chapter. Women and men on the Blacklands experienced hard times. Women were important and exercised considerable power and were not victims of male domination. Women assumed many roles-wife, mother, daughter, sister, capable managers, teacher, Spiritual leader, a person whose opinion in the house had to be reckoned with and respected. Correctly, she concluded that 1940 witnessed the end of an era for agriculture on the Blackland Prairies. These and other valuable conclusions rested upon excellent research from oral histories, manuscripts, and publications.

Rebecca Sharpless achieved her objectives with excellence. Rural women's stories received important historical recognition. May this success breed another book. Males also experienced narrow choices as cotton farmers on the Texas Blacklands. Could we expect a companion volume on the ideas and feelings of male farmers? *Fertile Ground* is a significant contribution to twentieth-century Texas women's, social, and agriculture history.

Irvin M. May Jr.  
Blinn College - Bryan

*Strong Family Ties: The Tiny Hawkins Story*, Debbie & Ruthe Winegarten (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1998. Contents. Epilogue. Biblio. Chronology. B&W Photos. P. 98. \$19.95 +S&H \$3.50 & tax \$1.50.

Reading *The Tiny Hawkins Story* is like picking up the scrapbook of a stranger; the pictures are nice and some of the clippings are interesting, but in the final analysis there is not enough substance for the reader to identify with the scrapbook's subject.

The book commences with photographs of unidentified subjects and there are too many such photographs throughout the book. Unfortunately the dialogue is disconnect as well. The reader is forced to wait for a chronology

on the last page to learn that Ms Hawkins was deeply involved with the South Dallas community, with the proprietor of a nursing home, and was the recipient of numerous civic awards, but what she did to earn the honors is unclear. The book is of great interest, I'm sure, to members of the large Hawkins family, but the average reader is left asking, "Who is Tiny Hawkins?"

Gail K Beil  
Marshall, Texas

*A Texas Sampler: Historical Recollections*, Lisa Waller Rogers (Texas Tech University Press, P.O. Box 41037, Lubbock, TX 79409-1037) 1998. Contents, Illus. Ref. Index. P. 158. \$14.95. Paperback.

Teachers of Texas history will delight in this interesting and informative collection of original documents designed for use by teachers in the classroom. Waller has selected her documents and first-hand accounts well, including some rare and unusual material not readily available.

The author includes material relative to Native Texans, the life of everyday Texans, and women on the frontier, plus a rollicking selection of Texas folktales and legends. Some of the most interesting deal with Texas animals, including lively accounts of mustang catching and hog-killing time.

Davy Crockett's heartfelt letter to his sons and daughter describing Texas land and his expectations of his life in Texas, plus a letter from "Caroline" to her "Ichabod" detailing her love for him are but two of the Texas documents teachers will relish using with students.

Suitable for seventh-grade students and beyond, this collection will find a place in every teacher's file of enrichment material for the Texas history classroom. Although the publishers offer a workbook designed for use with students, it would have been wise to offer the sampler, itself, in a larger, more effective format so that students could explore the documents on their own.

Ann Fears Crawford  
Houston, Texas

*Nameless Towns: Texas Sawmill Communities 1880-1942*, Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819.) 1998. B&W Photos. Notes. Bibliography. Photo Credits. P. 257. \$18.95. Paperback. \$37.50. Hardcover.

Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad have created in *Nameless Towns: Texas Sawmill Communities 1880-1942* a valuable commentary about the almost-forgotten lumber mill towns of the East Texas pineys. The fact that nearly 800 such towns (none of them nameless, by the by) flourished during the heyday of Texas Southern Pine, some as large or larger than the local county seat, has long dictated a work like this. The authors' document the vibrant socio-cultural world of the men, women, and children who shared a vital and

dynamic way of life that created in part the modern world of East Texas.

Both historians are competent researchers. The secondary sources, although not plumbed as well as they could be—particularly the life and development of rail logging—do capture the essentials of the era's history. What brings this work to life is their use of oral histories, a field in which both writers are masters. They weave the stories and memoirs with a sharp skill that heightens the reader's interest and excites his imagination. One must be aware, however, that the preponderance of oral history comes from the perspective of the white male. This is not a criticism but a recognition that crucial work needs to be done in recapturing the stories of the women and minorities of the pinyons.

The graphic style and structure employed by Sitton and Conrad work well. It is smooth, at times almost seamless in the recording of the story. The formatting of the major telling within the minor context of the general workday at the Wiergate Mill in Newton County, from before "can't see" to after "can't see," works well. The writers turn what promised to be an intrinsic weakness (the expansion of the story from what was to be an original telling of the Wiergate Mill and town history) into a literary coup by transforming the Wiergate story into the representative metaphor for the larger mill culture as a whole. The end of the book entwines three closings: that of the typical mill town day; that of the Wiergate Mill's final day; and that of the end of an era. Although stark in the telling, it is also strikingly emotional and oddly fulfilling to this reviewer.

Sitton and Conrad have performed yeomen's duty. *Nameless Towns* has the significance of other important regional works as Sitton's *Backwoodsmen: Stockmen and Hunters along a Big Thicket River Valley*, Robert Maxwell and Robert Baker's *Sawdust Empire: The Texas Lumber Industry, 1830-1940*, and Ruth Allen's *East Texas Lumber Workers: An Economic and Social Picture, 1870-1950*.

Melvin C. Johnson  
Layton, Utah

*Red, White, and Green: The Maturing of Mexicanidad, 1940-1946*, Michael Nelson Miller (Texas Western Press, The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968-0633) 1998. Contents. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 227. \$15.00. Paperback.

In *Red, White, and Green*, Michael Nelson Miller attempts to correct "a serious lacuna in the writing of modern Mexican history" by undertaking a cultural and historical analysis of Mexico during the administration of Manuel Ávila Camacho (1940-1946). Miller focuses on the way in which *avilacamachismo* "was an attempt on the part of the state to create a mass media-based cultural nationalism" (p. 1) and the book, which is impressively researched and well-written, is an engaging, thoughtful, and useful account of the Ávila Camacho sexennium.

After chronicling the events that led Ávila Camacho to power in 1940—providing, in the course of this narrative account, much of the cultural

context for the success of *avilacamachismo*—Miller moves to separate discussions of the roles of radio, the film industry (which was exceptionally busy during this period in Mexico), art and architecture, and the government agency behind all of it, the Secretariat of Public Education (SEP). Most interesting and relevant are Miller's discussions of the film industry and the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt—and U.S. culture generally—on Mexican politics and culture during the 1940s.

A lack of complexity in Miller's theoretical position, most notable in his stance on the relationship between "high" and "popular" cultures, the placement and focus of the two penultimate chapters, and the lack of a fuller discussion of the structure of the SEP all weaken this text. The second of these is the problem most worth mentioning: two chapters before the conclusion are dedicated to women in Mexican culture at this time. While the chapters are themselves interesting and laudable studies, they do not fit the framework Miller has used carefully throughout the book, and therefore seem oddly out of place. These weaknesses of the text, however, are minor compared to the book's potential contribution.

Sean Chadwell  
Texas A&M International University

*Texas Land Ethics*, Peter A.Y. Gunter & Max Oelschlaeger (University of Texas Press P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1997. Contents. Biblio. B&W Photos. Index. P. 156. \$18.95. Paperback.

In the last fifteen years there has been a renewed interest in developing land ethics that merge disparate environmental perspectives into sustainable land use policies. Current public debate struggles to find this resolution between economic development generally at the expense of the land base vs. sustainable use policies of resource utilization that protect the environment. In *Texas Land Ethics*, Gunter and Oelschlaeger developed arguments that clearly evinced the need for land use alternatives to be implemented to correct centuries of environmental neglect. First the book points out the global scale of environmental degradation. Then, the authors recount past patterns and present land use practices in Texas, citing statistics that support the need for immediate action to save or restore balance in critical natural systems. Several key premises emerge from this discussion. First and foremost, Texas is not a limitless, bountiful resource base as was assumed by the frontier mentality during the nineteenth century, a notion that has persist in the present. Second, in the authors' opinion, urban sprawl threatens sensitive ecosystems and are an affront to landscape aesthetics. Lastly, the process of changing land use practices toward more environmentally sound resource management strategies will be difficult but not impossible to achieve.

In the course of detailing the plight of Texas landscapes, the authors provide a solid context that demonstrates the need for people to evaluate their ethical, social, and economic perspectives concerning the land base in Texas. This was developed by a critical examination of selected resources, including

water, air, waste, and population. The enormous impact economic development and urban expansion have on the environment are presented well by the authors.

Less well developed are the strategies to reduce or reverse the patterns of environmental decay in Texas. The broad-brush approach they presented left this reader interested but not informed of direct methods to solve the dilemma. Even less well used in their arguments are the maps in the text. In particular, the Population Distribution map series lacks clarity for use in supporting the position that urban sprawl is a significant issue to environmental health in Texas. By this statement I mean that the reader has no clear concept of density or intensity of population settlement, just shaded areas in Texas. Another example is found later in the book during the discussion of the Big Thicket. Here, the maps lack scale to provide the reader with a true sense of place and extent for this significant relic landscape.

In sum, *Texas Land Ethics*, presents a strong discussion of the problems facing Texans in maintaining a healthy land base. The book attempts to bring those issues to the public's attention. The authors provide limited information of how to implement a land ethic that will sway existing practitioners to substantial change land use strategies for the sake of the Texas land base. In my opinion, the book will be best received by environmental advocates.

Darrel L. McDonald  
Stephen F. Austin State University

*Raw Frontier: Armed Conflict Along the Texas Coastal Bend*, Keith Guthrie (Eakin Press, P. O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1998. Contents. Appendices. Notes. Biblio. Index. Illust. P. 162. \$19.95. Hardcover.

*The Raw Frontier: Armed Conflict Along the Texas Coastal Bend* is the first of two volumes on a sixteen-county region west of the Colorado River by noted South Texas author Keith Guthrie. This particular work is primarily a cursory account of Texas Revolution era occurrences. Among its topics are the attempt by Mexican soldiers to seize the Gonzales cannon in 1835, the Battle of Lipantitlan, the siege and fall of Bexar, the disastrous Matamoros expedition, the Goliad-Refugio campaign, and Mexican Texans and Irish who supported the Centralists. Also, there are brief chapters on Spanish land grants, the Cart War, and cattle drives that originated in the Texas Coastal Bend.

The book suffers from several shortcomings. It is excruciatingly selective in what armed confrontations are addressed. Personal and military encounters in the focus area were not limited to the fight for Texas independence and the Cart War. Noticeably absent from the volume were the Comanche raid in 1840, the Civil War clashes, and the Taylor-Sutton feud. The chapter on cattle drives is chronologically disconnected, which may result in some confusion for the reader. Moreover, closer attention to proofreading would have prevented misuse of surnames.

Despite its defects, the work does serve as a limited introduction to a portion of *antebellum* western Texas and to some of the prominent Texas Coastal Bend ranchers who were involved with cattle drives before and after

the Civil War. Unfortunately, no mention was made of the legendary George West or Margaret Borland, said to be the only woman known to lead a trail drive to Kansas. A worthwhile segment of the publication is the appendices which provides a convenient source for the various military units associated with the commands of James Fannin and Philip Dimmitt at Goliad.

Charles Spurlin  
The Victoria College

*The Jazz of the Southwest: An Oral History of Western Swing*, Jean A. Boyd (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1998. Contents, Notes. Index. B&W photos. P. 269. \$17.95. Paperback. \$37.50. Hardcover.

This is a readable book about western swing based on a large number of interviews with musicians who played the music. In the author's introductory overview of the development of the music, she contends that western swing is akin to *Conjunto*, the music of the Hispanic working class in Texas, and maintains that it was a Texas product because its rise and popularity was due to a kind of Texas mindset or mystique. Although the music was popular both in Texas and California Boyd makes it clear that the western product was a Texas transplant. She also argues persuasively, but unconvincingly to me, that western swing, although it had country roots, was southwestern jazz rather than country music. Even though I may disagree with her emphasis, I find her introduction and the remaining chapters informative, well-organized, and very easy to read.

Boyd's organizational scheme makes some repetitiveness inevitable but she skillfully diminishes this by carefully editing and blending her oral interviews into a smoothly flowing text. What she does after the overview is produce a chapter based on interviews with western swing fiddlers, one on guitarists, another on steel guitarists, one on banjo and bass players, piano and drums, and finally a chapter on horn players and vocalists. The chapters get progressively shorter as she moves from the most important musicians—fiddlers—to the least important, vocalists and horn players. In dealing with the various artists who produced the music, Boyd, understandably, never gets far away from Bob Wills because his relationship to western swing is much like that of Bill Monroe to Bluegrass, and because Wills hired and fired over 600 musicians during his career as a bandleader. Most of the musicians interviewed worked for him at one time or another.

The main thing this book offers is a considerable amount of detailed information about the many artists who were responsible for the development of southwestern jazz, as the author calls it, western swing as the public knows it, and country swing as I insist on calling it. This volume belongs in the libraries of all those who are interested in the history of Texas music.

E. Dale Odom  
Denton, Texas

*Willie Nelson Sings America*, Steven Opdyke (Eakin Press, P. O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1998. Contents. Appendices. Illus. P. 474. \$24.95. Paperback.

This is not a conventional country music history volume nor is it a conventional biography of Willie Nelson. Opdyke basically presents the history of Nelson's recordings. Mostly in chronological order, the author lists the songs on various recordings and albums by Willie, writes recording notes, and gives a bit of the history of most of the songs. He lists the authors of the songs and sometimes explains why they were written, or the inspiration, for songs such as Ted Daffan's "Born to Lose" or Scott Wiseman's "Have I Told You Lately That I Love You?" Interspersed throughout the book is much chatty, almost stream-of-consciousness, discussion about songs, song writers, and artists, Willie Nelson's adventures and his musings, recording executives, technological improvements in recording, and country music in general.

Opdyke interviewed Nelson on several occasions and had access to him many other times to check on questions that arose during his work on the book. He spent time at RCA Nashville, BMG Entertainment, and Sony Music in New York, as well as at other music companies. As indicated by this and by his bibliography, the author has consulted most of what has been written about Willie Nelson and a great deal of what has been written about country music. Consequently, the book is authoritative even though it is lacking in depth and will probably have limited appeal to academic country music historians. But it will be appealing and informative to fans, particularly those who already know something about country music, and, of course, it will especially appeal to fans of Nelson. Everyone will appreciate having a collection in one source of information about all the recordings of Willie. This is the book's unique contribution. A considerable number of black-and-white pictures, many of which are not often seen, also enhance the attractiveness of the volume.

E. Dale Odom  
Denton, Texas

*Life at the Texas State Lunatic Asylum, 1857-1997*, Sarah C. Sitton (Texas A&M University Press, John H. Lindsey Bldg, Lewis St, 4354 TAMUS, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1999. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 190. \$34.95. Hardcover.

The establishment of the state's first mental institution in 1856, The Texas State Lunatic Asylum, and the building of the state prison in Huntsville a few years earlier, constitute clear evidence of the obligation the leaders of the new state of Texas felt toward persons who could not function normally in society. Over the course of their histories, both institutions proved to be costly to maintain and repeatedly generated controversy, with scandals surrounding their management and the treatment they provided to their residents. This book attempts to describe aspects of the care, both medical and custodial, provided to patients at the mental hospital.

The book draws almost exclusively from a series of interviews done in the 1990s that the author conducted with former hospital personnel. Of necessity the great bulk of the narrative focuses on activities at the hospital in the middle twentieth century as related by those individuals. Little research was done in the papers of the governors, in the state's leading newspapers, in legislative journals, or in the records of either national accrediting organizations or state oversight agencies, all of which would have yielded significant insights into matters touching on the care, treatment, and quality of life of the patients. The book suffers as a result.

There is little information that describes the management and operations during the early years of the hospital's existence. Additionally, much of the material presented is of an anecdotal nature and, therefore, superficial. A number of important questions should have been addressed. For example, one would like to know how the Civil War and Reconstruction affected the institution; the influence, if any, of Progressive reformers; the impact the Great Depression and World War II had on the institution, and so forth. Also, how did the Texas hospital and its care for patients compare with similar institutions in the region and other parts of the nation? What were the intentions of state legislators toward the institution through the years? Who were the people who worked at the hospital, especially those whom the author interviewed, and what was the level of their formal education and specialized training? Were there differences in the treatment of patients owing to their skin color or gender? All of these are legitimate areas of inquiry that bear significantly on the institution.

In conclusion, one must address some of the more serious errors of fact in the book. The Radical Republican Governor of Texas was Edmund (not "Edmond") Davis and he served one term only, not two (pp. 28-29). The governor of Texas in 1875 was Richard Coke, not "David B. Culberson" (p. 29). Indeed, the only Texas governor surnamed Culberson was Charles A., son of David B., who served from 1895-1899, and his name was not spelled "Culbertson" (p. 45). The individual who preceded Lyndon B. Johnson representing the Tenth Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives was James P. Buchanan, not "J.O. Buchanon" (p. 44). Finally, the photograph dated 1959 (p. 148) identifies one of the persons in the picture as "Texas governor Preston Smith." Smith did not become governor until 1969.

The history of the state's first, and most important, mental hospital, and the care it provided patients, remains to be written. The interviews upon which most of this book is based will provide a good starting point for a future researcher.

Donald R. Walker  
Texas Tech University



*Texas Oil, American Dreams: A Study of the Texas Independent Oil Producers and Royalty Owners Association*, Lawrence Goodwyn (Texas State Historical Association, 2.306 Sid Richardson Hall, UT Station, Austin, TX 78712) 1996. Contents. Illus. Epilogue. Appendix. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 274. \$29.95. Hardcover.

Simply put, this is the best book yet written on the Texas—or the American—oil industry. Here Lawrence Goodwyn describes the Texas independent oil man as the protagonist of the mythical “American Dream,” that is, the idea that everyone has an opportunity to make something of himself through his own efforts. In this context, the independent oilman is cast in the role of successor to Jefferson’s yeoman farmer and the cowboy, the individualistic heroes of an earlier time. And like his predecessors, the independent oil man—the “wildcatter”—has faced obstacles in his quest for self-fulfillment. These are represented by the major oil companies and the United States government, both of which—one in the private sector and the other in the public sector—consistently behave in such a way as to hinder the “wildcatter’s” quest.

Like the farmers and the railroads or the consumer and big business, the “wildcatters” and the major oil companies are locked in a deadly embrace. They need each other and yet their purposes and goals are often in conflict. Both court the government for support in an arena where power and effective lobbying usually prevail.

Early in this conflict the independents sought to strengthen themselves, as had many other groups in American history, by organizing. In this case they formed the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association (TIPRO) in 1946, and continued its development ever since. Through TIPRO, the independent oilmen of Texas have confronted and in some cases overcome difficulties from the state level to the world-wide scene. Moreover, they have demonstrated time and time again that even though they can disagree on tactics their common devotion to one principle never wavers, and that principle is the survival of their kind.

In discussing the origins of TIPRO and its activities over the past six decades, Goodwyn offers some of the most lucid explanations and descriptions of the complex issues facing the oil industry ever written. Among these are the “hot oil” debate of the early 1930s, the unitization controversy, the debate over importation after World War II, the incredibly convoluted issue of natural gas pricing, and the constant struggle to forge policies that the majority could accept.

Anyone—whether scholar or layman—with even a passing interest in this vital sector of the American economy should read this book.

Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr.  
Midwestern State University

*Transparent Tales: An Attic Full of Texas Ghosts*, Allan Turner and Richard Stewart (Best of East Texas Publishers, P.O. Box 1647, Lufkin, TX 75902-1647) 1998. Contents. Illus.. Index. P. 156. \$ ?. Hardcover.

At age nine, I saw my first rural ghost on a forty-acre farm cut out of the woods between Broadhead Creek and Little Branch, which trickled from our fishpond of several acres in Alabama. The farm had a pre-Civil War grave surrounded by a log wall of huge trees exactly like the ones in the log cabin which now makes up one of the four rooms in the remote farm house. On visits, I slept in the log-cabin room in case I should ever run for office.

I saw the ghost first when I went after dark to retrieve a book left under a shade tree; I promptly ran into a barbed wire fence. The local Uncle Remus said "Ghosts won't hurt you, boy; they jes' make you hurt yo' self." I have scars to prove it.

Readers would never find that site, which still exists, but cousins never repaired the ancient farm house.

Happily, you find the sites of the ghosts in this book, as I did long ago. Take the ones in Austin's Driskell Hotel. In 1965, as president of the Texas Folklore Society (TFS), I had the presidential suite for an Easter weekend and slept where President Lyndon Johnson had slept. No ghosts of Johnson, but Honorary Colonel Driskell (who lost the hotel in a poker game) kept the elevators coming to the penthouse at all hours of the night. I could not see his secret guests; they were a brush of cold air. If Colonel Driskell was with them, there was a momentary smell of an ancient cigar. In an empty afternoon ballroom, I caught a foggy glimpse of him in a magnificent wall mirror. The book adds details that I do not doubt.

A decade ago the TFS and Sarah Greene rented every sleeping room in Jefferson for an Easter weekend convention. In this book is the first accurate listing of the ghosts reported to Sarah and me by Sunday. That alone is worth the price of the book, as is the introduction by Texas writer Leon Hale.

I think Richard Stewart did tell me he saw the ghost of Diamond Bessie in the famous Excelsior Hotel, but I saw her at the graveyard where her grave is surrounded by a Victorian fence. At midnight, like Abe Rothschild does, I left a dozen real red roses by the fence gate and by 1:00 a.m. I had seen a diamond-studded, long white gown pick them up. It was a friendly ghost, for the next morning there was a pink "unmentionable" hanging on the fence (I have witnesses)—I took that as a friendly sign.

This entire volume is a folklorist's dream of a book. The skill of the two writers is best seen in the tale of the Abernethy ghost(s). You dare not miss it (them). I bet author Stewart that they did not call Ab Francis.

James W. Byrd  
Commerce, Texas

*Parks For Texas: Enduring Landscapes of the New Deal*, James Wright Steely (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1999. Contents. Photos. Tables. Epilogue. Appendices. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 274. \$29.95. Hardcover.

By all contemporary accounts, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was the most highly regarded of the myriad "alphabet soup" agencies launched by the New Deal to cope with the Great Depression. Most Americans knew it simply as Franklin Roosevelt's "tree army." This was understandable. East Texans witnessed the establishment of CCC camps for enlistees who, with much publicity, threw themselves into reforestation and timber conservation endeavors. The public image of young men planting trees wherever they went overlooked or minimized other significant activities and long-lasting contributions. Nowhere, perhaps, was this truer than in Texas where the CCC played an indispensable role in the creation of the state's park system.

Crippled by lack of money and manpower, efforts to preserve the state's most picturesque landscapes while providing Texans with recreational facilities were halting and ineffective prior to 1933. Then came President Roosevelt's New Deal. Leaders of the parks movement and public officials in Texas immediately grasped the opportunity to use CCC men and federal monies to create a system of parks. By decade's end, parks large and small were springing up in the forests, the plains, the desert, and along the coast from one end of the state to the other.

James Wright Steely's *Parks For Texas* meticulously documents this enduring impact of the Roosevelt revolution. As the author makes clear, the most telling point was the rapidly changing political and financial relationship between state and federal government. Only through the agency of a national program did a state system of parks emerge. And Texans paid but a pittance for the facilities they have enjoyed for over a half century. The state expended \$400,000, a tidy sum until compared to the federal government's contribution of over \$20 million. In this program as in so many other depression-era initiatives, Texans benefited from extraordinary political influence in Washington, D.C., at exactly that moment when power and responsibility flowed to the nation's capital. While state officials contributed support, it was Vice President John Nance Garner, Reconstruction Finance Corporation chairman Jesse Jones, and a superlative congressional delegation wielding the privileges of seniority who pried open the doors of the federal treasury.

*Parks For Texas* is, in some respects, institutional history. Steely examines the inner workings of the State Parks Board as well as its interaction with a multitude of other agencies, both state and federal. Unfortunately, the general reader may get bogged down in the details of board meetings, personnel changes, property acquisitions, and the ever-changing location and mission of individual companies. This observation notwithstanding, this publication is well written, thoroughly researched, handsomely presented, and a valuable addition to the literature of Texas during the Great Depression.

L. Patrick Hughes  
Austin Community College

*The Texas Senate, Volume II: Civil War to the Eve of Reform, 1861-1889*, edited by Patsy McDonald Spaw (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1999. Photos. Index. P. 507. \$37.50. Hardcover.

This is the second volume in an ongoing series dedicated to tracing the history of the Texas Senate and providing biographical data on its members. It covers the twenty-eight years immediately following the Civil War. Those years saw the selection of members of thirteen legislatures (the ninth through the twenty-first) and the approval of hundreds of pieces of legislation that determined the legal framework of post-Civil War Texas. Thirty-eight illustrations—including photographs of many senators and Austin scenes—also are included.

Its dust jacket asserts that it “presents a narrative account of the issues fought, the legislation proposed, rejected, and accepted; and the actors who filled the stage” of this important period in development of Texas society and its government. The book’s contents amply supports the jacket’s claim.

Histories of legislatures and legislation, especially those of Texas, are rare, so this series produced by officers of the state’s senate is an extremely valuable source for those interested in the history of the period and in the growth of both constitutional and statutory law in Texas. Its pages offer valuable insights into the impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on nineteenth-century Texas. They also provide helpful clues concerning the operation of the legislative process in the Lone Star State. Particularly useful are its revelations concerning creation and regulation of corporations, especially railroads; sales and leasing of public lands; funding for and governance of public education, including higher education; retrenchment philosophy and its effect on state finances; segregation as the principal policy concerning race relations; and punishment of criminals and definition of crimes.

As was the case in the previous volume, footnotes are not provided, forcing curious readers to rely on an extensive bibliography to determine the source of much of the material presented. A lengthy appendix supplies footnoted lists of those persons who served as members of the thirteen senates covered.

Libraries and other research centers would be well advised to obtain copies of these volumes as they appear, for they are certain to become standard reference works.

Joe E. Ericson  
Stephen F. Austin State University

*Crossing the Pond: The Native American Effort in World War II*, Jere’ Bishop Franco (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336) 1999. Contents. Biblio. Index. Illus. P. 232. \$29.95. Hardcover.

If most American historians were questioned on their knowledge of Native American contributions in World War II they might come up with Navajo Code Talkers, the famed U.S. Marine radio operators in the Pacific

who drove the Japanese crazy with voice radio orders conveyed in a Navajo code within a code. Or they might remember the tragic story of Ira Hayes, the Pima enlisted man who was one of the Marines who raised the American flag on Mount Suribachi on the island of Iwo Jima and who literally drank himself to death ten years after the war.

But Native American contributions were indeed substantial, not only in terms of numbers of men and women who served in the armed forces ( 44,500, or more than ten percent of the total Indian population in the United States), but in a variety of other ways: increased agricultural output on Indian reservations; laborers in defense industries; oil, gas, and timber production from reservation lands, etc. The author is clearly sympathetic to Native Americans. She has mined a significant number of federal and state archives and a wide variety of obscure printed sources, few of which have been utilized previously by historians, to document in detail how the Native American community supported the war effort. Their contributions were of a much larger magnitude than this reviewer was previously aware.

In addition, Franco, utilizing FBI records, documents attempts in the 1930s by German sympathizers in the United States to obtain Native American support for Nazi Germany. This conspiracy, which obviously failed, should be pursued by the author in German documents to determine the extent of this operation.

As in most historical monographs which cover the breadth of pre-World War to postwar, the author has raised more questions than she has answered. One would hope that she would continue to pursue this important arena of research.

Louis R. Sadler

New Mexico State University

*The 13th Mission: Prisoner of the Notorious Omori Prison in Tokyo*, Robert R. Martindale (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1998. Contents. Appendices. Epilogue. B&W Photos. Index. P. 285. \$24.95. Hardcover.

In January 1943, Lieutenant Robert Martindale, a B-24 co-pilot with the 90th Bomb Group, was shot down along with the rest of his crew over the Bismarck Sea, off the coast of New Guinea. After spending almost ten months dodging the Japanese and making their way from island to island with the help of Pacific islanders, the surviving crew members were captured. Lieutenant Martindale, a native of Brownsville, Texas, then spent the remainder of the war as an American POW, most of that time being interned in the infamous Omori camp, built on a man-made island off the coast of Tokyo.

Martindale served as a barracks commander and work camp officer, which gave him a chance to view the Japanese camp personnel and the plight of Allied prisoners from a unique perspective. During his internment Martindale witnessed numerous acts of mistreatment of Allied prisoners, especially B-29 crew members, and experienced several beatings himself. Most of the ill treatment of the POWs came at the expense of Sergeant

Mutsuhiro Watanabe, a Japanese guard who was responsible for camp discipline. Watanabe was a psychotic who alternately gave favors to prisoners, then beat them unmercifully. He is mentioned throughout the book and it is obvious from Martindale's recollections that the sergeant left deep emotional scars in many of the POWs, including the author.

Although the writing style is a bit choppy in places and Martindale has left out his early life, including his experiences in learning to fly, this book nevertheless offers the reader a solid look at life for American and other Allied prisoners at the Omori camp. Martindale spent many years interviewing former POWs and former guards, as well as researching both American and Japanese war records. Thus *The 13th Mission* is accurate, insightful, honest, often humorous, and always full of the drama that comes when men of one nation imprison those of another.

Mark Choate  
Austin, Texas

*Bloody River: The Real Tragedy of the Rapido*, Martin Blumenson (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston) 1970, republished (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1998. Contents. Appendix. Biblio Notes. Index. B&W Photos. P. 150. \$14.95. Paperback.

In *Bloody River*, Martin Blumenson told the story of 36th Division of the Fifth Army that attempted to cross the Rapido River in its attempt to capture the City of Rome. The 36th Division consisted almost completely of Texans and was originally a National Guard unit. The Division was led by Major General Fred L. Walker, an adopted Texan from Ohio. Blumenson wrote well and breathed life into the people he wrote about. Although he focused on the 36th Division and its attempt to cross the Rapido River, he tied its involvement into the larger picture of World War II.

Like many writers of history, Blumenson had difficulty in writing about the military campaigns. He attempted to describe the Battle of the Rapido as it occurred. This produced the "fog of war" confusion that inevitably follows. The reader has a hard time following the exact times and events of the battle.

Blumenson had thoughtful conclusions on who to blame for the failure of the Battle of the Rapido. Overall, the book was solidly written and enjoyable to read.

Timothy S. Nyberg  
Nacogdoches, Texas

*The New Western History: The Territory Ahead*, Forrest G. Robinson (The University of Arizona Press, 1230 North Park Ave., Ste 102, Tucson, AZ 85719-4140) 1998. Contents. Contributors. Index. P. 218. \$17.95. Paperback.

Inasmuch as revisionists set out to rewrite the history of the American West, it is fitting that seven other academics have undertaken to rewrite the

New Western Historians. This collection of critical essays offers an intensive survey of the New History's strengths and weaknesses. It finds both and strives for balance between sunshine and darkness.

The "New Western History" came to widespread notice during a symposium in 1989 in Santa Fe. At its most extreme it rejected previous Western history as "Happy Face, Have a Nice Day History," firmly centered on Anglo-American white males. It branded such history as imperialistic, racist, male supremacist, and anti-nature, not to mention genocidal. It viewed Western settlement in the bleakest terms. In particular, it tended to crucify Frederick Jackson Turner, most widely known of early Western historians.

The revisionist view was typified in Patricia Nelson Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest*. She has since backtracked a little, though she still sees the West in a generally negative light. Other leading New History exponents cited in the essays include William Cronon, Richard White, and Donald Wormser. Of these, White seems nearest to having what might be termed a balanced view of Western assets and liabilities.

One point on which the revisionists have been widely attacked is their inference that they were the first to discover the great truth: that there were losers as well as winners in the settling of the West. A couple of essays point out that the role of women and the tragic fate of native Americans had been noted for decades before the New History reared its head, not only by formal historians but in the popular culture of novels and Hollywood Westerns.

The book was obviously designed by academics for other academics, not for the general public. Its worthy message is sometimes obscured by the overuse of academic terminology unfamiliar to readers not schooled in academy-speak.

Elmer Kelton  
San Angelo, Texas

*Maps of Texas and the Southwest, 1513-1900*, James C. Martin and Robert Sidney Martin (Texas State Historical Association, 2,306 SRH, Austin, TX 78712) 1999. Contents. Introduction. Historical chapters. Color plates. Plates. Sources. Index. P. 174. \$39.95. Hardcover.

*Maps of Texas and the Southwest* had its beginning in 1981 as a catalog for a cartography exhibit at the Amon Carter Museum. *Maps of Texas* was published in book form in 1984 but was soon sold out of print. The Texas State Historical Association has done historians a world of favor by putting *Maps of Texas* back on the bookstands. The book is a necessary ingredient in any Texas scholar's library.

*Maps of Texas* is still basically an illustrated catalog of Texas maps. The maps are all small—six inches by nine inches, mas o menos—and one can read the details only with a magnifying glass. This can be infinitely frustrating to a reader unless he keeps in mind that these maps are merely copies of the larger, more readable maps in various archives in Texas. One finds the map he needs

in this book and then goes to the cited source for further assistance. One blessing of modernity is that large color copiers can provide the public with workable map reproductions that are almost as good as the original and not so delicate or valuable.

There is, however, much more to *Maps of Texas* than the map copies. Each map is accompanied by explanatory text describing the history and the significance of the map and telling where the original map is located. That information is a treasure in itself.

In addition to the scholarly notes for each map, *Maps of Texas* contains thirteen short introductory chapters that make a fairly complete background study of cartography in Texas. The first three chapters deal with the history of the map making generally. The next ten chapters are concerned with periods of Texas history and the maps generated during each period, James C. Martin and Robert S. Martin (no kin) provide the bases and beginning for any study of Texas cartography.

I love maps. I had a permanent classroom with three large maps—world, American, and Texas—that covered the entire front wall above the blackboard, and I would have been lost in a lecture without them. And I loved the Martins' study of the history of Texas as it unfolded in its maps. I was intrigued by the conceptual evolution of the maps, from general to specific, from a vague geographical formlessness to recognizable boundaries and coastlines, from archaic river names to modern recognizable waterways. Not having the advantage of aerial photographs from outer space, mapmakers took a couple of centuries to arrive at the true shape of Texas and the Southwest.

And to arrive at the shape of Texas and the Southwest, it took a world of wanderers and explorers seeking a richness of gold and souls, of empresarios outlining territories for their settlers, of cattlemen marking trails to railheads, and railroads looking for the best routes through the wilderness. All of them made maps.

The early errors in geography are equally interesting, as we see California as an island and the *Rio del Norte* draining into the Pacific. We can better understand La Salle's missing the mouth of the Mississippi and landing in Texas' Matagorda Bay when we see maps of North America with the Mississippi emptying into a bay near Corpus Christi.

The cartography improves as Europeans slowly unravel the geographical mysteries of this New World. Politics becomes a part of cartography as Spanish Florida, which includes all of present southeastern United States, becomes French Louisiana and includes all of Texas. A nation could lay claim to a portion of land simply by drawing its own territorial lines on a map and giving the area its own name.

Creative Texas mapmaking ended with the end of the frontier. By 1900 the *terra incognita* was known and topogriphed and divided into county lines. We knew what there was to know about the surface of Texas. Since then we have added roads and city limits and other man-made paraphernalia, but the geography



has been pretty well decided upon. *Maps of Texas and the Southwest* is the cartographic study of how we got to the understanding of our present shape.

F.E. Abernethy

Stephen F. Austin State University

*From Sail to Steam: Four Centuries of Texas Maritime History 1500-1900*, Richard V. Francaviglia (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1998. Contents. Notes. Bibliography. Maps. Index. Illustrations. P. 324. \$34.95. Hardcover.

Waterborne craft is to maritime history as nautical archeology is to history, or at least that appeared to be the paradigm Richard Francaviglia suggested in *From Sail to Steam: Four Centuries of Texas Maritime History 1500-1900*. The book, which should have been titled "The Nautical Archeology of the Texas Coast," presented interesting descriptions of the major types of riverain and seagoing vessels that plied the rivers, bays, and coast of Texas from the pre-Columbian period until the eve of the twentieth century. The author believes that continual advances in maritime technology allowed lowland Texans to conquer nature's barriers slowly. By the end of the nineteenth century steam powered ships converted this "tierra despoblado" into a commercial mecca.

In Francaviglia's opinion the evolution of ship design from the crude dugout canoes of coastal Amerinds through the sail-powered, wooden-hulled ships of European origin to steam-powered, iron-hull propeller-driven steamships first championed by the Americans molded the maritime history of Texas. This bold new thesis will force students of Texas maritime history to question earlier beliefs that the shift from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture, the development of the railroad and deep water ports, and the discovery of oil led to the settlement and eventual development of the Texas coast.

Any general reader interested in the learning about the nautical archeology or maritime history of Texas will enjoy this book. The author's clever descriptions of ship-board machinery will fascinate students of naval architecture. However, serious students of Texas history will find Francaviglia's interpretation of the Texas Revolution, the Republic, early statehood, and the Civil War disappointing.

Donald E. Willett

Texas A&M University at Galveston

*Builders: Herman and George R. Brown*, Joseph A. Pratt & Christopher J. Castaneda (Texas A&M University Press, John H. Lindsey Bldg, Lewis St., 4354 TAMUS, College Station, Tx 77843-4354) 1999. Contents. Illus. Tables. Notes. Index. P. 326. \$36.95. Hardcover.

In an anecdote too delicious to require authentication, newly-elected President John F. Kennedy joked to Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson that

now the government could dig a tunnel to the Vatican. The Texan responded that it was all right with him, as long as Brown and Root got the contract.

The much reported and often maligned relationship of LBJ and Herman and George Brown is one of many aspects of the business careers of perhaps the nation's best known construction designers addressed in this well researched and readable book. Indeed, according to the biographers, critics have obscured the brothers' innovations and accomplishments in the private sector by emphasizing their formidable political connections. Pratt and Castaneda regard the Browns as variants on the late nineteenth-century business leaders, distinctive only by their time and place—twentieth-century Texas—and their chosen field of industry.

While the authors note the controversies surrounding the firm, including an IRS judgment against the Browns for illegal campaign contributions, they clearly consider them captains of industry rather than robber barons, conservative moderates in business-driven Texas politics. Underscoring the friendship as well as the *quid pro quo* arrangement between the Browns and Johnson, the book augments the current favorable reappraisal of the late president.

Although the Browns left their mark in the construction of air bases from Spain to Guam and ships that sank the Axis foe, Texans will particularly relish reading of monuments to their native state: dams, airports, pipelines, endowments to education and the arts, and much of what we drive on, over, and under.

Garna L. Christian  
University of Houston-Downtown

*Texas Merchant: Marvin Leonard & Fort Worth*, Victoria Buenger and Walter L. Buenger (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMUS, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1998. Contents. Illus. Notes. Bibliographic Essay. Index. P. 247. \$36.95. Hardcover.

When some future historian delves into the ability of East Texas to breed entrepreneurs—oilman and philanthropist Sid Richardson and Dallas Cowboys founder Clint Murchison among them—Cass County native Marvin Leonard will be part of the study. Leonard pioneered many of the retailing concepts currently found in Wal-Mart Supercenters at his Leonards store in downtown Fort Worth.

Husband and wife co-authors Victoria Buenger, visiting professor of management, and Walter L. Buenger, associate professor of history at Texas A&M, documented Leonard's genius with extensive interviews of the former store employees as well as former black and white customers.

Marvin Leonard opened his store in Fort Worth on December 14, 1918. First day's sales totaled \$195.26 on \$600 worth of inventory. By 1927, sales topped \$1 million. Leonard bought carloads of unclaimed freight and sold for cash 35,000 pounds of prunes; 50,000 pounds of chicken feed at 2.5 cents a pound; 1,740 men's collars; several carloads of sugar and ribbon cane syrup; hundreds of pairs of women's shoes at \$1.85; a carload of bananas; and two carloads of oak lumber.

After younger brother Obie became a full partner in 1921, merchandise expanded to include washing machines, sewing machines, auto accessories, garden tools, fancy dry goods, tobacco products, Christmas Toyland, an in-house candy factory, fur coats, pianos, and tractors.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt closed the banks in 1933, Leonards redeemed payroll checks if customers accepted part cash and part Leonards paper script—which Leonards and other local merchants accepted for purchases. Leonards built its own subway in 1963 to transport customers from a free parking lot into its store.

A quiet philanthropist, Marvin Leonard built Colonial Country Club, Shady Oaks Country Club, and the Ridglea addition of Fort Worth. Obie Leonard became a leading producer of pecans. Eventually, the brothers' outside interests became more important than the store and they sold to Tandy Corporation in 1967. Marvin Leonard died August 16, 1970, and is buried in the family mausoleum in Fort Worth's Greenwood Cemetery.

Cissy Lale  
Fort Worth, Texas

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