

# East Texas Historical Journal

---

Volume 47 | Issue 1

Article 1

---

3-2009

ETHJ Vol-47 No-1

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj>



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

Tell us how this article helped you.

---

## Recommended Citation

(2009) "ETHJ Vol-47 No-1," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 47: Iss. 1, Article 1.

Available at: <http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol47/iss1/1>

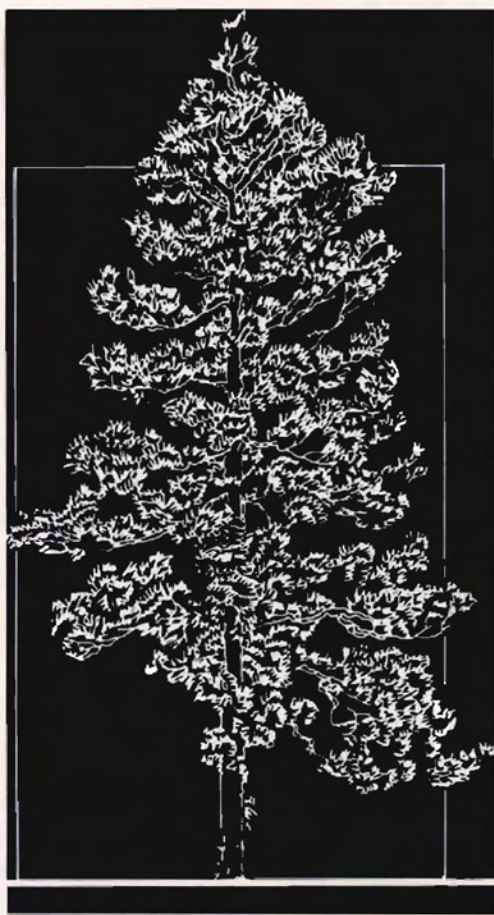
This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by SFA ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in East Texas Historical Journal by an authorized administrator of SFA ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu](mailto:cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu).

VOLUME XLVII

2009

NUMBER 1

F  
381  
E2



---

# EAST TEXAS

---

## HISTORICAL JOURNAL

---

# EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## 2008-2009 OFFICERS

Ted Lawe .....	President
Milton Jordan.....	First Vice President
James M. Smallwood .....	Second Vice President
Deanna Smith .....	Secretary-Treasurer

## DIRECTORS

Caroline Castillo Crimm .....	Huntsville.....	2009
John Olgesbee .....	San Augustine .....	2009
Kenneth W. Howell.....	College Station.....	2009
Tom Crum .....	Granbury .....	2010
Ricky F. Dobbs .....	Commerce .....	2010
L. Patrick Hughes .....	Austin .....	2010
Cynthia Devlin .....	Zavalla .....	2011
Mary Kelley .....	Beaumont .....	2011
Bruce Glasrud .....	Seguin.....	2011
Dan K. Utley .....	Pflugerville.....	ex-President
Beverly J. Rowe.....	Texarkana .....	ex-President

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Linda S. Hudson .....	Carthage
Sarah Jackson .....	Nacogdoches
Mary Kelley.....	Beaumont
Jim Maroney .....	Baytown
James Smallwood .....	Gainesville
Dan K. Utley .....	Pflugerville
Milton Jordan .....	Houston
Dana Cooper.....	Nacogdoches
Gene Preuss .....	Houston
Charles Grear .....	College Station

M. Scott Sosebee  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND EDITOR

## MEMBERSHIP

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS pay \$100 annually

LIFE MEMBERS pay \$300 or more

BENEFACTOR pays \$75 or \$100

PATRON pays \$50 annually

STUDENT MEMBERS pay \$12 annually

FAMILY MEMBERS pay \$35 annually

REGULAR MEMBERS pay \$25 annually

Journals \$7.50 per copy

P.O. Box 6223  
Stephen F. Austin State University  
Nacogdoches, TX 75962  
936-468-2407  
e-mail: [sosebeem@sfasu.edu](mailto:sosebeem@sfasu.edu)  
<http://www.easttexashistorical.org>

© Copyright 2009

XLVII – No. 1 – East Texas Historical Association

EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Volume XLVII

2009

NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

OPERATION TEXAS: LYNDON B. JOHNSON,  
THE JEWISH QUESTION AND THE  
NAZI HOLOCAUST  
*By James Smallwood*..... 3

“SCHOONER FLASH, CAPTAIN FALWELL...”  
THE SHORT WARTIME LIFE OF A TEXIAN  
SAILING VESSEL, 1835-1837  
*By Alan Barber* .....18

WHEAT FARMERS IN THE SECESSION CRISIS:  
THE IMPRINT OF THE UPPER SOUTH ON  
NORTHEAST TEXAS POLITICS  
*By John R. Lundberg* .....29

THE TEXAS FOLKLORE SOCIETY:  
PRESERVING AND PRESENTING FOLKLORE  
FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS  
*By Ken Untiedt*.....44

THE FIS SCHOOL: A TUSKEGEE FOR TEXAS?  
*By Paul Sturdevant* .....52

EAST TEXAS NEWS AND NOTES.....60

BOOK NOTES  
*By Archie P. McDonald*.....64

BOOK REVIEWS .....68



M. Scott Sosebee, Executive Director and Editor  
STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY  
P.O. BOX 6223

NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS 75962  
936-468-2407

e-mail: [sosebeem@sfasu.edu](mailto:sosebeem@sfasu.edu)  
<http://www.easttexashistorical.org>

RALPH W STEEN LIBRARY  
STEPHEN F AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY  
NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS

### BOOKS REVIEWED

- Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* by Jason H. Dormady
- Gilb, *Hecho en Tejas: An Anthology of Texas Mexican Literature* by Ana Luisa Martinez-Castam
- Hernandez, *Cemeteries of Ambivalent Desire: Unearthing Deep South Narratives from a Texas Graveyard* by Leslie Daniel
- Hardin, *Texian Macabre: The Melancholy Tale of a Hanging in Early Houston* by Gary B. Borders
- Yadon/Anderson, *200 Texas Outlaws and Lawmen 1835-1935* by Chuck Parsons
- Anderson/Yadon/Smith, *100 Oklahoma Outlaws, Gangsters, and Lawmen, 1839-1939; Butler, More Oklahoma Renegades* by Bill O'Neal
- Dupree, *Planting the Union Flag in Texas: The Campaigns of Major General Nathaniel P. Banks in the West* by Ralph A. Wooster
- Glasrud/Pitre, *Black Women in Texas History* by Joan D. Hodges
- Farrington, *Biracial Unions on Galveston's Waterfront, 1865-1925* by Robert S. Shelton
- Conley, *A Cherokee Encyclopedia* by Paul H. Carlson
- Carter, *On the Border with Mackenzie or Winning West Texas from the Comanches*, by Thomas A. Britten
- Cool, *Salt Warriors: Insurgency on the Rio Grande* by Michael L. Collins
- Hernandez-Ehrisman, *Inventing the Fiesta City: Heritage and Carnival in San Antonio* by Francis X. Galán
- Alter, *Audie Murphy: War Hero and Movie Star* by Noah Rains
- Miracle, *Mrs. Cordie's Soldier Son: A World War II Saga* by James M. Smallwood
- Crager, *Hell under the Rising Sun: Texan POWs and the Building of the Burma-Thailand Death Railway* by Mark Choate
- Lanning, *The Only War We Had: A Platoon Leader's Journal of Vietnam* by Dennis Bradford
- Briscoe/Carleton, *Dolph Briscoe: My Life in Texas Ranching and Politics* by Thomas A. Britten
- Davis, *Mary Martin, Broadway Legend* by Linda J. Cross
- Nelson/Mason, *How the South Joined the Gambling Nation: The Politics of State Policy Innovation* by John W. Storey
- Moyers, *Moyers on Democracy* by Gail K Beil
- Parsons/Bush, *Houston Deco: Modernistic Architecture of the Texas Coast* by Holle Humphries
- Sitton/Hunt, *Big Thicket People: Larry Jene Fisher's Photographs of the Last Southern Frontier* by Rick L. Hammer
- Barker, *A Texas Journey: The Centennial Photographs of Polly Smith* by John Crain
- Szarkowski/Colson, *Russell Lee Photographs* by R.G. Dean
- Collins, *Traces of Forgotten Places* by Cynthia J. Beeman
- Untiedt, *Folklore in Motion: Texas Travel Lore* by Joyce Gibson Roach

## OPERATION TEXAS: LYNDON B. JOHNSON, THE JEWISH QUESTION AND THE NAZI HOLOCAUST

*By James Smallwood*

Charles Marsh, a powerful Austin, Texas, newspaper tycoon, and Alice Glass, his future wife, attended the Salzburg, Austria, Music Festival of 1937. They then took a side-trip to Germany. While in the country of Kant, Beethoven, and Goethe, they found time to attend a meeting of the Nazi Party and to hear a speech by Adolph Hitler, who would soon be responsible for the deaths of millions of people. Marsh and Glass immediately understood what a menace that Hitler was to peace, to Western Civilization, and to the sanctity of human life.<sup>1</sup>

Their young congressman, Lyndon B. Johnson, had arrived at a similar view in 1934, the year he became engaged to Claudia Alta “Lady Bird” Taylor. On their first encounter, they discussed European affairs, the Nazi rise in Germany, and the potentially disastrous fate of the Jews. Both were concerned. One day later, Lyndon gave Lady Bird a gift, a book which he inscribed “To Bird – in the hope within these pages she may...find reiterated some of the principles in which she believes and which she has been taught to revere and respect.” The book was *Nazism: An Assault on Civilization*, edited by Pierre Van Paassen and James Waterman Wise. Published just one year after Hitler assumed power, it predicted the coming Nazi terror and the not-too-distant Holocaust in which millions of Jews, Slavs, numerous gypsies, and other “undesirables” would be murdered.

The prescient work also predicted Hitler’s seizure of Austria, and attacks on Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union – in proper order. In March 1934, co-editor van Paassen made a speech that he titled “Every German Jew Doomed to Death, Slavery, or Exile.” Again, van Paassen predicted the Holocaust, only to be laughed at and ridiculed.

Johnson did not laugh; rather his wide reading of European affairs led him to some conclusions. LBJ could not stop the coming Holocaust, but he recognized the Nazi menace to Western Civilization and he knew that millions of lives were at stake. He determined at that point to do what he could to help the world cope with such insane aggression and murder.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding his concern for European Jews, Johnson had to vote his convictions only five days after taking office in 1937. The Omnibus Immigration Bill came before the House on May 18. The heart of the bill could be posed in a question. “Should the United States deport or naturalize aliens, mostly Jews, from Poland and Lithuania who had entered the country illegally on false visas?” Aligning with most Republicans and the “Dixiecrats” of the South, LBJ voted with the majority – naturalize the Jews and save them from Hitler’s executioners.<sup>3</sup>

---

*James Smallwood is a retired history professor from Oklahoma State University and lives in Gainesville, Texas.*

In March 1938, after Hitler seized Austria, thousands of Jews from Germany and Austria sought safe haven, many of them hoping to come to the United States. Would America accept them? This time the answer was "no." A significant number of Americans, including many national politicians, were anti-Semitic and had no desire to increase the Jewish population of the country. Some people feared that more Jewish immigrants would lengthen unemployment rolls, become public charges, and bleed away precious resources during the Great Depression. The American government turned a "deaf ear" to the Jews.<sup>4</sup> But some people did not close their hearts to Jewish suffering and Lyndon Johnson was among their number. Although LBJ represented approximately 400,000 people in his district, only about 400 were Jews. Although they were but a tiny fraction of his Hill Country, the congressmen had developed pro-Semitism early in his lifetime.<sup>5</sup>

LBJ's interest in the national and international Jewish community can be traced, in part, to his early religious upbringing, which included exposure to Christadelphian doctrines. In the 1860s or 1870s, a Christadelphian preacher remembered only as Oatman visited the home of LBJ's paternal grandfather, Sam Ealy Johnson, who lived in central Texas town of Johnson City. The two men engaged in an informal debate about religion, a debate that Sam Johnson relished. The elder Johnson knew his Bible, but he could not answer several of the Biblical questions posed by Oatman. Impressed, Johnson arranged a public debate between Oatman and Johnson City's Baptist preacher. With several of his relatives in tow, Johnson attended the debate, which Oatman won, to hear the locals tell.<sup>6</sup>

Won over by Oatman, Johnson and some of his relatives became Christadelphians, whose doctrines had originated in the 1820s when physician-preacher John Thomas left the Christian Church and founded his own Brethren of Christ. Thomas taught the literal exegesis (meaning) of the Bible, with Jews and Israel having a special place, for they were the "People of the Book." In Christadelphian eschatology, Christ's second coming would be signaled by a return of the Jews to Palestine and the recreation of the Jewish state of Israel. Christian millennialists, Christadelphians believed that the Jews must return to Israel and that they had a duty to help them fulfill the Bible's prophecy. Sam Johnson taught young Lyndon these doctrines.<sup>7</sup> As one author put it, the youngster "was raised in a pro-Jewish household...he was fed pro-Zionist propaganda along with his Pabulum and milk."<sup>8</sup> Although the mature LBJ did not become a Christadelphian, he remained a member of the Christian Church, he internalized his grandfather's charge to "take care of the Jews, 'God's Chosen People.' Consider them your friends and help them in every way you can."<sup>9</sup>

When Sam E. Johnson was in the twilight of his years, still passing life's lessons on to his grandson, events in Georgia made a permanent impression on both grandfather and grandson. In 1913, a twenty-nine year old Jewish businessman, Leo Frank, who managed a pencil factory in Atlanta, was accused of the mutilation of Mary Phagan, a thirteen-year-old girl whose body was found

in Frank's factory. Although he was likely innocent, police arrested Frank who, as events proved, had little chance of justice. Frank was a Northerner, he represented industrialization, and he was a Jew. As his case developed, Sam Ealy, Sam Ealy, Jr., and young Lyndon Johnson followed the four-week trial. The nation as a whole was also experiencing a wave of ugly anti-Semitism in the same year as the Frank trial. Jewish immigration was at an all-time high and a number of demonstrations and magazine articles fueled anti-Jewish sentiment. Congress even passed an immigration bill complete with a literacy test, although President William Taft vetoed the measure.<sup>10</sup>

Bigots aimed death threats at Frank's attorney, the trial judge, and the jury – if they did not find Frank guilty and sentence him to death. After only four hours of deliberation, the jury found Frank guilty and the judge did sentence him to die. The evidence in the case was so flimsy that many humanitarians protested. During two years of appeals, Albert D. Lasker, a wealthy American Jew and later a friend of LBJ and Lady Bird, led a campaign for clemency. Touched by public protests, petitions, and appeals from other governors, Georgia chief executive John M. Slaton commuted Frank's sentence to life in prison. Enraged, a group calling itself the Knights of Mary Phagan entered Georgia's Milledgeville Prison where Frank was incarcerated, seized him, drove across the state to Mary's hometown, and hanged him in Marietta, Georgia.<sup>11</sup>

With Sam Johnson Sr. reporting the events surrounding the Frank case to the Johnson family, Lyndon learned the facts of the case and all the race hatred involved in the trial and the lynching. He never forgot what harm that racism could do and he remained friendly to Jews throughout his life, in addition to developing concern for blacks, Catholics, and other minority groups. In his political career, LBJ could always count on solid support from the Jewish community in Texas and, later, on the national community as well. Historian Robert Dalleck pointed out that although Johnson occasionally engaged in "rhetorical anti-Semitism," he still had sympathy for the downtrodden. "There was something about him," Dalleck contended, "that made him sympathize with the underdog. It may have been his harsh boyhood in the Texas hill country...or there was his sense of emptiness, a hole in his psych that made him identify with the persecuted."<sup>12</sup>

Young Lyndon's grandfather and father also educated him about Tom Watson, a one-time Georgia Populist firebrand with egalitarian views who metamorphosed into a racist and bigot. Watson used his monthly, *Watson's Magazine* and his weekly paper, *The Jeffersonian*, to arouse Georgians against Leo Frank, calling him a "jewpervert," among other derogatory names.<sup>13</sup>

Events away from his Texas home were not all that made an impression on the young Lyndon Johnson. The same year the Georgia mob lynched Leo Frank, LBJ's father had several confrontations with the Texas Ku Klux Klan, a group he condemned on the floor of the Texas legislature. LBJ proudly watched from the gallery as his father called the group "KuKluxsonsof bitchcs." Later, the Klan made him a target of their terrorist campaign.<sup>14</sup> LBJ's



younger brother Sam Houston Johnson remembered one threatening phone call to the Johnson home. After listening to a death threat, Sam Johnson, Jr., boomed, "Now, listen here, you Ku Klux Klan son-of-a-bitch, if you and your goddamned gang think you're man enough to shoot me, you come on ahead. My brothers and I will be waiting for you out on the front porch."<sup>15</sup>

LBJ learned something that night. He learned of fear and terrorism born of racial and ethnic hatred as he and his brother hid in an earthen cellar near their home while his father, uncles, and older cousins – all with loaded shotguns – waited for the Klansmen. The Johnson men stationed themselves at intervals along a front porch and waited until dawn. Apparently losing their nerve, the terrorists never came. Sam Houston Johnson said later, "The Kukluxsonofabitches never showed up. But after that my daddy carried a gun wherever he went, even as he sat in the House of Representatives in Austin."<sup>16</sup>

Learning practical lessons from incidents such as Klan threats, and saturated with the news his grandfather and father related – sometimes-current events, sometimes history – young LBJ internalized the lessons. He never gave himself over to irrational racial hatred. As a mature man, he did the opposite; he helped minority groups, advancing their causes whenever he could. According to Horace Busby, a long-time Johnson aide and speechwriter, the mature LBJ often mentioned the Leo Frank case and similar persecutions of others. Johnson said that those kinds of incidents were the sources for his opposition to anti-Semitism and to all other forms of racism. Johnson felt that such events – which led to the Holocaust – were responsible for his internationalism and his opposition to isolationism. He seemed to believe, but left unspoken, that America had a duty to act in the international arena whenever any group carried out genocidal war against another group. Later, another long-time aide, George Reedy, added that LBJ "had less bigotry in him than anybody else I have ever met...he was not a racist."<sup>17</sup>

Given Johnson's early religious teachings, when Charles Marsh and Alice Glass contacted him about a matter involving Jews, the young congressman was willing to listen. Marsh already had helped Johnson with good publicity during his victorious congressional campaign in 1937. The young man was willing, even anxious, to please a benefactor. Marsh and Glass explained how they had begun to provide financial resources to Jewish refugees attempting to escape Germany. They had befriended the brilliant twenty-five-year old Jewish musician Erich Leinsdorf, from Austria, who they had met at the Salzburg Festival. In 1938 Leinsdorf came to the United States on a temporary visa to perform with the New York Metropolitan Opera.

Leinsdorf accepted many invitations to visit Marsh and Glass at the tycoon's countryside farm in Virginia. The Austrian was still in the United States when German Nazi forces rolled over his country, and he had no desire to return home where, most likely, he would be persecuted and possibly murdered. Although he applied for an extension of his visa, eight days before it was to expire, he still had not heard from the immigration service. When Leinsdorf told Marsh and Alice Glass about his problem, they contacted LBJ to ask him for help.<sup>18</sup>

On a Sunday morning, Marsh drove Leinsdorf to Washington's Mayflower Hotel where the newspaperman kept a suite. Johnson met them, heard Leinsdorf's predicament, and the next day began solving the problem. Operation Texas was in motion. Johnson learned that the immigration service had rejected Leinsdorf's application because he had asked for a two-year extension, something not possible under existing American law. But, immigration personnel had not notified Leinsdorf of their decision. Johnson used that oversight as ammunition for strongly pressuring the service to extend the visa, and officials granted Leinsdorf a six-month extension. Next, Operation Texas began in earnest. LBJ first worked on having Leinsdorf's classification changed to permanent resident, a possibility only if the musician went abroad and returned as a regular immigrant from a country whose quota of Austrians had not been reached. After contacting the United States Consul in Havana, Cuba, to make sure the office's quota of Austrians still had slots open, Johnson put together the necessary documents and arranged for Leinsdorf to travel to Cuba and the conductor returned to the U.S. as a permanent resident.<sup>19</sup>

Leinsdorf eventually became director of the Boston Symphony Society, but he never forgot Johnson. He contributed to all of LBJ's political campaigns, and at a party in Georgetown in 1960, Leinsdorf told the story of his rescue as plotted by LBJ, a rescue that involved the stopover in Havana that Johnson arranged. Because the rescue included illegal acts, secrecy had to be maintained. After his remarks, LBJ asked, "Now Erich, this is a lovely story and I certainly would like to hear it again, but let me ask you something; what kind of town shall we now put in that story to replace Havana?"<sup>20</sup>

Leinsdorf's rescue was just the beginning of Operation Texas. Even as Johnson was plotting to save Leinsdorf, Jim Novy – a wealthy leader of Austin's Jewish community and a Johnson friend – planned a trip to Palestine to celebrate his son David's *Bar Mitzvah* and his own twenty-fifth anniversary in America. The two also planned to visit Poland and Germany and spend time with relatives that Jim had not seen since he left Europe.

With his brother Louis, Jim Novy had migrated to the United States in 1913 from a small town in what was then western Russia (now eastern Poland). The two escaped on the eve of World War I and both settled in Austin. Louis Novy became a successful scrap metal dealer. As Novy and his son prepared for their trip, the first German-Czechoslovakia crisis occurred and Nazi anti-Semitism was on the march. LBJ learned of the trip and urged Novy to "get as many Jewish people as possible out of both countries" while predicting that "very difficult" times were about to strike European Jews.<sup>21</sup>

Leaving for Europe in July 1938, Novy became a partner in Operation Texas. He had Congressman Johnson's letter of introduction to diplomats in the United States Embassy in Warsaw. Novy also had a large stack of immigration papers signed and counter-signed, to use at the appropriate time. The papers had no names; Novy was to supply the names after he located and identified Jews who wanted out. Johnson's maneuver was the key to success. Ordinarily America's overseas embassies arranged and approved visas, but

LBJ had the Department of State in Washington approve them beforehand. Johnson and his staff wrote the appropriate letters, checking and rechecking to ensure that the materials would pass the scrutiny of all immigration officials.

The Novy's hid the papers among their personal possessions. At one point, they rode in a railroad car that had a microphone hanging from the ceiling, probably placed there by the Gestapo. Father and son made innocent small talk but mostly remained silent. When they reached their destination, Germans in Poland called them "dirty Jews," among other things. Once in Warsaw, they went to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and were shocked to learn that the group was spending money on new furniture while more unfortunate Jews were lacking food. Novy became upset and criticized the committee for not doing more. At the American embassy, Novy learned that Johnson had called and asked for the consul's cooperation in processing the pre-approved visas.

Forty-two Jews from Poland and Germany, including four of Novy's relatives, received the documents, fled Europe, and lived while millions more were about to die. The Novys did more than pass out documents. Jim agreed to pay the expenses of Jews who could not afford the trip, and he promised to provide for them until they found jobs and homes. Novy and his son learned of a new threat when they reached Paris, where they stopped before continuing to Palestine. The second German-Czech crisis was in the wind and war might break out at any time. Rumors were rampant that the Germans might even have attacked Alsace-Lorraine, a border province long disputed between France and Germany and the Novy's faced the possibility of becoming trapped in Europe. Believing such a threat possible, LBJ frantically contacted authorities in Europe until he found the Novys in Paris. In the middle of the night, a man from the United States embassy banged on their hotel door and roused them from their beds. Afraid, they refused to respond until the visitor slipped his credentials under the door. Once inside, the representative relayed Johnson's message demanding that they immediately return to the United States. They booked passage on the next ship bound for America. They never made it to Palestine, but they could celebrate, for, with LBJ's help, they had saved the lives of forty-two human beings.<sup>23</sup>

After Jim Novy returned home, he received a letter from Berlin's Ernst Israel Rychtwalski addressed to the "Jewish Relief Association, Austin, U.S.A." No such organization existed, but a post office worker sent it to Novy, who did not know Rychtwalski but who listened to the man's appeal. He was writing on behalf of Adel and Fanny Gontshar, a Jewish mother and daughter who lived in Berlin.<sup>23</sup> Rychtwalski asked Novy to help them get out of Germany before the Nazis crushed them. Novy's concern for Jews such as the Gontshars meshed with LBJ's continuing concern. Working together, they arranged for the Gontshars to make a sudden dash out of Germany, destination, Texas.<sup>24</sup>

By 1939, Johnson had become more and more distressed about the precarious position of European Jews. Although it was not common knowledge

that the Nazis intended to exterminate millions of Jews, Johnson believed that it was only a matter of time before the Holocaust would begin. He knew of the international rejection of Jewish refugee ships, including rejection by the United States, and he knew of England's policy of thwarting Jewish migration to Palestine.<sup>25</sup> Unwilling to stand by while Nazis murdered the "People of the Book," Johnson met with Jewish leaders and said simply, "we must do something to get Jews out of Europe."<sup>26</sup>

So LBJ expanded Operation Texas. Using methods, sometimes legal and sometimes illegal, and using cash supplied by wealthy benefactors such as Jim Novy, Johnson smuggled hundreds of Jews into Texas, using Galveston as the entry port. Money bought false passports and visas in Cuba, Mexico, and other Latin American countries. As Johnson smuggled Jews into Texas, he gave them new names and hid them in the Texas National Youth Administration (NYA), a New Deal agency he had once headed in Texas. Johnson's task was made easier because his longtime friend, Jesse Kellum, directed the NYA in Texas. Although most of the Texas NYA records were later lost or destroyed, Morris Shapiro, Jim Novy's son-in-law, and other sources, verified that many Jews were routed through the state's NYA. Although it was illegal to harbor and train non-citizens in the NYA programs, the refugees were housed at various sites scattered around the state. Novy reimbursed the NYA for all expenses, including room-and-board for the trainees. He also covered the cost of classes for those who did not speak English and for vocational training so refugees could "blend" into American society.

Johnson channeled many men into NYA welding schools since welders were in high demand during the war preparedness campaign of 1940-1941 and then in the war itself. He also took advantage of his close relationship with President Franklin Roosevelt. Although Johnson became the first congressman to enlist in the service after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt called him home and put him in charge of the Navy's shipbuilding personnel. In that capacity, Johnson made sure that "his" refugees were hired. Other Jews that he aided worked in a strange assortment of jobs, including liquor stores, carnivals, and janitors in schools. Jim Novy's son David estimated that Johnson and his father saved as many as four or five hundred Jews, possibly more.<sup>27</sup>

The rescue efforts were offset by failures. With his wife Lili, the physician Otto Lippmann escaped after the Nazis revoked his license to practice medicine and he became a target of the Gestapo. Lippmann's mother, who lived in a Jewish ladies home remained in Germany and he appealed to LBJ to help him get her out of Germany. Johnson worked for eighteen months to get her out, but was ultimately unsuccessful. "We tried everything," Lippmann later recounted. Arrested before she could escape, Mrs. Lippmann was sent to a small death camp in Poland and executed. LBJ also failed to save Herman Winter. Approached by Rabbi Abram Vossen Goodman on Winter's behalf, Johnson tried to extricate him, but the Nazis arrested Winter before he could escape. Like Lippmann's mother, Winter also died in a concentration camp. Despite such setbacks, Operation Texas was for the most part successful.<sup>28</sup>

Operation Texas also included aid to Jews already in Palestine who were “underground fighters.” In March 1942, Novy hosted a World War II bond drive party for thirty or so influential Texans and invited Johnson to make remarks. After they raised their quota for the bond drive, Johnson rose, gave his listeners some “straight talk” about the European and Middle Eastern situations, and then raised yet more cash – the new money ear-marked for the Palestine Jewish “underground.”<sup>29</sup> While in the midst of Operation Texas, Johnson gave voice to why anti-Semitism was wrong, especially in America. In his remarks, Johnson said, “without tolerance and mutual understanding, without a sincere sense of the rights of our neighbors to differ in their views from us, this nation is endangered. We spring from too many races and nationalities and religions here to find unity in any intolerant theory of race and creed.”<sup>30</sup>

Operation Texas continued after the United States entered World War II. Novy reported that in 1942 Johnson sent him on a secret mission to Europe. The Jewish businessman said that the job was so dangerous that he did not tell his family, not even his wife and children what he was doing. Novy knew that he might be caught, identified, and shot by German authorities. Soon after his return, Novy, a civilian, received a Purple Heart, something almost unheard of because such an award normally goes to only members of the military wounded during combat. Years later, in 1958, Novy told a reporter of his mission, but refused to answer specific questions, saying that “only when Senator Johnson says so will I tell the story.”<sup>31</sup>

With the conclusion of World War II, LBJ had the sad opportunity to see what he fought against when he took on the Nazis in Operation Texas. With other congressional leaders, Johnson flew to Europe to inspect conditions and visit the horrific death camps. On 4 June 1945, his party visited the concentration camp at Dachau.<sup>32</sup> After passing through the camp’s black iron gate with a banner stating *Arbeit Macht Frei* (work brings freedom), the Americans were stunned. They saw death up-close and even smelled the stench of it. Some people in the diplomatic party wept. One of the congressmen, Louisiana’s F. Edward Herbert, summed up the feelings of all the observers with, “God, how can men do to other men what these beasts have done... [the Nazis have] destroyed the last vestige of decency in the human being... [young boys are] emaciated, puny, weak, devastated, some beyond hope of redemption... death is their only salvation[,] and they are still dying at the rate of 40 a day.”<sup>33</sup>

LBJ agreed with Herbert’s views even though he may have remained in Paris. Johnson heard reports from observers, Herbert included, that detailed the murders and torture in the concentration camps. Such cruel scenes were reinforced by the committee’s visit to Italy. As Donald Cook remembered, in a comment that also related to the Vietnam War, “The worst [of the poverty] was down at Palermo... where there were tremendous lines of people who would form with their pots and pans and dishes to get a ration of soup from the [American] Navy, which was turning out this stuff [soup] out of the

garbage from the vessels." It was a saddening episode," Cook continued, "but it kept them alive...[Congressmen Johnson] was appalled...the realities of war made a very, very, deep impression on him, and I think that a recollection of those realities undoubtedly played a part in his initial opposition to going into Vietnam. That's one of the reasons why I'm sure that a tremendous selling job was done on him [to escalate the Vietnam War]"<sup>34</sup> Lady Bird Johnson later recalled that when her husband returned home he was still shaken, stunned, terrorized, and "bursting with overpowering revulsion and incredulous horror at what he had seen."<sup>35</sup> Linda Johnson Robb, the Johnson's oldest daughter, added, "He came home after that trip, and he wouldn't talk about it. He was just miserable. It was as if he were (sic) struck by some terrible illness...Depressed and wordless, he took to his bed."<sup>36</sup>

The horrors of Dachau and other killing fields may help explain Johnson's foreign policy as president. He was a man torn by inner-conflict. Although he questioned the Vietnam War at first, to LBJ, Dachau meant "never again." Never again should unarmed people be murdered by madmen. From the 1940s to the 1960s, Johnson saw the United States as defender of the free world, the defender that could not let Dachau happen again whether by fascists or communists, by the political right or the political left. Such views explain why Johnson bowed to his advisors and reversed his early view on Vietnam, ultimately insisting on "saving" South Vietnam. After much "soul-searching," he cast the Vietnamese struggle as one that could produce another Dachau. He feared that millions of unarmed civilians would be butchered by a powerful, hate-filled foe. Perhaps he wanted another Operation Texas, a chance to save lives by opposing what he saw as the aggression of North Vietnam.

Operation Texas was a secret affair. Some LBJ aides, friends, and associates even denied that it existed. There is no mountain of evidence that divulges all of the specifics of the scheme, but evidence does substantiate that it existed. First, that LBJ was addicted to the telephone is legendary. He seldom wrote things down. Sometimes he made as many as 100 calls a day. Second, certain aspects of the scheme were illegal. Thus, there would not be a "paper trail" that would implicate people in such a plot. A one-time NYA administrator and Johnson friend, Elizabeth Goldschmidt, denied any knowledge of Operation Texas, but she was not stationed in Texas between 1938 and 1943. However, she did offer with a sly grin, "Of course, in those days we all took a loose view of what we could and couldn't do."<sup>37</sup> Jack Baumel, an engineer who worked for the Texas Railroad Commission and who was also one of Johnson's friends, recalled that LBJ once said, "We had to do something to the Jews out of Europe." Baumel added, "There's no question that LBJ was instrumental in helping literally hundred of Jews get into the U.S., especially through Galveston."<sup>38</sup> Jim Novy's son Dave confirmed that the operation existed, as did Novy's son-in-law, Mike Shapiro. Professor David Bell and Barby Weincr, co-chairmen of the Criteria Committee for the selection of the Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum's annual Lyndon Baines Johnson Moral Courage Award, believe that LBJ saved at least two score of Jews in 1938 and,

subsequently, likely saved “several hundred [more] through other lesser-known and even riskier means.”<sup>39</sup>

The best witness is Jim Novy. The Jewish leader finally made the story public during the 30 December 1963 dedication of Austin’s newest synagogue, Agudas Achim. Invited to the ceremonies by Novy, LBJ and Lady Bird were in attendance, with the president scheduled to make remarks. Knowing that the new president was well beyond prosecution for his acts of long ago, Novy told the story to 400 synagogue members and their guests, along with Austin’s civic leaders and local newspaper, radio, and television reporters. He did not discuss his secret 1942 mission to Europe, the details of which the public and later historians will never know. Novy’s presentation, humorous at times, drew much laughter from the crowd, beginning with his order to President Johnson, then the most powerful man in the world. “If I get mixed up, you help me out!”<sup>40</sup> Even Lady Bird had to cover her mouth and try to stifle her laughter, while the president only smiled and nodded that he would do what Novy demanded.

After Novy finished his story, he introduced LBJ by looking over to him and – trying to hold back tears – said with a breaking voice, “We can’t ever thank him enough for all those Jews he got out of Germany during the days of Hitler.” Then pointing to the first row where four small boys were sitting, Novy added, “There’s the ...current generation, and they’ll be watching [out] for you and helping you [while you are president].”<sup>41</sup>

LBJ gave a speech that lasted approximately twelve minutes. He began by saying how glad he was that his first unofficial speech as president was one presented in a “house of worship in my hometown.” Continuing, for the first time publicly, he “owned up” to Operation Texas to celebrate human life, to acknowledge Jewish support, and to determine that long before his presidency he had become involved with the Jewish community in a positive way. Humanism shined through in the remarks of both Novy and Johnson.<sup>42</sup> At the end of the ceremonies, the crowd mobbed Novy and both the Johnsons. Lady Bird remembered that “person after person plucked at my sleeve and said, ‘I wouldn’t be here today if it weren’t for him. He helped me get out.’”<sup>43</sup> Perhaps the testimonials provided the ultimate “truth-test” that Operation Texas was a success. Wrote a reporter for the *Houston Chronicle*, “Johnson was a man who took considerable risk with his political career to uphold the message [racial, ethnic, and religious tolerance] for the future. Thus, many Jews have Johnson to thank for their lives because of his display of moral courage.”<sup>44</sup>

Lyndon Johnson is often criticized by many laymen and professional historians. He has been stereotyped as a crude Texan who had few serious beliefs, an opportunist only out for personal political gain.<sup>45</sup> Operation Texas belied that image. The rescue efforts saved hundreds of Jews from the Holocaust. Johnson cared for the “People of the Book,” as he obviously revered human life and detested suffering caused by naked aggression and racial and ethnic animosity. While he agonized over the loss of life during the Vietnam War (a war he repeatedly tried to end with secret negotiations), he remained consis-

tent in his attempts to help others. Because of his domestic policies, he became known as the "Education President" and the "Civil Rights President." He fought a "War on Poverty" that reduced the United States poverty rate to eleven percent in just five short years. In his humanism, Johnson tried to help Jews, Blacks, Latinos, or other minorities. He made it to the top, and he took as many people with that he could.

### Afterward:

In 1951, Israel needed money and material to help Jewish refugees coming in the new country. LBJ successfully lobbied the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for \$150 million to help with the problem.<sup>46</sup>

In July 1956, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross on the LBJ Ranch to protest his willingness to help minorities.<sup>47</sup> A message with the cross proclaimed, "Our favorite son must serve Texas and America, not B'nai B'rith."<sup>48</sup>

In his speech about the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Johnson said, "Our Constitution, the foundation of our republic, forbids [discrimination]. The principles of our freedom forbids it. Morality forbids it. And the law I sign tonight forbids it."<sup>49</sup>

In October 1965, Johnson signed a new immigration bill that voided the old racist act of 1924.<sup>50</sup>

In 1994, the Holocaust Education Center and Memorial Museum established the Lyndon Baines Johnson Moral Courage Award. The award could be given to someone who committed a single act of moral courage or to someone whose entire career displayed that virtue. LBJ, said the committee, acted by "stretching his authority to its utmost and risking the personal dreams his actions might shatter [if he failed]."<sup>51</sup>

One observer wrote, "John F. Kennedy once said that 'each time a man stands up for an ideal or acts to improve the lot of others or speaks out against injustice, he sends out a ripple of hope...these ripples [become] a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression'...Lyndon Johnson chose not to make a ripple. He made a [tidal] wave."

## NOTES

Abbreviations:

LBJ Lyndon Baines Johnson

LBJL Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas

OH Oral History Collection

<sup>1</sup>Frank Oltorf, OH, Erich Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL.; Robert Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power* (New York, 1983), p. 481.

<sup>2</sup>Pierre van Paassen and James Waterman Wise, eds. *NAZISM: An Assault on Civilization* (New York: 1934). The LBJ Library (LBJL) has the original inscribed volume that LBJ gave Lady Bird; for more on van Paassen's anti-Nazi efforts, see H. David Kirk, "Pierre van Paassen: Righteous Journalist," *Midstream* (May 1991), pp. 42-43, and van Paassen, "Every German Jew Doomed to Death, Slavery, or Exile," *Toronto Star* [Canada], March 26, 1934; Tom Tugend, "LBJ



as a Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post* [international edition', September 28, 1991; *Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997: "Was President Lyndon B. Johnson a Righteous Gentile?," *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter* (Winter 1992, p. 5. van Paassen's journalism career took him to Berlin in the late 1920s. In 1928 he had his first interview with Hitler in addition to talking to many of Hitler's Nazi followers in the city's beer halls. After condemning the Nazis, he was beaten by Hitler's hoodlums, arrested, and accused of spreading "atrocious propaganda." After they came to power, the Nazis expelled van Paassen from Germany and banned his paper, the *Toronto Star*. In addition to Nazism, van Paassen wrote several books, including *Days of Our Years* (1939), in which he traced developments that destroyed peace in Europe, and *The Time is Now* (1941), where he told the democracies what had to be done to defeat the Axis powers. After the war van Paassen became a revisionist Zionist and followed founder Zev Jabotinsky. For yet more on van Paassen's career, see Kirk, "Righteous Journalist," pp. 42-43.

"Complete Voting Record of LBJ." LBJL; Louis S. Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ's Foreign Affairs Background," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1989), p. 197.

"For the Roosevelt Administration's Jewish Policy, see Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945* (New Brunswick, 1970); Robert Dalleck, *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960* (New York: 1991), p. 169; Other books pertinent to the topic include David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941-1945* (New York: 1984); Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* (New York: 1981); Monty Noam Penkower, *The Jews Were Expendable: Free World Diplomacy and the Holocaust*, (Champaign, 1984); Also informative is the film, "Holocaust Education," in the LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum of Houston, Houston, Texas [hereinafter abbreviated Holocaust film].

Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.

"Jessie Johnson Hatcher, OH, LBJL.; Joseph H. Banta, "President Lyndon B. Johnson," *The Christadelphian* (January 1964)), pp. 26-27; Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States* (Nashville: 1890), pp. 72-73; Rebekah Baines Johnson, *A Family Album* (New York, 1965), pp. 70-71, 90.; H.P. Mansfield, *Israel's Revival: Sure Sign of Christ's Coming* (Pasadena: 1981), pp. 1-7; Peter Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America* (New York: 1984).; Caro, *Path to Power*, p. 27.

Banta, "LBJ," *The Christadelphian*, pp. 26-27.; Mead, *Handbook of Denominations*, pp. 72-73.; Hatcher, OH, LBJL.; Mansfield, *Israel's Revival*, pp. 1-7.; Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America*.; R.B. Johnson, *Family Album*, pp. 70-71.; Holocaust Film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; Tugend, "LBJ," Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.; "Johnson a Righteous Gentile?" *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter*, p. 5; Claudia Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Houston Chronicle: Texas Magazine* [hereinafter cited *Texas*], September 27, 1998, p. 10.; *Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997.

Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 10.

"R.B. Johnson, *Family Album*, pp. 18-19.; Johnson a Righteous Gentile?" *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter*, p. 5.

"*Austin Daily Statesman*, May 26, October 11, 16, 22, 23, 29, November 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 1913; Banta, "LBJ," *The Christadelphian*, p. 26.; Leonard Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case* (New York: 1968), pp. 2, 4-5, 64-73.; Robert Devine, *American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952* (New York: 1972), pp. 4-5.; Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 10.

"*Austin Daily Statesman*, November 1, 1913.; August 17, 18, 22, 1915.; *New York Times*, May 15, 25, 29, 1915.; Dinnerstein, *Leo Frank*, pp. 55-119.; John Gunther, *Taken at the Flood: The Story of Albert D. Lasker*, (New York: 1960), p. 88.; Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 10.

Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.

<sup>13</sup>Dinnerstein, *Leo Frank*, pp. 95-98.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," pp. 12-12.; Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.

<sup>14</sup>Feldman "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 10.; Holocaust film, C. Anderson to L. Robb, January 18, 1994, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; Johnson Righteous Gentile?," *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter*, p. 5.; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.

<sup>15</sup>Sam Houston Johnson, *My Brother Lyndon* (New York: 1970) pp. 30-31.; *Fredericksburg Standard*, March 23, April 6, 1918.; *State Observer*, June 10, 1940.; Alfred Steinberg, *Sam Johnson's Boy*, (New York: 1968), p. 20.; Ronnie Dugger, *The Drive for Power, From the Frontier to Master of the Senate* (New York: 1982), p. 91.; Robert L. Phinney, OH, LBJL.; Wright Patman, "Patman Cites Klan Fight by President's Father." *Washington Post*, April 1, 1964.

<sup>16</sup>S. Johnson, *My Brother Lyndon*, pp. 30-31.; Merle Miller, *Lyndon: An Oral Biography* (New York: 1980), p. 20.

<sup>17</sup>George Recdy, OH, Horace Busby, OH, LBJL, Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston; "Johnson a Righteous Gentile?," *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter*, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>Erich Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL; Erich Leinsdorf, *Cadenza: A Musical Career* (Boston, 1976), pp. 56, 75-79; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991; Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; *Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," pp. 30-34.

<sup>19</sup>Erich Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL.; Leinsdorf, *Cadenza*, pp. 75-79.; Caro, *Path to Power*, pp. 481-482.; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.; Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; *Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," pp. 30-34.

<sup>20</sup>Erich Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL.

<sup>21</sup>Jim Novy, "Introduction of the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, Dedication Dinner Agudas Achim Synagogue," Austin, Texas, December 30, 1963, Jim Novy Papers, LBJL (hereinafter abbreviated "Dedication Dinner"); President Lyndon B. Johnson, "Dedication Congregation Agudas Achim, Austin, Texas, December 30, 1963," Tape Recording, LBJL (hereinafter abbreviated "LBJ Recording"); Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," p. 36.; Dalleck, *Lone Star Rising*, pp. 169-170.; Charles Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 8.; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.; "Johnson a Righteous Gentile?," *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter*, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup>Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 8.; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.

<sup>23</sup>Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 8.; Dalleck, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 169.; Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL.; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.

<sup>24</sup>Novy, "Dedication Dinner;," "LBJ Recording;," Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," pp. 44-46.; Dalleck, *Lone Star Rising*, p. 170.; Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, pp. 8-9.; Johnson a Righteous Gentile?," *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter*, p. 5.; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.; *Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997.; *Jewish Herald Voice*, August 10, 1994.; Julie Lambert, "Holocaust Museum Presents the Third Annual Lyndon Baines Johnson Moral Courage Award" [new release], November 17, 1997, Archives, Holocaust Museum, Houston.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," p. 31.

<sup>25</sup>See Edward Bernard Glick, *The Triangular Connection: America, Israel, and American Jews* (London: 1982); Feingold, *Politics of Rescue*; Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*, (New York: 1968); and Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," pp. 48-49.

<sup>26</sup>LBJ quoted in Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," p. 49.

<sup>27</sup>Novy, "Dedication Dinner," and "LBJ Recording," Leinsdorf, OH, LBJL.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," pp. 49-50.; *The Jewish Examiner*, November 14, 1941.; Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; "LBJ a Righteous Gentle?," *Texas Jewish Historical Society Newsletter*, p. 5.; Tugend, "LBJ Philo-Semite," *Jerusalem Post*, September 28, 1991.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, pp. 9-10.; *Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997.; *Jewish Herald-Voice*, August 10, 1994. Carol Weisenberger, whose book on the Texas NYA was well received, told Claudia Anderson, archivist at the LBJ Presidential Library in Austin, that most local records of the Texas NYA had been destroyed, thus making it impossible to verify the number of Jews routed through the program. See Claudia Anderson, "Memo of Conversation with Carol Weisenberger," Xerox copy, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston. Rescuers of the Jews may have saved at least 500,000 lives, if not more. See "Christine Gorman. A Conspiracy of Goodness," *Time* (March 16, 1992), p. 65.

<sup>28</sup>"Oral Reference Request." Rabbi Abram V. Goodman, March 31, 1997, staff memo, LBJ Papers, Archives, LBJL.; holocaust Film, LBJ papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," p. 7.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>29</sup>*Austin American Statesman*, March 21, 23, 25, 30, 1941.; "Newspaper clipping," n.d.. Novy Papers, LBJL.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," p. 63.

<sup>30</sup>*Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997.

<sup>31</sup>*Jerusalem Post* [Israel], September 23, 1958.; Austin Jewish Community Council, "Resolution Condemning England's ban on Jewish Immigration to Palestine," Novy Papers, LBJL.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," p. 62.

<sup>32</sup>F. Edward Herbert, OH, Donald C. Cook, OH, Sterling Cole, OH, LBJL.; Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," pp. 64-67.

<sup>33</sup>F. Edward Herbert, *I Went, I Saw, I Heard: being the European Diary of F. Edw. Herbert. Member of Congress from Louisiana* (New Orleans: privately printed, n.d.). June 4, 1945, entry.

<sup>34</sup>Cook, OH, Herbert OH, Cole, OH, C. Anderson, response to oral reference request by David Bell, April 29, 1994, C. Anderson to Lynda [Johnson] Robb, January 18, 1994, LBJ Papers, LBJL. A copy of Anderson's response to Bell and her letter to Robb is in the LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 11.

<sup>35</sup>Lady Bird Johnson, quoted in Gomolak, "Prologue: LBJ," p. 67.; Cook, OH, LBJL.; C. Anderson to L. Robb, January 18, 1994, LBJ Papers, LBJL, copy in LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.

<sup>36</sup>Linda Johnson Robb, quoted in Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 12.; Cook OH, LBJL.

<sup>37</sup>Elizabeth Goldschmidt, OH, LBJL.; Goldschmidt is also quoted in Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 12.

<sup>38</sup>Jack Baumel, quoted in Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup>*Jewish Herald-Voice*, August 10, 1994.

<sup>40</sup>Novy, "Dedication Dinner," Novy Papers, "LBJ Recording," LBJL.

<sup>41</sup>Novy, "Dedication Dinner," Novy Papers, "LBJ Recording," LBJL.; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, (New York: 1970), p. 28.; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 12.

<sup>42</sup>See *Austin American Statesman*, December 31, 1963.; *New York Times*, December 31, 1962.; *Houston Post*, December 31, 1963.; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 28.

<sup>43</sup>Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 28.

<sup>44</sup>*Houston Chronicle*, December 24, 1997; Feldman, "LBJ's Rescue Mission," *Texas*, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup>See, for example, Caro, *Path to Power*, and Dugger, *The Politician*.

<sup>46</sup>Holocaust film. LBJ Papers, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.

<sup>47</sup>Anderson to L. Robb, January 18, 1994, LBJ Papers, LBJL, copy in LBJ Papers, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.

<sup>48</sup>Anderson to L. Robb, January 18, 1994, LBJ Papers, LBJL, copy in LBJ Papers, Holocaust film Archives. Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.

<sup>49</sup>Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.

<sup>50</sup>Holocaust film, LBJ Papers, Archives, Holocaust Center and Memorial Museum, Houston.

<sup>51</sup>*Jewish Herald-Voice*, August 10, 1994.

**“SCHOONER FLASH, CAPTAIN FALWELL...”  
THE SHORT WARTIME LIFE OF A TEXIAN SAILING VESSEL,  
1835-1837**

*By Alan Barber*

“I left New Orleans March 28, 1832, in the schooner *Flash*, Captain Falwell, for the town of Anahuac on the head of Galveston Bay...” So wrote David Kokernot in his reminiscences published in his hometown newspaper nearly a half century later.<sup>1</sup> Kokernot and his family must have taken some other vessel – the *Flash* had not yet been built – but his mistake is understandable. The *Flash* was a common sight in Kokernot’s neighborhood, San Jacinto Bay, from the end of 1835 until her loss fifteen months later. It carried freight from New Orleans, along with its wealthy owners and their families. At one time or another, the ship also carried the Texas president, the vice-president, their families, and the family of the secretary of war. The *Flash* carried Kokernot’s neighbors and their property as they fled San Jacinto before the battle, and before that she carried the “Twin Sisters,” the artillery gift to Texas from the citizens of Cincinnati, on their final seaward journey to the San Jacinto battlefield. She even served as a privateer for a time. The competent and well-liked Irish immigrant Luke Falvel (Kokernot’s spelling is an error) commanded every voyage except her last when a newcomer named Marstella skippered a routine run from New Orleans, one that ran aground at the far end of Galveston Island.

The *Flash* owed its existence to land speculation. Samuel Swartwout, the New York City customs collector, and a dozen or so of his friends formed an Association to invest in Texas land just before the revolution. Swartwout and his partners had acquired the *empresario* rights of Mexican citizen Lorenzo de Zavala, who subsequently joined the investors. They then purchased a number of questionable land grants, gambling that after independence and annexation a new government would firm their titles.<sup>2</sup> They also bought clear titles, such as the leagues of the above mentioned David Kokernot and his mother-in-law.<sup>3</sup> The Association also engaged Anahuac merchant James Morgan as their agent in Texas and he completed their most important acquisition, the 1600 acre homesite of Nicholas Clopper on the right bank of the San Jacinto River, where it broadened to enter Galveston Bay. A neighbor described it as “not only the most prominent but the most beautiful site on the Bay...”<sup>4</sup> Here the investors planned a new town, starting with a port, a store, a hotel, and homesites. They were betting on the town growing into a city and even becoming the capital of the new state – thus the name of their town and their Association: New Washington.

The summer of 1835 found all the members together in New York. Zavala had been Mexican ambassador to Paris, but by 1834 his differences with the president, Jose Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, had fatally deteriorated. The

---

*Alan Barber holds a BS from the University of Washington and an MS from Stanford University, both in electric engineering. Alan is an independent historian and lives in Sandpoint, Idaho.*

Santa Anna government ordered him home but, fearing prison, he instead took his family to New York. There he presumably met with the other New Washington investors before he quickly traveled overland to Texas, leaving his wife and youngest children in New York.<sup>5</sup>

Morgan was also in New York to acquire raw materials for the new town: building supplies, merchandise, workers, and two schooners. The member given the task of acquiring the schooners was almost certainly John P. Austin, for his name appears on both registrations.<sup>6</sup> Austin would have been the logical choice; his family was long involved in maritime commerce and he was a first cousin of Stephen F. Austin. John P. Austin had become a well established trader in New York long before 1835, and the family kept homes in both New Haven and New York, so John P. would have known the Connecticut ship-builders well.<sup>7</sup> The smaller of the two schooners was built in New Haven and presumably purchased new from the builder, for it was named the *Kosciusko*, which was also the name of James Morgan's only son, then thirteen years old.<sup>8</sup> Morgan usually referred to both the vessel and the son as "Kos."<sup>9</sup> At thirty tons, the *Kos* was a small schooner, approximately forty-five feet from stem to stern with a hold that a man would have to crouch to enter.<sup>10</sup> In compensation, her draft would be less than larger vessels, so it could more easily cross the bars and shoals of Galveston Bay. Unlike the *Flash*, the *Kos* maintained a low profile in Texas history and appears to have spent her time doing routine duty in the coastal trade.

The *Flash*, at seventy-seven tons, was much larger than the *Kos*, probably some sixty-five to seventy feet long with a hold about seven feet deep.<sup>10</sup> That hold was twice as long and more than double the width of the largest contemporary moving van.<sup>11</sup> With space on the top deck she could carry prodigious amounts of cargo or even 150 people in an emergency (which later becomes important). The *Flash* also had a comfortable furnished cabin.<sup>12</sup>

The *Flash* would seem large to its neighbors on Galveston Bay, but it was among the very smallest vessels calling at an international port such as New York or New Orleans. When the *Flash* arrived at New Orleans for the first time, 23 January 1836, she would have met, either clearing or arriving, twelve brigs, four ships, one bark, and nine other schooners – nothing smaller.<sup>13</sup> The brigs, ships, and the bark, with only one exception, were departing for or arriving from the Caribbean, eastern U.S. coast, or European ports, and were registered at 200 to 400 tons capacity. The schooners would have ranged from the size of the *Kos*, thirty tons, up to 120 tons. The schooner was primarily an American invention and this single day's traffic through the port of New Orleans illustrates its economic impact. Brigs, ships, and barks were the traditional vessels of the high seas – multiple decks, two, three, or four masts loaded up with square sails hung from horizontal yards, all tended by many seamen scrambling up the masts. Cargo capacity was huge, but their performance in unfavorable winds was poor – not a serious problem for transatlantic voyages where the captain sought favorable trade winds. The North American coastal trade, however, required smaller crews and better performance into the

wind, and owners often sacrificed cargo capacity for speed and efficiency. The triangular, fore-and-aft rigged sails of the schooner gave just such a performance and small crews sufficed since the sails could ably be managed from the deck. American sailors had utilized such ships since the American Revolution.<sup>14</sup> The *Flash* was built in Stonington, Connecticut, just fifty miles from New Haven, and was registered in New York on November 2, 1835, to John P. Austin.<sup>15</sup> She would prove an excellent choice for the variable winds and courses of Galveston Bay and the Gulf coast with their shallow bars and reefs.

The captain of the *Flash* also came from New York, probably through the efforts of John P. Austin as well. Luke Falvel was an Irish immigrant who had been in the United States for about five years and New York for one year before becoming a naturalized citizen just before leaving for Texas.<sup>15</sup> He was in his late twenties and had recently married a teenaged woman, also Irish, from Connecticut. It is a fair guess that Luke had been a seaman while leaving in the East, which is likely how he met both his wife Mary and John P. Austin.<sup>16</sup> It is also likely that this was his first command, given his youth.

The *Flash* and the *Kosciusko* left New York for Texas in early November, 1835, heavily laden with goods and construction materials. Cargo included food (mustard, raisins, tea, coffee), supplies (soap, Epsom salts, medicine), construction materials (nails, linsced oil), merchandise for sale (blankets, shoes), and many boxes simply labeled "Mdsc."<sup>17</sup> The vessels also carried the captain and his new wife, three servants of the Zavala family, and thirteen artisans and laborers for the New Washington venture. Among these was a housekeeper from New Haven, Emily West, who would soon play a role, in legend at least, in the Battle of San Jacinto. Lorenzo de Zavala and his son, Lorenzo Jr., had already traveled to Texas and had purchased a home for the family on a bluff overlooking Buffalo Bayou, the San Jacinto River, and the future site of the battle of that name. In a few days James Morgan also left New York, accompanied by Zavala's wife Emily and their three youngest children. They travelled by stage and riverboat to New Orleans and would join the *Flash* and *Kos* at the Balize, the pilot and customs station 111 miles below New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, for the final leg of the journey to New Washington.<sup>18</sup>

Much had happened in Texas since Morgan's departure the previous April. Stephen F. Austin had returned from a Mexican prison with a new zeal for revolution. The revolt against Santa Anna's government began soon thereafter, quickly followed by Texian victories at Gonzales and San Antonio. But in the Gulf the Texians were not as fortunate; the Mexican war schooner *Montezuma* had seized two merchant schooners and still menaced Texas shipping.<sup>19</sup> Thus when Morgan met his vessels at the Balize he was carrying yet more supplies picked up at New Orleans: muskets, cutlasses, and an eighteen pounder cannon. They joined with two more vessels and traveled unmolested to Galveston Bay, arriving in mid December.<sup>20</sup>

By January, James Morgan busied himself with the business of the Association. Stevedores unloaded the cargo from the *Flash* and the *Kos*; the merchandise began to be sold, and the crews brought from New York began work. Morgan also purchased land for the Association – a league each from his neighbors David Kokernot and his mother-in-law, mentioned previously. The *Flash* then re-loaded with Texas exports for a trip to New Orleans: thirty-five bales of cotton, eleven bales of deer skins, and “Three Jack Asses.” Thirteen passengers bought passage in steerage and another were eleven in the cabin, including the captain’s wife, Mary Falvel. She was carrying three trunks and three hat boxes, which suggests she was abandoning New Washington.<sup>21</sup> That may be the case; the state of construction at New Washington was probably still crude. Morgan, in fact, had not yet brought his family to Texas for perhaps that very reason.<sup>20</sup> She probably went no further than New Orleans, for her name appears in November on the *Flash* passenger list, again going to New Orleans, where the couple had their first child the following year.<sup>22</sup>

The danger of seizure by Mexican warships had not lessened by January 20 when the *Flash* departed, so that eighteen pounder cannon was now mounted on a swivel on the deck,<sup>20</sup> and two kegs of powder and 400 cartridges were in the cabin stores in preparation for battle. Twenty years earlier a typical run to New Orleans from Galveston would have taken five to ten days, most of which was consumed in the final 111 miles up the Mississippi. The tortuous path of the river, including 90 and 180 degree bends at the English Turn just below the city, slowed any vessel that could not beat to windward effectively. Eighteenth century craft often took a week to ten days up the river, waiting at river bends for a shift in the wind. By the 1830s, however, a thriving towing business had developed. Steamboats would pick up a vessel offshore, bring it across the shallow, dangerous bar, lash it side by side with as many as four others, and steam up the river.<sup>23</sup> Large, square-rigged vessels almost always used this service. Weatherly schooners could sail up the river but the *Flash* usually did not; this time she hitched a ride beside the steamer *Grampus* and clocked three days from Galveston to the docks at New Orleans.<sup>13</sup>

The *Flash*’s next recorded visit to New Orleans was six weeks later on 7 March 1836.<sup>24</sup> The trip appears normal, with cotton, deerskins, and buck and ox horns in the hold,<sup>25</sup> but the *Flash* would have no more routine voyages. Two days before leaving Galveston, and the same day Texas declared independence, Luke Falvel had been commissioned as a captain in the new Texas Navy.<sup>26</sup> The provisional government had authorized the creation of a navy as well as issuance of letters of marque and reprisal to privateers. *Flash* and Falvel are widely considered to have been so empowered, though no such letters have been found for her or, indeed, for any of her contemporaries.<sup>27</sup> It was a violation of U. S. law to outfit a vessel in a U. S. port for war against a nation at peace with the United States, but many Texian vessels did just this in New Orleans, although it was a risky venture. Six months later the Texian privateer *Terrible*, which had followed such a course, was seized, forfeited, and sold in New Orleans.<sup>28</sup>



Falvel may have felt compelled to ease out of New Orleans unnoticed, for there is no record of the *Flash* departing that March. She certainly did so and next appeared, in Velasco, on March 25, where she discharged Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar, en route from his home in Georgia and eager to join Sam Houston's army, camped just up the Brazos River at Groce's Plantation.<sup>29</sup> Falvel was at Velasco because he was ordered there as an officer of the navy. When he arrived at Galveston from New Orleans a few days earlier he would have received his first news of the war – the fall of the Alamo, the massive retreat of civilians eastward before the advancing Mexican army, and the Mexican closure of all Texas ports. His boss, James Morgan, was now a colonel in the Texian Army and commander of Galveston, charged with keeping that port open. Morgan had sent the *Flash* to Velasco to evacuate civilians who had fled down the Brazos River.<sup>27</sup> Such was the urgency of the mission that freight and some passengers had not been discharged. Some, in fact, would remain aboard for six weeks as the *Flash* shuttled around the coast and Galveston Bay, picking up refugees and their property. Nevertheless, they ate well. Angelina Peyton later complained, and Falvel confirmed, that the passengers and governments had consumed \$1200 worth of groceries purchased in New Orleans.<sup>30</sup>

Two shiny new cannons were also in the *Flash's* hold alongside Mrs. Peyton's groceries as she sailed out of Velasco. The *Twin Sisters* were a gift of the citizens of Cincinnati, and would soon become icons of Texas history for their performance at the Battle of San Jacinto. For some reason, they had been deposited at Velasco, probably so they could be transported up the Brazos River to Sam Houston's army, but now they were on their way by sea to New Washington. The Schooner *Pennsylvania* is commonly given credit for this,<sup>31</sup> but Luke Falvel claimed he carried them from Velasco to New Washington. Forty-four years later Falvel proudly proclaimed: "The said Schooner Flash (sic) being under [my] command when the Celebrated 'Twin Sisters' were transported on board of her for Service in the memorable Battle of San Jacinto."<sup>26</sup> But on April 6, the day they were left at New Washington, they were just more routine cargo to be itemized and billed to the Republic of Texas. An April 9 invoice charged \$289 freight for the cannons and accessories as well as \$154 for transportation and board for refugees from Velasco.<sup>32</sup> Secretary of the Navy Robert Potter, who had accompanied the *Twin Sisters* from Velasco to New Washington, approved the invoice the next day. From New Washington the *Sisters* were carried to Harrisburg on the sloop *Ohio*,<sup>31</sup> thence overland by wagon to Houston near Groce's Plantation.<sup>34</sup>

The *Flash* apparently stayed at New Washington after the tenth, her orders being to defend that place in the event of attack.<sup>27</sup> Both Morgan and Potter had gone to Galveston,<sup>35</sup> but Morgan's full staff remained behind and in order to secure New Washington. Property was no longer safe anywhere; fleeing civilians abandoned their property, and the retreating army lived off the land. What they could not use they burned in order to deny it to the Mexican army. What the Mexicans did not use they also burned. Illegal "press gangs" confiscated

property in exchange for a slip of paper, supposedly promising payment, but then took it to Louisiana to sell.<sup>36</sup> Morgan was operating a farm, a hotel, and a general merchandise store at New Washington, and so had a huge amount of attractive possessions to protect. Slaves and workmen loaded anything portable onto the *Flash*. The process was slow since everything had to be loaded onto a flatboat and rowed out to the *Flash* – there was yet no wharf – then loaded into her hold.

The Texas government, which had evacuated to Harrisburg ahead of the advancing Mexican army, learned that a sizeable piece of Santa Anna's army had detached and was specifically in pursuit of them. Thus began a scramble even more urgent than the one at New Washington. The two members with homes in the neighborhood, Zavala on April 12 and Burnet on the thirteenth, set out to care for their families.<sup>37</sup> Zavala moved his family by rowboat four miles down the bay to William Scott's home<sup>38</sup> – or David Kokernot's home,<sup>39</sup> depending on the account – abandoning his possessions. Burnet packed his wife and two children and what possessions he could carry on horseback, crossed the river at Lynch's Ferry, and rode to New Washington, a total of thirteen miles. That evening, the 14<sup>th</sup>, he dashed a note off to James Morgan at Galveston requesting that he detain the *Flash* at New Washington so he could evacuate his family if necessary.<sup>40</sup> The following morning President Burnet attempted to rejoin the government at Harrisburg only to find the town deserted, cabinet and citizens gathering what possessions they could and crowding onto the steamer *Cayuga*<sup>41</sup> and the schooner *William*.<sup>42</sup> Zavala's spunky wife Emily attempted to row home to fetch some personal belongings the same day but was turned back by Nathaniel Lynch, who fled to Scott's home with her.<sup>38</sup> *Cayuga* steamed past Lynch's with a full load the night of the 15<sup>th</sup>, just as Santa Anna roared into the deserted Harrisburg.

By now, of course, Burnet realized that the Texas Revolution was about to reach its climax right in his neighborhood. President Burnet and his family barely escaped death at New Washington the next day, as they were furiously loading property onto boats for the *Flash* when Mexican dragoons rode up.<sup>43</sup> They left much behind: Morgan's property; Burnet's property; slaves and workmen, including Morgan's housekeeper Emily West, whom some called Emily Morgan as though she were his slave. Santa Anna arrived at New Washington the next day with his full force and enjoyed the facilities for two more days before burning everything that could not be carried. On the 20<sup>th</sup> Santa Anna took his army, Emily West, and his plunder nine miles up the river to their fate at San Jacinto. Emily entered Texas legend as "The Yellow Rose of Texas."<sup>44</sup> The *Cayuga*, the *Flash*, and every other vessel available had swept the river of citizens and property so thoroughly that there was no vessel larger than a rowboat to carry the news of the San Jacinto victory to the government at Galveston.<sup>45</sup> The *Cayuga* had picked up the Zavalas and the Kokernots and carried almost the whole Texas cabinet, except for Burnet. The *Flash*, despite leaving people behind at New Washington, carried 150 passengers into Galveston, including some fifty slaves owned by Monroe Edwards.<sup>46</sup>

The *Flash* remained in Galveston until May 6, when she left for New Orleans with sixteen passengers.<sup>47</sup> Cargo consisted of thirty-one bales of cotton, a normal Texas export, and a far greater volume of assorted merchandise, essential import goods bound for Texas.<sup>48</sup> The merchandise was equally divided between James Morgan's stock from New Washington and McKinney and Williams's stock, presumably from their store in Quintana, near Velasco.<sup>48</sup> Both merchants were removing goods that would have been destroyed in fires set by either army – trunks and boxes of books, for example. But both were also removing goods that would have been quickly impressed, legitimately by the army or illegitimately by press gangs: guns, saddles, and medicines.

The *Flash* made more runs between New Orleans and Galveston in support of the war. Typical was her return to New Orleans on June 22 with 119 bales of cotton,<sup>49</sup> and departure for Galveston on July 3, carrying ninety-three volunteer soldiers for the army.<sup>50</sup> At no time does it appear she used her eighteen pounder mounted on deck, nor did she act as a privateer to intercept foreign shipments to the Mexican Army.

The government twice tried to buy the *Flash*. Secretary of State Samuel Carson offered \$8500 in April, 1836,<sup>51</sup> and then President Burnet did the same seven weeks later.<sup>52</sup> Apparently Morgan accepted the second offer, because one week later Burnet had to withdraw the offer when his cabinet balked.<sup>53</sup> Then, on October 11, Morgan sent his friend George M. Patrick to Columbia to see newly elected Texas vice-president Mirabeau Lamar with another offer to sell, again for \$8500.<sup>54</sup> Lamar's response is lost, but the sale was never consummated.

By the following spring life was returning to normal in Texas. Those who had fled in the "Runaway Scrape" had mostly returned. A New Orleans newspaper wrote of Texas: "The country was very tranquil. The farmers had returned to their plantations and the crops, particularly of corn, would be abundant."<sup>55</sup> James Morgan had returned to the burned out New Washington and began to rebuild as well as plant corn and orange groves. The *Flash* had been working steadily from New Orleans to either Texas or Florida, earning him \$1000-\$2000 each trip.<sup>56</sup> The New Washington Association investors in New York had sent to Texas a man named Stone, either a new partner or an agent, to assess the situation after the war and his reports were very positive: "...in 5 years yours will be the second place only to any in Texas – Go ahead!" wrote Samuel Swartwout to Morgan after reading Stone's first report, from New Orleans.<sup>57</sup>

Only the Zavalas were doing poorly. Lorenzo Sr. had died of malaria and pneumonia the previous November after a spill into Buffalo Bayou. His widow kept the family home and cemetery, but sent the youngest children back to New York.<sup>58</sup> On March 17, the *Flash*, carrying the Zavalas and commanded by Luke Falvel, left Galveston for the three day run to New Orleans, where she loaded routine commercial cargo for Galveston.<sup>59</sup> Mexico still maintained the wartime blockade of all Texas ports and published reminders of that in New Orleans newspapers. The Mexican Navy had increased its attempts to stop most traffic along the Texas coast.<sup>60</sup> The Mexicans seized any vessel that carried military cargo; others were released.<sup>61</sup>

For an unknown reason Stone, the New Washington Association agent, replaced Luke Falvel with a man named Marstella as captain. The *Flash* left New Orleans on April 3 for Galveston Bay.<sup>62</sup> News next reached New Orleans three weeks later via *Bee*, which reported that the *Flash* had grounded at the west end of Galveston Island, "...doubtlessly chased by a Mexican vessel of war."<sup>63</sup> The *Flash* had indeed been boarded by the Mexican Navy but was released after the seizure of nothing more than the military paperwork of at least one discharged Texas Army officer.<sup>64</sup> After that, on April 13, the *Flash* wrecked with no loss of life. The vessel, however, and cargo were a total loss.

Morgan was furious. He blamed Stone and Marstella. "...in pops Stone... – Drove a well trained Capt. out of the Flash – ----put a drunken vagabond in..." he wrote to Swartwout in New York.<sup>65</sup> No contemporary report discusses the reason for the loss of the *Flash*, but later writers seem to agree that Marstella was simply disoriented and confused San Luis Pass for the entrance to Galveston harbor.<sup>65</sup>

Morgan estimated his losses at \$12,000 before insurance. Apparently, only one shipper sued Morgan. John W. Moore asked for \$250 in the District Court in Houston for his loss of flour, sugar, coffee, and powder.<sup>66</sup> Morgan's astonishing defense was that he was not the owner of the *Flash*.<sup>67</sup> He sent to New York for a certified copy of her registration, which would show John P. Austin as owner.<sup>68</sup> The court minutes show the case repeatedly continued through December of 1840 when it disappears from the records.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps the mysterious Stone paid from his own pocket as Morgan argued he should.<sup>67</sup>

After the loss of the *Flash* Luke and Mary Falvel lived, raised their children, and died in Galveston. At various times Luke served coastwise shipping in his brig *Rover*,<sup>70</sup> was a bar pilot, and a light ship tender. He and Mary raised eight children, the boys named Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Luke Sr. died July 10, 1872, and was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Galveston.<sup>16</sup>

James Morgan successfully resurrected his 1600 acre plantation at New Washington, renaming it Orange Grove. His hospitality became legendary in the years following the revolution,<sup>4</sup> but his later years were plagued by the deaths of his wife and daughter and by progressive blindness that became complete by about 1850. He died at Orange Grove on March 1, 1866, and was buried there.<sup>71</sup>

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>David L. Kokernot, "The Battle of Anahuac," *The Gonzales [TX] Weekly Inquirer*, 4 May 1878.

<sup>2</sup>Feris A. Bass, Jr. and B.R. Brunson, eds., *Fragile Empires, The Texas Correspondence of Samuel Swartwout and James Morgan 1836-1856* (Austin: Shoal Creek, 1978), xx-xxii.

<sup>3</sup>Harris County Deeds, Vol A, p. 208, Houston, Texas.

<sup>4</sup>C.C. Cox, "Reminiscences," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 6 no. 2 (October 1902): pp. 113-138.

<sup>5</sup>Margaret Swett Henson, *Lorenzo de Zavala, The Pragmatic Idealist*, (Fort Worth: TCU Press, 1996), pp. 72-77.

"Report and Manifest," Schooner *Flash*, 10 May 1836, and Schooner *Kosciusko*, 16 June 1837, *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, LA, 1820-1902*, micropublication M259 (Washington: National Archives), roll 13 (hereafter *New Orleans Passenger Lists*). Both were registered in New York, but those records are lost. New Orleans customs records show, if the vessel clears customs and the inspector is diligent, the registered owner, the master, a description of the vessel and cargo, and a list of passengers.

<sup>7</sup>William Ransom Hogan, "Henry Austin", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 37, no. 3 (January 1934): pp. 185-215; *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "John Austin," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/AA/fau9.html> (accessed 24 June 2007). The John P. Austin who was a member of the New Washington Association never visited Texas and may easily be confused with the John Austin who lived in the Galveston Bay area and was actively involved in the beginnings of the Revolution or with his father John Punderson Austin, who visited Texas after the death of his son in 1833. The Austins were distant cousins, if they were related at all, to Stephen F. Austin.

<sup>8</sup>James Morgan household, 1860 U.S. census, Harris County, Texas, precinct 7, page 27, line 27, National Archives micropublication M653, roll 1296. Kos Morgan's family is living with the widowed James Morgan at Morgan point in 1860. His age is given as thirty-eight.

<sup>9</sup>Morgan to Swartwout, 10 June 1847, Morgan Papers 31-0738, from Bass and Brunson, p. 327; Morgan to A. Briscoe, 30 Sep 1836, in *Papers of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836*, ed. John H. Jenkins (Austin: Presidential Press, 1973) (hereafter *PTR*), 4268, vol. 9, p. 31.

<sup>10</sup>The arrival records cited in note 6 give the tonnage of the *Kosciusko* as 30 44/95 and of the *Flash* as 77 13/95. Port fees and registration taxes were derived from this tonnage number, calculated as the volume of the hold, in cubic feet, divided by ninety-five. The volume of the hold was approximated by a strict formula which, for a single deck vessel, was the vessel length (adjusted downward by three fifths of the beam) multiplied by the beam multiplied by the measured internal height of the hold. All these dimensions would be noted in the vessel's registration documents, which are not available for New York for these years. The suggested dimensions given here come from inspection of the documents for similar tonnage schooners registered in New Orleans.

<sup>11</sup>*U-Haul Equipment Guide*, <http://www.uhaul.com/guide/index.aspx?equipment=truck-26>, (accessed 25 June 2007).

<sup>12</sup>Morgan to Mirabeau Lamar, 11 Oct 1836, document 461, Lamar Papers, Texas State Archives, Austin; William P. Harris to Hanks, 19 Jan 1836, *PTR*, vol. 4, p. 72.

<sup>13</sup>"Marine News," *New Orleans Daily Bee*, 25 Jan 1836, p.2, col. 6. This daily feature summarized the arrivals and departures of the previous day or, in this case, the previous Saturday.

<sup>14</sup>Howard I. Chappelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (1935; reprint, New York: Bonanza Books, 1982) pp. 219-248.

<sup>15</sup>Luke A. Falvel, Vol. 17, Record 128, 9 Oct 1835, Marine Court, New York City.

<sup>16</sup>Luke's death record ("Records of Interments of City of Galveston 1859-1872," microfilm no. 982360, 10 Jul 1872, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah) and Luke's and Mary's census records imply birth years for Luke from 1805 to 1810 and for Mary from 1815 to 1820. (U.S. census, Galveston County, Texas, National Archives micropublication: 1850: M432, roll 910, p. 276; 1860: M653, roll 1294 p. 461; 1870: M593, roll 1586, p. 182; 1880: T9, roll 1305, ED 64, p. 27).

<sup>17</sup>No cargo manifests exist for imports into Texas for these years. These are all items evacuated in the *Flash* from New Washington to New Orleans just a few months later as Santa Anna's army approached. See the first citation of note 6.

<sup>18</sup>Morgan to Convention, New Washington, 1 Mar 1836, *PTR* 2215, vol. 4, p. 481; Henson, *Zuvalo*, p. 96; Cox, "Reminiscences;" Margaret Swett Henson, *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "West, Emily D." <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/WW/fwe41.html> (accessed 27 June 2007).

<sup>19</sup>William R. Wells II, "Every Protection That Was Asked For..." *Louisiana History* vol. 39, no. 4 (Fall 1998): p. 458.

<sup>20</sup>A.M. Clopper to Nicholas Clopper, 2 Jan 1836, *PTR* 1689, vol. 3, p. 403.

<sup>21</sup>*New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash*, 23 Jan 1836.

<sup>22</sup>*New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash*, 17 Nov 1836; U.S. Federal Census, 1850, Galveston County, Texas, National Archives micropublication M432, roll 910, p. 276.

<sup>23</sup>Jerome J. Salomonc, "Mississippi River Bar-Pilotage: The Development of an Occupation", *Louisiana Studies* vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1967): p. 42 ff.

<sup>24</sup>"Marine News." *Bee*, 7 Mar 1836, p. 2, col. 6.

<sup>25</sup>*New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash*, 7 Mar 1836.

<sup>26</sup>Luke A. Falvel, Pension claim, Texas Comptroller's Office, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission (hereafter ARIS-TSLAC). Available online at <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/repclaims/214/21400509.pdf>

<sup>27</sup>Alexander Dienst, "The Navy of the Republic of Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 12, no. 3 (January 1909): p. 193.

<sup>28</sup>*United States vs. Schooner Terrible*, United States District Court, Eastern District of Louisiana, Admiralty Case No 3835, RG 21, National Archives, Fort Worth.

<sup>29</sup>A.K. Christian, "Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 23, no. 3 (January 1920): pp. 153-171.

<sup>30</sup>Angelina B. Eberly, Unpaid Claims, ARIS-TSLAC, <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/repclaims/250/25000503.pdf> and <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/repclaims/250/25000507.pdf>

<sup>31</sup>E.W. Winkler, "The Twin Sisters Cannon, 1836-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 21, no. 1 (July 1917): pp. 61-68; Jeffrey William Hunt, *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Twin Sisters," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/TT/qvt1.html> (accessed 2 July 2007); Stephen L. Moore, *Eighteen Minutes*, (Dallas: Republic of Texas Press, 2004), p. 153.

<sup>32</sup>James Morgan, Audited Claim, ARIS-TSLAC, <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/repclaims/75/07500022.pdf>

<sup>33</sup>Aaron Burns, Pension Claim, ARIS-TSLAC, <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/repclaims/206/20600446.pdf>.

<sup>34</sup>W.B. Dewees, Pension Claim, ARIS-TSLAC, <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/repclaims/212/21200370.pdf>

<sup>35</sup>William Fairfax Gray, *The Diary of William Fairfax Gray From Virginia to Texas, 1835-1837*, Paul Lack, ed., pp. 147, 152.

<sup>36</sup>Paul D. Lack, *The Texas Revolutionary Experience*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1992), p. 232.

<sup>37</sup>Gray, *Diary of William Fairfax Gray From Virginia to Texas, 1835-1837*, p. 153.

<sup>38</sup>Henson, *Zavala*, p. 156.

<sup>39</sup>David L. Kokemot, "Early Reminiscences In Texas", *The Gonzales [TX] Weekly Inquirer*, 2 Nov 1878.

<sup>40</sup>Burnet to Morgan, New Washington, 14 Apr 1836, *PTR* 2754, vol. 5, p. 467.

<sup>41</sup>Gray, *Diary of William Fairfax Gray From Virginia to Texas, 1835-1837*, p. 154.

<sup>42</sup>John W. Moore, Audited Claim, ARIS-TSLAC, <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/repclaims/74/07400026.pdf>

<sup>43</sup>Dilue Harris, "The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris II," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 4, no. 3.

<sup>41</sup>Margaret Swett Henson, *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "West, Emily D." <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/WW/fwe41.html> (accessed 27 June 2007).

<sup>42</sup>Moore, *Eighteen Minutes*. p. 400.

<sup>43</sup>Ben C. Stuart, "Galveston Island and the Revolution," Ben C. Stuart Papers 29-0201, Rosenberg Library, Galveston.

<sup>44</sup>"Marine News," *Bee*, 11 May 1836, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>45</sup>Curtis Bishop, *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "McKinney, Williams and Company" <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/MM/dfm1.html> (accessed 6 July 2007).

<sup>46</sup>*New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash*, 22 Jun 1836.

<sup>47</sup>"Marine News," *Bee*, 4 Jul 1836, p. 2, col. 1.

<sup>48</sup>Carson to Morgan, 1 Apr 1836, *PTR* 2519, vol. 5, 281.

<sup>49</sup>Burnet to Morgan, 22 May 1836, *PTR* 3129.

<sup>50</sup>Burnet to Morgan, 29 May 1836, Morgan Papers 31-1057, Rosenberg Library, Galveston.

<sup>51</sup>Morgan to Lamar, 11 Oct 1836, Lamar Papers 461, Texas State Library and Archives Commission; Patrick to Lamar, 18 Oct 1836, Lamar Papers 464.

<sup>52</sup>"Latest From Texas," *Bee*, 7 Apr 1837, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>53</sup>Morgan to Swartwout, 3 May 1837, Morgan Papers 31-0394; "Marine News," *Bee*, 6 Jan 1837, p. 2, col. 6.

<sup>54</sup>Swartwout to Morgan, 8 Apr 1837, Morgan Papers 31-0390.

<sup>55</sup>Henson, *Zavala*. p. 116.

<sup>56</sup>"Marine News," *Bee*, 20 Mar 1837, p. 2, col. 6; *New Orleans Passenger Lists, Flash*, 20 Mar 1837.

<sup>57</sup>"From Mexico," *Bee*, 5 Apr 1837, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>58</sup>"Latest From Texas," *Bee*, 24 Apr 1837, p. 2, col. 4.

<sup>59</sup>"Marine News," *Bee*, 4 Apr 1837, p. 2, col. 6.

<sup>60</sup>"Capture and Recapture," *Bee*, 24 Apr 1837, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>61</sup>S. Rhodes Fisher to Algernon S. Thruston, 15 Apr 1837, Item 56, File Folder 9, Box 9, Texas Navy Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston; James W. Henderson to Horatio Grooms, Houston, 21 May 1846, Public Debt papers, ARIS-TSLAC, <http://tslarc.tsl.state.tx.us/rep-claims/158/15800017.pdf> and following.

<sup>62</sup>Dienst, "The Navy," p. 195.

<sup>63</sup>John W. Moore vs. James Morgan," 27 Nov 1838 (31-0491), Sep 1837 (31-0492), 26 Oct 1839 (31-0516), Morgan Papers. These are summonses and petitions received by Morgan.

<sup>64</sup>James Treat to Morgan, New York, 6 Jan 1839, Morgan Papers 31-0916.

<sup>65</sup>Augustus W. Ratcliff to Morgan, New York, 7 Apr 1840, in Barbara Atkins Hollon, "The Correspondence of Augustus W. Radcliff 1838-1848," (masters thesis, Southwest Texas State University, 1971). Available at Rosenberg Library, Galveston.

<sup>66</sup>*John W. Moore vs. James Morgan*. Minutes, 11th District Court, Harrisburg (later Harris) County, Texas; Book A, pages 8, 16, 44; Book B, pages 3, 82, 280, 516; from FHL microfilm 1009265.

<sup>67</sup>"Brightman Genealogical History." <http://www.angelfire.com/ok/FamilyWebPage/BrightmanGenealogicalHistory.htm>, (accessed 18 Jul 2007).

<sup>68</sup>B.R. Brunson and Andrew Forest Muir, *Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Morgan, James" <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/MM/fmo50.html> (accessed July 14, 2007).

**WHEAT FARMERS IN THE SECESSION CRISIS:  
THE IMPRINT OF THE UPPER SOUTH ON NORTHEAST  
TEXAS POLITICS**

*By John R. Lundberg*

At the behest of Governor Sam Houston, on January 28, 1861 the Texas Legislature gathered in Austin only to legitimize, to the governor's dismay, a pending convention to consider secession from the Union. Some in the legislature, such as Representatives James Throckmorton of Collin County and James H. Taylor of Fannin County, voiced their disapproval of the convention, but to no avail. On the floor of the House Taylor rhetorically asked, "In this new Cotton Confederacy, what will become of my section, the wheat growers and stock raisers?"

Taylor's outburst in the House of Representatives gave voice to very real fears felt by many in Texas, but primarily North Texans, as to what their fate would be under the new government. The voters of the State of Texas faced an extremely visceral political question in 1861 – whether or not to secede from the Union and join the nascent Confederacy. The question particularly divided those settlers in the northernmost part of the state, and pitted them politically against the rest of the state. Why did these northern counties vote against secession while the rest of the state, with the exception of some central Texas counties, favor secession?

Historians have pointed to several possible answers, most prominently the position of these Texans on an exposed frontier and their anger directed at Sam Houston (who opposed secession) for his failure to protect them from Indian raids, coupled with the fear of a loss of Federal protection against the same raids. The "frontier" thesis is so prominent, that one of the leading studies on secession in Texas states "a pragmatic view of its unique local conditions seems to have been almost entirely the dominant force behind the frontier's decision to support or oppose secession."

Pragmatism regarding location certainly played a part in the voting on the secession issue, but the emphasis has been largely misplaced. Rather, the emphasis should lie in a much more idealistic and economic context, that of the Upper South versus the Lower South. Most of the settlers in the northern Texas counties hailed from the Upper South; the slaveholding states north of the cotton belts of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina. As such, they shared a different political ideology and economic system than did most of the rest of Texas, many of whom came from the Lower South.

Upper Southerners were far less dependent on slave labor to raise and harvest their crops, which consisted primarily of wheat, rye, corn and oats, compared to cotton which dominated most of the remainder of the Texas economy. Such activity made for a clear distinction between the different farmers, who



held fewer slaves and depended on different markets for their crops than the heavily slave and cotton-dependent regions of central and east Texas.<sup>3</sup>

Politically, many of the settlers in Northeast Texas, and especially their leaders, shared a common Whig ideology derived from their political background in the Upper South. In the Upper South, a healthy two-party rivalry between the Whigs and Democrats remained vibrant far beyond the point when Democrats became the dominant party in the Deep South. As such, many of these North Texans looked with suspicion and distrust on the cotton interests of the Lower South, and chose instead to follow men like Sam Houston and James Throckmorton, who began to oppose the more strident secessionist interests in Texas' Democratic Party in the 1850s.<sup>4</sup>

Despite their roots of Whig ideology, North Texas voters behaved largely like the rest of the state in elections leading up to secession, but when the visceral question of secession arose, they followed their leaders, including politicians and editors, in voting against disunion.<sup>5</sup>

In the populations of Cooke, Collin, Denton, Fannin, Grayson, Montague and Wise Counties anywhere from fifty to seventy percent of the residents hailed from states in the Upper South. Not coincidentally, the counties also registered the highest percentage of the vote against secession of any counties in Texas.<sup>6</sup>

Table 1: The Population of Northeast Texas<sup>7</sup>

Counties	Number of Voters	Percentage of Voters Hailing from the Upper South	Number of Voters Hailing from the North or Europe	Percentage of Voters Hailing from the Lower South	Number of Slaveholders and Percentage of the Total Population	Number of Slaves and Average Holding Per Slaveholder
Cooke	879	65%	18%	17%	74 (8%)	369 (5)
Collin	2,140	70%	19%	11%	240 (11%)	251 (1)
Denton	1,266	68%	18%	14%	87 (7%)	251 (3)
Fannin	1,928	69%	14%	17%	308 (16%)	1,721 (6)
Grayson	1,449	69%	15%	16%	236 (16%)	1,292 (5)
Montague	208	50%	36%	14%	13 (9%)	35 (3)
Wise	747	54%	31%	15%	53 (7%)	128 (2)
State Totals	101,219	32%	39%	28%	21,878 (21%)	182,566 (8)

With 63.5% of the voters in Northeast Texas hailing from the Upper South, one might assume that non-slaveholding Upper Southerners would dominate the politics and political offices of the counties, but such was not the case. As with the rest of the South, economic power translated into political power, and the economic and political power rested in the hands of the slaveholders, most of who came from the Lower South. For instance, in Cooke County in 1861, the Chief Justice, sheriff and three out of four county commissioners owned slaves. These slaveholders enhanced their power through fraternal orders such as Masonic lodges and the Odd Fellows, both of which turned community activism into influence by building schools and other public buildings.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the slaveholders' grip on the political machinery of these counties, Upper Southern practices of agriculture still dominated the region. All of the counties in the study produced in 1860 less than ten bales of cotton per one hundred inhabitants with the exception of Fannin County, which produced between ten and twenty-four bales. However, this still contrasts sharply with counties that contained primarily Lower Southerners, who averaged thirty-seven bales of cotton per one hundred inhabitants throughout the rest of the state. At the same time, Northeast Texas led the state in wheat production. With the exception of Montague (less than one) and Fannin Counties (one to two) the rest of the counties in the study produced at least three to six bushels of wheat per capita in 1860. Collin and Grayson County led the way with thirteen to nineteen bushels and Cooke County lagged not far behind with seven to twelve. In three sample counties twenty-seven percent of wheat farmers were born in Tennessee, followed by Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri and Arkansas. Clearly, Northeast Texas followed the practice of planting wheat and other subsistence crops as opposed to cotton, further identifying themselves as an enclave of the Upper South.<sup>9</sup>

In November, 1860 the election of Abraham Lincoln sent shock waves through the South. Within such an atmosphere, many who had threatened secession if a Republican should be elected president began to take action. The course of the secession movement in the Upper South took part in three distinct, chronological waves, and Northeast Texas proved no exception. The first wave involved secessionists taking the lead and essentially "stealing a march" on their less-organized Unionist opponents. The second wave occurred when voting actually took place on secession, by which time Unionists had time to organize an effective resistance. Finally, the third wave that engulfed the Upper South took place after the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers, which pushed even the most ardent Unionists into the arms of the Confederacy.<sup>10</sup>

On 23 November 1860, secessionists called a public meeting at Whitesboro in western Grayson County to consider the current state of affairs. John R. Diamond, brother of James Diamond, chaired the meeting while Louis Hunter served as secretary. At the outset, James Diamond, who had returned from Baltimore, explained the purpose of the meeting and the participants nominated a committee of fifteen to draw up resolutions. The committee presented a resolution stating that the election of a "Black Republican candidate for President and an emphatic endorsement of a platform of principles in violent opposition to Southern interests and Southern institutions, afforded abundant proof that the several states of the Union cannot long live together in peace...."<sup>11</sup>

The gathering then debated the resolutions, with James and John Diamond in support and others such as A.H. Lattimer against. In the end, the meeting adopted the resolution with just four dissenting votes.<sup>12</sup>

On December 13 James W. Throckmorton, the outspoken Unionist and Collin County attorney, had the opportunity to address a gathering at Plano on

the question of secession. The leadership of the meeting, including the Reverend T.J. Malone, favored secession and intended to draw up resolutions to forward to the legislature expressing their support for secession. Despite this, the leadership still asked Throckmorton to speak, and Throckmorton suggested that the Southern states should hold a general convention to formulate a cooperative plan of action, forcing the federal government to address the South's grievances within the Constitution. The gathering voted on whether or not to include Throckmorton's ideas in their resolutions, and overwhelmingly rejected the idea. By the time Throckmorton had finished speaking, a committee had drawn up the resolutions, which stated that Texas must secede. At the meeting, Throckmorton cast the only vote against these resolutions.<sup>13</sup>

Throckmorton forms the perfect paradigm for studying the Whig ideology that motivated many Northeast Texas leaders to oppose secession. Throckmorton felt that the only way to protect the Texas frontier lay with Federal protection inside the Union. Despite his concerns about the frontier, Throckmorton's primary concern lay with the nationalist ideology of the Whig Party in enhancing the interests of their citizens through internal improvements and protecting the interests of the small wheat farmers of Northeast Texas against the interests of the large cotton planters. In the environment of the secession crisis, Throckmorton's views can be viewed as a microcosm of Northeast Texas views as a whole. While concerned about frontier security, Northeast Texans worried most about their place in the economic hierarchy of a cotton Confederacy and their nationalist Whig leanings both stemming from their origins in the Upper South.<sup>14</sup>

Cooke County held a town meeting at the county seat of Gainesville a few weeks later on 15 December 1860, in which James Diamond again served on the steering committee.<sup>15</sup> James G. Bourland, a wealthy planter from South Carolina, chaired the meeting. Bourland, a fifty-nine year-old veteran of the Mexican War, had by 1860 established a plantation with twenty-one slaves on the Delaware Bend of the Red River in far northeast Cooke County and as such became a community leader. Bourland and Diamond supported secession at this meeting while their opposition came from an unusual quarter. William C. Young, a planter from Tennessee and the largest slaveholder in Cooke County vociferously opposed secession while John E. Wheeler, a former Tennessee legislator and also a large slaveholder, backed Young. When Bourland and his allies introduced a resolution favoring secession, Young, Wheeler and their supporters angrily expressed their opposition.<sup>16</sup>

The town meeting reveals an interesting trend in how those from the Upper South and the Lower South viewed the conflict. James Bourland and William C. Young had much in common; both owned large plantations and many slaves (seventy-four between them) and their properties both abutted the Red River in northeastern Cooke County. Yet Bourland, from South Carolina, favored secession while Young, from Tennessee, opposed secession. Next to whether an individual hailed from the Upper or Lower South, slaveholding very often went the farthest toward determining how an individual felt about

secession, and yet even this consideration did not dissuade Young and Wheeler from their loyalty to the Union. Furthermore, Indian raids and depredations appear to not even enter the discussion in these meetings, with both Young and Bourland having the most to lose, given the location of their plantations. Exchanges such as this seem to indicate that whether someone hailed from the Lower South (Bourland and Diamond) or the Upper South (Young and Wheeler) greatly influenced their stance on secession.

Five days after the tumultuous meeting at Gainesville, representatives of South Carolina met in convention and voted to secede from the Union. Despite pressure from state newspaper editors, Governor Houston refused to give into the secessionist impulse. Directly following the election of Lincoln, Texas state leaders began debating the best method for separating Texas from the Union. Shortly after the election, Attorney General George Flournoy, John S. Ford, George R. Baylor, and others met at Flournoy's office to discuss tactics. They needed the legislature to call for a special convention on secession, but constitutionally only the governor could call a special session of the legislature. Governor Houston certainly had no intention of calling on the legislature, hoping that secessionist sentiment would cool as the year drew to a close.<sup>17</sup>

In the face of such a conundrum, Judge Oran M. Roberts, John Ford, and other members of the legislature decided to issue a call for a convention independent of the legislature. The secession leaders printed notices in all the major state newspapers on December 3, calling for the election of delegates to a secession convention set to meet in Austin on 28 January 1861. They set the elections of delegates for January 8 and for each house district, the secessionists instructed the voters to elect two representatives to the secession convention. Despite the questionable legality of such measures the secessionists had gained the upper hand over Houston and his supporters.<sup>18</sup>

Northeast Texas elected eight representatives to the Texas Secession Convention. Two representatives came from Collin County, Judge Samuel Bogart and attorney James Throckmorton. Born in Tennessee in 1825, Throckmorton grew up in Sparta, where his father had established a medical practice. In 1841 James Throckmorton first visited Texas and purchased land near the East Fork of the Trinity River in Collin County northwest of what is now Melissa. After service in the Mexican War, he returned to his family in Collin County where he established a medical practice before turning to the study of the law. Beginning in 1851 he represented Collin County in the state legislature. With his background as a Whig, Throckmorton opposed secession. After the election of Lincoln, he wrote to his business partners "Certainly the people of the North have a constitutional right to elect Mr. Lincoln in a constitutional manner just as much as we had to elect Mr. Breckinridge, but according to the doctrine of some of our friends if we elect Mr. B we will fight to sustain the constitution and if Mr. Lincoln should be elected we will fight to violate the constitution. This seems to me utterly wrong and in addition great injustice to our millions of friends who have battled so nobly and so generously for us and our constitutional rights at the North." As a former Whig

and community leader, Throckmorton stood second only to Sam Houston as a prominent Unionist in the state, and as such won election to the convention.<sup>19</sup>

Despite Throckmorton's election, the other seven delegates mainly represented the interests of the Lower South. The other exception to this rule proved Judge Samuel Bogart, an outspoken Unionist. At sixty-five years old, Bogart, the other representative from Collin County, hailed from Tennessee and listed his residence at Montgomery in Collin County. On 5 January 1861 he wrote his children, "I am opposed to leaving the Union till an effort to have our rights respected is made in the Union. If this fails I hope the Southern states go out in mass. I hope the \_\_\_ government will not attempt to coerce a single state for that would involve the nation in civil war which is more to be dreaded than pestilence and famine." Before the Secession Convention, Bogart fell ill and was unable to travel to Austin.<sup>20</sup>

Even as these representatives prepared to travel to Austin, under extreme duress Governor Houston consented to call the legislature into special session for January 21. To the governor's dismay, the legislature quickly legitimized the secession convention and then hastily adjourned because many of the legislators also held seats in the pending convention.

On Monday, January 28 the Texas Secession Convention came to order. The delegates elected Judge Oran M. Roberts president of the convention, and decided to reserve many of the more important decisions for the next day. The next day the convention voted to consider secession.<sup>21</sup> On January 30, the Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations Thomas J. Chambers read aloud the Ordinance of Secession adopted by his committee. The next afternoon the convention decided to hold a vote on the Ordinance the following day, 1 February 1861.

The following day the Secession Convention convened amid much fanfare and anticipation from the citizens in the gallery and Governor Houston, who sat with his arms folded, watching the proceedings. President Roberts read aloud the Ordinance and then began down the alphabetical roster of delegates. As Roberts called on each member of the Convention, they stood and registered their vote. By the time James Throckmorton rose to vote, 159 of the 174 delegates had already cast their ballots and the count stood at 155-4 in favor of the ordinance. Despite this vote, Throckmorton, when called upon, rose, glanced around at his fellow delegates, surveyed the noisy galleries and said: "Mr. President, in view of the responsibility, in the presence of God and my country – and unawed by the wild spirit of revolution I see around me, I vote 'no.'" As Throckmorton took his seat the galleries of the Texas House of Representatives erupted in jeers. After the restoration of order, Throckmorton once again stood and said: "Mr. President, when the rabble hiss, well may patriots tremble."<sup>22</sup> The final tally stood 166 for secession, 8 against. Even Northeast Texas delegates voted 6-1 in favor of secession.

According to Section II a vote on the Ordinance of Secession was to be held on 23 February 1861. If the Ordinance passed, Texas would revert to its

independent status on 2 March 1861, exactly twenty-five years to the day after declaring independence from Mexico. Governor Houston promised to abide by the legitimate will of the people expressed at the ballot box on February 23. Meanwhile, Houston and other Unionists such as Throckmorton launched a campaign to defeat the Ordinance and keep Texas in the Union. Throckmorton and other Unionists gave addresses at Bauss Hall in Austin on February 9, before the Collin County attorney returned home and continued his efforts. During this campaign local citizens in North Texas also launched campaigns against secession. In Collin County, ninety-four-year-old Collin McKinney, the namesake of the county and county seat, a signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence and one of the state leaders of the Disciples of Christ, lectured his neighbors on the evils of secession. The *McKinney Messenger* and the *Sherman Patriot* courageously echoed McKinney's sentiments.<sup>23</sup>

On 23 February 1861 the day of reckoning came. Overall, Texans turned out to support the Ordinance of Secession 46,188 to 15,149. Statewide, with only 56.9% of the eligible male voters participating, the referendum on secession represented the lowest statewide turnout for any of the elections in this study. Still, the people of Texas had voted seventy-five percent to twenty-five percent to sever ties with the Union.<sup>24</sup> Evidence of fraud occurred in some places as both Unionists and Secessionists vied to control the vote, but none of the actions truly affected the election.<sup>25</sup> Unlike the 1860 presidential election, which yielded similar results between Breckinridge and Bell, Unionism in 1861 was concentrated in two distinct areas. Nineteen out of the 122 Texas counties that reported returns voted against secession. Ten of these counties were in the central Texas area, Austin (Travis County) and the counties immediately surrounding it. One county, Angelina, lay in east Texas, but eight of the counties that voted against secession were located in Northeast Texas.<sup>26</sup>

In Wise County Unionists took the day by an extremely narrow margin, seventy-eight to seventy-six, with approximately twenty-one percent of the voters turning out, the lowest percentage of any election for the county in this study. This low turnout probably resulted from the fact that secessionists controlled the county political machinery and "discouraged" potential Unionists from voting. Despite the low turnout, Unionists still carried the county, a tribute to the fact that only fifteen percent of the residents of the county hailed from the Lower South, while the other seventy-five percent came from the Upper South or the North. In fact, so many settlers from the Midwest had established themselves in Wise County that some called it "Yankee country."<sup>27</sup>

In Grayson County the Unionists also carried the day 901-463, an incredible ninety-four percent turnout, indicating the strong Union leadership in the county from Junius Foster and others. Incidentally, sixteen percent of the voters came from the Lower South and sixteen percent of the voters owned slaves, probably a close correlation between the two, but not enough to sway the county from favoring the Union. This came despite the efforts of community leaders such as James G. Thompson to foster secessionist sentiment.<sup>28</sup>

In sparsely settled Montague County, Unionists also carried the day ninety-eight to fifty, a seventy-one percent voter turnout, about the same turnout as the other elections in the study. With only 14.5 percent of the population hailing from the Lower South, it is not surprising that Unionists carried the county, though the totals indicate that some voters from the Upper South or the North had to have voted for secession, a most irregular result.<sup>29</sup>

In Fannin County, fifty-eight percent of the electorate turned out to favor Unionism 656-471, or roughly fifty-nine percent to forty-one percent. Despite the fact that a full sixteen percent of Fannin County voters held slaves (tied for the highest in the study), eighty-four percent of the populace came from the Upper South or the North, again, the apparent determining factor in voting for or against secession. The fact that forty-one percent of the votes went toward secession probably indicated the fact that the 308 slaveholders in the county owned 1,721 slaves, a ubiquitous factor in areas favoring secession. Still, the origins of the population overcame the slaveholders to swing Fannin County for the Union.<sup>30</sup>

Denton County proved the sole holdout in Northeast Texas for secession. In a county that had been shaken by the Texas troubles at Denton and Pilot Point, a mere 46% of the voters turned out to vote 331-256 for secession, 55% to 45%. The fact that the vote was so close, and that the referendum inspired the second lowest turnout in the county for the elections in this study, suggests that fear drove a slim majority of Denton County voters into the arms of the secessionists. With the Texas troubles fresh in their minds, perhaps fear of slave insurrection overcame their loyalty to the United States to bring about the electoral results.<sup>31</sup>

Cooke and Collin Counties are special cases in a study of Unionism in this area, because they are the only two counties for which precinct-level election returns are available. As such, it is possible to pinpoint Unionist versus Secessionist sentiment to specific parts of county and examine the demography of these areas.<sup>32</sup>

Because Cooke County played such a central role in the anti-Unionist backlash in 1862 that culminated in the hangings at Gainesville, and because Cooke County abuts the Red River, it is possible to test both the "frontier" thesis, put forward in other secession studies, as a reason for secession and the link between Unionism and roots in the Upper South in the electoral results of the county.

Before the Civil War six main areas of settlement had developed in Cooke County. First, the town of Gainesville served as the county seat near the geographic center of the county, just a few miles south of a large southward bend in the Red River. Second, many settlers chose to live along the Elm Fork of the Trinity River, or Indian, Wolf, or Timber Creeks south and east of the county seat known as the Eastern Cross Timbers area. These residents created several settlements along the creeks, and in 1847 the first school in the county opened along Wolf Creek on land donated by Rama Dye, a prominent Unionist and local land holder. A third area of settlement occurred in the vicinity of

Sycamore Creek and Delaware Bend on the Red River in the northeast part of the county. Here James G. Bourland and his son-in-law A.B. Manion both established plantations. Bourland hailed from South Carolina, and according to the 1860 slave schedule for the county, owned twenty-three bondsmen while Manion owned just six. Southwest of Bourland and Manion, William C. Young had established a plantation in the Horseshoe Bend area of the Red River, where he and his wife owned the most slaves in the county at fifty-three. However, unlike Bourland, Young came from Tennessee and as noted previously opposed secession while his South Carolinian neighbor to the north favored the measure.<sup>33</sup>

Northwest of Gainesville, a fourth area of settlement developed when several settlers, including Daniel Montague who had laid out Gainesville and Montague County, resided along Fish Creek near what is now the town of Marysville, while to the north a fifth area of settlement developed in the rich agricultural bottoms of Sivells Bend, where several prominent slaveholders, including Marcus, Rufus and Lewis Cole established large plantations. Finally, southwest of Gainesville a small number of settlers established themselves on Hickory, Blocker and Clear Creeks, along the route of the Butterfield Overland Stage line. The center of activity in this area was Davidson's Station, the home of Dr. John T. Davidson, who established a residence where The Butterfield line crossed Williams Creek.<sup>34</sup>

Overall, most slaveholders in the county resided in either Delaware, Horseshoe or Sivells Bend, along Fish Creek, or along Wheeler Creek east of Gainesville. Other than this, most of the settlers of the county (92%) owned no slaves and most (83%) hailed from the Upper South or the North. However, as noted previously, Lower Southerners and slaveholders controlled most of the county political machinery, a fact that played a part on election day.<sup>35</sup>

The results from the polling places indicated the areas where secessionists fared the best. In Gainesville itself 223 voters turned out with 91 for secession and 132 against. With few slaveholders in Gainesville itself and most of the residents hailing from the Upper South, this is not a surprising result.<sup>36</sup>

At the home of election judge Crawford Yarbrough, twenty-three voters cast their votes for secession and two against. Such a result is likely based on two factors: First, Yarbrough hailed from South Carolina and as such probably favored secession. With the precinct at his residence it would not be hard to manipulate voters. Second, Crawford Yarbrough lived in the far southeastern part of the county, very near the town of Pilot Point in Denton County that became a victim of the Texas troubles. With a reminder of the troubles so close at hand, it is likely that many of Yarbrough's voters again favored secession over the possibility of servile insurrection.

In contrast to Yarbrough's returns, at the home of W.A.J. Finch in the heavily populated and Unionist eastern part of the county, voters rejected secession decisively with thirty-four against disunion and only one in favor. In this area, dominated by leaders such as Rama Dye, a heavy Unionist turnout was all but assured.<sup>37</sup>



At the home of John T. Davidson in the southwestern part of the county, voters also rejected secession twenty-two to two. Most of the settlers in this area, including Dr. Davidson hailed from the Upper South and some owned slaves, but apparently because of their roots in the Upper South repudiated disunion.<sup>38</sup>

At James Bourland's residence near Delaware Bend, voters not surprisingly chose fourteen to six in favor of secession. Given the dominance of Bourland and Manion in the area, any other result would have been surprising.<sup>39</sup>

Finally, at Hiram Faulkner's home in south central Cooke County, voters also voted against secession twenty-five to six. Again, this area had been settled by Upper Southerners, who, though several owned slaves, again paralleled the actions of their home states in voting against secession.<sup>40</sup>

With a total of 41% of the electorate turning out to vote, roughly commensurate with the other elections in the study, Cooke County rejected disunion by a vote of 221-137, about sixty percent to forty percent, a higher than expected pro-secessionist turnout probably due to the fact that Lower Southerners controlled the county political machinery. Four out of six precincts rejected secession, with one, Crawford Yarbrough's residence, due to the nearness of the Texas troubles, and the other, James Bourland's home, due to the overpowering influence of a large slaveholder from the Lower South.

Several trends can be established from the precinct-level voting in Cooke County. First, those areas that contained the most Unionists produced the largest margins against secession. Second, those with the most to lose from frontier incursions by Indians (James Bourland and A.B. Manion along the Red River) favored secession and returned an electoral verdict as such. Third, slaveholding does not solely account for whether or not an individual favored secession. (i.e., William C. Young, John E. Wheeler and Dr. John T. Davidson). Whig ideology and frontier concerns doubtlessly affected the voters of Grayson County, but the only palpable unifying factor seems to be whether or not an individual hailed from the Upper or Lower South.

Collin County presented a similar but not exactly parallel paradigm for examining the 1861 election returns. Links to the Lower South, but more importantly slaveholding, seems to have held the greatest sway in the balloting in the county. Collin County had eleven ballot boxes spread throughout the county in 1861. At the center of the county lay McKinney, the main settlement and county seat, where roughly thirty-five percent of the population resided.<sup>41</sup>

Next to McKinney, the settlements in the south and southwest parts of the county held the greatest number of voters. At the center was Plano, a small town near Spring Creek. Northwest of Plano, just west of the Old Preston Road, lay Lebanon, and east of Plano residents had settled the town of Millwood along the East Fork of the Trinity River. One ballot box was located at McKinney, one at Lebanon and one at Plano. Other than the other locations, the residents of the southern part of the county voted at the residence of Jacob Baccus, along a branch of Rowlett Creek between Plano and Lebanon.

The sixty-six year-old Baccus was a farmer originally from Pennsylvania with no slaves according to the 1860 slave schedule. Another private resident in the southern part of the county, J.W. Maxwell, had a ballot box located at his residence along Maxwell Creek near the county line. Maxwell was a forty-four year-old native of Tennessee who in 1860 also owned no slaves.<sup>42</sup>

Directly north of McKinney, in the more sparsely settled parts of the county, voters cast their ballots at the villages of Mantua and Weston. Collin McKinney and James Throckmorton both lived in this area, providing strong Unionist leadership. McKinney resided near the town of Anna south of Mantua and Throckmorton lived south of there, near Melissa, at the fork of McKinney Creek and the Clear Fork of the Trinity River.<sup>43</sup>

In the far western part of the county along Elm Creek was the town of Farmersville, while north of there two other private residences contained ballot boxes. The first was at the home of George Washington Smith, a veteran of the Texas Revolution and the Mier Expedition. In 1852 he came to Collin County and established a residence just north of what is now Blue Ridge, between Pilot Grove and Desert Creeks. It was here, north of Blue Ridge, that the sixty-four year-old native of Tennessee established the tenth ballot box of the county. Finally, the home of sixty-six year-old Charles Hampton of Kentucky north of the Smith residence served as the last polling place in the far northeast part of the county. Again, neither Smith nor Hampton owned slaves in 1860.<sup>44</sup>

The vast majority of the population of Collin County hailed from the Upper South. Roughly sixty-nine percent of the county's 2,140 voters came from the Upper South, nineteen percent from the North and just twelve percent from the Lower South. The county contained relatively few slaveholders, with 240 owning a total of 1,047 slaves. Of the slaveholders, twenty-one percent hailed from the Lower South, seventy-seven percent from the Upper South and just two percent from the North. Thus, Lower Southerners were almost twice as likely to own slaves, and natives of the Free States far less likely to own slaves than others from that region.<sup>45</sup>

The 1861 balloting largely reflected the breakdown of slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Unionists carried McKinney heavily, 348 to 124, representing thirty-five percent of the ballots cast. With strong leadership like James Throckmorton, who operated a law office in town, this result was not unexpected.

South of McKinney, the areas of Plano, Millwood, and the Maxwell residence all registered high votes in favor of secession. In Plano voters approved the Ordinance of Secession fifty-five to eighteen, at the Maxwell home fifty-seven to four, and at Millwood forty-one to seventeen. Together, the results at these three polling places accounted for almost forty percent of the total pro-secessionist vote in the county. The one aberration in this pattern proved to be Lebanon, where despite having a relatively high slave and slaveholder population, the voters rejected secession seventy-one to fourteen.<sup>46</sup>

The other six ballot boxes all returned results favoring the Union; at Weston Unionists overwhelmed Secessionists 164-31, and at the Hampton residence seventy-four to one. Farmersville voted 106-62, against secession and

at the Smith home Unionism carried unanimously, forty-one votes for. At the Baccus place thirty voters turned out to favor the Union twenty-five to five, and at Mantua, where Collin McKinney probably cast his ballot, the vote was eighty to fifteen against secession. In all, Collin County overwhelmingly voted against secession 948-405, a sixty-three percent turnout. Predictably, where Lower Southerners and their slave culture predominated, at Plano and Millwood south of McKinney, voters ran up high majorities in favor of secession, while the areas that contained more Unionists and Northerners voted against secession<sup>47</sup>

The states of the Upper South also resisted the secessionist impulse in February, 1861 just like their native transplants in Northeast Texas. Despite this stand, the vast majority of Upper Southerners proved conditional Unionists. After the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers, most of the Upper South states followed the Lower South out of the Union. The story proved largely the same in Northeast Texas, where anti-secessionists such as William C. Young and James Throckmorton served in the Confederate army. Some unconditional Unionists remained, though, as evidenced in the Great Gainesville hanging of October, 1862.<sup>48</sup>

The conclusion from the political patterns in these seven Northeast Texas counties from the elections in 1860 and 1861 indicate that the deciding factor in how these counties voted turned on whether or not the citizens hailed from the Upper or Lower South. With such an overwhelming majority from the Upper South in this region, it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint and prove these patterns, but the precinct-level returns in Cooke and Collin Counties help reinforce such impressions.

Texas was a majority-emigrant state during the secession crisis, and the migrants largely behaved politically like the areas from whence they came. Even though many of the Upper Southerners had integrated themselves into the heavily-slaveholding culture that dominated most of Texas, the visceral question of the future of the Union drew a line between the two as stark and defined as the political differences between the Whig and Democratic Parties. In this atmosphere Northeast Texans behaved almost exactly like their brethren in the Upper South in resoundingly rejecting secession.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Richard McCaslin, "Wheat Growers in the Cotton Confederacy: The Suppression of Dissent in Collin County, Texas During the Civil War," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XCVI, No. 4 (April, 1993), pp. 527-540.

<sup>2</sup>Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), p. 117.

<sup>3</sup>For the purpose of this study, north Texas is defined as Cooke, Collin, Denton, Fannin, Grayson, Montague and Wise Counties.

<sup>4</sup>For a further explanation of the Whig Political ideology in the South, see Thomas B. Alexander, "Persistent Whiggery in the Confederate South, 1860-1877" in *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Aug., 1961), pp. 305-329 and Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Who Were the Southern Whigs?" in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (Jan., 1954), pp. 335-346.

<sup>9</sup>See Randolph Campbell, *Gone to Texas: A History of the Lone Star State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 244. See also Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984). Also see Walter Buenger, "Texas and the Riddle of Secession," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Vol. LXXXVII. No. 2. October, 1983. pp. 151-182.

<sup>10</sup>For a further discussion of the differences between the Upper and Lower South, see Terry Jordan "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South on Mid-Nineteenth Century Texas" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Dec., 1967), pp. 667-690. The Upper South is defined by Jordan as Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri.

<sup>11</sup>The 1860 Census at [www.heritagequest.com](http://www.heritagequest.com) (accessed April 11, 2006) and Geospatial&StatisticalDataCenter at <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/start.php?year=V1860> (accessed April 11, 2006). Of course it was possible for women to own slaves, making them non-voters, but such slaveholders constituted a very small minority in Northeast Texas. The vast majority of slaveholders were males and hence voters.

<sup>12</sup>Richard McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze: The Great Hanging and Gainesville, Texas 1862*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), pp. 16-17.

<sup>13</sup>Jordan, "The Imprint of the Upper and Lower South," pp. 678-680. Collin County produced the most Wheat in the state other than Dallas County, and Collin County also led the state in Oates. McCaslin, "Wheat Growers in the Cotton Confederacy," p. 529. Texas produced 431,463 bales of cotton in 1860 and 1,431,597 bushels of wheat in 1859. For more on the agriculture of antebellum Texas, see: Richard Lowe and Randolph Campbell, *Planters and Plain Folk: Agriculture in Antebellum Texas*. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1987).

<sup>14</sup>Daniel W. Crofts, *Reluctant Confederates: Upper South Unionists in the Secession Crisis*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>15</sup>A. Morton Smith, *The First 100 Years in Cooke County*. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1955), pp. 29-30.

<sup>16</sup>A. Morton Smith, *The First 100 Years in Cooke County*, (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1955), pp. 29-30.

<sup>17</sup>Kenneth Wayne Howell "James Webb Throckmorton: The Life and Career of a Southern Frontier Politician, 1825-1894," (PhD dissertation, Texas A&M University, May, 2005), p. 156. In the canvassing for and against secession, Plano turned out to be the secessionist stronghold in Collin County.

<sup>18</sup>Kenneth Wayne Howell, "'When the Rabble Hiss, Well May Patriots Tremble': James Webb Throckmorton and the Secession Movement in Texas, 1854-1861," in *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Vol. CIX, No. 4, (April, 2006), pp. 466-493.

<sup>19</sup>John and James Diamond ran Diamond's Station, a stop of the Butterfield Overland Stage Line in the far eastern part of Cooke County. Smith, *The First 100 Years in Cooke County*, p. 26.

<sup>20</sup>By 1860 Young owned fifty-three slaves and had established a plantation less than ten miles southwest of Bourland near the Horseshoe Bend in the Red River. For his part, Wheeler owned 2 slaves in 1860 and had established a large estate on Wheeler Creek, just east of Gainesville. Interestingly enough, Young served as commander of the Third Regiment, Texas Volunteers in the Mexican War while Bourland served as his second-in-command. McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, p. 30; 1860 tax rolls for Cooke County; Smith, *The First 100 Years in Cooke County*, p. 24.

<sup>21</sup>Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, p. 123.

<sup>22</sup>Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, p. 125.

<sup>23</sup>Handbook of Texas Online, s.v. "Throckmorton, James Webb," <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/TT/fth36.html> (accessed January 24, 2006); Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 123; According to the 1860 slave schedule for Collin County, Throckmorton himself owned one slave, a twenty-three-year-old male.

<sup>20</sup><http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/tx/collin/bios/bogart2.txt> (January, 2006); Marcus J. Wright and Harold B. Simpson (ed.), *Texas in the War*, (Hillsboro: Hill Junior College Press, 1965), p. 175. McCaslin, "Wheat Growers in the Cotton Confederacy," 532. Bogart died in March, 1861.

<sup>21</sup>Interestingly enough, John A. Wharton was a planter from Brazoria County and one of the largest slaveholders in the state. According to the 1860 census he owned \$167,004 in personal property, including 135 slaves.

<sup>22</sup>Throckmorton quoted in Harold Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade: Lee's Grenadier Guard*, (Waco: Texian Press, 1970), p. 2.

<sup>23</sup>Howell "James Webb Throckmorton," 155; Dale Baum, "Pinpointing Apparent Fraud in the 1861 Texas Secession Referendum." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Autumn, 1991), p. 216. Interestingly enough, Collin McKinney hailed from New Jersey, but in 1860 he owned twenty-nine slaves, one of the largest slaveholders in the county. His background as a northerner and member of the Disciples of Christ undoubtedly overcame his slaveholding to convince him of the "evils" of secession. Collin County Slave Schedule, 1860 census.

<sup>24</sup>Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, p. 241. In the 1857 gubernatorial election 66.8% of the population turned out to vote; in 1859 66.2% turned out and in 1860, 61.7% of the electorate turned out.

<sup>25</sup>For possible evidence of fraud, see Baum, "Pinpointing Apparent Fraud in the 1861 Texas Secession Referendum."

<sup>26</sup>Because of its geographic location, Angelina County is considered an outlier in this assessment.

<sup>27</sup>Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 68. In addition, only fifty-three residents of Wise County held slaves, roughly seven percent of the voters.

<sup>28</sup>It is interesting to note that in this election where virtually everyone turned out, only sixty-four percent favored Unionism, with eighty-four percent hailing from the Upper South or the North. This was undoubtedly due to the influence of Thompson and other prominent secessionists.

<sup>29</sup>Montague is one of the counties that Dale Baum flags as a location of possible fraud in the election because of the highly unpredictable results of the other elections during the time period. For a further discussion, see Baum, "Pinpointing Apparent Fraud in the 1861 Texas Secession Referendum."

<sup>30</sup>The 1860 Census at [www.heritagequest.com](http://www.heritagequest.com) (accessed April 11, 2006) and Geospatial&StatisticalDataCenter at: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/start.php?year=V1860> (accessed April 11, 2006).

<sup>31</sup>The 1860 Census at [www.heritagequest.com](http://www.heritagequest.com) (accessed April 11, 2006) and Geospatial&StatisticalDataCenter at: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/php/start.php?year=V1860> (accessed April 11, 2006).

<sup>32</sup>The results for Cooke County are recorded in the election ledger of the county clerk for 1861, in the archives of the University of North Texas in Denton. The Collin County returns come from the *McKinney Messenger* of March 1, 1861. No other precinct-level returns could be located by the author.

<sup>33</sup>McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, p. 14; Joe A. Stout, "The River Country of Cooke County" (Presented to Dr. Terry G. Jordan, North Texas State University, December 22, 1977. Unpublished manuscript in the vertical files of the Cooke County Library, Gainesville, Texas), p. 5.

<sup>34</sup>Smith, *The First 100 Years in Cooke County*, p. 25.

<sup>35</sup>1860 Census.

<sup>36</sup>It is likely, given the lack of a polling place in the Sivells Bend area that many of the residents there cast their ballots in Gainesville, accounting for many of the ninety-one votes for secession.

<sup>37</sup>This is the part of the county where many involved in the "Union League" in Cooke County resided, that resulted in the Great Gainesville Hanging in 1862. Finch's neighbor Rama Dye was one of those executed. McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*, pp. 198-199.

<sup>38</sup>Davidson came from Tennessee and on the 1860 slave schedule for Cooke County owned 10 slaves. 1860 Census and Slave Schedule.

<sup>39</sup>1860 Census; *McKinney Messenger*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>40</sup>1860 Census; *McKinney Messenger*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>41</sup>1860 Census; *McKinney Messenger*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>42</sup>1860 Census; *McKinney Messenger*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>43</sup>Roy Hall and Helen Hall, *Collin County: Pioneering in North Texas*, (Quanah: Nortex Press, 1975), pp. 218, 277.

<sup>44</sup>Hall. *Collin County*, p. 264. The exact location of the Hampton residence is unknown, but he listed his post office as Pilot Grove, a small town across the county line in Grayson County. 1860 census.

<sup>45</sup>1860 Census and Slave Schedule.

<sup>46</sup>*McKinney Messenger*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>47</sup>*McKinney Messenger*, March 1, 1861.

<sup>48</sup>Young served as colonel of the 11<sup>th</sup> Texas Cavalry and was murdered in the fall of 1862 in Cooke County, touching off the hysteria that ended in the Great Hanging. Throckmorton served as a brigadier general of state troops in North Texas during the war. For the most complete account of the events at Gainesville in 1862, see McCaslin, *Tainted Breeze*.

## THE TEXAS FOLKLORE SOCIETY: PRESERVING AND PRESENTING FOLKLORE FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS

By Ken Untiedt

The Texas Folklore Society celebrates its one hundredth anniversary in 2009. Not many other academic organizations have done that. In fact, there are only two that I know of in Texas. The Texas State Historical Association and the Texas State Teachers Association. Detailing the history of the TFS could be quite an undertaking. Indeed, F. E. Abernethy chronicled the organization's origin and activities from 1909 through 1971 in three volumes of the Society's annual publications. This article serves a different purpose – to examine what makes the Texas Folklore Society unique among other scholarly organizations and sum up why we have lasted so long.

The Texas State Teachers Association was formed in 1880, and the Texas State Historical Association began in 1897.<sup>1</sup> Other regional organizations such as the West Texas Historical Association and the East Texas Historical Association, both of which share members with the Texas Folklore Society, began in the 1920s; ETHA disbanded in 1932, and did not reorganize until 1962.<sup>2</sup> In the field of folklore, only the American Folklore Society has been around longer than the Texas Folklore Society – since 1888. The Missouri Folklore Society began in 1906, but between 1920 and 1977, it lay in what Susan Pentlin and Rebecca Schroeder called as a “coma” of inactivity.<sup>3</sup> Several other folklore organizations were formed in the teens and 1920s, including those in North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, and Oklahoma. Few of them are still active. But the TFS has done more than merely survive when others have not. It has thrived.

In 1935, J. Frank Dobie summed up the importance of the Texas Folklore Society in the program for that year's annual meeting:

The Texas Folk-Lore Society is twenty-six years old. It has published nearly 2000 pages of lore pertaining to Texas and the Southwest. It has contributed enormously to such books as [John] Lomax's *American Ballads and Folk Songs*, [Carl] Sandburg's *The American Song Bag*, [J. Frank] Dobie's *Coronado's Children*, and other books. It is by all odds the most important state organization of its kind in America.<sup>4</sup>

That was over seventy years ago. The TFS was practically still in its infancy. It has now published over 14,000 pages of folklore material in sixty-five regular publications. It also assisted in the publication of another thirty-six publications, ranging from pamphlets on collecting Negro songs to full-length books on cowboy life, the lore of Native Americans, and even traditional oral narratives from Ireland. Hundreds of members continue to meet each year to fulfill the Society's purpose: to collect, preserve, and share the lore of Texas and the Southwest. People from all over the country regularly contact our office to ask questions about legends, schedule special presentations, and request per-

---

*Ken Untiedt is an assistant professor of English at Stephen F. Austin State University and is the director of the Texas Folklore Society.*

mission to reprint materials from our publications. But why has the TFS endured? The Texas Folklore Society's secret for longevity lies in those things that make it unique among other scholarly organizations – its publications, its people (especially a few key leaders), and its meetings, which seem more like social events or family reunions than formal academic gatherings.

Technically, TFS is barely ninety-nine years old, and has held only ninety-two annual meetings. The story behind the creation of the Society will explain why it celebrates its centennial in 2009. John Avery Lomax had been collecting cowboy songs in Texas since he was a teenager, and in 1907 he shared them with George Lyman Kittredge, his Harvard professor, who was active in the American Folklore Society.<sup>5</sup> Kittredge encouraged Lomax to continue his study of cowboy ballads and other folk music and to start a folklore society in his home state. When Lomax returned to Texas, he called upon a linguist he knew at the University of Texas, Leonidas Payne. They first discussed the possibility of forming the organization after a meeting in 1908, at which they nominated and elected each other as president and secretary (Payne and Lomax, respectively).<sup>6</sup> A year later, after an A&M football game at the University of Texas, they decided to formalize the Society at the upcoming meeting of the Texas State Teachers Association on December 29, 1909.<sup>7</sup>

Unlike other state folklore organizations then getting started, the TFS flourished from the beginning, listing sixty-six charter members and adding two dozen more within a month.<sup>8</sup> Membership in the TFS continued to grow, and the annual meetings were popular among scholars throughout the state. Kittredge, the famed Shakespeare scholar from Harvard, attended the third annual meeting in 1913 and acknowledged the impressive work Lomax, Payne, and the presenters had done.<sup>9</sup> By 1927, the TFS officers called for a membership drive to increase membership from 500 to 1,000. By contrast, the Missouri Folklore Society struggled with nominal membership and poor attendance at early meetings: "Membership in the Society had gradually declined. The 1914 records show only 20 regular members and 15 associates."<sup>10</sup> Folklorists in Texas realized that their state was a rich source for folklore, as Kittredge had predicted.

Kittredge wrote the preface to the Society's first major publication, simply titled *PTFS I*, although it was eventually titled *Round the Levee* in a reprint version. The book was conceived by Payne and Stith Thompson on a train ride back home from the fifth annual meeting, held at Baylor University in Waco.<sup>11</sup> Thompson edited the work, a collection of only thirteen articles, mostly collected from the first several meetings, and thereby became the first editor of a publication of the Texas Folklore Society. He left Texas and the Society in 1918, eventually settling at Indiana University, where students came from all over the country to study folklore in his program. Thompson later wrote the six-volume *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, an impressive work that is of great value to folklorists, but his contribution to Texas folklore is also noteworthy.

The organization could easily have died after that first book. WWI prevented members from holding annual meetings, and as F. E. Abernethy states



in the first volume of his history of the Society, it had "...lain dormant between 1917 and 1922..."<sup>12</sup> However, a former UT professor who had joined the Society in 1915, decided he would rejuvenate the organization. J. Frank Dobie had left the University of Texas in 1920, but he discovered a love of Texas legends while managing his uncle's ranch and felt that the Texas Folklore Society could serve as a vehicle to help him share them with others.<sup>13</sup> Dobie returned to teaching at the University of Texas in 1921, and he assumed the positions of secretary and treasurer for the Society, and Dobie began work on a meeting and another publication immediately. For *PTFS II*, he followed the example set by Stith Thompson in the first book, producing a simple collection of articles, most of which had been presented at meetings. However, *Legends of Texas, PTFS III*, was completely different. It was nearly three times as long as either of the first two books and, more importantly, Dobie had called on members – any members – to contribute to the manuscript, a tradition which continues today.

Publications of the Texas Folklore Society are quality books that contain a balanced mixture of collected lore and scholarly analysis. Most similar organizations publish periodical journals, or an occasional special collection of articles in a hard cover book to celebrate a notable member or event, such as an anniversary. The Texas Folklore Society publishes a full-length, hard-cover book each year; every volume contains all kinds of folklore from Texas and the Southwest, including ghost stories, legends, tales of buried treasure, folk art and crafts, music, and academic research in the field of folklore. The books include photographs, illustrations, and original artwork from members and nationally renowned artists such as Jose Cisneros. The volume published in the fall of 2008 was the sixty-fifth PTFS. Many of the books are miscellanies, or collections of articles on all types of folklore solicited from the general membership and presentations at the annual meetings. Some are special topic books that focus on specific areas of folklore, including Mexican-American or African-American folklore, folk architecture, toys and games, and the family saga. F.E. Abernethy's three-part history depicts the life of the Society, set in the context of Texas and American culture throughout its existence. The volume for 2009 will overview the significance of the organization, and provide personal perspective from members who cherish the meetings, members, and lore they have encountered throughout their involvement. Speaking of the legends he so loved, Dobie stated, "People of Texas soil still have a vast body of folk-lore, and whoever will write of them [the legends] with fidelity must recognize that lore as surely as Shakespeare recognized the lore of his folk, as surely as Mr. Thomas Hardy has recognized the lore of Wessex."<sup>14</sup> Publishing that lore is still at the heart of what TFS does.

Dobie revived the organization after World War I, and over the next two decades he worked to restore interest in folklore and the TFS. He wrote in 1939, "As no other state in the Union contains such a wealth and variety of folklore, such a highly lighted and highly individualistic history, such a sweep of land and land-dwellers, so no other state has an organization in any way approaching the Texas Folklore Society in energy or in output, both as respects quantity and interest."<sup>15</sup> Dobie was but the first of several individuals who pro-

vided the leadership that guided the Society through challenging times. No organization can rely on one individual, as evidenced by the Missouri Folklore Society, which stopped meeting when its founder and motivating force, Henry Belden, turned its operation over to Wayland Hand in 1920.<sup>16</sup> As secretary-editor, Dobie realized the value of motivated individuals who could assist him with editing and handling the business affairs of the Society.

Mody Boatright succeeded Dobie as secretary-editor and sustained the organization through World War II. Although they were unable to hold annual meetings, Boatright wrote in a newsletter to members in 1944, "When an organization does not meet, there is grave danger that it may become anemic. It is more important than ever that we maintain a vigorous interest in our work and that the flow of manuscripts to the editors be maintained. We willingly sacrifice for the war effort, but we must not become a war casualty."<sup>17</sup> After two decades at the helm, Boatright asked that Wilson Hudson be elected to the vital role of secretary-editor. Hudson served in that position for several years before turning the job over to F. E. Abernethy, who provided leadership for an amazing thirty-three years. These four individuals were instrumental in energizing the membership and keeping the Society vibrant and strong for over eighty years.

From the beginning, the Society also has been blessed with other people who contributed to the organization and its purpose in significant ways. John Lomax and Leonidas Payne were not only the driving forces behind getting the organization started, but Lomax's fame also attracted others who brought recognition to the Society. Dorothy Scarborough and Louise Pound were prominent members throughout the Society's first few decades. Other influential and renowned scholars who presented papers and held offices or who contributed regularly to the publications include Walter Prescott Webb, J. Mason Brewer, Harry Ransom, C. L. Sonnichsen, and Allen Maxwell, the director of the SMU Press. Current active members include Lou Rodenberger, James Ward Lee, Joyce Gibson Roach, Robert Flynn, and Elmer Kelton.

The annual meetings of the Texas Folklore Society are also attended by other important if less well known members. Bess Brown Lomax, wife of founder John A. Lomax, delivered her own papers as well as those of her husband when he was unable to attend. Working anthropologists, photographers, artists, and ranchers have come to share folklore in their fields, as have musicians and storytellers who make their living on the road, keeping their crafts alive through the oral tradition. Some members have become fixtures at the annual meetings because of special talents, or just their personalities. Paul Patterson entertained members with his humorous stories, paper presentations, cowboy poetry, and signing for fifty years before his death just before the meeting in 2008. Lee Haile, an entomologist turned singer and storyteller, for years has been instrumental in leading the traditional Thursday evening celebration at annual meetings. These and many other members, such lay people – secretaries, police officers, farmers, lawyers, journalists, housewives, are all involved in every aspect of the Society's meetings and publications.

One duty members share is hosting the meetings in a different city in Texas each year. Meetings originally were held on the weekend nearest to San Jacinto day, but to provide additional travel time, the meetings now take place over Easter weekend,<sup>18</sup> from Thursday afternoon until Saturday at noon. Meetings have been held in thirty-two different cities, including Arlington, Alpine, College Station, El Paso, Sherman, San Angelo, Victoria, and Wimberly. Members enjoy tours of local attractions, which are often just as enlightening as the formal presentations. They have been treated to tours of campuses of host universities, local museums, and historic sites such as Fort Chadbourne near San Angelo. They have also enjoyed boat trips around Corpus Christi Bay and Galveston, as well as day trips into Mexico and held sessions out-of-doors at Santa Helena Canyon in Big Bend National Park. During programs and Friday night banquets, members have been entertained by folk singers and groups, dancers, traveling medicine shows, and other folk performers of every sort.

Members who present papers do so to the entire meeting body, something unique among organizations that seem to offer multiple panels and presentations, forcing attendees to choose between them. Those who attend a meeting of the Texas Folklore Society do not have to decide which papers they want to hear, and presenters are guaranteed that their hard work will be heard by an audience of 150-200 people. The one exception to this tradition occurred during the meeting in Victoria in 2002, when a concurrent session was held especially for the many children who regularly attend. Adult members, some of whom slipped away from the regular program to attend the children's session, strongly voiced their disappointment over having had to miss any part of the presentations. A children's session is now frequently part of the regular program, and attendance remains high – both adult and youth members share folklore together, passing traditional knowledge from one generation to another.

Perhaps the most unusual – and seemingly un scholarly – part of our annual meetings is the Thursday evening get-together. Singing folk songs and sharing tales had been part of TFS meetings from the beginning, but in 1956, Hermes Nye, who hosted a popular radio show that featured folk music, introduced members to the term “hootenanny.” Nye, the program chair for 1956, wrote to John Q. Anderson, president for that year, suggesting a structured approach to sharing lore in a more entertaining fashion: “Can beer be bought in College Station or is this a silly question? In the interest of art and science I will run a few cases through the blockade if need be. Is there any place where a hootenanny could be arranged thereabouts and a little mead quaffed among friends without any professional careers being cast in the balance?”<sup>19</sup> The hootenanny serves an important role in maintaining the ways of the folk. It provides a casual atmosphere where people are encouraged to share lore through the oral tradition. Members play traditional musical instruments (or any they can play), sing folk songs, recite cowboy poetry, and tell stories – of all kinds. Everyone is welcome to participate, and the activities usually go on late into the night. Even Janis Joplin, a former student of Ab Abernethy's, attended a Hoot in 1965.<sup>20</sup>

The hoots, though they frequently involve adult beverages, are never wild affairs. Rather, they are part of what makes the Society so family-oriented. Many members bring their children or grandchildren, and the kids enjoy taking part in the festivities and performances as much as the adults. In recent years there has been an effort to involve more young members, and college and even high school students have given papers during regular sessions. Several younger members have “grown up” at the annual meetings, attending their first while still in diapers. In 2004, my daughter, Miché Untiedt, became the youngest member ever to give a paper at a meeting of the Texas Folklore Society. It was titled “First Generation Texan.” She was fourteen years old.

My involvement in with the Texas Folklore Society, and hence my family's, began at the near insistence of a professor at Texas Tech University. Kenneth W. Davis had been teaching a section on folk art during an undergraduate folklore course. When, after much hesitation, I told him that his examination of graffiti was limited because he had said nothing about gang graffiti, he encouraged me to write a paper on what I had learned about the subject through my experiences as a police officer in Lubbock, Texas. I gave my first paper at the meeting in 1996 in Fort Worth. In 2000, at the eighty-fourth annual meeting in Nacogdoches, where the TFS has been headquartered since 1971, that same professor told me that he had heard through the grapevine that I was being considered as the next secretary-editor. Three years later, I made the move to East Texas and Stephen F. Austin State University.

The TFS had moved to Nacogdoches from Austin partly because the University of Texas had not responded to Mody Boatright's numerous requests for administrative assistance adequately.<sup>21</sup> It is surprising how well the organization had operated for so long with so little institutional assistance, especially during the years when financial and editing operations were divided between Austin and Dallas when Boatright was serving as both secretary-editor and head of the English Department at the University of Texas.<sup>22</sup> Even more amazing is the fact that we didn't even have an official certificate of incorporation until 1968 and bylaws did not exist until 1989. Wilson Hudson had made similar requests for assistance from the University of Texas, and they finally provided a part-time secretary to assist with record keeping and typing manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> The TFS obviously felt more support was warranted, especially considering how much recognition it achieved through its publications and meetings. When Hudson resigned his position in 1971, the Society moved to SFA, and the leadership of F. E. Abernethy. President Ralph Steen assured Abernethy that Stephen F. Austin would provide the type of assistance the Society had been requesting from the University of Texas for so long.<sup>24</sup>

Abernethy moved the headquarters into the Rusk Building, Room 108, and he led the organization with enthusiasm and foresight for over three decades, a remarkable feat for a leader of any organization. The current headquarters remain in that same office; it has been expanded, but the archives of manuscripts, correspondence, photographs, and artifacts representative of a century's worth of folklore occupy every inch of space we have.

I moved in during the summer of 2003. My primary responsibility is editing the publications. In 1927, J. Frank Dobie asked, "And what, some people are asking, is to be done with all this collected folk-lore? For one thing, a number of intelligent people read it and enjoy it and are instructed by it as they read and enjoy and are instructed by history. This folk-lore is a part of our social history, as legitimate in its way as the best authenticated papers."<sup>25</sup> He went on to explain how many poets referenced the Society's publications, as did Dorothy Scarborough in her novel *The Wind*. Elmer Kelton has pointed out the value of the TFS and the lore presented at its meetings as sources for material in his novels: "Meetings of the Texas Folklore Society are like having the doors of Neiman-Marcus flung wide open, with no cashiers and no guards on duty."<sup>26</sup> Many individuals, as well as schools, libraries, and academic databases that maintain memberships with the TFS, do so primarily for the publications, even if the people writing the checks have never attended a meeting.

In addition to editorial duties, I am also responsible for the day-to-day business of the Society, and I am involved in collecting and maintaining the TFS archives, increasing membership, and continuing my own research in the field of folklore. I plan to continue the traditions that have made the Texas Folklore Society unique and resilient for the last century, but I am also investigating plans to expand its horizons. As early as the 1930s, Mody Boatright saw "...the need for filing and storing collected materials for study by future 'social historians, novelists, artists, etc.'"<sup>27</sup> The Texas Folklore Society created an archive in 1958, but all of its holdings were turned over to the University of Texas in 1966; they formed the core of what is now the Center for Intercultural Studies in Folklore and Ethnomusicology.<sup>28</sup> My plan is to archive all future Society materials on the SFA campus, making the Texas Folklore Society a research base for folklorists from all over the state and the Southwest.

The Texas Folklore Society has a rich history and it continues to set an example for other scholarly organizations in the state and across the nation. The publications, the people, and the fellowship among members that takes place at the annual meetings are what make the Society so special. Those are the features that have also made it endure. According to F. E. Abernethy, "The Texas Folklore Society is that important and that ancient that its progress can be a guide to other institutions and individuals. Some of the nation's most notable [sic] folklore scholars have passed through its portals, have had their professional beginnings in its meetings, and have sent their influence out to other folklorists."<sup>29</sup> We continue to support folklore scholarship in Texas and the Southwest, even if we do it a bit informally at times. We'll celebrate turning 100 at our ninety-third annual meeting in Nacogdoches, April 9-11, 2009. Join us, we'll make you feel like part of the family.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>*Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/TI/kat5.html>, and <http://www.tshaonline.org/about/welcome/history.html> (accessed August 2, 2008).

<sup>1</sup>*Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "East Texas Historical Association" <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/EE/vte1.html> (accessed August 20, 2008).

<sup>2</sup>Susan L. Pentlin and Rebecca B. Schroeder, "H.M. Belden, The English Club, and the Missouri Folklore Society" <http://missourifolkloresociety.truman.edu/belden.html> (accessed July 22, 2008).

<sup>3</sup>J. Frank Dobie, in *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, ed. F.E. Abernethy (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1992), p. 204.

<sup>4</sup>*Handbook of Texas Online*, s.v. "Lornax, John Avery" <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/LL/flo7.html> (accessed August 18, 2008).

<sup>5</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1992), pp. 4-7.

<sup>6</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup>Susan L. Pentlin and Rebecca B. Schroeder, "H. M. Belden, The English Club, and the Missouri Folklore Society" <http://missourifolkloresociety.truman.edu/belden.html> (accessed July 22, 2008).

<sup>10</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, p. 44.

<sup>11</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, p. 80.

<sup>12</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, p. 82.

<sup>13</sup>J. Frank Dobie, *Legends of Texas, PTFs III* (Austin: The Texas Folk-Lore Society, 1924), p. iv.

<sup>14</sup>J. Frank Dobie, in *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, ed. F.E. Abernethy, p. 255.

<sup>15</sup>Susan L. Pentlin and Rebecca B. Schroeder, "H. M. Belden, The English Club, and the Missouri Folklore Society" <http://missourifolkloresociety.truman.edu/belden.html> (accessed July 22, 2008).

<sup>16</sup>Mody Boatright, in *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1994), ed. F. E. Abernethy, p. 9.

<sup>17</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, p. 134.

<sup>18</sup>Hermes Nye, in *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, ed. F.E. Abernethy, p. 96.

<sup>19</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, p. 213.

<sup>20</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>21</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, pp. 70-85.

<sup>22</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, p. 265.

<sup>23</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, p. 274.

<sup>24</sup>J. Frank Dobie, *Texas and Southwestern Lore, PTFs VI* (Austin: The Texas Folk-Lore Society, 1927), p. 6.

<sup>25</sup>Elmer Kelton, "Fiction Writers are Liars and Thieves" in *The Bounty of Texas, PTFs XLIX*, ed. F.E. Abernethy (Denton: University of North Texas Press: 1990), p. 62.

<sup>26</sup>Mody Boatright, in *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, ed. F.E. Abernethy, p. 215.

<sup>27</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1943-1971, Volume II*, pp. 230-231.

<sup>28</sup>F.E. Abernethy, *The Texas Folklore Society: 1909-1943, Volume I*, p. vi.

## THE FIS SCHOOL: A TUSKEGEE FOR TEXAS?

*By Paul Sturdevant*

"I think that I should spend the summer at this work lecturing, distributing literature, and organizing, and in the fall I should throw myself with all the energy of my being into the work of founding a Little Tuskegee at Oakland."<sup>1</sup> Thus wrote Robert Lloyd Smith to Booker T. Washington in June of 1897. It would be another ten years and many miles from Oakland, Texas before Smith's dream became reality. Located on the rich Blackland Prairies of Northeast Texas between Ladonia and Wolfe City, Farmer's Improvement Society School (FIS), also called Farmer's Improvement College, would be focused on agricultural education with regular academic courses available. Smith, who regularly corresponded with Washington, and was a disciple of his educational and political philosophy, intended his school to be Texas' answer to Washington's Tuskegee Institute.

Born a free black in Charleston, South Carolina in 1861, Robert Lloyd Smith was educated in that state and then graduated from Atlanta College. He then moved to Texas in the 1880s, settling in Oakland, Colorado County, in southeast Texas to begin teaching school. In addition to teaching, Smith also helped local black farmers develop cooperative organizations, which reduced their reliance on outside businessmen who often cheated ex-slave farmers.

In 1889-90, amid the growing Populist Movement, Smith founded the Farmer's Improvement Society of Texas, an organization similar to the Farmer's Alliance and colored farmer's alliance. It consisted primarily of black farmers, though not exclusively so, and focused on self-reliance, reduction and elimination of debt, cooperative organization, and education of the farmer and his family. It was during this time Smith began his long, close association with Booker T. Washington, acting as Washington's agent in Texas. By the early twentieth century, the organization had over twenty thousand members in Texas and the surrounding states.

Using his popularity among the voters of Colorado County and contacts within the FIS organization, Smith served two terms in the Texas Legislature from 1894 to 1898. Concurrently, whites in Texas worked to implement disfranchisement laws against the state's black voters. As a consequence, Smith was the last black Texas legislator for over sixty years.

As FIS grew, so did its interests. Not only did it support and found various cooperative farm groups, but the organization also founded a bank, an insurance company, a cemetery, a printing company, sponsored and participated in agricultural fairs, and, in 1906, fulfilling Smith's dream, it founded a school.

The school was modeled after Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Through their association and correspondence, Smith and Washington kept the other apprised of current events pertinent to their educational, social, and

---

*Paul Sturdevant teaches at Paris Junior College – Greenville Campus.*

political interests. Washington adhered to the accommodationist philosophy that the best way for uplifting the blacks was through the establishment and support of schools such as Tuskegee. A constant stream of unselfish, wise Christian leaders with academic and industrial training would flow from these schools, and subsequently show others what could be done to improve their community and its people.<sup>2</sup>

Smith's school followed the same philosophy. He stated his school's purposes in an article for *Work Magazine* in 1908: to give the student correct training in practical farming methods, to train a student's minds through a fair course of instruction extending through high school, and to teach him the habits of true family life where order, system, and thoroughness prevail.<sup>3</sup>

Education and vocational training, according to Smith's vision, would allow FIS's graduates to become leaders in their communities. Both Smith and Washington intended to create hard working, independent black men and women who would be models to help others develop positive feelings for blacks in a white dominated society. The brochure cover Smith used to advertise his school summarized such goals by stating, "We Train for Leadership in a Rural Life."<sup>4</sup>

With \$1,200.00 collected from FIS members, Smith purchased fifty-eight acres in 1905 in southern Fannin County near Ladonia. The land was sandy and somewhat poor, but as Smith stated, "Twenty dollars an acre for poor land seems fabulous but, while the tract was sandy, it was in the famous black lands of North Texas and this was before the cotton boll weevil had invaded that country and good land was selling at from forty to one hundred dollars an acre."<sup>5</sup> Once the land was purchased, another drive focused on raising funds to build the school. Smith had raised \$1700.00 by the fall of 1906, but the buildings cost \$3800.00. Smith personally advanced the balance, which allowed the school to open debt-free in 1908, reflecting one of the FIS organization's basic concepts – to avoid credit as much as possible. Smith saw credit as one of the methods whites used to limit the development of the Negro.

Several African American farmers from the area became active in helping found and support the school. Among these were Dennis Pollard, Gufford and Henry Dickerson, Barney Simmons, Brandon Pruitt, James L. Gilmore, Al Crumby, Albert Locke, and Will Dickerson. Simmons had once held some of the school's original land; James Gilmore became the vice-president of the school, and his daughter Olivia, valedictorian in 1922, began her long and distinguished teaching career there.<sup>6</sup> Others who supported the school included many white residents from Wolfe City and Ladonia. Two of them, Mr. Myrick of Wolfe City and Dr. Nelson of Ladonia, served as trustees.<sup>7</sup> Others listed may have served as trustees or school board members in the school's early years, but there is not information available to confirm their activity.

The school opened in 1908 as a boarding school for students in grades seven through twelve, later expanding to include sixth grade and students from the surrounding area who lived at home. While the brochure states the student body consisted of sixth or seventh grade through high school, Robert Carroll's



thesis from Baylor University on the FIS organization indicated the school had students in all twelve grades.\* Mrs Arvelia McBeth, the daughter of Al Crumby, said only the upper grades were there. She attended while living at home and graduated in 1937 in a class of eight students.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that the state considered grades six, seven, and eight to be upper-primary might account for the differences in the two sources. Students in these grades would have been counted as primary students attending the school, not as high school or upper level students. Such different enumeration methods could account for Carroll's documentation indicating the school included the primary grades.

While elementary education was available to black children in many communities, higher education was not. High schools were few and far between for all students in those early years, but there were only three high schools for blacks in Northeast Texas – one in Marshall, one in Texarkana, and the other in Dallas.<sup>10</sup> With tuition at \$75.00 to \$80.00 a year,<sup>11</sup> the school probably limited itself to the upper grades, depending on community-based schools to educate younger children.

Even though tuition might seem high, some black parents managed the cost to gain the fuller education for their children rather than accept the known inequities of the black community schools. If after the eighth grade a student's labor was more important at home, he still had a primary education, including some instruction in agricultural studies. If the student could continue in school, that was all the better.

The school year was eight months, beginning the first Wednesday after the first Monday in October. This was later changed to the first Monday in October to the end of May.<sup>12</sup> The dates surely coincided with the growing season, as many of the students were from farm families and their labor was important to the family economy.

In addition to being able to pay the tuition and matriculation fee of \$6.00, students had to meet certain standards. According to school materials they had to be of good moral character and be free of contagious disease. Boarding students were required to bring two sheets, two pillow slips, two quilts, and three towels. Students also had to purchase their own books. Students who were self-boarding had to furnish various provisions which were used for their benefit during the school terms: one sack of flour, two sacks of meal, one gallon of syrup, and ten pounds of bacon. Promotional brochures suggested prospective students plant two to three acres of cotton of their own and save the proceeds until they were ready to enter, relieving their parents of the financial burden.<sup>13</sup> This also prepared the student for the work at school and helped build self-reliance, however the suggestion might not have been as realistic as it looked on paper.

Once FIS accepted the student, there were several courses of study from which to choose. The school offered departments in normal training (for those who wished to become teachers), regular academics, agriculture, domestic sci-

ence, domestic art, and music. Since the school focused upon agricultural learning, all students were expected to take courses in an area of that department, choosing from horticulture, floriculture, dairy farming, animal husbandry, poultry raising, and trucking and canning. It is likely the male students would have concentrated on horticulture, dairy farming, and animal husbandry, and the female students steered toward floriculture and poultry raising. Most likely, both male and female students would have been involved in the trucking and canning area. Carroll states female students could meet this requirement through courses in domestic science and domestic arts.<sup>14</sup> Mrs. McBeth stated that she took a regular academic program and did not take courses in the other areas. When asked about this, she stated that the boys were the main ones taking such classes, while the girls were interested in academics. She also stated that the school did not offer most of the domestic sciences and domestic arts courses by the times she was enrolled.<sup>15</sup>

Besides working in the school fields and animal barns, students also worked at various jobs to keep the school operational, which included working in the kitchen, janitorial work, and other maintenance labor. The school considered work part of the learning process. The work in the fields and animal barns was part of the curriculum and took place on alternate days when the students were not in the classroom. Smith believed students learned best by practical experience and example; he expected teachers to work in the fields and barns as well. With everyone working and using the products from the fields, the school expanded from the original fifty-eight acres to ninety-two acres.

Students also had the usual range of academic studies, which included the basic reading, writing, and arithmetic courses, likely adapted somewhat to agricultural and rural leadership. Social studies, composition, music, and speaking were also important parts of the educational process. The school encouraged students to use the well-stocked library and it also included a laboratory for soil testing and other chemical experiments. They were required to study individually or in groups at least two hours each evening and encouraged to keep diaries of their school life and experiences.

The school farmer was particularly important. He lived on the school grounds throughout the year and kept the farm operational. The school did allow him to do his own farming, as long as his groups remained separate from those of the school. School cook was another vital position, filled for many years by Jewell Cooksie. The cook's salary was \$12.00 a month during the school year and she and her helpers were the only ones exempted from field-work.<sup>16</sup>

The school's growing reputation attracted teaching applications from Fisk University and Prairie View College graduates. Most of these letters were addressed to Smith, but some came to school principal W.H. McClellen (also known as U.S. McClellen). McClellen held the position of principal from 1914 until 1933, and Smith, as founder of the school and its most prominent faculty member, remained with the school until he passed away in 1942.<sup>17</sup>

Funds for the school were a continuous concern. Part of the student's educational experience was to look for ways to earn money for the school implement some of their ideas. School plays and choir concerts became regular features at the school as well as revenue streams. The FIS College Players performed *Trial of Old King Credit* by Mrs. R.L. Smith and Walter Ben Hare's *A Poor Married Man*. The *Wolfe City Sun* advertised tickets to the play at five to twenty-five cents and a full house brought additional funding to the school. The community, both white and black, supported the cultural efforts. One advertisement reflected the racial relationship of the times by specifying there would be "plenty of separate seating for our white friends."<sup>18</sup>

The Farmer's Improvement Society also directly help fund the school. The Society assessed each member or family a given amount for school operations. A 1918 assessment raised almost \$300.00. Sermon rallies at annual membership gatherings, regional meetings, and special fundraising drives were also used to keep the school open and operational. Rallies in 1925 brought in over \$2,100.00 for the school.<sup>19</sup>

The school also used prominent African Americans such as John B. Rayner to raise money for the school. Rayner probably appeared at sermon rallies and membership gathering to ask for funds for the school. Funds specifically for African American education also became sources of revenue. The school received money from both the Slater and Jeannes Fund, both of which specifically promoted African American education. Mrs. Jeannes willed a million dollars to Booker T. Washington to help schools such as Tuskegee and eventually FIS, and both Smith and Washington served on the Jeannes Fund board of directors. The Slater fund contributed \$150 to the school each quarter from 1922 until 1942. Tuskegee also made donations periodically. Carroll references a Tuskegee donation of \$1,000.00, but he states that no record of such a deposit could be found.<sup>20</sup> It is only speculation, but it may be that a donation for \$100.00 was mistakenly recorded as \$1,000.00 in the records. But even with help from all these sources, funding was always a concern; assessments and rallies seldom met expectations and donations never seemed enough to cover all the costs of maintaining and operating the school.

Despite the constant financial struggles, the school continued. One year's balance sheet, 1931, showed a profit of \$499.43.<sup>21</sup> It is laudable but not surprising that the school ended the year with a surplus, since remaining debt-free as much as possible was one of the Farmer's Improvement Society's and Smith's major principles. However, ending a year without a debt was rare and would become more isolated as the Great Depression deepened.

Enrollment fluctuated with the fortunes of the FIS members and the students' families. When the school opened in 1908, it enrolled one hundred students and quickly became overcrowded. The student body grew to more than three hundred by 1911. In addition to Smith and a secretary, there were ten teachers, as well as other staff. While the school handled overcrowding through additional buildings for dorms and classrooms, funding limitations slowed such efforts.<sup>22</sup>

Enrollment began to decline after 1912. The number of students dropped to seventy-one by 1914, but it did rebound to one hundred fourteen in 1918. However enrollment fell to just over one hundred in 1921. The numbers began to decline more precipitously during the Great Depression. There were only fifty-nine students attending the school in 1933.<sup>23</sup>

The school continued despite the drop in enrollment, primarily due to the sacrifice of its employees. Smith, along with many of the teachers, took pay cuts. Smith's last paid salary as president was in 1930. Teachers received little or no salary for long stretches since very often their pay was based on enrollment. In the 1920s and the early 1930s, the school conditions forced the school to borrow \$4,000 from the FIS Bank in Waco and \$5,306 from Lyon-Gray Lumber Company in Dallas just to pay teacher salaries and repair or build new structures. The Lyon-Gray loans were repaid, but the bank loans were apparently written off when the bank failed in 1930.<sup>24</sup>

Beginning in the 1930s and continuing until his death in 1942, Smith attempted to have the state take over at least part of the school operations; he hoped the FIS School would become another state-supported school for African Americans such as Prairic View. A *Wolfe City Sun* article in 1940 outlined his plans and cited strong support from the area.<sup>25</sup> But the state declined, a decision that may have foretold the future of the school.

On July 10, 1942, the school suffered a major blow when founder Robert L. Smith passed away. Much of the energy and drive to keep the school open died with him. Supporters revived efforts to have the state take over the school, but once again the State of Texas rebuffed the efforts. Mr. Lockett became the school president, and he tried to keep the school open during the war years. According to Mrs. McBeth, he did not have the drive or leadership qualities of Smith, and the school struggled even more because of his weaker leadership.<sup>26</sup> By the end of World War II, continually diminishing enrollment and increasing expenses guaranteed the school's demise. The FIS School closed at the end of the 1947 term.

The FIS School lived up to its goal of providing a place for young African Americans to be educated in ways and subjects that many would have been denied otherwise. While many saw the accommodationist principles of the school as demeaning, a great many more of both races accepted them as being the way to gain acceptance for the African Americans. The rural, agricultural location helped in its formative years, but may have been perceived as remote and isolated in later years. Such a situation would make it easy to dismiss and not take seriously its impact – out of sight, out of mind – especially by whites. But, the school had good relations and interactions with its neighbors, including whites, as evidenced by donations and support from area whites, the presence of white trustees, and the positive front-page attention in area newspapers. Yet its relative invisibility to the larger communities may have thwarted its financial support and state aid. Smith did not have the national stature of Booker T. Washington, and this may have hurt the school's chances at obtaining greater support and funding. Its location was this both a blessing and a curse.

When the school closed, Leroy Harris, a graduate of the school, bought the land and buildings, and his family still owns the land. All the buildings, including the president's house, are now gone; only the foundations remain. The structures, however, were not the legacy of Smith's dream to provide quality education to young African American children of Northeast Texas. The real legacy is in the students who attended and graduated, going on to "Provide Leadership for a Rural Life." The graduates became the farmers, teachers, and leaders of their communities. They and the people their lives touched are the enduring part of Smith's dream that will continue for untold years to come.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, vol. 4, 1895-1898 (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 297.

<sup>2</sup>Max Bennet Thrasher, *Tuskegee* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1900), p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup>Robert L. Smith, "An Uplifting Negro Cooperative Society," *Work Magazine*, July 1908, 10466.

<sup>4</sup>The brochure, done by Smith Printing Company, outlined much of the school's program and the requirements students were expected to meet.

<sup>5</sup>Robert Smith, "An Uplifting Negro Cooperative Society," 10466.

<sup>6</sup>John W. Duncan, *From Tall Grass to High Cotton*. (Wolf City: Wolfe City Chamber of Commerce, 1999), p. 95.

<sup>7</sup>*Wolfe City Sun*, Wolfe City (Texas), 13 September, 1940, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>Robert Carroll, "Robert Lloyd Smith and the Farmer's Improvement Society of Texas," M.A. thesis. Baylor University, 1974, pp. 89, 97.

<sup>9</sup>Arvelia Crumby McBeth, interview by the author, 23 July 2004, Wolfe City, TX. tape recording.

<sup>10</sup>*Wolfe City Sun*, 13 September, 1940, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>From brochure on the school.

<sup>12</sup>Smith Papers in Texas Collection at Baylor University, school operations.

<sup>13</sup>Smith Papers promotional brochure. Provision in kind was also widely used in the Depression as a way to reduce costs for families.

<sup>14</sup>Robert Carroll, "Robert Lloyd Smith and the FIS," p. 92.

<sup>15</sup>Arvelia Crumby McBeth, interview by author.

<sup>16</sup>Smith Papers; Interview with Arvelia Crumby McBeth.

<sup>17</sup>Robert Carroll, "Robert Lloyd Smith and the FIS," p. 92; Smith Papers. In some places McClellan's initials show as W.H. and in others U.S., although they appear to refer to the same person.

<sup>18</sup>*Wolfe City Sun*, 30 January 1931, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup>Smith Papers

<sup>20</sup>Robert Carroll, "Robert Lloyd Smith and the Farmer's Improvement Society of Texas," p. 96.

<sup>21</sup>Smith Papers

<sup>22</sup>Smith Papers.

<sup>13</sup>Robert Carroll, "Robert Lloyd Smith and the Farmer's Improvement Society of Texas," p. 97.

<sup>14</sup>Robert Carroll, "Robert Lloyd Smith and the Farmer's Improvement Society of Texas," pp. 101-102.

<sup>15</sup>*Wolfe City Sun*, 13 September 1940, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>Arvelia Crumby McBeth Interview.

**EAST TEXAS NEWS AND NOTES**

Hurricane Ike roared through the Gulf Coast and East Texas in September, creating havoc and leaving much destruction in its wake. The Galveston-Port Bolivar-Golden Triangle region was particularly hard hit. Our Gulf Coast friends are a hardy lot who understand much about surviving and recovering from such natural tropical systems – Galvestonians are a particularly strong-willed group of people who are no doubt determined to rebuild their island city to even greater grandeur – but all could still use help and support, be it in the form of labor, financial consideration, and prayer. While Association members share our hope of restoration with all of the stricken residents, we are no doubt particularly worried about the condition of historical structures, monuments, and places. We ask members who can to contact the local historical societies in the region and volunteer any help in preserving and maintaining such sites. If history proves anything (and we think that it does), the Gulf Coast will be back; all we need to do is observe the examples of restoration after Rita, Alicia, Celia, Carla, Audrey, and the great storms of 1915 and 1900. Texans are resilient and resourceful. We will not only rebuild and restore, but we will learn from such powerful forces of Mother Nature on how to protect both our environment and our people.

The East Texas Historical Association is proud to announce the selection of our new secretary, Ms. Deanna Smith. Ms. Smith is a native East Texan from Nacogdoches and was previously a commercial teller at BancorpSouth. She is quickly becoming familiar with her new position and is doing a fantastic job.

Despite hurricanes, downed trees, and the stress of power outages, East Texas Historical Association members gathered in Nacogdoches at The Fredonia Hotel on September 25-27 for our annual fall meeting. “Bad old Ike” and his aftermath understandably kept some from attending, but we still enjoyed a lively, informative, and entertaining get-together. Program Chair and new Association President Ted Lawe and his program committee (Ken Howell, Caroline Crimm, Miguel Juarez, Gail Beil, Bruce Glasrud, Jim Lovett, and Marshall Schott) assembled a very strong line-up of sessions. In fact, the 2008 fall meeting set a record for the largest number of participants in Association history. Sessions included a roundtable on East Texas’ significance as a borderland region, a discussion on Texas preachers, the debate concerning the Sutton-Taylor feud, East Texas Tejano history, race relations in the twentieth century, and group discussion on African American civil rights in Huntsville. The meeting also continued the Association’s commitment to joint sessions with our fellow regional historical cousins with presentations from the Texas Folklore Society, the West Texas Historical Association, and our good friends from the South Texas Historical Association.

During the Friday evening banquet, the Association honored our departing secretary Portia Gordon. Almost all of you share our affection and reverence for Mrs. Gordon for all she has given to the Association. We can never hope to repay or honor Portia enough for what she has done for the Association, but the

members made an attempt and presented Portia with a gift during the Friday festivities. Portia made me promise to include her thank you to all:

**A NOTE OF THANKS:**

*The East Texas Historical Association has been a major part of my life for the past thirteen years. The Association has some really special members and I want to thank you for the wonderful expression of appreciation shown to me – the Apple laptop and printer. I will have fond memories of my “historical family” for many years and there is no better way than to get my address list up to date on my new computer.*

My Love To All,  
Portia L. Gordon

In conjunction with the fall meeting, the Association hosted our annual Max and Georgiana Lale Lecture Series at the Grand Ballroom in the Stephen F. Austin State University Baker Patillo Student Center. Our lecturer for 2008 was Don Graham, the J. Frank Dobie Regents Professor of American and English Literature at the University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Graham delivered a well-received talk to a full house titled, “Tex Messaging: A Visual History of Lone Star Cinema.” He regaled his audience with his unique take on Texas and Texans in film. We thank Dr. Graham for his energetic presentation as well as his intellectual contribution.

During the Saturday Luncheon/Business meeting the Association approved a new slate of officers for the Association. Ted Lawe of Dallas is the new Association President, Deanna Smith fills the office of Secretary/Treasurer, Milton Jordan of Georgetown takes over as our First Vice-President, and James Smallwood takes the reins in the Second Vice President’s office. Members also approved the appointment of three new board members: Cynthia Devlin of Zavalla, Bruce Glasrud of Seguin, and Mary Kelley of Beaumont.

The Association also gave out awards during the Saturday Luncheon. The C.K. Chamberlin Award for the Best Article in the *East Texas Historical Journal* for the last calendar year went to Dr. Steven Boyd, Professor of History at the University of Texas at San Antonio, and David K. Smith, who is a graduate student at UTSA, for their article, “Thomas Hickey, The Rebel, and Civil Liberties in Wartime Texas,” Vol. XLV, No. 1 2007. Judith Falls of Cooper, TX was honored as the Ottis Lock Educator of the Year. Lauran Kerr of Houston, TX and Merry Ressler of Commerce, TX received research grants from the Ottis Lock Endowment, and James Smallwood’s book *The Feud That Wasn’t* captured the Ottis Lock prize for Best Book on East Texas History. Past President Dan Utley was the recipient of the Best of East Texas Award. We extend a hearty congratulations to all the award winners

On the subject of meetings, we hope that all members are making plans to attend our annual spring meeting on February 19-21, 2009. We will gather in a new locale as we make our first ever trek to Paris/Clarksville in Northeast Texas. We will headquarter at the Holiday Inn in Paris, but this year’s meeting will be a unique experience for the Association since we will be “mobile.” We will hold our Friday morning sessions in Paris at the Holiday Inn. After we



break for a self-planned lunch, we will convene once again on Friday afternoon in Clarksville. Judge Jim Lovett of Clarksville has planned a great experience for us that afternoon – a guided tour of historic Clarksville. The traditional Friday evening banquet will follow the tour and we will then return to Paris for our Saturday sessions and luncheon. The spring meeting is shaping up to be one of our most original and enjoyable gatherings and we hope all will attend. You can register for the meeting on line at our website: [easttexashistorical.org](http://easttexashistorical.org).

Stephen F. Austin State University announces the establishment of their Center for Regional Heritage Research. George Avery will direct the Center, which will “blaze a trail that bridges the divide between history, recreation, geography, archaeology, heritage tourism, and interpretation in order to arrive at a destination of improved quality of life and economic development in East Texas.” You can contact the Center for Regional Heritage and Research at [averyg@sfasu.edu](mailto:averyg@sfasu.edu).

The West Texas Historical Association will hold its annual meeting on April 2-4 in Lubbock, TX. Tai Kreidler, Monte Monroe, and the rest of the folks at WTHA always stage an informative and entertaining meeting. For registration and lodging information, contact the West Texas Historical Association at: West Texas Historical Association, Texas Tech University, Box 41041, Lubbock TX, 79409-1041; or via email to [wthayb@ttu.edu](mailto:wthayb@ttu.edu). Phone inquiries can be made to 806-742-9076.

The History Center at Diboll continues to announce new and exciting collections and access for those who research and chronicle East Texas history. Executive Director Jonathan Gerland and his staff are proud to announce new capabilities of its website, including the addition of research finding guides and oral history transcripts. The finding guides can be viewed at <http://www.thehistorycenteronline.com/findingguides.php> and the oral history transcripts are found at [http://www.thehistorycenteronline.com/oralhist transcripts.php](http://www.thehistorycenteronline.com/oralhisttranscripts.php), or they both can be accessed through the Research section of the home page, [www.TheHistoryCenterOnline.com](http://www.TheHistoryCenterOnline.com). They also report a new online exhibit that features a complete transcription of a World War II B-24 nose gunner's flight log and guidelines to teach the exhibit utilizing Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKS), the state's curriculum benchmarks. The exhibit can be found under the Online Exhibits section of the site, or directly at <http://www.thehistorycenteronline.com/exhib-descript.php?id=25>. The new additions are in the implementation stages and complete availability may depend on the progress of the project, but Mr. Gerland and his capable staff are hard at work on bringing this to full completion. For those who have not taken advantage of The History Center's holdings and other materials, it is a truly remarkable resource for East Texas historians.

With the high cost of fuel and everything else, we are all looking for enjoyable ways to spend a beautiful East Texas day. A fine outing for all would be a visit to the A.C. McMillan African American Museum in Emory, TX. Curator/Historian (and all around “jack of all trades”) Ted Lawe will welcome all with open arms and would delight in showing you around his exceptional

museum. The McMillan Museum, named for long-time Emory African American educator A.C. McMillan, is a dazzling array of historical artifacts and memorabilia, with a particular emphasis on the portrayal of African Americans in popular culture through the years. The museum is open on Thursday-Saturday from 10:00-5:00. It is located in downtown Emory.

The Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) board of directors approved the move of TSHA from Austin to Denton at its annual meeting in Corpus Christi in March 2008. TSHA also changed the structure of its leadership; it will now have two different positions, administrative and scholarly. The new chief operating executive of TSHA is executive director J. Kent Calder and the Chief Historian is ETHA member and long-time UNT faculty member Randolph "Mike" Campbell. We offer both Kent and Mike our congratulations and support in their new roles.

The Texas State Historical Association will hold its 113<sup>th</sup> annual meeting in Austin on March 26-28, 2009 at the Palmer Events Center. Three nearby hotels will have special rates for TSHA members and there will be a shuttle service running between the Palmer and the hotels for attendees. You can access more information on the meeting, including hotel reservations, at <http://www.tshaonline.org/about/meeting/>.

The TSHA staff certainly plans ahead. They have issued a call for papers for the 2010 meeting in Dallas, to be held on March 4-6, 2010. The program committee strongly encourages proposals for complete sessions, which should consist of a chair and three paper presenters (or two papers and a commentator). In proposals, please include the following information: (1) session title; (2) names, addresses, phone numbers, e-mail addresses, and institutional affiliations (if any) of the participants; and (3) titles of two or three individual papers and a brief (one page or less) summary of each paper. You can access program work sheets at <http://www.tshaonline.org/about/meeting/program.html>. Please complete a work sheet and mail a copy to the program chair: Kenneth Hafertepe, Baylor University, One Bear Place, Unit 97154, Waco, TX 76798 and a copy to Janice Pinney, TSHA P.O. Box 28527, Austin, TX 78755. The preliminary due date for proposals is February 15, 2009 (for consideration by the initial meeting date in March), and the final due date is April 15, 2009. No proposals will be considered after that date.

The ninth annual Battle of San Jacinto Symposium will be on Saturday April 18, 2009, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., at the Hilton Hotel and Conference Center, University of Houston. Dr. James E. Crisp of North Carolina State University will once again moderate the meeting, his seventh consecutive year in that role. Speakers and topics are still being formulated. Visit the website for additional information: [www.friendsofsanjacinto.org](http://www.friendsofsanjacinto.org). You can also contact Barbara Eaves at [beaves1@comcast.net](mailto:beaves1@comcast.net) or 713-521-0768.

*We encourage all to send information for inclusion in our News and Notes. If you have an item that you wish to appear, please send it to [sosebeem@sfasu.edu](mailto:sosebeem@sfasu.edu) or East Texas Historical Association, Box 6223, SFA Station, Nacogdoches, TX 75962-6223. For guaranteed inclusion in our fall issue, all materials should be received no later than April 15, 2009.*

## BOOK NOTES

By Archie P. McDonald

The *East Texas Historical Journal* publishes reviews of as many works on Texana as possible, with space availability and the ability to locate willing reviewers providing limiting factors. We attempt to provide notices of most other books received, even when the match between book and reviewer proves elusive.

A case in point is Bill Wittliff's *A Book of Photographs from Lonesome Dove*, with Foreword from Larry McMurtry and Introduction by Stephen Harrigan (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819, \$45). Wittliff was co-executive producer of the CBS miniseries based on McMurtry's Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *Lonesome Dove*. The novel was published in 1985 and the television series broadcast four years later, and each is a classic of its genre. As executive producer, Wittliff, a gifted photographer, was on the set daily and so determined from the beginning to document the experience for his own pleasure. The project had an official set photographer who made photos for publicity and documenting the proceedings, so Wittliff's work, at the time, was personal. Some photos are of scenes in the movie, which Wittliff shot simultaneously with the cinematographers; others show the actors or sets in candid reality. McMurtry's foreword and Harrigan's introduction set the tone for the collection and the photos are magnificent, but Wittliff's anecdotes at the end of the book about the experience of making the movie that captured me most – that, and seeing again why we all fell in love with Laurie Darlin' in the first place.

*Bob Bullock: God Bless Texas*, by Dave McNeely and Jim Henderson (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819, \$27) is a biography of Texas' most persistent – and powerful – politician of the last part of the twentieth century by two journalists who reported on his activities for decades. "Persistent," because he held more offices – legislator, secretary of state, comptroller, and lieutenant governor – and longer than any other. McNeely and Henderson are still "reporting" here. Their coverage overflows with anecdotes about Bullock's volatile personality, but they also capture his devotion to the improvement of Texas within the boundaries of state politics. Accounts of Bullock's role in improvements to the state cemetery and construction of the historical museum in Austin are examples. Also cited – frequently – are profane outbursts against friends and employees and foes – including McNeely when Bullock took exception to one of the reporter's columns. Bullock also had a soft side, so their anecdotes also include many kindnesses. What comes through is Bullock's devotion to Texas, but many Democrats will never forgive Democrat Bullock for embracing Republican Governor George Bush, which enabled Bush's success with the Texas legislature on his way to the White House. Still – good book.

*Reel Rangers: Texas Rangers in Movies, TV, Radio & Other Forms of Popular Culture*, by Bill O'Neal (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 21235, Waco, TX 76702, \$22.95), sums up its substance in the title. O'Neal could have added "over the last century" to that title because he writes of popular entertainment por-

traits of Texas Rangers by decades, beginning with silent motion pictures produced in the second decade of the twentieth century. Additional chapters address the same subject for subsequent decades with one exception: John Wayne receives a chapter just for himself, though he played only a few Ranger roles, testimony to his long dominance of the Western genre into which most Ranger portraits fall. Generous illustrations, mostly what Show Business calls “stills” of actors in Ranger roles, enliven the book and remind the reader of the appearance of say Clayton Moore as TV’s Lone Ranger, or Robert Duvall as former Ranger Captain Gus McCrae. Chapter endings also presented O’Neal’s judgment of the “best” – movies, actors, TV series, etc. – of a decade, and a summary of real Ranger happenings in that decade. O’Neal enjoys good relations with the Rangers, their official museum in Waco, and with Bobby Neiman, ETHA member who maintains a website on Rangers, so he is the best person to compile, and evaluate, how Texas’ mythical AND real Rangers have been presented in popular culture.

*A Letter to America*, by David Boren (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr, Norman, OK 73069, \$14.95) expresses concerns of former U.S. senator, governor, and president of the University of Oklahoma about America’s future. Boren begins by relating an experience while serving on the Rhodes Scholarship Selection Committee. He asked finalists for this prestigious award, “How long do you think the United States will be the world’s leading superpower?” According to Boren, all the young scholars, who had responded to difficult academic questions, faltered on this one; most had never entertained the doubt that our country would remain supreme, always. The question poses the opposite, and reflects Boren’s concern that the U.S. is already on that slippery slope. So he wrote this “letter” to Americans, lamenting the intense partisanship of our domestic politics – especially since 1992; campaign corruption, especially the power of money in its process; and dangers inherent in rising deficits and a falling middle class. In the end, Boren cannot answer the question, either, but neither can he let go of the hope that it could still be Morning In America if the nation sheds the philosophy that popularized that slogan. This is a pretty clear statement of opposition to the direction and consequences of the last seven years of American leadership, but not quite an announcement of a return to the political arena.

Sometimes, really pretty books come our way. A case in point is *Finding Birds On The Great Texas Coastal Birding Trail: Houston, Galveston, & The Upper Texas Coast* (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354, \$23) by Ted Lee Eubanks Jr., Robert A Behrstock, and Seth Davidson. This is the part of the Texas coast from which we draw members and likely the part the rest of us visit most often. The authors do not claim this as a field identification guide, but it does include 175 photos of birds and their habitat in full color, plus maps to areas where specific birds most likely can be found. Early chapters provide general information for finding birds, followed by sections on such specific locals as the Bolivar Loop or the Anahuac Loop, with sidebars on finding specific birds. For example, if one wishes to find Prairie Warblers, one is advised to look in “young pine plantations” (p. 45).

If you are a birder and can get to the coast, this is a useful book; if not, you still have all those wonderful pictures.

*Presidential Diversions: Presidents At Play From George Washington to George W. Bush* (Harcourt, Inc., 6277 Sea Harbor Dr, Orlando, FL 332887-6777, \$25), by Paul F. Boller Jr., is the latest in his series of works on presidential and congressional personalities. Folks my age remember Harry Truman and Richard Nixon playing piano, FDR and Herbert Hoover and Jimmy Carter fishing, and of course IKE and many others of our age playing golf. We may be surprised to learn of Washington's fondness for dancing, Lincoln's devotion to Shakespeare and the theatre, or that the 300-pound William Howard Taft and LBJ were our best presidential ballroom dancers. Jefferson's, John Adams', JFK's and Bill Clinton's love of books is well known, and reappreciated here, and Boller also tells us that John Quincy Adams enjoyed swimming in the Potomac River in the buff and sometimes got caught doing so. Boller takes no partisan view of the politics of these forty-three presidents; this is completely about their recreation, PG on the motion picture industry rating scale.

*The Earl of Louisiana*, by A.J. Liebling (Louisiana State University Press, 3990 W Lakeshore Dr, Baton Rouge, LA 70808-4684, \$18.95) with foreword by T. Harry Williams and a new introduction by Jonathan Yardley, is not a biography of Earl K. Long, three-time governor of Louisiana and brother of the state's Kingfish, Huey P. Long. What it is, however, is a magnificent literary snapshot of Louisiana in 1960, when Earl Long failed in his bid for a fourth term as governor but succeeded in winning a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives that only a heart attack prevented him from occupying. Liebling came to Louisiana to report on Long's brief and bizarre incapacitation and occupancy of what he called a "nut house," literally psychiatric hospitals in Galveston, Texas, and Mandeville, Louisiana, for *The New Yorker*. *The Earl of Louisiana* is a reworked version of articles prepared for that magazine and retained the flavor of its Big City condescension toward and condemnation of Southern and Louisiana backwardness. Liebling began his investigation of the flamboyant, crude, eccentric, and always interesting Earl of Louisiana, and became something of an admirer. I lived some of 1960 in Louisiana as a doctoral student at LSU; I'd have to say that this Yankee observed well, learned much, and recorded accurately the bizarre state he likened to a Mediterranean country. That fall I stood in the gallery of the capitol that Huey built and watched the legislature attempt to stop racial integration with interposition. Interposition did not work when Thomas Jefferson proposed it in the 1790s and failed again when Jimmie Davis resurrected the tactic in 1960. Some folks never learn.

Don Graham's latest look at movies about Texas, *State Fare...an irreverent guide to Texas Movies* (Texas Christian University Press, P.O. Box 298300, Fort Worth, TX 76129-8300, \$8.95) is a big bargain in a small book, in fact, the first I have seen in TCU Press' Texas Small Book series, self-advertized as "pocket-sized, illustrated, and priced under \$10...to show why we value the customs, events, and places in the Lone Star State." Graham's credentials as Texas' major-

movie-critic-reporter-in-residence date from his *Cowboys and Cadillacs: How Hollywood Looks At Texas* (1983), so we have a good idea of how he looks at Hollywood – which is with a critical and skeptical eye. *State Fare* starts with a short (think even briefer) sketch on movie making in Texas BEFORE commercialization, then provides synopses *a la* Graham for four silent movies, a handful of “B” movies, five major movies that defined Texas and twenty-three “also ran” movies, all focusing on Texas. I agree with Graham’s evaluations of most of the thirty-seven films included, which is acceptable to him – “Readers may easily supply their own list, for film, more than any media, is a subjective parlor game. One’s dogs are another’s thoroughbreds, and so on” (p. 46). Mostly, I liked *Places In The Heart* (1984) more than Don did.

*A Life In the News: Harry Reasoner*, by Douglass K. Daniel (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819, \$29.95), is part of the Focus On American History Series edited by Don Carleton for the Center of American History and the University of Texas. It is about a fellow from Iowa who grew up in Minnesota and lived most of his adult life in New York. This life was important to East Texans because many of them saw his face and heard his voice daily, then weekly, for thirty-five years when he broadcast the news for CBS and ABC networks or on the time-honored television magazine “60 Minutes.” Daniel’s biography of Reasoner is as good a biography as I have ever read. It is balanced – euphony for telling the story honestly, faults and all. I remember Reasoner’s television persona generically, career-long, rather than individual appearances that stand out such as Walter Cronkite telling us that JFK has perished. Reasoner always seemed such a pleasant sort, blessed with hint of a smile even when he wasn’t smiling. At least we always thought he was smiling. Said Daniel, “Irony attracted Harry and was prime materials for end pieces [commentaries]. His twinkling eyes and wispy smile probably told people watching him on their television sets that he, too, thought something was ridiculous” (p. 117). Reasoner’s rich baritone voice and pleasant, All-American look made him a trusted newsman for millions. I remember Reasoner visiting our campus to deliver a speech and being among those invited to lunch with him while in Nacogdoches. The voice, the face, so familiar, made for an enjoyable experience. Daniel’s book kindles memories of days we were both much younger.

Finally, we conclude with *The Race for the 2008 Republican Nomination* and *The Race for the 2008 Democratic Nomination* (Pelican Publishing Company, 1000 Burmaster St., Gretna, LA 70053-2246, \$16.95), both by Eric Appelman. These collections, which focus on each party’s primaries, are similar to Pelican’s annual publication of the best editorial cartoons for each year. The books are divided into units that reflect specific candidates, primaries, or issues pertinent to each party, so they are not identical in organization. Each contains short, explanatory essays between units, but, as always, the cartoons are the point. I am reminded that political cartoonists, like other news folks, must “feed the beast” daily. In an effort to make a point they are sometimes unkind to the persons they characterize, and sometimes they puncture hot air bags nicely. Naturally, one’s own political leanings determine that interpretation.

**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861*, Raúl Ramos (University of North Carolina Press, 116 S Boundary St, Chapel Hill, NC 27514-3808) 2008. Contents. Map. Illus. Notes. Tables. Index. P. 297. \$35. Hardcover.

San Antonio's *Bexareños* developed a unique point of view says Raúl A. Ramos, that provides a new transnational model for Texas history. Even as Texas emerged as an independent Republic and later as a U.S. state, San Antonio's *Tejano* elite continued to look at both their Mexican and post-Mexican Texas roots in identity formation.

Ramos first examines the formation of *Bexareño* identity locally during the insurgency against Spain. This conflict, in conjunction with the large population of indigenous in Texas, helped the *Tejanos* of San Antonio define their position as both borderland elite and cultural brokers. Later Anglo settlers perpetuated this pattern by relying on *Tejano* elite families to serve as liaison on both local and national levels. With the rise of the Republic and the later annexation, *Bexareños* transitioned from *Tejano* power brokers to suspect Mexicans through the regulation of *Bexareño* cultural practices and growing restrictions on *Tejanos* in politics.

Compared to similar works in the field of borderlands identity, the work lacks the theoretical or historical complexity readers have come to expect. Ramos' focus on societal elite ignores almost completely issues of labor and the lower classes (or even of real racial complexity), as found in Mario T. Garcia's work on El Paso or the broad cultural analysis of William Deverell's work on identity in Los Angeles. Most unfortunately, the author fails on his promise to link moments of identity formation in Mexico with the creation of *Tejano* identity. Capping his narrative at 1861, Ramos misses the opportunity to prove his hypothesis through the two most important moments in Mexican identity formation – The French Intervention (1862-1867) and the Revolution (1910-1920).

Nevertheless, the work serves as an interesting and readable contribution to the discussion of identity formation in borderlands and Texas history from a *Tejano* point of view.

Jason H. Dormady  
Stephen F. Austin State University

*Hecho en Tejas: An Anthology of Texas Mexican Literature*, Dagoberto Gilb, editor (University of New Mexico Press, MSC 04 2820, 1 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001) 2006. Reprint 2007. Contents. B&W and Color Photos. Acknowledgements. P. 552. \$29.95. Paperback.

*Hecho en Tejas: An Anthology of Texas Mexican Literature* is an extraordinary collection of letters, poetry, border ballads, music lyrics, fictional narratives, and other literary forms. Dagoberto Gilb, author of *The Magic of Blood* and *The Last Known Residence of Mickey Acuna*, has assembled the work of various *Tejanos*. The entries, which are organized by decade, reveal the humor, heartbreak, and imagination of *Tejano* writers. In addition, the writings transcend state boundaries by exposing and discussing gender issues and identity and cultural conflicts that were and are present in Mexican-American and Mexican communities throughout the Southwest.

Focusing primarily on twentieth-century prose, *Hecho en Tejas* shows the richness of the *Tejano* literary culture. Gilb begins with an account from Spanish explorer Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and then provides a glimpse into the literary history of *Tejano* communities through anthology entries. Included in the compilation are the proclamation from nineteenth-century rebel Juan N. Cortina, lyrics from renowned vocalist and National Heritage Award recipient Lydia Mendoza, Grammy winner Little Joe, and rapper Chingo Bling, poetry by Josefina Niggli, Angela de Hoyos, and Randy Garibay, and scholarly excerpts from Americo Paredes' *With His Pistol in His Hand* and Jose Angel Gutierrez's *The Making of a Chicano Militant: Lessons from Cristal*. To assist the reader, Gilb includes brief author profiles to accompany their works.

Although *Hecho en Tejas* is a celebration of the *Tejano* literary tradition and history, the works included contain universal themes that would be enjoyed and cherished by all.

Ana Luisa Martinez-Catsam  
The University of Texas of the Permian Basin

*Cemeteries of Ambivalent Desire: Unearthing Deep South Narratives from a Texas Graveyard*, Marie Theresa Hernandez (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2008. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 239. \$24.95. Paperback.

Fort Bend County in Texas may create an image in the reader's mind of the home county to Sugar Land, Texas, infamous because of its history



with Imperial Sugar, also known as Sugar Land Industries, and now known for its mansions and mini-estates. Congressmen and recognized leaders of capitalism reside in Sugar Land, making it a suburb of affluence and sophistication for the wealthy. Yet within the boundaries of this prosperous community lies San Isidro Cemetery where Latino employees of the Imperial Sugar factories have been laid to rest for many years.

The cemetery is named for Saint Isidro de la Labrador, the patron of the laborer, an apt moniker for such a final resting place. High walls surrounding the cemetery guard and protect the sanctity of a burial ground which exists in the middle of all that glitters in Sugar Land. The author likens the atmosphere to a "veil." Hernandez has compiled a collection of narratives about these *mexicanos*, stories really, of their life and work and how they are woven into the fabric of the region. Through diligent research, Hernandez has provided a portrait of laborers the general public seldom encounters. "A Man who works with his hands is a laborer. A Man who works with hands and his heart is a craftsman. A Man who works with his hands, his heart, and his soul is an artist," is carved on one of the estuaries in the cemetery (p. 19).

Hernandez recounts experiences of these hard working laborers, weaving her narrative from archival documents as well as personal oral histories. From the 1880s through the contemporary period, the character of individuals and life long events are compiled in this pleasant study of social class divisions and story of a place. Each life ends in a quiet and peaceful place known as San Isidro cemetery.

Leslie Daniel  
Nacogdoches, Texas

*Texian Macabre: The Melancholy Tale of a Hanging in Early Houston*, Stephen L. Hardin (State House Press, McMurry University, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697-0637) 2007. Contents. Illus. Map. Notes. Chronology. Biblio. Index. P. 325. \$24.95. Hardcover.

This is a story of a killing that resulted in one of the earliest judicially sanctioned hangings during the Republic of Texas, but it is much more than that. Hardin, with a compelling narrative writing style, paints a rich portrait of both the Texas revolution and the rise of the Republic's early capital, built in the muck and mayhem that was Houston in the late 1830s.

David James Jones managed to be one of only twenty-eight men to escape the massacre at Goliad. He later caught up with General Sam

Houston's army in time for the decisive Battle of San Jacinto, and then, like many of that army's soldiers, ended up in Houston without much to his name – save two land certificates, both of which he promptly sold. He had the poor fortune, at a time when killings were common and justice rare, to stab to death a prominent recent emigrant to town. Francis Moore, the one-armed self-righteous editor of the influential *Telegraph and Texas Register*, had just been elected mayor of Houston. Moore successfully pushed for Jones' hanging, along with another miscreant, as an object lesson to the sizable criminal element in Houston.

Hardin deftly weaves Jones' story into the fabric of the Republic's early years. This well-researched account draws upon many sources to give the reader a strong sense of what it was like to live in Houston during those early days. The rats, rain, and ruffians certainly gave the Republic's early leaders plenty of reason to move the capital to Austin as soon as possible.

Gary B. Borders  
Longview, Texas

*200 Texas Outlaws and Lawmen 1835-1935*, Laurence J. Yadon with Dan Anderson, Robert Barr Smith, editor (Pelican Publishing Company, 1000 Burmaster St., Gretna, LA 70053-2246) 2008. Contents. Biblio. Illus. Map. Index. P. 302. \$16.95. Paperback.

The authors describe this work as a “popular history rather than a work of academic scholarship” relying upon “traditional narratives” considered reliable. To qualify, those profiled engaged in at least two gunfights or robberies in which significant gunfights occurred.

This is an acceptable purpose, intending to update the previous format perfected by Bill O'Neal in his *Encyclopedia of Western Gunfighters* (1979). Indeed, the authors use O'Neal's work heavily, as well as other noted historians and entries from *The New Handbook of Texas*.

It is thus surprising that the noted East Texas outlaw Cullen Baker receives a half page, but the Kansas murderess Kate Bender nearly three times the coverage, although she never journeyed to Texas. Nor does Wild Bunch member Laura Bullion belong as she was merely the lover of various Texas outlaws. Neither Bender nor Bullion fulfill the requirement. Bill Conner of Sabine County is included, but other than his gang shooting up Texas Rangers, did he participate in a second gunfight? Why include characters who, by the authors' stated purpose, do not belong?

There are serious errors which an average editor should have caught: Jesse Evans was born in Missouri, not Illinois; Kitty Leroy of Dakota Territory was hardly a "Texas impresario;" John Ringo did not participate in the Sutton-Taylor Feud; Wes Hardin killed Charles Cougar in Abilene, *Kansas*, not Abilene, Texas. Besides these embarrassing errors there are internal contradictions: East Texas outlaw Bill Longley was born on October 6 (p. 23), and October 16 (p. 160); Wild Bill is Hickok (p. 18) but *Hickock* (p. 74). Most embarrassing: John Coffee Hays was not at Round Rock in 1878 when Rangers battled the Sam Bass gang. *200 Outlaws* contains errors too numerous to mention.

The authors' research seems to have been conducted hurriedly and is shallow. It exemplifies the inherent nature of attempting to document a subject of such vast scope without having spent years of serious research. Since this book will be readily available and will appeal to the younger reader with an interest in history, it is unfortunate that so many errors appear. The editor is described as a "distinguished historian" who guided the authors' "literary efforts." He failed both significantly.

Chuck Parsons  
Luling, Texas

*100 Oklahoma Outlaws, Gangsters, and Lawmen, 1839-1939*, Dan Anderson with Laurence Yadon, Robert Barr Smith, Editor (Pelican Publishing Company, 1000 Burmaster St., Gretna, LA 70053-2246) 2007. Contents. Maps. Illus. Biblio. Notes. Acknowledgments. Index. P. 336. \$16.95. Paperback.

*More Oklahoma Renegades*, Ken Butler (Pelican Publishing Company, 1000 Burmaster St., Gretna, LA 70053-2246) 2007. Contents. Maps. Illus. Biblio. Index. P. 384. \$16.95. Paperback.

Two new books from Pelican Press have addressed similar subject matter. *100 Oklahoma Outlaws, Gangsters, and Lawmen, 1839-1939* presents "the entire story of Oklahoma outlawry from the earliest days of Indian Territory to the death of the last criminally active member of the Barker gang in 1939." Co-authors Dan Anderson and Laurence Yadon point out that their book is "a work of popular history rather than of serious scholarship" and that "we have often relied upon familiar, predictable sources and traditional versions of events" [p. 7].

The authors retell many familiar tales, covering outlaws from Rufus Buck to Bonnie and Clyde, and lawmen from Heck Thomas to Bill

Tilghman. Added to the cast of characters are those who simply passed through Oklahoma, such as Al Capone, Tom Horn, and Wild Bill Hickok. Hickok is mentioned as being “nearly forty years old” in 1861 [p. 226], the year in which he turned twenty-four. Included in this “Just Passing Through” section is a sketch of John Wesley Hardin, one of the book’s few connections to East Texas.

*More Oklahoma Renegades* is a follow-up to Ken Butler’s, *Oklahoma Renegades: Their Deeds and Misdeeds* (1997). A native of Oklahoma, Butler spent decades researching the region’s outlaws and lawmen. His second volume about Oklahoma’s renegades covers less familiar individuals, and the connections to East Texas include background mention of such communities as Tyler, Rusk, Hemphill, and Paris, where a federal court was located which dispatched officers in pursuit of Oklahoma criminals. Butler scoured government documents scores of newspapers, and has provided a rich collection of photographs and other illustrations.

Although *100 Oklahoma Outlaws* may catch the eye of the casual reader, *More Oklahoma Renegades* is of far greater value and deeper interest.

Bill O’Neal  
Carthage, Texas

*Planting the Union Flag in Texas: The Campaigns of Major General Nathaniel P. Banks in the West*, Stephen A. Dupree (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2008. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 293. \$40. Hardcover.

In the past decade Civil War historians have paid increased attention to military campaigns in Texas and Louisiana. Through volumes on Galveston and Sabine Pass, Ed Cotham has carefully described Union efforts to gain footholds on the upper Texas coast, while Curt Anders, Thomas Ayres, William R. Brooksher, Gary D. Joiner, and Richard Lowe have examined Union efforts to move up the Red River toward Shreveport and East Texas. Now Stephen D. Dupree, a retired nuclear engineer, has provided an overall view of Union efforts in the area directed by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks

Dupree shows that Banks, who succeeded Ben Butler as commander of the Department of the Gulf in November 1862, made five major efforts to “plant the Union flag in Texas:” the capture and loss of Galveston in autumn and early winter 1862-1863; the unsuccessful effort to move up

Sabine Pass in September 1863; the drive through the bayou country in October-November 1863, the occupation of Brownsville and south Texas in November 1863; and the Red River campaign of March-May 1864. Half of Dupree's volume is devoted to the last effort.

The author does an excellent job in describing the futile efforts of Nathaniel P. Banks to sustain a Federal presence in Texas. While sympathetic to Banks, whom he describes as a "compassionate man" (p. 180) who attempted to "minimize the brutalizing influence of war" (p. 180), Dupree concludes that he failed in a "spectacular manner" (p. 191).

This is a first rate piece of historical writing and research. While there is little new in the story of Banks' failures, the author brings the efforts together in an admirable manner.

Excellent maps prepared by Donald Frazier, photographs of the major participants, and a comprehensive bibliography enhance the text. Those wishing to understand the Civil War on the Texas coast and in western Louisiana can find no better place to begin than with Dupree's volume.

Ralph A. Wooster  
Lamar University

*Black Women in Texas History*, Bruce A. Glasrud and Merline Pitre, editors (Texas A&M Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2008. Contents. Biblio. Contributors. Index. P.235. 19.95. Paperback.

Somewhere in early Texas history an observer remarked that Texas was "hell on dogs and women." The aphorism is certainly true of black women. The lives of Texas' black women were no doubt difficult during slavery, but it very well may have been worse during Reconstruction. It is easy in the early twenty-first century to forget how difficult life was in the past, but Bruce A. Glasrud and Merline Pitre have gathered a distinguished group of authors who have provided their readers with a significant and well-documented history of a group of people often neglected, and also reminds us of how black women persevered and overcame the many obstacles in their paths.

The essay collection begins with the period of slavery to 1865, followed chronologically up to a chapter entitled "Contemporary Black Texas Women: Political and Professional Leadership, 1973-2000." Such an organizational method allows the narrative to flow, although each individual

essay could stand alone as a scholarly achievement. Each entry includes extensive notes for further reading.

The personal stories give this book flesh and blood. There are tales of abuse, injustice in the courts, and “whippings,” as well as some triumphs of the human spirit staying alive, building a family, forming churches and gaining civil rights.

This reader extends a “Bravo” to the editors and their contributors for so successfully fulfilling their aims as promised in the beginning of this collection. More than just a work which is important to black Texas women, many readers will find these personal accounts and their telling revelations broad and deep enough to appeal to any reader who studies Texas and its history.

Joan D. Hodges  
Dallas, Texas

*A Cherokee Encyclopedia*, Robert J. Conley. (University of New Mexico Press, MSC 04 2820, 1 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001) 2007. Contents. Bibliographic Essay. Illus. P. 278. \$24.95. Hardcover.

From Abram of Chilhowie and Ada-gal'kala to Lewie Za-wa-na-skie (Lewis Downing), *A Cherokee Encyclopedia* covers a lot of ground in its small format. It emphasizes Cherokee people with the longest entry not surprisingly that of John Ross, the Cherokee chief who opposed Indian removal in the 1830s. Much can be learned from a close reading of the book, for here are biographies of leaders such as Wilma P. Mankiller; sports figures such as W. Lee O'Daniel Robbins, who spent at least two years in the major leagues with the Los Angeles Angels, and Osley Bird Saunooke, who in 1937 was the Super Heavyweight Wrestling Champion of the World; celebrities such as Will Rogers and movie star Carl Davis Mathews; and scholars such as Daniel F. Littlefield of the University of Arkansas. A few whites, such as James Mooney and Sam Houston, are included.

The entries are mainly brief and written in a lively manner. They cover topics and personalities dating from early in Cherokee history to the present time. When considered in total the entries suggest, again not surprisingly, that Cherokee people have made major contributions to American social and cultural life. They also demonstrate the hardships and difficulties associated with Cherokee removal to Indian Territory, with Cherokee

political differences and tribal divisions, and with current Cherokee Nation and economic issues.

The author, Robert J. Conley, is a professional writer and a member of the Keetoowah Band of Cherokees. His book serves as a handy reference tool, but it is also a joy to read.

Paul H. Carlson  
Texas Tech University

*Biracial Unions on Galveston's Waterfront, 1865-1925*, Clifford Farrington (Texas State Historical Association, P.O. Box 28527, Austin, TX 78755) 2007. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 254. \$29.95. Hardcover.

In this work, Clifford Farrington examines the rise of biracial labor unions among waterfront workers in Galveston. Biracial unions – separate black and white labor organizations in the same industry – arose as a compromise between workers' need for cooperation and the reality of racial division in the post-Civil War South.

Farrington's narrative focuses on the white Screwmen's Benevolent Association which emerged after the Civil War and tried futilely to maintain a monopoly on cotton screwing – an occupation that involved using specialized tools to pack cotton into the hulls of ships. In the 1880s, African Americans broke the SBA's monopoly by taking cotton screwing jobs at lower wages than those commanded by the white union. The SBA, and eventually other waterfront unions, recognized the utility of cooperation across racial boundaries and forged an uneasy alliance with the newly formed black Cotton Jammers Association that withstood repeated efforts by employers to use race as a wedge to destroy biracialism and to lower wages. More threatening, however, were divisions between black workers who supported biracialism and those who distrusted white unions and thought African Americans would do better to take lower wages and gain work. By 1912, biracialism reached its height when Galveston's screwmen agreed to divide work equally. Such an agreement stood out against Texas' now legally entrenched segregation.

Curiously, Farrington barely mentions the historiographical debate over "whiteness" that has roiled recent American labor history. The debate about the utility of "whiteness studies," which focuses on racial identity formation, is often overwrought, but any work on race and class should address the issue. Although Farrington offers little new interpretively,

echoing instead Eric Arnesen's conclusions about New Orleans dockworkers, his work is a fine addition to the growing number of studies on the interaction between black and white workers and to our understanding of Galveston's rich past.

Robert S. Shelton  
Cleveland State University

*On the Border with Mackenzie or Winning West Texas from the Comanches*, Robert G. Carter (Texas State Historical Association, P.O. Box 28527, Austin, TX 78755-8527) 2007. Contents. Illus. Notes. Index. P. 563. \$39.95. Hardcover.

First published in 1935, R.G. Carter's *On the Border with Mackenzie* remains the most complete first-hand account of Indian wars on the Texas frontier during the 1870s. A veteran of the Civil War and a graduate of West Point in 1870, Robert Goldwithe Carter arrived in Texas in September 1870 to take up his first duty assignment with the Fourth Cavalry at Fort Concho. Over the next four years, Carter participated in virtually every major campaign against the Comanche and their Kiowa allies. For his distinguished gallantry in action against Quahada Comanche at the battle of Blanco Canyon in October 1871, Carter received the Medal of Honor.

Charles M. Robinson cautions in the foreword that Carter's account may contain "... flaws in detail, along with good, healthy doses of exaggeration and even fabrication," but the basic story rings true (p. ix). And what a story it is. Accompanying the recollections of harrowing battles, bloody massacres, and thundering stampedes are historically significant descriptions of Galveston and San Antonio in the 1870s, the basic layouts of frontier forts such as Concho, Griffin, Richardson, Clark, overland transportation systems of the period, and the abundant flora and fauna of late nineteenth century Texas. Carter also humanizes aspects of military life that often are lost amidst the dust of battle narratives – the daily grind of long campaigns, the quest to locate adequate food, water, and shelter, the importance of good horses, and the ambivalence that some soldiers felt about their Indian adversaries.

*On the Border with Mackenzie* is a fascinating book and an essential reference to any study dealing with the Texas Indian wars. With few exceptions, Carter portrays his comrades-in-arms as heroic defenders of American civilization who "won" West Texas from the Comanche. Such a



depiction, as Robinson points out, may explain why Carter's work has not carried over into modern times. As part of the Texas State Historical Association's Fred H. and Ella Mae Moore's Texas History Reprint Series, the book will be accessible to future generations of readers interested in learning about duty, sacrifice, hardship, and valor through the experiences of a young officer in Ranald S. Mackenzie's Fourth Cavalry.

Thomas A. Britten  
University of Texas at Brownsville

*Inventing the Fiesta City: Heritage and Carnival in San Antonio*, Laura Hernández-Ehrisman (University of New Mexico Press, MSC04 2820, 1 University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001) 2008. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 283. \$29.95. Hardcover.

For those who love a Texas-sized party, there is none bigger than Fiesta San Antonio. This ten-day, fun-filled rite of spring in the Alamo City attracts several million visitors each year to experience an array of parades, foods, and cultures. Laura Hernández-Ehrisman's *Inventing the Fiesta City* offers a critical examination of Fiesta's origins in San Antonio during the late nineteenth century with the commemoration of the Texas Revolution and its transformation into a modern-day secular celebration like others across the nation, but with a twist that reflects San Antonio's uniquely Southern, Western, and Mexican identities.

Hernández-Ehrisman successfully conveys a distinction between an ambivalent and complex "inventing the fiesta city" from the fixed, binary racial lesson of inventing the Alamo City. She argues that Fiesta is not only the history of the dominant Anglo and German class that she calls the "heritage elite," who invented the Battle of Flowers parade in 1891, but about women and *Mexicanos* "transgressing boundaries of home and segregated neighborhood" (p. 14). Relying upon published newspaper articles and secondary sources, the author brilliantly weaves otherwise separate histories into one.

Each chapter involves actors of overlapping eras adding new events and royalty that the founders did not intend. For example, the creation of NIOSA (Night in Old San Antonio) in 1948 represented the struggle of women in the San Antonio Conservation Society such as Emily Edwards, who was born in San Antonio and taught art at Hull House in Chicago before studying under Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, versus preservationists such as Clara Driscoll and Adina De Zavala, members of the

Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Meanwhile, Reynolds Andricks, a civil engineer and executive secretary of the Fiesta San Jacinto Association, founded the Fiesta Flambeau parade that same year with its new monarch, Miss Fiesta, as representative of a more democratic society. In the post-WWII era, pro-business government and middle-class organizations now share power formerly belonging to a few privileged families, though this distribution is far from complete.

Francis X. Galán  
Our Lady of the Lake University

*Audie Murphy: War Hero and Movie Star*, Judy Alter (State House Press, McMurry University, Box 637, Abilene, TX 79697-0637) 2007. Contents. Illus. Appendices. Glossary. Websites. Index. P. 72. \$14.95. Hardcover.

This book is about a young boy named Audie Murphy who grew up on a farm in Northeast Texas. Leon Audie Murphy was born on June 20, 1924, near the small town of Kingston, Texas, in Hunt County, northeast of Dallas. Audie was the sixth child born to the Murphy family. There was a total of twelve children born to the family and three of them died. Many thought that the Murphy family was lazy, but in reality they had no education and did what they could as sharecroppers.

In 1940, Audie's father left home and this is when Audie dropped out of school and picked cotton to help support his family. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Audie's mother passed away the same year. So, in 1942, he had his eighteenth birthday and he joined the army.

Audie was assigned to the Third Division, Company B. His company landed in southern Sicily in July 1943. He killed his first enemy soldier in Sicily. The company then landed in Anzio, an Italian Resort town, on January 22, 1944.

During his time in the Army, Audie was awarded the Medal of Honor, the Silver Star with Oak Leaf Cluster, a Bronze Star, Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster, Good Conduct medal, the Distinguished Service Cross, and a World War II Victory Medal. He came back home a hero.

In 1945, Audie was featured on the cover of *Life Magazine*. In 1955, he made a movie, "To Hell and Back," based on his autobiography. At the time, Audie was a contract actor with Universal Studios, but by the 1960s Universal chose not to renew his contract.

On May 28, 1971, Audie Murphy and several other men were passengers on a private plane. The plane crashed in fog and rain on the side of a mountain near Roanoke, Virginia. All aboard the plane were killed.

I really think that the book is kind of interesting. I enjoyed reading this book and would like to read more just like it.

Noah Rains  
Fort Belvoir, Virginia

*Mrs. Cordie's Soldier Son: A World War II Saga*, Rocky R. Miracle (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2008. Contents. Illus. Epilogue. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 174. \$24.95. Hardcover.

This study is a strong comment about the twentieth century's Great Generation, the one comprised of people who had to cope with and survive the Great Depression, the worst in United States history, then confront global militaristic totalitarianism and defeat Germany and Japan on a worldwide stage to save what was best in world civilization. Miracle's micro-study of World War II focuses on D.C. Caughran, Jr., a Northeast Texan born in 1921 in Forney, Texas, who grew up in tiny Chisholm, not far from the Forney area. Twenty years old when he received his draft notice in mid-1942, Caughran was destined for high – if unpleasant – adventure during World War II, first as a fighting man, then as a prisoner-of-war. Most importantly, Caughran wrote his parents often, and they preserved his letters, the major building block of Miracle's account of a soldier's war.

As he began his book, the author set young Caughran's "stage" with an overview of rural Northeast Texas prior to World War II by discussing the way of life in the area the young man called home. Next, Miracle devotes attention to the subject's early life. Caughran graduated from Rockwall High School and John Tarleton Junior College before transferring to the University of Texas, but the draft interrupted his education before he completed his studies.

The new soldier completed basic training at Camp Wolters, located near Mineral Wells, Texas. Because of his poor eyesight, Caughran's superiors refused to put him in a combat unit, instead assigning him to the Signal Corps, where he became a clerk. In the winter of 1944, the high command sent Caughran to England. Still in the Signal Corps, he participated in the allied invasion of Normandy and the liberation of France. His unit followed

the fighting men and set up rudimentary governments in liberated areas until the French could take over. Caughran's unit operated behind the fighting front when the Germans began the Battle of the Bulge. The unit was captured and Caughran spent the rest of the war in a German stalag.

Writing home when he could, Caughran assured his parents that he was treated well enough to survive. He mentioned several German guards, including one who shared his food with some of the American prisoners, risking certain punishment should his superiors learn of his humane acts. Despite the actions of kindly guards, Caughran commented on the poor quality of the "food" served to prisoners, some of it bulked up by sawdust, and on the harsh winter of 1944-1945 when many prisoners had no warm clothing and no blankets. Red Cross packages brought relief to some, but the benevolent agency could not reach every stalag. Through it all Caughran never commented on ill behavior of the guards; he witnessed no overt war crimes. Liberated in April 1945, Caughran recuperated in various camps in France before coming home later in the year.

Using Caughran's letters, Miracle presents a "common" soldier's wartime experience in one of the most defining conflicts in American history, one the Great Generation had to win to preserve Western Civilization.

James M. Smallwood  
Oklahoma State University, *Emeritus*

*Hell under the Rising Sun: Texan POWs and the Building of the Burma-Thailand Death Railway*, Kelly E. Crager (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2008. Contents. Illus. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 196 \$29.95. Hardcover.

On the eve of America's entry into World War II, a group of Young National Guardsmen began the process of completing their basic training at Camp Bowie in Brownwood, Texas. Because they were Guardsmen, many of them came from the same town, in this case, Jacksboro. After completing their training, they were sent to the Philippines, but because of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, were detoured to the island of Java. The ensuing Japanese conquest of Java was swift and these young men, along with survivors of the sinking of the *USS Houston*, became prisoners of war. They were sent to Burma and participated in the building of the famous Burma-Thailand railway.

This work chronicles the harsh conditions the prisoners endured, including infections, disease, beatings, and near-starvation. Crager choos-

es to mention only briefly the actual account of the building of the 260 mile railway, as this bit of history has received a great deal of attention by earlier historians. Instead, he offers the reader of stories of individuals, often gripping and always interesting, that reveal heroism and a strong will to survive by the young men from Jacksboro.

Crager's research comes from the National Archives, as well as the oral interviews given by many of the survivors, although Crager himself did not conduct the interviews. Because of this, the book has a bit of an impersonal element to it and some of the stories seem, at times, redundant. Nevertheless, *Hell under the Rising Sun* offers another glimpse into the horrors and survival instincts experienced by POWs, especially at the hands of the Japanese, and reminds those of us who were born after World War II that these young men were a vital part of the aptly named Greatest Generation.

Mark Choate  
Austin, Texas

*Salt Warriors: Insurgency on the Rio Grande*, Paul Cool (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 2008. Contents. Illus. Epilogue. Notes. Biblio. Index. P. 360. \$24.95. Hardcover.

Anyone who has waited for a long overdue reassessment of the El Paso Salt War of 1877 need wait no more. Author Paul Cool revisits the storied border conflict that, despite appearing only a local dispute-turned-blood feud, symbolized the greater cultural clash for control of an immense land and the wealth it represented. Mining a rich vein of primary sources unavailable to – or neglected by – earlier investigators, Cool presents a balanced and convincing case for his thesis: both the causes and consequences of the Salt War were far more complex than portrayed in the past, and the story of the insurgency must be recounted not merely in military terms but in the context of competing social, political, and economic interests.

Free of the biases that have too often burdened previous chroniclers, Cool relies on the massive quarry of public documents at his disposal. He carefully reexamines the role of state Ranger forces dispatched by Texas Governor Richard Hubbard to quell the “revolt” and restore “order” to the upper Rio Grande. In so doing, while defending the reputation of Ranger Captain John B. Tays, Cool depicts Tays's enlisted men as a disorderly

mob of misfits, mercenaries, man-killers, and near-do-wells, hardly the Hollywood image of the heroic Texas Rangers of lore and legend.

In the end, Cool explains why the bitter legacy of the Salt War remains today. In so doing he reminds the reader of the relevance of the troubled history of the crooked border that separates two peoples and two countries. He also recalls the truth that people of Mexican heritage – on both sides of the river – hold just claim that the land shadowed by the Guadalupe Mountains and the people's salt it yielded belonged to them, and would always belong to them.

Michael L. Collins  
Midwestern State University

*Dolph Briscoe: My Life in Texas Ranching and Politics*. Dolph Briscoe As told to Don Carleton (The Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin, 1 University Station D1100, Austin, TX 78712-0335) 2008. Contents. B&W Photos. Index. P. 284. \$29.95. Hardcover.

True to its title, this interesting and informative biography of Dolph Briscoe provides an equal mix of ranching history and political history spanning the 1930s through the 1970s. Born into a ranching family in Uvalde, Texas in 1923, Dolph Briscoe steadily accumulated ranch lands across south Texas and northern Mexico to become the state's largest landholder. Along the way, he served four terms in the state legislature (1949-1957) and as governor from 1973 to 1979. Over the course of the last eight years, Briscoe sat for a series of interviews with Don Carleton, director of the Center for American History at UT Austin. Carleton's transcriptions of their discussions provide the foundation for this book.

Briscoe got his start in ranching soon after his return from service in World War Two. As owner-operator of the 13,000 acre Dry Frio Ranch, he worked diligently battling screwworms, burning thorns off prickly pear, and experimenting with new agricultural methods to restore grass and pasture. Following the death of his father in 1954, Briscoe inherited a virtual ranching empire encompassing some 190,000 acres. Six years later, he gained election as president of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association where he played a key role in the implementation of a successful national screwworm eradication project.

While ranching is his lifelong vocation, Briscoe was keenly interested in politics and in 1948 won a seat in the state legislature. A moderate

Democrat and opponent of high taxes and unbridled government spending, Briscoe often sought the advice and tutelage of fellow Democrat and Uvalde resident John Nance Garner. During the 1950s and 60s, Briscoe's position as a prominent rancher and politician brought him into frequent contact with Lyndon B. Johnson, Sam Rayburn, and John Connally. After an unsuccessful run for the governorship in 1968, Briscoe came back to win a close contest in 1972 and re-election to a four year term in 1974.

In the final chapters of the book, he provides a candid appraisal of his six-year tenure as governor, his role in the 1972 presidential primaries, and an explanation for his unsuccessful bid for reelection to a third term in 1978.

This book is no self-congratulatory biography and succeeds as both a ranching history and political history of contemporary Texas. Briscoe's anecdotes regarding his association with several prominent 20<sup>th</sup> century Texans makes it particularly interesting reading.

Thomas A. Britten  
University of Texas at Brownsville

*Mary Martin, Broadway Legend*, Ronald L. Davis (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr, Norman, OK 73069) 2008. Contents. B&W Photos. Notes. Index. P. 312. \$26.95. Hardcover.

Conviction, stamina, and the pocketbook of a Weatherford, Texas, lawyer father was on her side and the little country West Texas girl worked long and hard to be what she wanted to be. Nothing just "happened" for Mary Martin – she wanted something and she made it happen. This is an exciting, interesting, fact-filled account on how Martin dreamed her dreams and succeeded.

The author, Ronald Davis, with the friendship and help of Martin's dearest and oldest friend, has had the good fortune to get to know his subject well and adeptly told her story. He has given an insightful, intimate, and entertaining story of the stage and personal life of one of the greatest Broadway stars in history. Along with the flash and glamour are the heartaches, trials, and tribulations of a woman who knew what she wanted and convinced the most difficult critics she had what it took to succeed. Sacrifice of family, long sojourns away from them, hard work, ingenuity, and a great presence on stage landed her more opportunities than she ever dreamed and recognition as the best in her field.

Davis does a superb job of chronicling Martin's hard times in climbing the ladder to success and equally difficult times in holding on to it. Step by step he focuses on how she finally broke through the hard shell of show biz and then methodically goes through ever major success on Broadway. Special attention is given to the early years and then some discussion on the making of her most famous productions, including *South Pacific*, *Peter Pan*, and *The Sound of Music*. Of great interest were the times she made a production work by sheer energy and ability to improvise, fill in for those who could not produce in a show, and making sure they traveled out of the major cities on to reach the people of America.

Martin's juggling of family life and work, the problems and successes of her producer husband, Richard Halliday, and the estrangement from her son, Larry Hagman, were all discussed with compassion. Mary Martin personifies the energetic, talented, hardworking, stubborn, mouthy Texas woman! The reader will not only learn much about show biz and a star, but will be thoroughly entertained throughout the book. I couldn't put it down!

Linda J. Cross  
Tyler, Texas

*How the South Joined the Gambling Nation: The Politics of State Policy Innovation*, Michael Nelson and John Lyman Mason (Louisiana State University Press, 3990 W Lakeshore Dr, Baton Rouge, LA 70808) 2007. Contents. Notes. Index. P. 263. \$35. Hardcover.

Only Nevada allowed casino gambling, and no state had a lottery in 1963. By 2006, eleven states permitted casino gambling, and forty-one, plus the District of Columbia, had lotteries. All the Southern states except Alabama and Arkansas had joined "the gambling nation." That Mississippi and Georgia, states of the Bible Belt, should emerge as examples to the rest of the nation – Mississippi its casinos, Georgia its lottery – intrigued the authors, both political scientists from Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee, and this excellent study is their explanation for this dramatic shift in Southern life. Their conclusions are based on case studies of seven Southern states – Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Clearly written, adequately indexed, and amply endnoted, though lacking a bibliography, this is a book for scholars that a general audience may also appreciate.

It was state government, not the federal government, that initiated this "third wave" in gambling, the first occurring during the colonial era when



all the colonies had lotteries, the second in the latter nineteenth century when most of the Southern states revived the tradition. Searching for ways since the 1960s to fund services without resorting to higher taxes, state after state surrendered to temptation but not without a battle from morality's defenders who stoutly resisted the constitutional amendments needed to make gambling legal. In the resulting tug-of-war the gamblers generally outflanked the moralists on casinos by permitting local option, which seemed so fair and democratic, and on lotteries by allowing the people in statewide referenda to vote "yes" or "no" on the issue. This made it possible for politicians in conservative districts to denounce the "sin" while supporting the public's right to vote. And if all else failed, sin became virtue by earmarking gambling proceeds for the state's school children.

While some readers will be disappointed that Texas was not included, or that the Indian tribes were given short shrift, the authors are to be commended for opening the door to a fascinating field of study.

John W. Storey  
Lamar University

*Moyers on Democracy*, Bill Moyers (Doubleday, 1745 Broadway, New York, NY 10019) 2008. P. 403. Index. \$26.95. Hardcover.

In this second volume of speeches and essays – the first was *Moyers on America* – Bill Moyers continues his crusade against the current condition of journalism, the sale of a political candidate to the highest contributor, the distortion of history, and what he sees as the excesses of Right Wing politics and religion. Many of the twenty-five speeches included were delivered to organizations and universities honoring Moyers and his wife Judith.

Interspersed are eloquent eulogies to men and women who had a profound effect on the nation, including Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, CBS News chief Fred W. Friendly, Riverside Church pastor William Sloane Coffin, and First Lady Lady Bird Johnson, personal friends all.

Anyone familiar with *Bill Moyers Journal* on PBS, his many documentaries – which have won more than thirty Emmys – or his speeches know that at some point Moyers will make reference to Marshall, his hometown, and the colorful characters he met and wrote about when he began his journalism career on the local newspaper. That practice continues in this volume.

Moyers has been concerned about current coverage by the mainstream media of events that have a primary effect on the lives of ordinary citizens. Why report on the state of the economy, the truth about the buildup to a preemptive war against an oil-rich Middle Eastern nation, the attack on scientific research by the present administration when television and newspapers can get by with reporting the latest murder or celebrity outrage and the public is satisfied?

Moyers told the National Conference for Media Reform "By no stretch of the imagination can we say the dominant institutions of today's media are guardians of democracy. Despite the profusion of new information 'platforms'... the resources for solid journalistic work, both investigative and interpretative, are contracting rather than expanding."

In September 2005, Bill and Judith Moyers were selected to receive the President's Medal, Union Theologian Seminary's highest recognition. In exchange they were asked only "that in response we speak what was on our minds."

Moyers began his speech with a reference to Central Baptist Church in Marshall, "where I was baptized in the faith, [and] we believed in a free church in a free state. I still do."

It was a commitment so strong it led him to become an ordained minister. A free church in a free state...

Such a revolutionary idea led to the creation of a Constitution and Bill of Rights "that made no mention of God, would be a haven for 'the cause of the conscience.'"

Now, Moyers said, the right to be loyal to the Constitution with no requirement that a belief in God or subscription to the Christian religion is required, is at risk. Edward Gibbon wrote in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* that while theologians could describe religion as descended from Heaven it was the responsibility of historians "or journalists" to look at religion without the halos. Militant Islam is not the only religion spouting hate and calling it God's word. "The religious Right is using God as a battering ram on almost every issue: crime and punishment, foreign policy, health care, taxation, energy regulation and social services."

Three years later that belligerent attitude came home to bite leading Democratic and Republican presidential candidates. Both Barack Obama and John McCain found it necessary to separate themselves from preachers whose strident statements caused more than embarrassment; they were recognized as unacceptable violations of common decency.

In his introduction, Moyers wrote, "We have fallen under the spell of money, faction and fear ... Hope no longer seems the operative dynamic in America."

Devotees of Fox News, Rush Limbaugh, and other right-wing pundits will hate *Moyers on Democracy*. They may not read it, but they will hate it nonetheless. Folks who thrive on the latest undoings of Britney Spears or Paris Hilton will find it boring. But anyone willing to look for the facts left untouched by most of the popular media and the inevitable conclusion of being cheated will find it riveting.

Gail K Beil  
Marshall, Texas

*Houston Deco: Modernistic Architecture of the Texas Coast*, Jim Parsons and David Bush (Bright Sky Press, P.O. Box 416, Albany, TX 76430) 2008. Contents. Biblio. Color Photos. Index. P. 128. \$24.95. Hardcover.

The quickest way to arouse a public hue and cry to prevent the wanton destruction of historical architectural treasures scheduled for demolition is – to *show them* – what they are about to lose that will vanish forever from their civic landscape. And that is what Jim Parsons and David Bush most admiringly have done in this work. Parsons, a freelance researcher, writer, and photographer, and Bush, director of Programs and Information for the Greater Houston Preservation Alliance, teamed together to document in over 100 photographs the modernistic architectural treasures of the Houston area that were built in the first half of the twentieth century and which exhibit features of the Art Deco, Art Modern, and International Style.

In this case, one picture is worth a thousand words – and their photographs visually catalogue architectural gems according to the categories of commercial, theatrical, institutional, residential, and industrial, with accompanying informative captions as to the date of their construction, architect, and location. To see these buildings profiled so beautifully is to educate us as to their presence and elicit the desire to safe keep them forever. That is the intention that motivated Parsons and Bush to assemble this book, and concomitant Web site, which emerged from the “Endangered Deco” preservation project in the Texas Gulf Coast area.

After conducting extensive research in archives and libraries, Parsons and Bush hit the pavement to find extant modernistic architectural gems built in the 1920s through 1940s extant in surrounding towns and neighborhoods. Most have been razed, and others retrofitted to accommodate modernization, with only their outer facades remaining. The authors man-

aged to locate ninety-six still standing, and in doing so, have made a significant contribution toward documenting a slice of Texas architectural history. By expertly photographing the buildings, they highlight the distinctive architectural features of each. In the introduction, Bush provides a brief description of the differences among modernistic architectural styles. But the beautiful photographs of individual buildings and their details more effectively convey the subtle nuances between each. This makes Parsons and Bush's work approachable, useful, and enjoyable to a broad audience.

In this era of bland "big box" stores, it is important for citizens who wish to preserve and protect the distinctive architectural heritage and identity of their communities to know just where those treasures lie hidden and how to bring them to public awareness and attention. Parsons and Bush have paved the way by showing how we might similarly take a first step toward undertaking such an endeavor. Beauty once so publicly exposed is much harder to extinguish in secret.

Holle Humphries  
Lubbock, Texas

*Big Thicket People: Larry Jene Fisher's Photographs of the Last Southern Frontier*, Thad Sitton and C.E. Hunt (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2008. Contents. B&W Photos. Notes. Biblio P. 140. \$29.95. Hardcover.

Although a much clichéd phrase, a picture *is* worth a thousand words when one is perusing the photographs of this book. Larry Jene Fisher's pictures of the people and their life ways of the Big Thicket of Texas are a cultural treasure. Fisher had the insight to realize that a unique cultural and ecological heritage was on the verge of disappearing and spent almost two decades of his life working to record and document how the "plain folks" of the Big Thicket went about making a living from the woods and swamps. Starting about 1939, Fisher took thousands of photographs over a twenty-year period.

Authors Thad Sitton and C .E. Hunt provide a historical overview of what it was like to live in the Big Thicket and an insightful biography of Fisher. The photographs are presented in subject groupings with titles such as "Town Life," "Turpentineing," and "Southerners in the Big Woods," just to mention a few. A cultural essay is provided for each group of photographs by Sitton.

Something unique about the history of the Big Thicket is that many of the people who lived there during the 1930s and 1940s still lived off the land in the much the same fashion as earlier generations. For example, old-time knowledge such as how to build a “mud-daub” chimney on a log house out of mud and moss was still practiced by Thicket inhabitants. Fisher’s photographs of a “chimney daubing” and Sitton’s accompanying essay describing the process and its significance as a community social event are insightful.

I think the authors selected a compelling and evocative set of photographs from Fisher’s large collection and recommend this book to anyone interested in the history and culture of East Texas and the Big Thicket.

Rick L Hammer  
Hardin-Simmons University

*A Texas Journey: The Centennial Photographs of Polly Smith*, Evelyn Barker (University of Oklahoma Press, 2800 Venture Dr, Norman, OK 73069) 2008. Contents. Images. Appendix. Biblio. Notes. Index P. 216. \$ 49.95. Hardcover.

In this impressive work, Evelyn Barker provides the reader with a glimpse into the life and work of one of Texas’ premier photographers, Polly Smith (1907-1980). Sixty full-page images are included in the work. The dust jacket image of Pistol Hill, located just outside Kilgore, is such a gem that alone is reason to acquire this work for your library.

Before this publication, images of Polly Smith, the “Texas Centennial Exposition Photographer,” were documented in permanent wall displays within the North and East Texas rooms at the Hall of State in Dallas and in the Steck Company’s 1936 publication, *This is Texas: A Photographic Tour of the Greatest State* (1936).

Born in Ruston, Louisiana, Frances Sutah Smith (Polly Smith) moved frequently until her family arrived in Austin in 1921. She became fascinated with photography while attending Austin High School. Following a brief stay at the University of Texas, Smith moved to New York and studied photography at the Clarence H. White School. Upon returning to Texas, she began work as a professional photographer.

J. Frank Dobie was probably responsible for recommending Polly to the Texas Central Centennial Exposition. Her assignment, beginning in October 1935, was to “supply the...Exposition with photographs, 8 x 10 glossy, of subjects, they select and/or subjects of my own creation.”

Polly's images for the Centennial focused on agriculture, oil, ranching, timber, historic sites, and architecture. These photographs, taken with a 5 x 7 Home Portrait Graflex camera, were used heavily in Centennial promotional materials as well as trade magazines.

Following the Centennial Exposition, Smith freelanced in Houston before working for the Dallas Aviation School, Falstaff Brewing, the Matador Ranch, Delta Airlines, and American Airlines. She left photography in 1948 and moved to California with her family. Polly Smith died in Auburn, California, with no regrets. Before her death, she was quoted, "you know I've been happy all my life."

This book should prove popular with readers who are interested in Texas photography and art.

John Crain  
Dallas, Texas

*Russell Lee Photographs*, John Szarkowski, Foreword, J.B. Colson, Introduction (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 2007. Contents. B&W Photos. Acknowledgments. P. 240. \$50. Hardcover.

Words are powerful and capable of imaginative description of people, places, events, and moods, as well as a sweeping array of other subjects; however, words as descriptors can be overshadowed by skillfully crafted photographs such as those made by Russell Lee.

Lee is most often recognized for the body of work he did as a Farm Security Administration photographer from 1936 to 1942; but he was much more than that, as is clearly demonstrated in *Russell Lee Photographs*. The book contains over 140 images from the Russell Lee Photograph Collection at the Center for American History in Austin, Texas.

The context for the images, 101 of which have never appeared in book print, is set in the Foreword by John Szarkowski, one of America's leading photography curators and critics and a former director of the Museum of Modern Art. The introduction is by Lee's friend and colleague, J.B. Colson, professor *emeritus* at the University of Texas, Austin. Images were selected and arranged by Linda Peterson, head of Photographic and Digital Archives at the Center for American History, into groups: Lee's early works from New York and Woodstock; Spanish-speaking people of Texas; the physically and mentally impaired; political campaigns; commercial work; and scenes of life in small towns.

Anyone who has tried to manage flash photography or darkroom machinations will certainly recognize in Lee a master craftsman. However, it is not his technical skill alone which set him apart from most camera owners but his ability to recognize the significance in ordinary scenes and to capture them unobtrusively which makes his work extraordinary.

Lee documented priceless vignettes of poverty and plenty, service and servitude, inaction and interaction, people at work and people at play. Most of the images, including many from Texas, are from Lee's post-FSA work; hence, the book contains no images of life in East Texas – to see the work he did in East Texas, you will have to look into his FSA work. Some images are from Lee's pre-FSA work, and they provide insight into why Roy Stryker hired him as an FSA photographer.

R.G. Dean  
Nacogdoches, Texas

*The Only War We Had: A Platoon Leader's Journal of Vietnam*, Michael Lee Lanning (Texas A&M University Press, 4354 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1987. Reprint 2007. Contents. Map. P. 293. \$19.95. Paperback.

Much like any war, the conflict in Vietnam generated its share of books about America's involvement. Many are political evaluations of the fight to implement America's policy of "Containment" to stop the spread of communism in a country on the other side of the globe. Written by "experts," there seems to be more opinions of what went wrong, or right, than stars in the sky.

Others works are more personal, more revealing. They are, arguably, the best kind, first-hand accounts of life in the jungles and rice paddies of that Southeast Asian country, penned both by enlisted men and officers, common soldiers with no axe to grind, no political agenda, nothing to prove. Michael Lee Lanning's *The Only War We Had: A Platoon Leader's Journal of Vietnam*, is one such book, but Lanning fails to generate much emotion with his version of that war.

The first of a proposed trilogy covering the Vietnam War, *The Only War We Had* is based upon the personal journal Lanning kept while serving as a small combat unit leader. Originally published in 1987, this reprint from 2007 covers the period from April through October 1969. The format lists journal entries, after which Lanning elaborates, more than ten years later, on the day's events. Perhaps it is the distance of intervening years, or

fading memory, but the effort lacks passion. In addition, memory blurs over time, especially regarding minute details. It may be argued that one never forgets important events in one's life, but despite the descriptions of combat, there is detachment and a lack of "flow." The result is a disjointed and artificial feeling to the whole.

Although an autobiography, entries beginning "I" leave the reader with the feeling that the focus and real star of the story is Lanning. It is a story of one man's involvement in the Vietnam War, but there are better such books. Philip Caputo's *A Rumor of War*, Ron Kovic's *Born on the Fourth of July*, and others do a better job of conveying what it was like to live, day-to-day in what for many Americans was the hell of Vietnam.

It may be true, in Lanning's words, "It was popular among many who fought to say that Vietnam 'wasn't much of a war, but it was the only war we had.' I can only add that it was enough of a war for me," but that saying evokes a "make-do" attitude, and *The Only War We Had* inspires one to look elsewhere for the "Vietnam experience."

Dennis Bradford  
Nacogdoches, Texas

*Folklore in Motion: Texas Travel Lore*, Kenneth L. Untiedt, editor (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 311336, Denton, TX 76203-1336) 2007. Contents. Illus. Contributors. Index. P. 307. \$36.95. Hardcover.

Travel and the metaphor of the journey is basic to the earliest literature, tales, and stories of this or any other place on earth. Editor Kenneth L. Untiedt hits his stride in this volume with an excellent title that encompasses what the book is about, including fact and folklore – past, present, and future.

Untiedt notes that travel is affected by many things – economics, customs, personal beliefs. Texans, from the earliest times, seem to have wanderlust and there was and is plenty of space still to wander in, provided you can afford the gas. Untiedt continues, "Folklore itself travels, and changes as it does." ... "Travel also causes us to cross barriers, invade territory."

Sections entitled "Folk Travel in Texas" and "Back in the Day" deal with the past and make use of exemplary papers and/or articles new and old. Roads, bridges, wagon trains, farms and ranches, and literal journeys to and from places, language, and food are covered. "The Modern Era" is devoted to tales of railroads and highways and cars, and marks most clear-



ly the idea that life is a journey. "Still Movin' On" includes airplanes, drag racers, Route 66, and modern thoughts. And with the price of gas, travel gives us pause and some of us start to re-explore the places close to home – never a bad idea. Scattered throughout are photos, illustrations, song lyrics, tales, stories, and reminiscences, but the richest treasures of all deal with visiting kinfolks – finding home again.

Joyce Gibson Roach  
Keller, Texas

*Traces of Forgotten Places*, Don Collins (Texas Christian University Press, TCU Box 298300, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 2008. Contents. Illus. List of Plates. P. 162. \$19.95. Paperback.

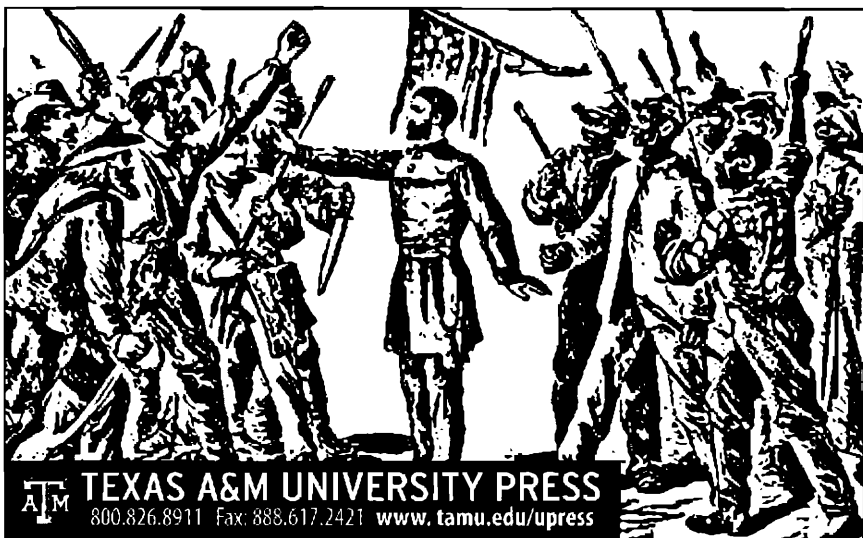
Reading through Don Collins' *Traces of Forgotten Places*, a collection of drawings and brief reminiscences of travels throughout Texas in the past forty years or more, feels a bit like taking a Sunday drive in the countryside with a favorite uncle. That assumes the favorite uncle has artistic talent and can produce beautiful sketches of old houses, barns, railroad depots, gins, general stores, courthouses, and other historic buildings. An introduction by historian T. Lindsay Baker – who has spent years wandering in out-of-the-way locations – sets the tone for the reader's armchair tour of mostly rural Texas sites, illustrated by outstanding drawings that originally graced the popular annual calendars printed by the Miller Blueprint Company of Austin. Each drawing is accompanied by a reminiscence by Collins, some relating his feelings about the subject, some explaining his reasons for choosing a particular scene to sketch, and some justifying his use of composite images, such as combining a drawing of a 1920s Ferguson tractor from Dime Box with one of an old house in Manor (pp. 28-29), or inserting two old pickup trucks from Oklahoma into a sketch of a tumble-down barn near La Grange (pp. 34-35), in what he calls "artist's license."

As a compilation of favorite images and artist notes, the book serves as a nice tour of interesting places. Collins' skill in drawing intricate details provides a valuable record of a slice of Texas architectural history. That record would be strengthened with a bit more information and historical research. Only a handful of the images are dated, leaving the reader wondering when most of the images were captured. The issue of location also raises questions, and the reader is left to wonder if the sites are described vaguely on purpose to prevent people from trampling through private

property to see them, or if Collins simply did not keep accurate records regarding where he found many of the subjects. Similarly, had the author made some simple inquiries, the reader would know more about the history and, in some cases, eventual restoration of some of the buildings. Such statements as “I wish I knew more about it” when the accompanying drawing depicts a state historical marker (p. 146); “This little house is of no architectural significance” (p. 44); and again, “This is a house of absolutely no architectural significance” (p. 53), reveal a lack of understanding of basic historical research and a puzzling under appreciation for vernacular architecture, which is ironic, given the choice of subjects included in the book.

Overall, the images are beautifully rendered and the commentary is folksy and personal. In a number of cases, Collins poignantly relates cases of serendipitous timing in which he captured a bucolic rural scene shortly before the buildings depicted were destroyed by fire or demolished by landowners. It is a sad commentary on the state of preservation in many rural areas, but thankfully the drawings at least provide a record of what once existed.

Cynthia J. Beeman  
Austin, Texas



## **BLACKS IN EAST TEXAS HISTORY**

*Selections from the East Texas Historical Journal*

Edited by Bruce A. Glasrud and Archie P. McDonald

Bruce A. Glasrud and Archie P. McDonald present some of the best articles on black history from the *East Texas Historical Journal*; their samplings span the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and cover the principal themes and topics of African American history in the eastern portion of the Lone Star State. \$29.95 cloth

## **TEXAS CONFEDERATE, RECONSTRUCTION GOVERNOR**

*James Webb Throckmorton*

Kenneth Wayne Howell

"It is high time for such a well-written study. The last biography of Throckmorton came out more than sixty-nine years ago, and Howell's effort exceeds it on all counts...." —James M. Smallwood, author, *The Feud That Wasn't*  
\$29.95 cloth

## **TEXAS BLUES**

*The Rise of a Contemporary Sound*

Alan Govenar

Fully illustrated with 495 dramatic, high-quality color and black-and-white photographs—many never before published—*Texas Blues* provides comprehensive, authoritative, first-hand views of a musical tradition that has changed contemporary music. 8½x11. 608 pp. 179 color, 316 b&w photos. \$40.00 cloth

## **YEOMEN, SHARECROPPERS, AND SOCIALISTS**

*Plain Folk Protest in Texas, 1870–1914*

Kyle G. Wilkison

In this volume Kyle G. Wilkison analyzes the patterns of plain-folk life and the changes that occurred during the critical four decades spanning the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. He carefully explores the interplay of religion and politics as Greenbackers, Populists, and Socialists vied for the support of the dispossessed tenant farmers and sharecroppers. \$40.00 cloth

## **INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS**

**A.C. McMillan African American Museum, Emory  
American Legion Post 3140, Longview  
Angelina College, Lufkin  
BancorpSouth-Fredonia Bank, Nacogdoches  
Camp Ford Historical Association, Tyler  
Cherokee County Historical Commission, Jacksonville  
Commercial Bank of Texas, N.A., Nacogdoches  
East Texas Baptist University, Marshall  
East Texas Oil Museum, Kilgore  
Farmers Branch Historical Park, Farmers Branch  
First Bank & Trust East Texas, Diboll-Lufkin-Nacogdoches  
Harris County Flood Control District, Houston  
Harrison County Historical Commission, Marshall  
Jacksonville College, Jacksonville  
Rob Jones, CLU, CHFC, CFP  
Kilgore College, Kilgore  
Lamar University, Beaumont  
LeTourneau University, Longview  
Linda Frazier, Arlington  
Lon Morris College, Jacksonville  
The Long Trusts, Kilgore  
Midwestern State University, Wichita Falls  
Northeast Texas Community College, Mount Pleasant  
Peggy & Tom Wright, Nacogdoches  
Panola College, Carthage  
Red River Radio Network, Shreveport, Louisiana  
Regions-Stone Fort Bank, Nacogdoches  
Sam Houston Regional Library & Research Center, Liberty  
Sam Houston State University, Huntsville  
San Jacinto College North, Houston  
San Jacinto Museum of History, La Porte  
Southwest Dairy Museum, Sulphur Springs  
Smith County Historical Society, Tyler  
Temple-Inland Forest Products Corporation, Diboll  
Texas Forestry Association, Lufkin  
Texas Forestry Museum, Lufkin  
Texas Historical Commission, Austin  
Thomas McCall, Bullard  
Trinity Valley Community College, Athens  
Tyler Junior College, Tyler  
Tyler Morning Telegraph, Tyler  
Vinson & Elkins, L.L.P., Houston**

**and sponsored by Stephen F. Austin State University**



HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION