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TOUCHSTONE

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THE MUSICAL TRIUMPH OF VAN CLIBURN

BY JOHNPAUL STOLLE, SAN JACINTO COLLEGE

Many consider music to be the only language that all people can understand and enjoy. Its meaning is not constrained by limited words but instead appeals to each person's emotions according to the person who makes the music. A prime example of this was American pianist, Harvey Lavan Cliburn (also known as Van Cliburn). His performance at the Tchaikovsky classical music competition was considered an American triumph over Russian communism in 1958. His captivating piano playing touched the hearts of all the people in the audience, including the judges, making it obvious that Cliburn was the clear winner of the competition. Van Cliburn won a victory for world peace, where countless ambassadors had hopelessly failed, not only with his virtuosity, but also with his virtue, thus showing the monumental power of music and musicians.

The son of Harvey, Sr. and Rildia Bee Cliburn was born on July 12, 1934.¹ From an early age, Cliburn was taught to play the piano by his mother.² He would later attribute most of his success to his mother having acted as his first teacher. He excelled at the subject, making his first official performance at the age of just three.³ Although he was born in Shreveport, Louisiana, he grew up in Kilgore Texas.⁴ By age six, he was part of the Kilgore music club, and by age twelve he appeared as a special guest soloist for the Houston Symphony. He was described as, "a youth everyone [would] be delighted to hear."⁵ The young boy started to be called "Van Cliburn" which brings to mind the famous composers of the past such as

Ludwig van Beethoven. Cliburn was already making headlines for his musical expertise by the age of thirteen⁶. He was described as "one of the most celebrated musicians in the Southwest."⁷ At one such musical performance, many of the spectators were so amazed by his playing that they asked for the lad's autograph. He graciously obliged. The newspaper that covered this performance chillingly foreshadowed the stunning future of the musician when it stated, "his unusual musical talent, portend for him a very bright future."⁸

After such successes at such an early age, the quiet teen did not allow his talent to go to his head. Instead, he continued to perfect this gift. After graduating from Kilgore High School, he started his first semester at the renowned Juilliard School of Music in New York City in 1951 under the instruction of Madame Rosina Lhévinne who had also taught famous pianist Brooks Smith.⁹ Cliburn continued to stun every audience he played for earning him three major honors for his musical talents in 1952: the Kosciuszko Foundation Chopin \$1000 scholarship, the Juilliard Concerto Competition, and the Dealy Memorial Award.¹⁰ Such fame greatly overjoyed the small town of Kilgore, prompting the mayor to put together a "Van Cliburn Day" on April 9, 1953. Cliburn was more than happy to play for the crowd of local town people who were ecstatic to listen to him knowing that his talent originated in their own small town in Texas.¹¹



HARVEY LAVAN "VAN" CLIBURN, JR. PLAYING A PIANO. PHOTOGRAPH BY NORMAN DIETEL. DATE UNKNOWN; (NORTH TEXAS LIBRARIES, THE PORTAL TO TEXAS HISTORY; CREDITING LBJ MUSEUM OF SAN MARCOS.)

After his arrival in New York, he wasted no time proving himself to even his harshest critics. The lanky nineteen-year-old sat down at the piano and played the Tchaikovsky Concerto No. 1 in B Flat Minor with the New York Philharmonic-symphony orchestra. This performance earned him yet another award, the Leventritt Award, to add to his already impressive list. As a result of this honor, he was scheduled to play ten performances with ten separate symphonies across the nation.¹² Possibly more impressive was the praise he received from both the audience and judges after his performance in New York. One critic concluded that "Van Cliburn is obviously going places, but he plays as if he's already been there."¹³ The fame of the young prodigy spread across the nation like wildfire.

Cliburn continued his studies at the Juilliard School of Music, while simultaneously continuing to play with the Philharmonic Orchestra in New York. Kirshbaum lovingly said about Cliburn, "We consider Van Cliburn as the most brilliant young concert pianist in the United States and are so proud and honored to have him play with us." He further confirmed that, "He has been acclaimed wherever he goes."¹⁴ By 1956 Cliburn's skill at the piano gained for him a reputation that was known internationally, having played all across the country and even in Europe.¹⁵ All of these achievements were leading to one masterful triumph.

In 1957, being of age for the draft for the Korean War, the young pianist was to be sworn into the army. However, before taking his final oath, one of the orderlies objected and asked

that Cliburn be checked by the medical officer. After checking his medical record, it was discovered that Cliburn had suffered from chronic nasal hemorrhages. This negated his eligibility for the draft and he was rejected. Having cleared his calendar of concerts, performances, and activities in anticipation of being drafted, Cliburn was fully prepared to serve his country. After being rejected, he made arrangements to play for the soldiers at any time in any place he could be scheduled, endearing him to the nation as a whole.¹⁶

Not only was Cliburn an extremely talented musician, but he also had an innate ability to make connections with those he met. *The Graham Leader* stated, “Young Mr. Cliburn’s knack for winning friends and influencing audiences extends over the networks as well.”¹⁷ He even got the chance to appear as the first-ever classical artist on the *Steve Allen Show*.¹⁸ Cliburn was a reserved character who spoke with a southern drawl and whose personality was absolutely captivating. He was also a deeply religious man, with a well worn Bible that he kept with him. On one occasion he skipped a five-hundred-dollar concert date to play for a church banquet. He consistently gave a generous twenty percent of his earnings to his church.¹⁹

Before entering the Tchaikovsky competition Cliburn was playing as a soloist for the Philharmonic Symphony in New York as one of just seventeen soloists to play for this prestigious orchestra.²⁰ On March 25, 1958, it was announced that Cliburn and seven other American musicians had been invited to the first-ever Tchaikovsky competition in Russia.²¹ Originally, this competition was comprised of two sections: pianists and violinists.²² Each section competed in three rounds, and after each round half of the competitors were eliminated from the original forty-nine musicians invited.²³ The competition drew musicians from around the globe including Russia, the United States, and China among other countries.²⁴ Cliburn was one of seven pianists

competing with a violinist named Joyce Flissler as the eighth competitor.²⁵ A committee, started by the dean of the Juilliard School of Music, convinced Martha Rockefeller to cover the travel expenses for the musicians. Then, Soviet authorities were willing to cover the costs once in Russia.²⁶

On April 4, Cliburn earned his way into the second round.²⁷ The nation anxiously held its breath as the young pianist prepared to play for the semi-finals of the competition. The panel of judges put in charge of deciding which musicians would continue onto the next round was headed by Emil Gilels, a leading Russian pianist.²⁸ Of the original seven pianists, only three advanced from the first round.²⁹

Only five days later, with great excitement it was announced that two American pianists would continue to the final round: Daniel Pollock and Cliburn.³⁰ The nation exploded with excitement over the news and the question became, could an American win a Russian competition with sixteen communist judges, six of whom were Russian, all while the Cold War was still being waged?³¹ In the ensuing days, these questions would soon be answered. Head judge Emil Gilels announced, “The excellence of the contestants caused the panel to raise the final total from eight to nine.”³² These nine finalists would perform from April 10 through April 14. Cliburn was scheduled to play on Friday evening, the eleventh.³³

While practicing for his final performance Cliburn cut his finger on the keys during one of the more grueling sessions. He had no other choice but to bandage the wounded finger and perform with it covered.³⁴ A daunting task stood before the twenty-three-year-old pianist. Cliburn was to play a composition consisting of over one hundred pages of sheet music, including Tchaikovsky’s First Piano Concerto, Rachmaninoff’s Third, and a Rondo by Russian composer Dmitri Kabalevsky, one of the judges.³⁵ This gargantuan piece would take Cliburn over half an hour to perform.³⁶

Cliburn boldly stepped out onto the stage, said a few thank yous, announced the pieces he would be playing, adjusted his seat, and began to play.³⁷ A dramatically powerful piece can communicate strong emotions. Never was this truer than when Cliburn, with great gusto, pounded away at the keys of the piano in Moscow. So involved in the piece, he didn't even flinch when one of the strings broke while playing the beautiful concerto.³⁸ At the end of nearly thirty-seven minutes of playing, the piece was coming to a dramatic conclusion. Cliburn, with one final burst of energy, concluded a masterpiece of a performance that would be remembered for ages to come.³⁹ The audience could hardly contain themselves, immediately coming to their feet and applauding the young musician. The ovation continued for nearly ten straight minutes.³⁴ Cliburn could hardly hold all the bouquets being handed to him. The applause was continuing for so long, the judges allowed Cliburn to come out one final time for a second bow.⁴⁰ Cliburn himself said, "I've never known such joy," though he admitted that he was exhausted.⁴¹ Emil Gilels met the American backstage and embraced him and gave a kiss on each cheek for Cliburn's outstanding performance.⁴²

Over the next few days, he rested and supported Daniel Pollock, the only other American pianist who had made it to the finals. Having performed for the three rounds of the competition and practiced non-stop between each round, the already stinky Cliburn had lost ten pounds. The results of the competition would not be announced until the 14th.⁴³

On Monday the 14th, the nine finalists (two Americans, three Russians, and one each from France, Japan, Bulgaria, and China) were summoned to the concert hall at 2 in the morning. Before the announcement was to be made, color films of the program and the pieces being played had to be recorded. It soon became apparent, however, that Cliburn was the center of attention.⁴⁴ Whispers began circulating, "Had Van Cliburn really won?"

These whispers turned into shouts when the news made it back to America. "Van Cliburn won!" This sentiment would later be officially confirmed in Moscow. With seemingly impossible odds, he had done it. At the recognition ceremony, Dmitri Kabalevsky (the judge and composer of the Rondo that Cliburn had played) made the announcement that Cliburn had unanimously been chosen as the winner of the first-ever Tchaikovsky Competition.⁴⁵ Kabalevsky called Cliburn to the stage to receive his gold medal. The audience once again exploded with applause for the lanky musician they were calling "Malchik (little boy) from the South."⁴⁶ Emil Gilels himself congratulated Cliburn with a big smile, firm embrace, and a kiss on each cheek.⁴⁷ Cliburn had endeared himself to both the Muscovite audience and the other competitors, who were overjoyed to congratulate him.⁴⁸ After receiving the medal, Cliburn gave a one-minute speech in Russian to the audience.⁴⁹ When the news reached America, Cliburn was being hailed as an American hero for his incredible performance. He had turned Russia upside down. One newspaper pointed out that the amicable relationship that Cliburn had been able to establish with the Russians was building much-needed bridges between the Russians and the Americans.⁵⁰ As one newspaper phrased it, "Van Cliburn did more good with his ten fingers to win goodwill than ten U.S. diplomats have done."⁵¹ Thus for many, Cliburn had been a musical ambassador to the Soviet nation. He penetrated the Iron Curtain and captured the hearts of Russian officials, all in just three weeks — a remarkable feat.

When reflecting on his time in Russia, Cliburn said, "I wouldn't take a million for this trip. The people have been so wonderful and I'll never forget them."⁵² An additional award for winning the competition was a tour of Russia which he took over the next month. During his tour, he performed for countless audiences, all eager to even get a glimpse of their Malchik.⁵³ His last performance in Russia

was on May 14, 1958. The next day after nearly two months in Russia he left for home.⁵⁴

When Cliburn arrived home, he was more than surprised by his welcome. He did not realize that while he was playing his heart out in Russia, America was rooting for him the entire time. Once when Cliburn called his mother over the transcontinental phone after having won the competition he asked her, “Mama, does anybody know about it?”⁵⁵ You can imagine Cliburn’s surprise when he arrived in New York and was told he was to be a part of a ticker-tape parade down Broadway that would take place on May 20. When in the parade, he was greeted by screaming crowds of people all trying to just catch a glimpse of the boy that had beat Russia at their own competition. This event was particularly unusual, as it was the first time a parade such as this one had been held for a classical musician.⁵⁶ Indeed, Cliburn’s triumph was one both for America and the classical music community.

Van (as they began calling him), followed a demanding schedule performing all across the nation and around the world in numerous concerts.⁵⁷ One particularly empathetic *New York Times* newspaper writer questioned the ability of Cliburn to continue playing at such a pace.⁵⁸ He had been traveling nonstop since arriving in America. Everyone just wanted to hear Cliburn play at least once. While Cliburn’s fame did take its toll, it did allow him some unique opportunities. For one, on May 23, 1958, he met President Eisenhower at the White House.⁵⁹ Cliburn, as always, was never one to have a “good enough” mentality, and he continued to perfect his craft as he played at his concerts, all of which would sell out in no time.

In November 1958 at a dinner banquet, which Cliburn was attending, Dr. Irl Allison, founder of the National Guild of Piano Teachers, announced that he was creating the “Van Cliburn Competition.” He was completely caught off guard, and he was so grateful for how excited everyone seemed about the propo-

sition.⁶⁰ Four years later the competition was held in Fort Worth, Texas, from September 23 through October 7. Fifty-two contestants from seventeen different countries competed for first place. Four of the competitors were Russian, two made it into the finals. The first prize winner was awarded a generous ten thousand dollars.⁶¹ A young American named Ralph Votapek won that competition. He was the same age as Cliburn was when he won the Tchaikovsky competition.⁶² The two Russian finalists placed second and third.⁶³ This competition continues to this day and in 2012 celebrated its fiftieth anniversary.

Cliburn took a hard hit when, in 1974 within two months of each other, he lost both his father and his manager, Sol Hurok.⁶⁴ Both of them had been paternal figures in his life whom he deeply loved. Their deaths, especially so close together, devastated Cliburn. In this moment of sorrow, life caught up with the musician who had been playing nonstop for thirty years since his performance with the Houston Symphony. “Friends and family were dying all over the place, and I still had never taken the time to have a life.”⁶⁵ He was ready to take a break from the public eye for a while to enjoy the simple things, like opera which he adored. It took him four years to finally achieve this break, as he was still booked for multiple concerts. As well, he didn’t wish to disappoint the thousands of people that came to listen to him. Finally, in 1978 his long-overdue break came. He did not, however, stop playing. He simply practiced privately, as he enjoyed the long intermission he took in his musical career.⁶⁶

In the summer of 1987, Cliburn was invited to play at the White House for President Regan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.⁶⁷ This was a shock to the nation who had assumed that Cliburn nine years in private signaled the end of his public career. Many assumed he was not going to perform ever again. This was not his intention; he accepted the invitation.⁶⁸ When the meeting finally arrived in December, Cliburn had been practicing until his

fingers bled. His performance was very sentimental as it was the first time that Cliburn had performed publicly since 1978.

In 2003 President George W. Bush invited Cliburn to Washington once more, but not primarily to play. Instead, Cliburn was there to receive one of his final prestigious achievements: the Presidential Medal of Freedom. This is America's highest achievement awarded to a civilian. President Bush's words for Cliburn are worth quoting at length, "Today, throughout America and across the world, musicians find inspiration in his example, and all of us associate the name Van Cliburn with grace, and the perfect touch at the piano."⁶⁹

Just over a year later, in September, Cliburn was invited to Russia to play at the funeral of the more than three hundred victims of the school siege in Beslan. Again, he accepted. After the funeral, he received from President Vladimir Putin, the Order of Friendship of the Russian Federation, the highest civilian award in Russia. This was his tenth and finally trip he would take to the country who adored him almost as much as his home country.⁷⁰

Cliburn's final public appearance was in September 2012 at the Bass Performance Hall in Fort Worth, for the 50th anniversary of the Van Cliburn Foundation.⁷¹ He died at home at the age of seventy-eight on February 27, 2013, from bone cancer, with which he had been diagnosed the previous August.⁷²

Four days later, on March 3, the memorial service for Van Cliburn was held at Broadway Baptist Church in Fort Worth with about one thousand four hundred mourners in attendance.⁷³ He was remembered for his triumph in Moscow, but more than this, he was remembered for the impact he had on the world. Besides his ambassadorial accomplishments, Cliburn expanded the world of music, heading "a multitude of tireless efforts across the globe to advance the importance of classical music as enduring and irreplaceable."⁷⁴ Furthermore, the Van Cliburn competition continues to this day

as the measuring stick of artists musical prowess.⁷⁵

With the many great musical artists of Bach, Beethoven, and Chopin among others coming from Europe, America remains in obscurity for much of its history in this field. However, the talent of a lanky young man from Kilgore, Texas set the world on fire with his skill at playing the piano. He succeeded where countless U.S. ambassadors and diplomats had failed and communicated with a language that transcends cheap words. His southern demeanor earned him the respect and admiration of even his harshest critics. What is most admirable about Van Cliburn is that despite having a life full of fame and glory, the musician maintained a humble nature. As a diligent musician, Cliburn is a towering figure for all aspiring artists to look up to. Musician, ambassador, friend to all, Van Cliburn truly made an impact on the people with whom he interacted. Both the music community and the world, as a whole, have been incredibly enriched by the gift that a single man was willing to share.

ENDNOTES

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CHAOS AND FREEDOM AT THE TEXAS-MEXICO BORDER

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It is common knowledge that the path to freedom for many pre-Civil War slaves in America was through a generally well-organized and well-supported network of clandestine routes that were peppered with hiding places, safe-houses, and people who were willing to offer assistance. The Underground Railroad, as this network came to be known, ran through many northern states and eventually into Canada. Although the estimated 30,000 or 40,000 slaves who escaped to Canada using the Underground Railroad network is only a fraction of the number of people who were enslaved in the American South, the significance of the northbound Underground Railroad cannot be disputed.¹ However, as is often the case, there is more to the story of slaves escaping to freedom—namely, there was another lesser-known “Underground Railroad” that ran south into Mexico.

For many, especially those who were enslaved in Texas and other Deep South states, there was little chance of escaping north; it simply was not a viable option. Escaping south through Texas and into Mexico, however, was an attractive and feasible prospect. Unlike its northern counterpart, the assistance network in Texas was mainly comprised of disparate groups of individuals with varying and sometimes less than altruistic motivations. Despite paltry support before and after crossing the border, language barriers, and cultural differences, some 3,000 fugitive slaves are thought to have escaped through Texas and into Mexico before the start of the American

Civil War.² Though never as well-organized, nor as well-supported as the northern route, the existence of a southbound “underground railroad” stirred violence on the Texas-Mexico border, contributed to slave owners’ fears of insurrection, and led directly to the enactment of ever more rigorous legislation. Indeed, the specter of anti-slavery Mexico as a destination for runaway slaves played a significant role in both pro-slavery and anti-slavery activities in antebellum Texas.

Border Violence

Even without a reliable assistance network, anti-slavery Mexico acted as a magnet for escaping slaves. A Texas slave hunter complained, “if he’s got across the river, he’d get to the Mexicans in two days, and there he’d be safe. The Mexicans’d take care of him.”³ Enslaved people in Texas were well-aware that the possibility of freedom lay tantalizingly close, just across the border in Mexico. Slave owners knew it too, and it was a possibility they could not abide.

The Mexican American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended it are vital to understanding the violence and threats of violence over fugitive slaves in Mexico. After months of negotiations between State Department Chief Clerk Nicholas Trist and the government of Mexico, and in defiance of President James K. Polk’s orders, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed on February 2, 1848, thus ending the Mexican American War.⁴ The treaty redrew the map of Mexico and the

border between it and Texas. Notably, the treaty did not include a fugitive slave extradition agreement. In this way, the United States failed to provide an avenue of recourse for slaveholders to reclaim fugitive slaves who made their way across the Rio Grande. Moreover, by resolving “to provide for the protection of the inhabitants of the ceded territory against the introduction of the system of human slavery therein,” the federal government also reinforced anti-slavery interests in the newly acquired former Mexican territory.⁵ In the years following the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the failure of the US government to secure slave owners’ interests intensified hostilities between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces on the Texas-Mexico border. Though Polk made a half-hearted attempt to ease the situation by opening an “extradition convention,” his efforts were utterly unsuccessful.⁶ Two years later, further negotiations with the Mexican minister to Washington, Luis De La Rosa, resulted in the same outcome: “no foreign government would be allowed to touch a slave who had sought refuge in Mexico.”⁷

In July 1851, the *Telegraph & Texas Register* printed a story that depicts the tension between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces on the Texas-Mexico border. After force had been used to prevent slave-hunters from retrieving some “two thousand fugitive slaves [who were] in...Mexico towns” along the border stretching from Tamaulipas to Chihuahua, slave owners threatened that “there were almost a hundred well-armed men ready to “[march] into Santa Rosa, if certain slaves [were] not given up.” Furthermore, if “opposition from Mexican authorities” made it necessary, the article alleged, there were at least five hundred or even a thousand more men ready to cross the border to reclaim these fugitives. In the absence of a fugitive slave treaty, slave owners had no other recourse than to take matters into their own hands and attempt to retrieve fugitive slaves themselves. When their

efforts failed, they boldly declared obstruction “[would] not long be tolerated...and unless a fugitive slave treaty be concluded with Mexico, another war may, ere long, be inevitable.”⁸ Except for a reprint two weeks later in the *Texas State Gazette*, no other mention of this incident can be found in other news sources. Without further details or follow-up stories, it appears the events reported in this article were propaganda meant to coerce the federal government into pushing for a fugitive slave treaty with Mexico. Though the story that was printed in the *Telegraph & Texas Register* in the summer of 1851 was likely sensationalized, an incident later that fall demonstrates that tensions were rising on the Texas-Mexico border.

In the summer of 1850, the leader of the Seminoles, Wild Cat, and his counterpart, John Horse, the leader of the “Seminole Negroes,” banded together. After traveling nine months through Texas, they “appeared before [the] sub-inspector of the colonies, to petition for land” and other resources. Upon doing so, the tribes were permitted to settle in the area temporarily. Later that fall, after they “twice came to the assistance of Mexican troops and ‘fought well’ against Indians from the United States” the president considered their petition and “the tribes were granted land in the vicinity of the colonies of Monclova Viejo and of Guerrero, above and below Piedras Negras.”⁹ Convinced by “exaggerated newspaper accounts” that the Seminole settlement would attract runaway slaves from across the state, the Seminole’s arrival in northern Mexico caused Texas slave owners much distress.¹⁰

Though the new settlement did not cause the all-out exodus feared by Texas slave owners, it did lead to violence. In September of 1851, “three or four hundred Americans, including discharged Texas Rangers,” were in hot pursuit of some three thousand fugitive slaves. Aided by Mexican revolutionists like José María Carbajal, these slave hunters met with a force of “sixty [Seminole warriors],

one-third of them Negroes.” The Seminoles were said to have provided “efficient aid in the fight at Cerralvo,” a battle “in which Carbajal was decisively defeated.”¹¹ Pressures at the Texas-Mexico border had reached a boiling point.

Threats of war and outright violence went largely unobserved; the federal government was noticeably silent on the matter. However, by 1853, Texas slave owners had no choice but to try again for diplomacy. That year, the Texas state legislature passed a Joint Resolution Instructing Senators and...Representatives in Congress, to Call the Attention of the Government of the United States to the Necessity for a Further Treaty with the Republic of Mexico.¹² Like Polk’s earlier attempt at an extradition convention, the resolution failed to bear fruit, and the Texas-Mexico border remained porous.

In the mid-1850s, journalist-turned-traveler, Frederick L. Olmsted, made his way across Texas, visiting almost every region along the way. In the diary he kept and later published, Olmsted commented on almost everything he saw and did, including the conversations he enjoyed with a wide variety of Texas characters. Olmsted’s journal is an invaluable source for a better understanding of Texas slave owners as they struggled with the issues that were created by slaves’ easy access to Mexico and freedom. During his visit, Olmsted ventured across the border, where he happened upon a gentleman who was a former runaway slave that resided there. After conversing with this fellow for a while, Olmsted learned “runaways were constantly arriving [in Mexico].” Though the gentleman could not hazard a guess as to how many runaways came each year, he was confident that at least forty had arrived in the last few months. Olmsted later mused, “No country could be selected better adapted to a fugitive and clandestine life, and no people among whom it would be more difficult to enforce the regulations vital to slavery.”¹³

In the absence of a solution, the pattern of

overblown reporting followed by threats or complaints continued unabated in newspapers across Texas. The common thread, of course, was the demand for a fugitive slave extradition treaty with Mexico. In 1855, after complaining about “the loss” of some “four or five fugitive slaves,” the *Indianola Bulletin* whined, “We begin to feel the effects of the great injustice done to Texas by the treaty with Mexico.”¹⁴ By 1857, however, Texas slave owners turned again to making threats. In a *Texas State Times* article readers were warned, “unless a remedy is speedily applied...[Mexico] may look for something of Texas of a more serious and alarming character than the proclamation of Capt. Henry.” The proclamation of Capt. Henry, as it turns out, was a call for “the people of Coahuila and New Leon [sic]...to unfurl the banner and declare for the Sierra Madre Republic.”¹⁵ The Republic of the Sierra Madre was a scheme hatched by Santiago Vidaurri, the governor of the Mexican states of Nuevo León and Coahuila. Though it never got off the ground, he planned to secede from Mexico and establish an independent state.¹⁶

There was some respite for slave owners in 1857, in the form of An Act to Encourage the Reclamation of Slaves Escaping Beyond the Limits of the Slave Territories of the United States, wherein it was “enacted...that any person...capturing...any slave...who may have escaped beyond the limits of the slave territory of the United States, and who shall deliver such slave...to the Sheriff of” Travis county, shall be entitled to receive...thirty-three and one-third percent on the value of such slave.”¹⁷ However, since this legislation had no teeth, it was mostly ineffective.¹⁸

Despite their earlier cries of outrage, threats of violence, and attempts at diplomacy, as demonstrated by an 1859 editorial printed in *The Weekly Telegraph*, slave owners had grown weary of the task; thus, they resorted to further lobbying for intervention by the “general government.” Conceding defeat, the editor

admitted, “there [were] hundreds of runaway slaves in Mexico, none of whom [could have] by any possibility [been] reclaimed.” Eleven years after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the absence of a provision guaranteeing the return of fugitive slaves from Mexico still stung—the flow of runaway slaves across the Rio Grande could not be stanchd. With no other recourse available, the editor confessed, “an extradition treaty is probably the only means of our citizens’ reclaiming their property.”¹⁹ Though not the sole cause, the violence on the Texas-Mexico border, was directly related to the ease with which runaway slaves could make it over the Rio Grande to freedom. Clearly, Texas slave owners felt wholly justified in their brutal and self-serving actions.

Rumors of Revolts

The chaos caused by slaves’ steady flight over the border to freedom in Mexico was matched only by the panic caused by the possibility of slave uprisings. Slave insurrection loomed large in the imaginations of Texas slaveholders. Keeping an entire people under the yoke of slavery came with a heavy price; slave owners had unwittingly robbed themselves of peace of mind. Slave owners worked hard to maintain the delusion that their slaves were at least content, if not happy.²⁰ In truth, southerners knew they were flirting with disaster. In 1856, the *Central Texian* cautioned, “we have a black population in excess of white.” Skewering Texas slave owners for the supposed “constant liberties and indulgences... granted to negroes,” the writer mused, “What would hinder them from concocting, under such circumstances, some plan for the destruction of whites?”²¹

Wendell G. Addington has noted, “the first slave insurrection of consequence in Texas occurred during the Texas Revolution.”²² However, even before the first shots were fired in October 1835, slave owners took extra measures to protect themselves against the

enslaved population. In September of that year, the *Texas Republican* printed the resolutions of the “Meeting of the Committee of Safety for the Jurisdiction of Columbia.” Having received “information clearly proving that [there was] much danger... to be apprehended from the slave population,” the committee “[recommended] that each town and neighborhood... elect a vigilant patrol, whose duty [was keeping] the slave population in due subjugation.” As an extra measure, this same committee urged “every citizen to take up punish & deliver to his master any slave... found off his master’s premises without a written permit.”²³ Though it appears there was no slave conspiracy afoot, slaveowners were noticeably alarmed.

As it happened, their precautions were not unwarranted; there is considerable evidence to suggest that Santa Anna plotted to incite slave rebellions, presumably as part of his strategy to defeat the Texas rebels. In a letter to Francis Johnson in 1835, Benjamin Milam advised, “two hundred troops [under Santa Anna] ... have left for San Antonio, with two thousand more to follow.” Their goal was to “gain the friendship of the different tribes of Indians; and, if possible, to get the slaves to revolt.” In a handbill published one month later, Horatio Allsberry cautioned the people of Texas that the Mexican government planned to “put their slaves free and let them loose upon their families.” Just days after the Battle of Goliad, in a missive addressed to General Stephen F. Austin, B.J. White delivered “some unpleasant news.” Evidently, “the negroes on Brazos made an attempt to rise.” It appears there may have been a larger plan in the works. In an ominous postscript, White noted, “the negroes... had divided all the cotton farms, and they intended to ship the cotton to New Orleans and make the white men serve them in turn.” Milam, Allsberry, and White were not the only ones who were worried, others, like Thomas Pilgrim, fretted, “would there not be great danger from the Negroes should a large Mexican force come so near?” Though their worries may have been

made worse by heightened emotions brought on by the hostilities with Mexico, there is no question that both the means and the motivation for a revolt were real.²⁴

The quandary that slave owners found themselves in is illustrated in a news story printed in the *Telegraph and Texas Register* in September 1841. In this article, it was reported that “the citizens of several of the eastern counties of the republic, have lately been thrown into some alarm on accounts of the suspicious movements of many of their slaves.” The alarm in these eastern counties seemed to have centered on “several slaves” escaping “from their masters.” As the writer noted with some trepidation, the “circumstances indicate that they have been decoyed away by some lurking scoundrels who have been prowling about that section for several months.” However anxious they may have been over slaves escaping, as the article later reveals, what troubled slave owners more was the threat of a slave uprising. As told in the article, “the conduct of the slaves [had] been such as to excite fears that an insurrection was contemplated by the slave population.”²⁵

For Texas slave owners, anxiety over the possibility of slaves escaping or rebelling was aggravated by the prospect that their slaves might be lured to Mexico. The *Telegraph and Texas Register* voiced those fears in January 1845. As reported, “a party of twenty-five negroes ran away from Bastrop...mounted on some of the best horses that could be found, and several of them were well-armed.” The writer surmised that it must have been “some Mexican [who had] enticed them to flee to the Mexican settlements west of the Rio Grande.”²⁶ Even though seventeen of these runaway slaves were captured less than a week later, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* breathlessly advised readers that “seven or eight Slaves are still missing, and it is feared they have escaped to the Mexican settlement on the Rio Grande.”²⁷

By 1856, anxieties in Texas had risen to a

fever pitch. Rumors of possible slave insurrections ran rampant; though not groundless, they were somewhat overblown.²⁸ On September 9, “a committee at Columbus, Colorado County...wrote to the Galveston News” to warn their fellow Texans that “they had discovered a well-organized plot to murder the entire white population.” The letter also revealed that the slaves were well-armed, and “a fantastic conspiratorial organization existed among them.” On September 6, there was to have been “a simultaneous effort to kill the whites except for certain favored individuals.” After the killing spree, the rebels planned “to capture the horses about Columbus and fight their way to freedom in Mexico.” Even though there was “no definitive proof” that Mexicans were complicit in the devious scheme, the committee pronounced them guilty, and they were summarily run out of the county “never to return on penalty of death.” However, in an interesting twist, a statement from officials in Harrison county refuted rumors of a similar plan being hatched in their area because “no evidence of an actual plot” had been found.²⁹ Though evidence of an actual plot in Texas was thin, in other states, there were a few stories that may have been credible. The rumors of a widespread conspiracy among slaves to revolt against their masters were not isolated in Texas. During 1856, rumors of slave conspiracy flew fast and furious in every southern state, and in Tennessee and Kentucky, it appears some of the rumors were probably true.³⁰ In Texas, the rumors surrounding a widespread slave conspiracy to revolt were perhaps overblown, but slaveowners’ fears were not altogether unfounded. Knowing that their slaves could slip easily across the border to Mexico in the event of a revolt, no doubt added a measure of believability that their lives and property were in imminent danger.

The panic over a possible insurrection that had reached a fever pitch in 1856 was rekindled in 1860, and this time, it spread like wildfire. On July 14, 1860, *The Standard* re-

ported on three fires that occurred a few days earlier. Despite the agitated tone of the headline, which read, “Serious Calamity-Great Fire,” the story itself was relatively straightforward: fires destroying the building that housed “the *Dallas Herald*...and nearly all the business section in Dallas” were thought to have “[broken] out among some rubbish on the outside” of a nearby building. It was supposed that two other smaller fires were caused by spontaneous combustion of some matches due to atmospheric heat.³¹ A week later, both the tone and the story changed dramatically. In a letter that first appeared in the *Houston Telegraph* on July 21, 1860, it was reported that “the burning of Dallas and several farmhouses in this county, has led to the discovery of a most diabolical plot to devastate the whole of Northern Texas.”³² By the end of the month, *The Weekly Telegraph* reported that the outbreak, which now included fires in Dallas, Denton, and Ellis counties, was attributed to the machinations of insolent slaves and “wicked white men, abolitionists.”³³ But in an curious turn of events, the editor of the *State Gazette* reported “[charges] by Gen. Houston...that the accounts of incendiarism...have been...published for political effect.” To which the editor replied, “we have published nothing, but information furnished by reliable correspondents or extracted from respectable papers.” Though his reply did not quite rise to the level of a retraction, the editor of the *Gazette* backed far away from the hysteria laden stories that had filled the pages of newspapers across Texas only days or weeks earlier. The editor even admitted that the recent reporting about the fires in Northern Texas may have been exaggerated. Moreover, he wrote, “we do not believe the great majority of our Southern slaves would countenance or join in an insurrection.”³⁴ Despite these assurances, there may have been “a real plot of insurrection [that] existed in 1860 in Texas.”³⁵ While there are no shortage of newspaper accounts filled with lurid details, and the possibility of an

uprising did exist, there is little evidence that such a plot was ever well-organized. Furthermore, it is doubtful that this plot was as widespread as Texas newspapers would have had its readers believe. Nevertheless, constant knowledge that their slaves could easily make a run for the border, and the possibility of a slave revolt was surely never far from the minds of Texas slave owners. Though there may have been genuine threats, it is more likely that panic over slave revolts was fueled by the Southern press and compounded by heavy consciences. Like the worry over slaves escaping across the border, for Texas slave owners, anxiety over insurrection was a constant companion that was made worse by the nearness of anti-slavery Mexico—a fact that was evident in Texas slave laws.

Legislation with a Vengeance

Upon visiting “several times, the Texas Legislature in session,” Olmsted wrote that he had “seldom been more impressed with respect for the working of Democratic institutions.” It is difficult to imagine that it was this same “respectable” institution that passed an ever-growing number of laws aimed at keeping an entire people in perpetual servitude.³⁶ Anxiety over slaves escaping to Mexico and over the possibility of slave revolts is palpable in the overwhelming quantity of slave statutes that were passed in Texas both during its time as a Republic and after annexation into the United States. The slave laws were not just plentiful in Texas; they were also particularly mean-spirited. Between 1836 and 1865, there were similar amounts of slave laws passed in most of the slaveholding states, but it is in the tenor of the laws where the different attitudes towards slaves are most noticeable. As compared to places like Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, the slave laws in Texas (and Arkansas to some degree) had a much more malicious tone. As just two examples, there were almost no allowances for emancipation and only lukewarm provisions for the humane treatment of slaves.³⁷

From the starting gate, it is obvious Texans felt obliged to enact robust laws meant to deter their slaves from escaping to Mexico. In 1836, for example, during the first session of the First Texas Republic Congress, representatives passed an Act Punishing Crimes and Misdemeanors. This Act legislated the death penalty for anybody that was convicted of “[stealing] or [enticing] away any slave...from the possession of the owner.”³⁸ Still uneasy, in 1837, the Second Republic Congress passed an Act to Provide for the Punishment of Crimes and Misdemeanors Committed by Slaves and Free Persons of Color in which the law of 1836 was extended. The new legislation designated a litany of offences and punishments aimed directly at slaves and free persons of color. Death awaited any person of color, slave or free, who would incite insurrection. Further, this new law afforded the possibility of stripping away the rights of any free person of color who might consider rendering aid to escaping slaves. While it was not by any means a foregone conclusion, under the 1837 legislation, if “such a free person of color” was convicted of rendering aid to escaping slaves, the possibility existed that they could “be sold as a slave for life.”³⁹ An Act to Punish Certain Offences Therein Named passed in 1838, and it widened the legal net even further to ensnare *anyone* who would dare to be caught “harboring or clandestinely supporting any runaway negro slave” Though, in this case, punishment did not include the possibility of enslavement, harboring runaway slaves came with a hefty fine and the certainty of imprisonment.⁴⁰

Oddly, An Act Concerning Slaves affirmed in 1839 that slaves could carry guns and other deadly weapons with the consent of their “master, mistress, or overseer.”⁴¹ Eleven years later, though, it was amended. The 1850 Act to Amend the Sixth Section of an Act Entitled an Act Concerning Slaves, stipulated that it was unlawful “for any slave to own firearms.” Additionally, under this Act, it became unlawful for slaves to be armed *at all* unless they

were “on the premises of the owner, overseer, or employer.” In a final blow, the 1850 Act decreed it unlawful for, “any slave [to] be found beyond...the premises of his owner...without a written permit.”⁴² Three years later, when An Act Concerning Offences Committed by Negroes was passed, what little freedom slaves may have enjoyed, was curtailed even further. As demonstrated by this newest legislation, by 1853, slave owners in Texas were compelled to limit much more than slaves’ movements and access to weaponry. Consisting of twenty-eight sections, the new law aimed to restrict entirely the actions and associations of “free negroes” and slaves alike. Indeed, any behavior that was deemed menacing would earn a slave thirty-nine “stripes” and, in some cases, the lashes could be increased to fifty. Death was the price for plotting the murder of white people or for plotting an insurrection.⁴³

Although the slave codes in Texas that restricted the activities, actions, and movements of slaves resembled those found in every other slaveholding state, in Texas these codes were much more robust. The practice of emancipation is a good example. According to Benjamin J. Klebaner, aside from Georgia and Mississippi, all of the other slaveholding states (including Texas) made explicit provisions for the emancipation or manumission of slaves.⁴⁴ Though legal, in Texas emancipation was neither easy nor popular. Slave owners’ steadfast refusal to free any slaves was, in fact, cemented even before Texas became a state. In Section Nine of the 1836 Texas Constitution it was plainly stated, that in almost no circumstance, did “Congress have power to emancipate slaves; nor...[would] any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves, without the consent of Congress.” The only exception was on the promise that “he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the Republic.”⁴⁵ Even though the new constitution joining Texas to the Union in 1845 permitted Texas legislators to “pass laws for the emancipation of slaves,” the conditions

for such were exceedingly restrictive. Under the 1845 Constitution of Texas emancipation could only be legislated with the consent of, and payment to, the previous owners.⁴⁶ There is no question that the slave laws in Texas remained consistently more severe than those found in other slaveholding states.

There were other distinctions between the slave codes in Texas and those found in the other slaveholding states; the difference in attitudes towards slaves is a good example. Many of the other slaveholding states made explicit provisions for the humane treatment of slaves. In fact, of the eleven slaveholding states that eventually formed the Confederacy, four enacted statutes requiring slave owners to feed, clothe, and treat humanely the people they had enslaved.⁴⁷ Texas provided for the protection of slaves, and even earlier than Florida. Nevertheless, in Texas law, provisions for the protection of slaves offered only a bare minimum of protection. Rather than requiring slave owners to feed, clothe, and treat their slaves humanely, the 1839 Act Concerning Slaves stated only that it was unlawful “to cruelly treat, or otherwise abuse any slave.” The punishment for such offence was a fine of “not less than two hundred and fifty dollars nor more than two thousand.” Almost as an afterthought, this Act also stipulated that “if any person... shall murder any slave, or so cruelly treat the same as to cause death... shall be punished as in other cases of murder.”⁴⁸ Taken altogether, the slave codes in Texas were remarkably more severe. With important omissions like emancipation and Texas’ lukewarm effort at protections for the treatment of slaves, it is noticeable that attitudes toward slaves and slavery were much harsher in Texas.

Olmsted remarked that in Texas, slavery seemed somehow different and perhaps more brutal than in other parts of the South. On the one hand, he attributed the distinctly cruel nature of slavery in Texas to the notion that Texans had not developed the gentility of character that was common (at least in his mind) in other

slave owning states. Olmsted reasoned that “elsewhere at the South, slavery had seemed to be accepted, generally, as a natural hereditary, established state of things, and the right and the wrong of it, or the how of it, [was] never to be discussed or thought of.” In Texas however, “there seemed to be a consciousness of a wrong relation and a determination to face conscience down and continue it.” On the other hand, Olmsted later opined “the proximity of the frontier, suggesting and making easy the escape of slaves, is a chief difficulty.”⁴⁹ However, there was more at play than just a lack of gentility. Though, it is well-known that Olmsted was a particularly harsh critic of slavery,⁵⁰ his remarks and opinions about what motivated Texans to practice slavery in such an exceptionally pernicious manner nonetheless ring true. It is by no means a certainty that once there, former slaves would find themselves in a “promised land of milk and honey,” but by Olmsted’s account, the Mexican people generally got along well with people of color. Of the Mexicans in Texas, he wrote, “they consort freely with the negroes, making no distinction from pride of race.”⁵¹ Thus, it stands to reason that former slaves would have had bright prospects for a better life in Mexico. Yet, North or South, those who were enslaved during the antebellum era, were eager to find freedom in any direction.

Due mainly to there being a reasonably well-ordered network of helpful people and safe places for runaways to rely upon, approximately 30,000 or 40,000 fugitives made their way to Canada. The existence of well-supported assistance networks in the North may have made the possibility of escaping more probable but running to Canada was not the sole prospect for freedom. Mexico, too, was anti-slavery, so for slaves in the deeper South, in places like Texas, the land just to the south was an alluring possibility. Though there were far fewer people and places that might aid Texas slaves on their trek to liberty, some 3000 managed to make the journey safely. The issues that were

caused and compounded by the proximity of their anti-slavery southern neighbor left Texas slave owners angry, fearful, and vengeful. The doggedness of their efforts to recapture run-aways was topped only by the widespread hysteria over the possibility of slaves conspiring against them. As a result, slave laws in Texas were both copious and malicious.

Beginning with the fight for independence from Mexico and continuing through the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and beyond, issues over slavery kept Texas in constant upheaval. Irked by their slaves running away across the Rio Grande, Texas slave owners ignored decorum and legalities completely and barged forth across the border to reclaim their errant “property.” Keenly aware that the institution of slavery was less “peculiar” than it was heinous, Texas slave owners jumped at every shadow because they feared the people they had enslaved. Moreover, faced with so many possibilities of loss and terror, Texas slave owners furiously passed firmer laws and harsher punishments at a frenzied pace. Research into the issues that were presented by the rub between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces at the Texas-Mexico border and the outcomes that followed has so far only scratched the surface; there is still much more to know and understand about this time and place in history. The struggle to get to Mexico is only part of the story. In addition to understanding what hardships and challenges runaways faced on their way to freedom across the border, finding out what happened to former slaves after crossing the Texas-Mexico border can help fill in the gaps in our understanding of this part of the past. Doing so would be a valuable and worthy endeavor.

END NOTES

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- ¹³ Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas*, 240, 327.
- ¹⁴ “More Slaves Piloted to Mexico by Mexican Peons,” *The Indianola Bulletin*, May 31, 1855.
- ¹⁵ “Capt. Henry’s Proclamation—Fugitive Slaves,” *The Texas State Times* (Austin), February 7, 1857.
- ¹⁶ R. Curtis Tyler, “Santiago Vidaurri and the Confederacy,” *The Americas* 26, No. 1 (July 1969): 66-76.
- ¹⁷ An Act to Encourage the Reclamation of Slaves, Escaping Beyond the Limits of the Slave Territories of the United States, *Regular General Laws, Texas - 7th Legislature*, (1857), 202.
- ¹⁸ Tyler, “Fugitive Slaves in Mexico,” 10.
- ¹⁹ “The Approaching Legislature,” *The Weekly Telegraph* (Houston), October 26, 1859.
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- ⁴⁹ Olmsted, *Journey through Texas*, 105, 317.
- ⁵⁰ Though the quotes cited in this paper are taken from a different edition of Olmsted’s work, I had the pleasure of visiting the Texas
- A&M University-San Antonio - Archives & Special Collections where I viewed an edition kept there that features an introduction by historian Randolph Campbell. Olmsted, by his own admission, was not an unbiased observer. In Campbell’s estimation, “by the time *Journey through Texas* appeared...Olmsted had demonstrated a strong commitment...to anti-slavery,” xxii. Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas; or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier*, The Library of Texas, No. 8. Dallas, Tex.: DeGolyer Library and William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2004 (Randolph B. Campbell, and DRT Collection).
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TEXAS TICKET-SPLITTER: BILL RATLIFF'S TIMELY TAKE TO POLITICS

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The scene appeared surreal. In 2005, a mild-mannered, scholarly Republican without national visibility rose from his seat at the John F. Kennedy Museum in Boston to accept the prestigious *Profiles in Courage Award*.¹ This accolade recognizes an elected official for “politically courageous leadership,” an attribute ennobled in John F. Kennedy’s Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Profiles in Courage*. Past recipients of this accolade include Presidents George H. W. Bush, Gerald Ford, Barack Obama, and Presidential candidate John McCain, and Ukrainian President, Victor Yushchenko.² Ostensibly, Ratliff had a story that merited recognition as an exhibit of courage.³ He had opposed his own party leaders in their ultimately successful bid to gerrymander the political districts of Texas. As Ratliff accepted the award, he not only followed the popular trope of proclaiming his unworthiness, but he also stated emphatically that nothing he had done was particularly courageous! One might imagine at least a few members of the Kennedy entourage rolling their eyes or checking their watches—they obviously had picked the wrong man to commemorate a foremost Kennedy virtue. Ratliff explained that his constituency mattered far more to him than his party, and that he opposed re-districting to protect the semi-rural cohesiveness of his own district. “Those were my folks,” he proclaimed.⁴

In light of the currently polarized electorate with roughly one-quarter of Democrats and Republicans viewing the other party as a “threat” to the nation’s stability, it is helpful to

examine the life of a Texas “ticket-splitter” like Bill Ratliff. His political career not only suggests ways to realign ideological formations; it suggests ways leaders can create a new consensus. “Ticket-splitters” first stole the limelight away from Texas’s monolithic one-party tradition when Republican Presidential candidates like Herbert Hoover, and Dwight Eisenhower split a large number of tickets, inspiring Texas Democrats to vote Republican, but only at the top of their ballot. Texas’s first Republican governors, since Reconstruction, William Clements and George Bush, split a lot of tickets in East Texas over moral issues. In 2018, many hoped that Democrat Beto O’Rourke might inspire ticket-splitting with younger voters. Ticket-splitters serve as an antidote to polarization, and unthinking, straight-ticket ideologies. Ticket-splitters are politically mysterious enough to enchant members of the opposing party, and, sometimes, to infuriate members of their own party.⁵

When Ratliff accepted his honor, the Kennedys were probably hoping for a kind of Texas populist willing to charge the establishment with a death-defying run. What they got instead was an even-tempered technocrat, whose only real peril in his early life was the threat of a normal middle-class American life. Ratliff’s father was an educator and coach and, according to Ratliff, they were never in need even during the Great Depression. Ratliff speaks with a soft Southern accent indicative of his birth in Shreveport, Louisiana on August 16, 1936. Tom and Bess Ratliff moved to

Sonora, Texas when Ratliff was six.⁶ One of his biggest challenges in his youth was acclimating to three different cultures—Southern, Western, and Hispanic. Ratliff witnessed firsthand the effects of systematic racism against Latinos in the Southwestern part of Texas during the late 1940s. He recalls a baseball game in 1948 between Hispanics and Anglos organized to diffuse hostilities. One imagines that Ratliff, however, was the peacemaker that helped give the game its happy ending. In school, he avoided controversies and fights and distanced himself from both the most popular students and the troublemakers.⁷

Ratliff graduated with honors from high school in Sonora and enrolled at the University of Texas in Austin. Like many graduates of smaller high schools, Ratliff could easily have drifted at this point. He was unsure about his major and unsure about how well he would compete. When faced with a problem involving a number of unknowns and purely human factors, Ratliff sought help. Norman Davis, one of his high school teachers, took up the challenge and guided Ratliff toward an engineering degree. At first, Ratliff's aspirations included aeronautical engineering, but he switched to civil engineering. He worked assiduously and systematically—keeping his goal of obtaining a high-end job in mind. He graduated with a civil engineering degree from the School of Engineering at the University of Texas. He soon realized his larger goal as well. Ratliff obtained positions in big engineering firms in the Dallas and Houston area that worked for the Texas Department of Transportation, building highways and bridges. Later, he even started his own firm. He worked hard and gave his wife and three children a very comfortable life. It appeared that Ratliff would end his days rich, respected, and ultimately forgotten, wearing away like the infrastructure he engineered.

Ratliff married well. His wife, Sally Sandlin, was connected to a very powerful family of Democrats in Northeast Texas. Over time, she

persuaded him that living in humid and congested Houston was less than ideal and since they had the money to live elsewhere; why not return to the piney woods of the Ark-La-Tex where they were raised? After Ratliff had worked thirty years in the engineering field, they decided to make a tremendous change to their lives. They decided to move closer to her family in Mount Pleasant. Ratliff sold his share of his engineering firm and transferred his loved ones to the upper corner of Texas.⁸

But what would he do now? Ratliff later admitted that though he found engineering lucrative, he found it also taxing, and even stultifying. He had placed himself in the midst of a politicized family, who he sometimes agreed with, but who saw public service as honorable and fulfilling. Northeast Texas was solidly Democratic in the 1980s and Ratliff could have adopted the party of his in-laws. The current state of District 1 of Texas was in the hands of a Democratic incumbent, deemed inadequate. Instead, after conferring with his wife, and longtime friend, Don Edmonds, he decided to run for a major political office as a Republican. This was at least an entry point. For current politics, ideological labels are of extreme importance to voters.⁹ Ratliff did not favor one party over another, what with coming from building roads rather than legislation, but also marrying into a highly Democratic family, Ratliff decided on his own route. As a Republican he could at least run for the State Senate seat in District 1, held by a popular incumbent Democrat, Richard Anderson. To be sure, Ratliff had a problem with Anderson's collusion with urban Democrats, but the task seemed nearly impossible. Anderson was a popular Democratic incumbent in a still Democratic area. In the last election, Anderson had thrashed the Republican, Edward Hargett, in a near landslide. Ratliff was by contrast a newcomer, a migrant West Texas Republican. Moreover, Ratliff never really liked campaigning. Even as a politician he resembled that of a re-wired engineer, seeking solutions more than

supporters. He was never a flashy entertainer and did not like to make promises. As Ratliff later noted, “most of them [friends and family] thought I was crazy.” His friends also wondered why Bill had chosen something “as dirty as politics.”

The Ticket-Splitter, however, did not enter the race blindly. He had the support of most of his wife’s family, who resented Anderson, and had a large number of friends. Ratliff had something of a wedge appeal within the Democratic ranks. From Sonora, Ratliff eagerly embraced the small-town feeling in Northeast Texas, and argued that Anderson was voting for programs that were disproportionately pro-urban. Having worked with the roads and the Texas Department of Transportation (Tx-DOT), Ratliff could produce damning stories that the big cities were hogging the transportation budget. Despite the odds, Ratliff won the Senate seat in a neck and neck contest. This made him the first Republican elected from Northeast Texas since Reconstruction. November 8, 1988 marked the new beginning of a political realignment in his district. Ratliff’s breakthrough would lead to much more ticket-splitting, and a tendency for the Republicans on top of the ballot in Northeast Texas to claim more and more of it underneath.

Ratliff came to the Texas Senate with a passion to represent his district. He also believed that personalities, and ideologies too often got in the way of real solutions, and that he could benefit his state as a problem-solver. Ratliff did not realize it at the time, but he was soon to go head-to-head with one of the most endemic problems of modern Texas, school district finance. The fight over allocations to the ISDs had become like a struggle between a tiger and a shark. It was a perennial battle between the Texas Supreme Court and the State Legislature, with neither side seriously engaging nor even listening to the other. At the time Ratliff entered the Senate, a 1984 ruling of the Texas Supreme Court in *Edgewood ISD v. Kirby*

mandated that Texas legislators come up with a more equitable plan to finance its school districts. Plaintiffs clamored that the visible imbalance of this system kept most Texas children in impoverished schools. Time and again, legislators were oblivious. They continued to pass plans that eventually were deemed unconstitutional by the court, and therefore, illegal. The court could not usurp the legislature’s right to pass bills, and the legislature could not usurp the court’s right to declare them unconstitutional. The problem had become so vexing that Texas governors had appealed to Ratliff’s mysterious political identity actually now had an opportunity to become even more mysterious, and beguiling. But it took him a while to realize this. Almost everyone is in favor of children receiving a good education; what matters to voters is how one frames the rhetoric, and actually draws up the policy. Unfortunately, he did not have much time. The legislature was again stalemated, and the whole funding system faced several eye-rubbing time extensions. Ratliff and the Education Committee assembled a multi-option plan and considered five different structures: 1) merging tax bases from one district to a deprived district, 2) transferring funds to the state to distribute to a deprived district, 3) combining districts, 4) minimizing students per district and 5) allocating commercial property taxes to another district’s record. Eventually the legislature settled on the second option, making the state, in essence, a kind of “Robin Hood.” Senate Bill 7, signed by Governor Ann Richards in 1993, was dubbed the “Robin Hood Law” since its provisions required wealthier regions to share their wealth with the impoverished areas.¹³

Ratliff’s “across-the-aisle” work to get the bill passed soon earned him the nickname, the “Father of Robin Hood.” On the surface, the new name could have been devastating to Ratliff’s Republican credentials. Years before, taking from the “thrifty” might have seemed socialistic. But Ratliff’s move from Houston to Northeast Texas opened his eyes to a trend of

increasing importance in modern America. Rural Texans were hurting. The new Information Age and the internet demanded college degrees for which rural students were not prepared. Ironically at this same time, these areas were becoming more and more solidly Republican, while the cities were becoming more and more straight Democratic. Ratliff correctly perceived that “Robin Hood” in this context could appear like the twentieth-century equivalent of the Homestead Bill that helped bring Republicans to power 150 years before. Robin Hood would even the playing field. Robin Hood would grant the historic ideal of equal opportunity. Robin Hood would help even that base that Republicans increasingly called home. It is notable that when George W. Bush defeated the popular Ann Richards in the 1994 governor’s race, he was becoming dimly aware of this “ticket-splitting” possibility. But Bush did not stress education in his famous October 21 debate with Ann Richards in Dallas. Only later as a presidential candidate did Bush seem to grasp the holistic, ticket splitting appeal that could be made through educational reform.¹⁴

By 1993, however, Ratliff knew a good wedge issue when he saw one. He began to turn education into his specialty. There were other incentives. The courts were threatening to shut the schools down if the legislature did not come up with a better program. The “whole education code was just a mess.” Ratliff began the process of rewriting the entire code with a looming deadline on the horizon. Here the re-wired engineer sought help, as he often did with imponderables. He befriended and obtained help from the Democratic representative from Henderson, Paul Sadler. Sadler, a canny and affable attorney, who would later lose the 2012 Senate contest with an emergent Ted Cruz, was a good alter ego. The two embarked in a county-to-county, door-knocking, head-scratching venture around the state, prodding people’s opinions and demands for education.¹⁵ Ratliff then, sat down and “rewrote the entire education code.” He undertook his greatest

challenge: getting the bill through the Texas legislature. Ratliff once remarked that “there’s a thousand ways to kill a bill, but only one way to pass it.” That one way was an incredibly complicated process which involved listening to all the legislators, accepting, or rejecting amendments and considering the testimonies of constituents. As chair of the education committee Ratliff organized his work into three-inch binders called his “Bible.” It encompassed the entire bill and all the information included for the ultimate goal of creating a viable and structuralized code for all public institutions in the Lone Star State. The code was over 500 pages. In the bill proposal, the state’s authority will be limited and expanded into the local districts instead.¹⁶ It continues to grow in length, “unfortunately” as Ratliff has since lamented, but it has remained the foundation of Texas education for 25 years and counting.¹⁷

The ticket-splitter now seemed to be a bipartisan genius. It was just the reputation he needed. He had helped win the code for Texas when the entire educational structure seemed to be on the verge of collapse. As he later noted: “I wonder what would have happened had I not been successful passing that bill. I wonder what would have happened that June, had the courts actually shut the schools down.” These pieces of legislation Ratliff considers his most impactful work in his 15-years of political service. Ratliff’s code was much simpler than most codes—written for the layman rather than the lawyer. The code decentralized Texas education, and removed many statewide regulations.¹⁸ It generated a “funding formula” for higher learning in the state.¹⁹ For Ratliff, this initiative marked a personal crossover from the highway-building civil engineer to a distinguished, constituent-biased mandate architect.

Ratliff’s funding revisions kick-started a new era of education in Texas. This became evident in a 2009 Achieve case study, compiled by a non-partisan, non-profit organization formed by a combination of state governors

and corporate benevolence. The study analyzed the timeline of education reforms in Texas and the aftermath of the implementation of the new laws, including Senate Bill 7 and Senate Bill 1. Texas was the first state to install an accountability system that refused to accommodate school district failure on the basis of lower funding rates or ethnic composition (Senate Bill 7). The study by Achieve argued that the 1995 bill was the strongest political and educational collaboration in the history of Texas education reforms, incorporating teachers, politicians, administrators and business leaders' opinions and their presence in committee hearings.²⁰ Ratliff had approached the matter as an engineer utilizing his skills to create a "matrix" of every aspect of the code and surveyed the committee with his own questionnaires.²¹ Senate Bill 1 created the first charter schools of Texas, created the new diploma options still used today like the Distinguished and Minimum Programs in high schools, established TEKS (Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills) which defined what students needed to learn, and redefined the process of school improvements. Ratliff's work laid the groundwork for future reforms that strengthened the education system. One key was decentralization. The Texas Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lionel Meno, pitched the idea of aligning student expectations with their learning, leaving the "what" and the "how" to be decided by the schools. Progress would be monitored via the Academic Excellence Indicator System (AEIS) to report progress and dropout rates. The results were gratifying and the study states that between 1992 and 2005, fourth graders scored a 25% increase in essential knowledge in Texas compared to a national increase of 17%. In 2005, Hispanic fourth grade students performed higher than the national average by nine percent and eighth graders by five percent. The Achieve study also reported that from 1984 to 2000, the number of Advanced Placement student candidates in Texas increased three times faster than the figures nationally.

Throughout his time in the Senate, Ratliff gained respect and recognition for his ability to view both sides of an argument and base his decisions on the side that affected his constituency positively rather than negatively. He was a man without a party, constructing the constituency of District 1 as his party.²² In Ratliff's biography by Robert Sterken Jr., this pro-constituent sensibility was nothing less than Abraham Lincoln's principle of continuously placing public opinion over any political party designation. To this constituency-based loyalty, the Texas Ticket-Splitter added ideological independence.²³ Ratliff famously stated, "I am a Republican for the same reason I am a Methodist—I agree with them at least 51 percent of the time." This stance caused some grief while campaigning, and lobbyists were usually at a loss as to how to deal with the man. To those willing to purchase influence, Ratliff was aloof and incorruptible. *Texas Monthly* named Ratliff "free of partisanship, egotism, [and] ambition," though at the same time, Ratliff seriously registered the arguments of lobbyists, and evaluated their positions.²⁴

Ratliff's ability to stand above the ideological fray became legendary as he engaged in a long-running battle with arguably the most powerful man in his district. It would appear that as a Republican he would have had every reason to befriend Bo Pilgrim, the great "Chicken King," an entrepreneur who was one of the largest donors to George W. Bush's gubernatorial campaign in 1994. However, Ratliff managed to convince everyone that his greatest opponent was the chief Republican of his district! Pilgrim and Ratliff's feud lasted three decades and still reverberates in Northeast Texas. Pilgrim opposed Ratliff on several issues. As a young engineer, Ratliff knew about the problems that chicken blood runoff had caused to the Mount Pleasant waste-water management system. His wife's family owned land in the southern part of Titus County that touched the area where Pilgrim was hell-bent on building the largest, and most versatile

chicken-processing factory in the world. Surrounding property owners were disturbed with the management of chickens in Pilgrim slaughterhouses. For example, chickens were left in a hole for days attracting coyotes that scattered the foul-smelling poultry remains across the neighboring properties.²⁵ As a Mount Pleasant resident, Ratliff already hated the stench in the air that periodically wafted over his city from the chicken plant.²⁶ Ratliff considered Pilgrim as one of the fiercest and most reckless lobbyists in the state. One incident that Ratliff found especially disgraceful was Pilgrim's infamous handout of \$10,000 checks to Hugh Parmer, O.H. Harris, Gene Green, Chet Edwards, and Bob Glasgow on the Senate floor to stop a workmen's compensation bill in 1989.²⁷ Ratliff was disgusted that Pilgrim did not even have health insurance for the workers in his plants.²⁸ All of Pilgrim's checks were eventually returned, with the exception O.H. Harris, who cashed the check and wrote a new one, justifying himself by claiming there was nothing odd with taking the money.

Pilgrim's "Chickengate" could have been a victory for Ratliff. Pilgrim's efforts to give "on-the-spot campaign contributions" was a serious gaffe; however, he escaped any criminal charges. The Chicken King's hardball lobbying tactics were protected by a loophole unearthed during an investigation by Travis County District Attorney Ronnie Earle. The incident also highlighted a need to change the laws regarding campaign contributions and Governor Ann Richards initiated an ethics and elections reform. Ratliff even wished to limit contributions to under \$50, which was an interesting commentary on his estimation of the role Big Money was playing in the state. Pilgrim, the Southern Baptist Sunday-School teacher, escaped prosecution and unleashed his anger on Ratliff, the hypocritical Republican and half-pagan Methodist who would have imprisoned him. The "crossing of swords" began when Pilgrim showed up to Ratliff's office, shouting that the senator's actions had cost Pilgrim lots

of money and demanding that he show him more respect.

Ratliff was not about to show Pilgrim respect. Instead, he filed a bill in the legislature that demanded slaughterhouses be held responsible for animal carcasses left on the land to prevent damage to neighboring properties.²⁹ Pilgrim traveled to Austin and testified vehemently against the bill. According to Ratliff, during the hearing, Senator John Whitmire asked why Pilgrim claimed the bill's focus was a non-issue when the "most respected member of the Senate," referring to Ratliff, "thinks there is a problem?"³⁰ Ratliff remembered Pilgrim also repeatedly tried to paint Ratliff as a racist and a liar to his constituents.³¹ This only made the feud worse. Ratliff began keeping a special notebook chronicling Pilgrim's misdeeds regarding the environment. The list included citations totaling \$500,000 over 15 years for violating clean air and water laws. In addition, the Texas Natural Resource Conservation Commission (TNRCC) reported that in the year 1998, the wastewater of Pilgrim's Pride surpassed its legal limit discharge of Camp County's Cypress Creek in only 215 days. Ratliff harped on Pilgrim's failings, but at the same time strengthened his public image as incorruptible. Ultimately, Ratliff's main concern was for his district and that included the environment they lived in.

When asked about what he thought of Pilgrim's evangelical appeals, Ratliff shrugged and noted that he was a man of different priorities than Pilgrim. He certainly knew of Pilgrim's habit of handing out twenty-dollar bills tucked in religious tracts at every high school assembly and Rotary Club that invited him to speak. To Ratliff, the more Christian thing to have done would have been to fix the problems that Pilgrim was causing to the land, air, and water of Northeast Texas.³²

Ratliff's amorphous position somewhere in the center of the political spectrum could have been a career breaker. Instead, he managed to attract a good deal of state-wide respect. This

explains his ascent to the most powerful position he would ever hold. The opportunity came with the victory of George W. Bush in the presidential election of 2000, which upgraded Rick Perry to the governorship and created a looming vacancy in the Lieutenant Governor's seat. All thirty-one senators looked to one another for a leader and some began campaigning, promising other legislators individually that they would support their agenda in exchange for a vote. Notably, David Sibley began an agenda that would lead him to the final vote against Ratliff.³³ Ratliff, however, who had by this time earned the nickname, Obi-Wan Kenobi, wrote a letter to the Senate. He stated that the honor to be chosen Lieutenant Governor would be amazing; however, he would not campaign for the position.³⁴ This tactic impressed many. Ratliff prevailed in the election to the state's second highest position by a single vote over David Sibley of Waco. The Sonora native won the leadership of the Texas Senate.

In the two years Ratliff led the Senate, he worked his engineering skills into the fray and voted when he deemed it necessary. He impressed many as objective, but at the same time as also someone whose views were constantly evolving in relation to the evidence and circumstance. He utilized his vote as a member of the Senate to approve the strengthening of hate crimes when the senate leader's vote was not needed unless to break a tie. It was during this time that the era of redistricting confronted Ratliff's bipartisan ways. Gerrymandering in the early 2000s proved to be a difficult phenomenon to the man who had endeavored to befriend his district as it was. A year earlier, when Senator Wentworth of San Antonio needed the required twenty-one votes to bring his redistricting bill to the floor, he asked the leader of the Senate to remove the requirement. Ratliff wholeheartedly refused. In 2003, the part of politics Ratliff hated the most came to the forefront in Texas. A new gerrymandering scheme dividing the 31 members by their

respective parties placed Ratliff squarely in the position that eventually earned him his Profiles in Courage Award. Ratliff famously sided with the Democrats to stop the redistricting bill from making its way to the floor.³⁵ Most galling to him was a provision in the plan that would have united his ambivalent semi-rural Northeast Texas with large Republican-dominated suburbs of Dallas.

Republican pressure to conform to gerrymandering intensified as a scheme emerged "to create Republican and Democratic districts" that would favor Republican voter turnout.³⁶ Ratliff, who had now surpassed the standard age of retirement, saw his own district lose its strictly semi-rural character. At this juncture, Bill Ratliff stepped down from politics.³⁷

Even after his retirement, Ratliff kept abreast of state politics and voiced his opinion of the state budget in 2012, calling it "terrible."³⁸ Generally, Ratliff did not like what he saw on either the state or national levels after 2004. Indeed after 2005 the state fell back into its old pattern of inequitable school funding followed by lawsuits. "I could fix that," he said in a 2020 interview and added "it makes me ill."³⁹ Still, Ratliff enjoys his retirement, not missing his engineering years and always grateful for the life that politics granted him. His wife passed away in 2019 last year, but his children and grandchildren stick together. During the COVID-19 pandemic, there was not much to do, leaving Ratliff to spend his time "at home, watching TV."⁴⁰

Ratliff remains disgusted in this age of polarization and contested elections. However, in many ways, his life is a testament to what leaders can do to counter the centrifugal tendencies in the American system. Ratliff's story shows that there are "wedge issues" that can be seized upon, redefined, and made into issues to promote realignment. He was an expert at defining the needs of his own constituency apart from party ideology. With education and

the environment, he found two wedge issues to attract Democratic support, while retaining the support of his own party. Ratliff's political career demonstrates how personalities matter. He earned respect for his ability to remain above the influence of lobbyists and even a controversial Republican from his own district. The Texas Ticket-splitter left an important legacy that may yet show the way to a healthier system of politics.

ENDNOTES

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SAN ANTONIO'S TEX-MEX FOOD CULTURE: THE CHILI QUEENS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TRADITIONAL CUISINE

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San Antonio, Texas has its own unique customs, traditions, and culture. From the Alamo to San Antonio's Riverwalk and the famous Fiesta season, San Antonio is a city where food is a major part of all important locations and cultural celebrations. Foodways can be easily spread to anyone willing to have a taste. Knowing this, Mexican-American women who were looking to make a living in San Antonio during the late 1800s decided to cook their ethnic food for money. These women were known as the Chili Queens because they often prepared and served easily palatable items for Gringos such as tortillas, frijoles, tamales, but most prominently chili con carne. The Chili Queens were able not only to satisfy the Anglo Americans of San Antonio, but also to bring tourists from all over the United States. The Chili Queens began the vending and mobile food practices in San Antonio that still reign today. This is a lasting cultural influence that helped to develop San Antonio and its fun traditions like Fiesta. It also gave an identity to those who were part of "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us"¹ Mexican-Americans; who then had 'American' children who are now known as Hispanics. This Tex- Mex food helped those who felt that they identified as Tex-Mex themselves. This new society integrated Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans, thus blending cultures to create its own. The Chili Queens were working class women, who began a culture of street food in San Antonio, Texas. These women were trailblazers for the

Tex-Mex food scene in San Antonio. This diverse cuisine was half Texan, half Mexican, and the food vending created by these women is still prevalent in San Antonian life.

Chili Queens

In the late 1800s, Texas was seeing an influx of Anglo-Americans.² San Antonio was a city that intrigued many people. The town was a perfect mix of many things like city and nature, business, and pleasure, European and Native, and Mexican and American. It was a town far enough north from the Mexican border where Mexicans still held a grudge about losing their land as a result of the Mexican-American War.³ Also, it was far enough south from the rest of America that it was not completely Americanized. Therefore, it was perfect for anyone who wanted to mix it up a bit.

When Anglo-American tourists visited San Antonio, they may have been there for business or to visit family. However, they stayed because they wanted to experience historical sights and other things like the outdoor mercados. These were markets filled with colorful handmade Mexican traditional dresses, jewelry, clay pots, and sombreros. While browsing around, feeling hungry after a long day, they often stumbled upon women cooking in big pots over open flames that were surrounded by tables in a U-shape with decorative tablecloths waiting for customers. Columnist and author of *Taco USA*, Gustavo

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CHILI STANDS ON ALAMO PLAZA, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, CA. 1905. UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT SAN ANTONIO'S INSTITUTE OF TEXAN CULTURES, No. 082-0643. COURTESY OF PIONEER FLOUR MILLS.

Arellano stated, “Coming to a town that was essentially Mexican, curious tourists happened upon...vendors huddling in the plazas from morning to the late hours...what struck the national fancy was chili con carne hawked by a specific gender: women”⁴ These women were the Chili Queens, a group of women who patiently waited in major plazas around San Antonio for hungry folks to come get their meals. They wore their Sunday best to appeal to anyone looking their way as well as to show their respectability. Then, they would offer visitors food, whether it was for breakfast, lunch, or dinner in exchange for a small price.⁵

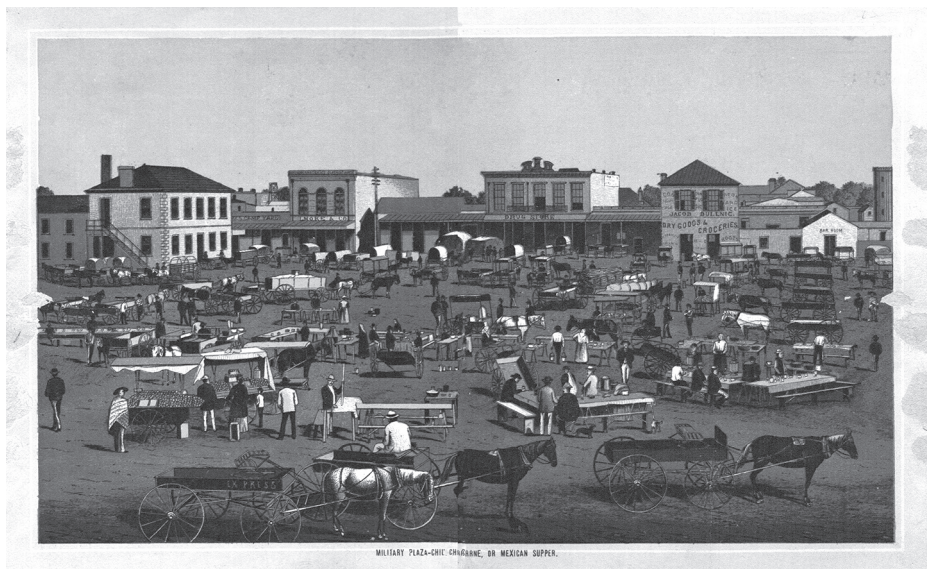
The Chili Queens became such a big part of everyday life in San Antonio that local newspapers included small entries about the Mexican women, or their chili stands. The Chili Queens were even able to make money on sleepy days in San Antonio. On December 9, 1884, in a Monday issue of the *San Antonio Light*, one reporter wrote about a Sunday and how the air brought in a lazy, sleepy feeling to the vendors of the plaza explaining, “The morning markets on the plaza did scarcely any business and the inquiry of tamales and coffee was less than usual. Chili con carne was steady.”⁶

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These women were also known for setting up tables amongst the welcoming night life of the plazas. In 1934, former Fiesta San Jacinto Association President, Frank Bushick wrote about the chili stands in his book *Glamorous Days* saying, “But the chief attraction which made Military Plaza a show place at night were the chili con carne stands...All classes patronized them...It was a genuine democracy of Bohemia. All were free and equal at the chili stands.”⁷ This welcoming atmosphere was new and made the Chili Queens and news of their chili con carne spread by word of mouth often causing increased interest in San Antonio and these “Mexican” women with chili con carne. The Chili Queens, or at least their chili con carne, were often mentioned in illustrations or photos of San Antonio. An 1890 double page illustration from *Paul Wagner’s Bazaar A Souvenir of San Antonio, Texas* featured a caption that read, “Military Plaza-Chili-Con-Carne, or Mexican Supper.”⁸ The drawing shows Military Plaza and the *vendedores*, or vendor, culture in San Antonio. The artistic representation includes

the Chili Queens with their stands and the once-busy busy foot traffic of the plaza.

The Chili Queens created chili con carne to help combine the, often spicy, taste of Mexican dishes, like menudo or mole, with beef and bland Anglo cuisine. Thus, they created Tex-Mex, half Texan and half Mexican, food that would and did appeal to everyone.⁹ These women simply wanted to make a living for their families and themselves. At the time, they had no idea they were building a lasting culture by being out in the plazas day in and day out. The hours were long, but it was well worth it. They did not understand then that they would be the cornerstone for future San Antonian life. Currently, just taking a drive down Military Drive, on the southside of town, one can take a pick of the multiple food vendors. Maybe drivers will see the Tex-Mex street food in a huge truck or a hot dog stand in a smaller truck-hitched food stand. The Chili Queens opened doors and gave opportunities to people who love cooking and serving others, as well as,



PAUL WAGNER'S BAZAAR. A SOUVENIR OF SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS FEATURING MILITARY PLAZA-CHILI-CON-CARNE, OR MEXICAN SUPPER. 1890. UTSA DIGITIZED COLLECTIONS.

creating a culture and a dish that reflected that culture.

The Chili Queens received enough national recognition that chili con carne was represented in a stand in the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893, with a sign stating, "The San Antonio Chili Stand."¹⁰ Even with the recognition and tourists, these enterprising women brought in, they were pushed out in 1889 when the new city hall was built on Military Plaza.¹¹ The chili stands moved all over; most moved to Haymarket Plaza where they stayed until the sanitation issues they faced in the 1930s.¹² While the Chili Queens moved around, they began to set up their stands in other areas, such as the red light district of San Antonio. This meant they were often viewed as being part of the gentleman's clubs, brothels, or other racy scenes, but they had nowhere else to set up. Sadly, the Chili Queens were basically made out to be part of the 'rowdy' nightlife of San Antonio. When mentioned after their frequent relocations, they were talked about as being flirtatious or promiscuous. This often ended up in the newspapers and led to the government of San Antonio wanting them out.¹³

During and after the Depression era, San Antonio's sanitation regulations created a rift among the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and The Improvement and Taxpayers' group. The Latino community involved in LULAC wanted to preserve the food and customs they grew up with, and that meant saving the Chili Queens. To solve the rift before it became an all-out fight, Mayor C. K. Quin, recommended the groups meet for a free conference to come to an agreement. The regulations forced the Chili Queens to be screened often to make sure the chili stands were abiding by the health initiatives until they were to move to Washington Square.¹⁴ LULAC argued that they wanted to build a "Mexican atmosphere" around that part of the city to show the Mexican origins of San Antonio.

LULAC believed the continuous health screenings would prevent the chili stands from staying open due to a loss of investment by the Chili Queens. Before needing to be in restaurants with proper dishwashing stations and closed places to eat to avoid flies, the Chili Queens would grab everything and just set it up somewhere. This would lead to losing a part of San Antonio's "Mexican" atmosphere. The opposition argued that they were still going to continue screenings because health was more important than sentiment.

After a lengthy debate, the groups compromised; the Chili Queens would prepare their food indoors in a Health Department approved area. They would also keep their chili con carne at an approved temperature and ready for customers, thus abiding by the health regulations while maintaining their stands.¹⁵ Most of the time, the ladies prepared the food in their homes or in mercados with their health inspection cards tacked on the wall for everyone to see. However, with the City Health Department moving, opening, and closing the stands at various times throughout their reign; the Chili Queen numbers dwindled. Eventually, the Health Department permanently closed the Chili Queens stands in the early 1940s, after deeming the dishwashing methods unsanitary.¹⁶ Though the "Mexican" chili stands closed, they were not forgotten by any means. The Conservation Society of San Antonio and LULAC loved the chili stands and made sure they were remembered by adding their stands in La Villita at San Antonio's Fiesta event called A Night in Old San Antonio (NIOA).¹⁷

Fiesta

In 1891, a group of Anglo women decided to gather in front of the Alamo and create a floral celebration and procession. These women wanted two carriages fully decorated and stocked with flowers to face each other and throw flowers at each other and bystanders thus prompting the name, the Battle of Flowers.

¹⁸ These women did this so San Antonio, the Alamo City, would not be forgotten, and at the same time, commemorated the Battle of San Jacinto and Texas Independence. Then, a domino effect occurred when everyone around town got involved and companies nominated and crowned princesses. Different organizations created parades, and restaurants set up food stands. Since vendors were such a huge part of San Antonio, it was natural to add mercados and food stands to Fiesta despite the previous negative sentiments towards outdoor food vendors. Local restaurants took notice quickly and reverted to what the Chili Queens celebrated, open air stands. Every Fiesta season since 1938, NIOSA is known for their representation of San Antonio's ethnic communities. It averaged fifteen cultural areas, and since the 1960s, NIOSA featured "The Chili Queens" stand staffed by volunteers who gather to make chili con carne, tamales, and tortilla for the Fiesta goers. They are always located in Haymarket from which the original Chili Queens were forced to move in 1936. NIOSA is one of Fiesta's largest events, bringing in a net worth of \$336.11 in 1938 to netting roughly \$1.4 million in 2019.¹⁹ This is amazing since all proceeds go to the Conservation Society of San Antonio who helps preserve cultural and historical aspects of San Antonio.

When Fiesta first began in 1891 and became an annual San Antonio staple, the parade route passed in front of the Alamo because that was the main reason the Battle of Flowers started. So, by default, the parade also flowed by the Chili Queens and their stands across the road in Alamo Plaza. Corporate and bureaucratic San Antonio did not like this because to them the Chili Queens stands were eyesores. This became an embarrassment in the city since many tourists were going to come down to San Antonio for the parades. What this white-collared side of the city did not understand was that the Chili Queen stands had

already represented Fiesta long before Fiesta was established. The chili stands had 'rowdy' customers and had a party-like atmosphere. This lively nightlife was forced out time and time again until it almost became a thing of the past.²⁰ However, San Antonio did not let itself conform too much like cities such as Los Angeles did. Los Angeles also had its own version of this type of celebration called Fiesta de los Flores. However, it did not have the same type of energy, and eventually this Fiesta stopped. Often, people say it is because Los Angeles began to conform whereas San Antonio kept its Mexicanness.²¹

On any given night, a cruise down Military Drive in the southside of San Antonio or on East Commerce Street downtown reveals that food vendors are still selling their food to eager patrons. Although most chili con carne dishes are served indoors these days, the idea of open-air kitchens and food vendors are still very much a part of San Antonio. During April, Fiesta would not be as memorable or profitable without vendors selling traditional Tex-Mex food like chili con carne, chicken on a stick, tamales, beans, tacos, and gorditas. The lively atmosphere is in the title "Fiesta," meaning party, and that is exactly what happens when everyone goes. They party, meet new people, and try new food or drinks. What Fiesta goers often forget is that this is a huge part of the history and culture here in San Antonio; there would be no Fiesta without the cultural Tex-Mex food.

Tex-Mex

Many people from Mexico are not familiar with Tex-Mex food until they get to San Antonio; the food closer to the border is often similar to Mexican cuisine, meaning spicier, colorful, and the food trucks are more cost effective. Tex-Mex food is very different because of the heavy Anglo influence. San Antonio, Texas was part of Mexico before the border moved further south. Once it did

move, some of Texas' main cities became high traffic Anglo settlements. San Antonio was one of these, thus changing the food culture dynamic forever. San Antonio cooks needed to adapt to their clientele. As a result, Tex-Mex is now nationally known and enjoyed by many people. Mexican spice had to be tamed or at least masked within a stew or sauce made for every dish. One of the most common Mexican side dishes is frijoles, also called pinto beans. They came refried, whole, or whole mixed in with broths or water like a soup such as charro beans or borracho beans. Borracho beans are also a novelty in themselves as borracho translates to drunk or drunkard which makes sense since these beans are cooked in cerveza, beer. However, in San Antonio, most meals come with 'refried' beans meaning mashed, mixed with a fat, often bacon grease, and pan fried. Frijoles are an easy protein that are native to Texas.

Tex-Mex tacos are different from tacos from Mexico and its indigenous roots. Street tacos, as they are called on most food truck and restaurant menus, are small tacos made with two small corn tortillas that hold meat, mostly Carne Asada or Al Pastor. Whereas, 'regular' tacos in Texas are made with bigger flour tortillas, which were utilized more by the elite Spaniards who took over Mexico. In *Chili Queens' and Checkered Tablecloths*, Donna R. Gabaccia and Jeffrey M. Pilcher argue, "Staple foods as well as geography marked the division between elite Spanish settlers, who consumed wheat bread, and the indigenous lower classes subsisting on cheaper maize tortillas."²²

Much like the name "Tex-Mex," many people who were considered Mexican by Anglos felt Tex-Mex also described them more than the title Mexican. Moving the border did not mean the people who lived in Texas left for Mexico. After hearing about the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, people living in areas from Texas to California had to choose to be Mexican-American or move out of the U.S. territory and go to Mexico.²³ Most

Mexicans being born and raised in the now U.S. territory decided to stay because it was their home. Besides Native tribes, Mexican people were the first ones here, and they had to adapt to new people when Anglo Americans started to move in due to the railroads. Then, the new Mexican-Americans' children and grandchildren were considered Americans, racially White, but known ethnically as Hispanic. Stuck in the middle, many of the Hispanic people felt that the title of Tex-Mex described not only a food culture but also themselves.

After the cattle industry, railroads, and military bases were established in San Antonio, cattle drivers, businessmen, and soldiers needed a place to eat and that is where the Chili Queens found their niche. Chili con carne is a filling dish that only cost ten cents and came with tamales, beans, tortillas, and coffee. It was substantial in many ways. The chili stands were a place to go to get something good to eat, have a laugh, and a good time which would often be just what everyone needed. The stands were a good time where anyone and everyone was welcome. Although these working-class women created this atmosphere and this dish, they actually had no idea what they were building. Now their dishes, atmosphere, and history are being replicated on a much larger scale, and that is what makes them the trailblazers of San Antonio's Tex-Mex food culture.

Chili Con Carne

Chili con carne is a unique dish from name to taste. Gustavo Arellano, wrote in *Taco USA* that, "the label Chili con carne (pepper with meat, which has it backwards, as it was pepper that was the condiment, not the main ingredient)."²⁴ Chili con carne did not really make sense in translation from Spanish to English. Even one of the other common dishes, tamales con chili, translates to tamales with pepper, but in this case, it actually means

tamales topped with chili con carne. The chili con carne that many San Antonians grew up with already had beans in it so there was never a need for a side of beans. However, at the time of the Chili Queens, chili con carne was just the stew itself which is why it always came with a side of beans. Even though beans are an important side dish in San Antonio; there are many milder main meat dishes that are palatable for everyone like chili con carne. Later around the 1970s, chili con carne became widely known as chili; the recognition chili got all through the years helped make 'chili' Texas' state dish in 1977.²⁵ However, the 'chili' referred to in the state dish was actually chili con carne. The reason that this dish and its roots became an American state dish is because of how much it had to be altered to fit the taste buds of the Gringos buying it especially since this dish was thought to be originally made with only meat and peppers until the women cooking it realized their patrons could not hack the heat.²⁶

Growing up in San Antonio and the surrounding small towns, chili con carne was a meal eaten as a treat or mostly during the holidays. Most times chili con carne came with tamales. On the south side of San Antonio, customers bought tamales from a small tortilla factory, called Del Rio's. Del Rio's is a popular spot for tamales and tortillas. One resident, Elizabeth 'Liz' Padilla, did not have the Chili Queen's recipe, so she made a cheaper, easier version. She learned the framework of this recipe from her father, Maximo Garcia, or Max who made it for Sunday dinners and Christmas, again always with tamales. However, Liz had her own modifications as many other residents did.

Chili con carne was a very good meal for canning, and it would survive in tropical climates as it is an antiscorbutic meal. Experts suggest it can help to prevent or cure scurvy; a disease caused by a lack of vitamin C suffered mostly by sailors. If canned this dish

would have been ideal for those in the Navy. Knowing this, people began to see it as a positive business venture. Major W. G. Tobin talked about wanting to get into the business of canning, specifically canning chili con carne. However, in an interview with a San Antonio journalist in 1882 he misrepresented the history of the dish. He said that chili con carne was the national dish of Mexico, and that it is enjoyed by everyone who goes to Mexico.²⁷ This is false; chili con carne might be in the Spanish language, but that does not make it Mexican or Spanish. In the UTSA Cocina Mexicana, or Mexican Kitchen cookbook collection, where there are plenty of digitized Mexican cookbooks none of them contain a recipe for chili con carne.²⁸ Chili con carne is a true San Antonian dish, created by the Chili Queens. Major Tobin never got to pursue his canning business due to his death in 1884.

In 1883, William Gebhardt, a German immigrant who settled in New Braunfels, Texas became fascinated with the Mexican food of San Antonio. In 1896, he registered the Eagle Brand Chili Powder trademark. He basically took it upon himself to powder spices and can chili con carne. Gebhardt's canning business was and is still very successful. However, he never gave proper recognition to the Chili Queens or these Mexican-American women at all. Sadly, as the Chili Queens began to get pushed out of San Antonio's Plazas, the Gebhardt company was doing better and better. His factories were so successful that Mexican Military officials and U.S. Politicians toured his facilities when they visited San Antonio. Since the Chili Queens were in the seedy part of the town by this time, it is likely these gentlemen never visited the original Chili Queens to enjoy authentic chili con carne.²⁹

San Antonio was and is an interesting part of Texas. Early on, San Antonio became a stop for the cattle industry, a military hub, and a metropolitan business town, while also maintaining its Mexican/Tejano roots. All

these changes would soon become a huge part of the culture of San Antonio. The Chili Queens were Mexican-American women who created chili con carne, a stew that mixed and tamed Mexican spices with beef. This dish maintained their Mexican origins while also welcoming a milder recipe for the Anglo and German settlers to enjoy. The Chili Queens were able not only to satisfy the Anglo-Americans of San Antonio, but also brought tourism from all over the U.S. Today when taking a drive down Military Drive, San Pedro, Zarzamora, or anywhere downtown there are *vendedores* in mobile food trucks, smaller hitched stales, or collapsible stands. Anyone can take their pick from classic Tex-Mex to desserts, the list of foods with this atmosphere is endless. The Chili Queens created this dish as well as a lasting culture that helped to build San Antonio. The Chili Queens and chili con carne gave an identity to those who were part of the period when “the border moved (and) we didn’t [*sic*]” Mexican-Americans. Then these Mexican-Americans had American children who are now known as Hispanics. These Texas-born Hispanic people often considered themselves Tex-Mex. The Chili Queens began this *vendedores* culture in San Antonio that is still very predominant today. They helped build San Antonio’s most famous traditions like NIOSA during Fiesta. These women were entrepreneurs who invented Tex-Mex food, a diverse and inclusive cuisine like their famous chili con carne. Though they were forced out of the Plazas their origins are now celebrated by those who remember them and their stands’ welcoming atmosphere.

Recipes

The Chili Queens chili con carne recipe according to the Witte Museum Archives follows:

Ingredients

- 2 lbs. beef shoulder, cut into ½-inch cubes
- 1 lb. pork shoulder, cut into ½-inch cubes
- ¼ cup suet
- ¼ cup pork fat
- 3 medium-sized onions, chopped
- 6 garlic cloves, minced
- 1-quart water
- 4 ancho chilies
- 1 serrano chili
- 6 dried red chilies
- 1 Tablespoon Comino seeds, freshly ground
- 2 tablespoons Mexican oregano
- Salt to taste

Directions

1. Place lightly floured beef and pork cubes in with suet and pork fat in a heavy chili pot and cook quickly, stirring often.
2. Add onions and garlic and cook until they are tender and limp.
3. Add water to the mixture and simmer slowly while preparing chilies.
4. Remove stems and seeds from chili and chop very finely.
5. Grind chilies in molcajete (a special mortar and pestle) and add oregano with salt to mixture.

6. Simmer for another 2 hours.
7. Remove suet casing and skim off some fat.
8. Never cook frijoles with chilies and meat. Serve as a separate dish.³⁰

Elizabeth Padilla's chili con carne recipe (the author's mother) :

Ingredients

- 2 large cans of Wolfe brand chili
- 1 lb. ground beef chuck meat
- 3 large cans of Charro Beans
- 1 small can of Rotel brand chopped tomatoes and peppers
- 1 packet of McCormick chili seasoning or H-E-B brand Texas Chili seasoning
- 1 can of tomato sauce
- 3 cups of water
- Salt and Black Pepper to taste

Directions

1. Cook beef first in separate pan, once meat is browned add Rotel cook for a few minutes, set aside.
2. Add Wolfe chili, charro beans, tomato sauce, water, and chili seasoning to large pot, cook until mixed well.
3. Strain beef and Rotel mix, then add to pot.
4. Mix everything in pot together let cook for 1hr.
5. Add salt and pepper to taste.
6. Serve hot over Del Rio's Tortilla Factory tamales.

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WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB AND THE GRAND ARC OF ERUDITION

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The Organization of American Historians has included so many members over time, that if each had researched only one year, every year of American history since 10,000 BC could have been covered.¹ Yet there are few American historians generally regarded as “great.” Frederick Jackson Turner had perhaps the most successful historical idea in American history—the Frontier Thesis. But he never actually completed a successful book, and was dedicated only to cutting-edge, historiographical interpretations. David McCullough and C. Vann Woodward both won Pulitzer Prizes; they even won praise from famous Americans such as Jimmy Carter and Martin Luther King for their direct and positive influence on contemporary events. The Victorian writer, Henry Adams, still might claim the fame of having the most recognized non-fiction book of the twentieth century, his own self-portrait, the *Education of Henry Adams*. There was one historian, though not considered stellar enough to be in the group just described, who actually proved to be more versatile, and in a way shocking for historians, more futuristic. Walter P. Webb’s professional life encompassed a Grand Arc of Erudition.

The “Grand Arc of Erudition,” implies that Webb alone among the group above covered all the tenses of historical application. He wrote and worked for past, present, and future. The first segment of the arc includes that which historians must

be familiar: the past. Like the Southern historian, Woodward, Webb was a great clarifier and story-teller of a region’s past—though his specialty was the Great Plains. Like McCullough, Webb could write page-turners. Webb’s *Texas Rangers* has had gone through several editions since 1935 and was reprinted by the University of Texas Press as late as 2010. Better than Woodward, Webb was able to set his region in a global context, developing great ideas like the “boom hypothesis.”² Webb’s second segment of achievement, perhaps less obvious but still pertinent to historians, is the present. Great historians show their value to the world by working with modern leaders and using what they have learned from the past to better the world that they live in. Webb’s work on water conservation spurred a debate that became the third largest issue in the Texas gubernatorial election of 1956 and made him an advisor of later President Lyndon Johnson.³ The third segment of the arc is even less occupied, especially by those whose business is history. This concerns futuristic pathways for history. Walter Webb utilized his knowledge in such a way as to inspire ongoing projects of history through youth organizations and the creation of the *Handbook of Texas*. An association he initiated, the “Junior Historians of Texas,” begun in 1939, is the oldest and most venerable high school organization for state history in the nation.⁴ In initiating the *Handbook of Texas* in 1952, Webb pioneered a compendium that now in online form today engages about five million

unique users every year from around the world. As Webb's work concerned all the tenses, he was a remarkably unique and persistently influential historian.⁵

Webb seemed altogether unlikely in early life to even get his hands on a few books much less become an abiding presence in the world of scholarship. Born in Panola County in Texas, his family later moved near Ranger, where he became disenchanted with withered wheat and cotton-picking sores. At the age of 16 he was working hard to help his father on a failing farm. He was print-starved. One day he learned from a local editor that the magazine, the *Sunny South*, was offering a special subscription inducement rate—three months for ten cents. He courageously asked his frugal mother for the money. From a special sock, she produced the needed dime. Webb not only read this journal from cover to cover, he also wrote a letter to the editor begging for someone to help him to become a writer and travel east. Remarkably, a reader, William Hinds of New York, did just that. This 1904 shot in the dark proved to be a catalyst in his professional career.⁶

Webb received a constant stream of monetary help from Hinds. They came in small but regular doses, after Webb could prove he had crossed another milestone in his learning. Still Webb felt lonely, and under-schooled when he entered the University of Texas in 1909. Hinds was now old, and did not want to meet Webb, only to help him with transitions. But it was there in Austin that he studied under Lindley M. Keasbey (1867-1946), who was the head of the Department of Institutional History. Keasbey was a distinguished teacher and a scholar. In fact, Alvin S. Johnson, an economist, once said that Keasbey was the best economic geographer in the United States.⁷ Webb set out to please Keasbey more than any other student. It took a while, but Webb soon had his second intellectual father. In reading Webb's papers for his

classes at the University of Texas, one can see Keasbey's influence in Webb's thought. For example, Webb once wrote that history is directly tied to the "topographic, orographic and hydrographic environment" of an area, which is reflective of Keasbey's views as a historian.⁸ Keasbey's interests in more-or-less static environmental preconditions, gave Webb's historical interests a sensitivity to what was timeless. His time studying under Keasbey is, in part, why Webb began to show interest in studying the connection between the natural environment and its inhabitants, which would later become manifest in works such as *The Great Plains* and *The Great Frontier*. Webb would later say that the teacher's influence had permeated into every aspect of his professional life. Keasbey's influence became a primary factor of Webb's grand-arc, "latitudinarianism" as a historian. Webb would exhibit an inbuilt willingness to go beyond a focus merely of past events.⁹

Webb was able to obtain a Masters at the University of Texas in 1920 for his work on the Texas Rangers. This work would show that Keasbey's influence, though positive, was not controlling. Webb liked to tell good stories. Wanting to be the best, Webb next sought a Ph.D. in history at the University of Chicago. Here Webb's idiosyncratic education, and maverick tendencies caught up with him. His period of "educational outbreeding" was a failure, and Webb became a dropout. At this time, the University of Chicago was under the sway of its emergent school of sociology which stressed revolutionary new scientific conceptualizations of human experience. For a young man who saw history as exciting, and who once dreamed of writing dramatic fiction, the emphasis on argumentation and modelling could have been exasperating. Costs also might have discouraged the young scholar whose teaching income had thus far been minimal. He had just married Jane Oliphant in 1916. But at the same time, this was a very

important failure. Henry Adams and David McCullough, for example, never did more than get a B.A., but the color and drama of their historical writing, for the average reader, far exceeds the tomes of the Ph.D. historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner, and C. Vann Woodward. Those schooled in doctorates are trained to argue, not to dramatize. The failure also meant that Webb would thereafter have to justify his own maverick tendency. For a cigarette-smoking cowboy scholar who enjoyed belts of bourbon, and wore a Stetson, Webb was very conscious of his need to uphold his own brand of western iconoclasm. His grand arc of applied learning as a historian, his willingness to do more than merely argue about the past, could well have resulted from his continual need to justify his University of Chicago failure, and his own unique path.¹⁰

Blocked from level of prestige that could have insured a conventional career as a professor at the University of Texas, Webb labored to be exceptional. Colleagues would hear irregular spurts of typing and the sounds of tossed books echoing through corridor of Garrison Hall into the night. They marveled at his tenacity and strength of purpose. He worked feverishly on an idiosyncratic masterwork which he would title, the *Great Plains*. The book in its conception was very unorthodox. It would include both history and Keasbey's interest in the relation between environment and society. Webb even defined the Great Plains differently, arguing that flat, treeless, and semi-arid-to-arid land, in fact, inundated most of the West, quite beyond the western boundaries of Oklahoma, Kansas and Nebraska. The book was also a grab-bag of stories about the Spanish, the Comanche, and the coming of the windmill. It had very unusual sub-chapter captions, phrased as questions—"Did man originate on the plains of in the forest?"; "What effects did the Great Plains have on the Anglo-American?"; and "Why is the West politically Radical?" It was the kind of unusual, even strange work that can

sometimes fail to win decent reviews or even a publisher.

But *The Great Plains* was a smashing success. The book even won a Loubat Prize from the Ivy League citadel, Columbia University in 1933, earning Webb \$400. In fact, it garnered heavy media coverage. The *New York Times* deemed it "a new interpretation of the American West." In a profession where simply regurgitating facts is an easy, albeit dull, rhythm to fall into, this is high praise. Moreover, in 1939 the Social Science Research Council named it an "outstanding contribution" to the field in which he operated. Additionally, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association regarded it as "the most important book in the first half of the twentieth century by a living American historian." Clearly, this was high praise.¹¹

Webb's overriding theory in *The Great Plains* is as follows: expansion by European settlers into the Great Plains halted along what he referred to as a "cultural fault line," or the eastern edge of the region, because of the lack of water and vegetation. Further settlement only began due to an advancement in technology, such as that of barbed wire, the six-shooter, or windmills. His powerful focus on the ideas that enabled settlement helped make the Halladay windmill an iconic symbol of the Great Plains region. However, Webb wondered if long-term settlement was sustainable in the Great Plains due to its harsh and arid environment.¹²

The Great Plains gave Webb a Ph.D. from the University of Texas in 1932 and freed him from having to prove his academic credentials. He could now return to his master's work on the Texas Rangers, and exhibit that other side of his interests—his ability to characterize individuals and place them in dramatic situations. Again, the process by which Webb researched was immersive. David McCullough would later say that he did not work "on" books, he worked "in" them. Webb knew this

feeling as well, though unlike McCullough, he would go way beyond the bounds of America, and even history in his later writings. When studying the Texas Rangers, Webb talked with Rangers, he rode with them along the Mexican border, and “heard the accounts” of the people with which he was concerned. He poured over every primary source he could find. He wrote with common readers in mind.¹³ He gathered firsthand support. Here, for example, is his account of the leading early-twentieth-century Ranger, W. J. (Bill) MacDonald, which later became a most noted state-wide story about the Ranger legend:

[MacDonald] was a frontier phrase maker, and coiner of epigrams, and was so picturesque and daring that others coined phrases about him. He called himself a “brother-in-law of the church” because his wife was a member; if a man wanted to fight, Bill invited him “to fly at it,” and he once declared he could stand a lot of abuse—at long range. . . . He was responsible for the story . . . about the call for a company of Rangers to quell a mob. When a lone Ranger got off the train---Bill McDonald of course—there was vigorous protest . . . as to his inadequacy to control the situation. ‘Well you ain’t got but one mob, have you?’ he inquired sweetly.

Webb’s work on the *Rangers*, published in 1935, gave him a bestseller, and remains today the book most enthusiasts of Texas are familiar with. It became such a token of the West and of Texan pride that in May of 1965, while on vacation in his Texas ranch, President Lyndon Johnson approved his “Foreword,” that would be appended to the book.¹⁴

From 1935 through 1950, Webb, now acknowledged as a uniquely versatile historian, receded gradually from public view. As there were critics to *The Great Plains*, one

could have guessed that Webb would have endeavored to write another big-idea book to sustain his influence. But Webb, in fact, retreated from the need of being the great persuader. Once at a conference, according to his colleague, Bert Barksdale, critics ganged up on him. Stinging criticisms emanated from a clique who appeared to have rehearsed their remarks. Rather than become upset, Webb ambled up to the middle of the room, cracked a smile and said: “I agree with everything my distinguished critics have said.” He had a similar reputation in class. Students who disagreed with him and sustained their ideas received ‘A’s. It was as if the maverick historian encouraged individuality to the point of undermining the truth of what he argued. The gap in Webb’s career during the decade when he was in his fifties was in part a function of distractions that he willingly entertained. He was not oblivious to the dip in his reputation during these years. One of Webb’s favorite sayings was that of the African-American pitcher Satchel Paige who said, “Don’t look back, cause someone might be catchin up ta ya.”¹⁵ As Webb aged, his tendency to drink, to say “goddamned” about things academic, and to criticize younger faculty members increased apace. To the Ph.D.s and the savants of the historical profession, it appeared that Webb was experiencing an early decline.

But it was also during these gap years that Webb was looking into the future. In 1937, he became director of the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA). He identified the need to increase the standing of this organization, so Webb organized the Junior Historians in 1939, an association of junior high and high school students who were encouraged through awards, and the chance of publications to excel in their in-class essays in Texas history.¹⁶ During the 1940s, and early 1950s this society averaged a 10 percent increase in new chapters every year. Webb’s friend, the writer, J. Frank Dobie noted:

I don't know but when Webb gets to St. Peter he may not have more credit there for the Junior historians of Texas than he will have for the books he has written because the far-reachingness, if I may use such a word

The Junior Historians of Texas, in fact, is still active to this day, although it has gone through various transformations. In the past, the organization was primarily focused on researching and writing history, but it expanded to include other goals, such as teaching students how to read analytically and to debate.¹⁷ In addition to giving students the tools needed to become historians, the program sponsored the Junior Historian Annual Meeting where students participated in touring cultural institutions. During this meeting, Junior Historian members shared their historical research endeavors for that year. At the end of the meeting, students were eligible for awards. Moreover, they were selected to publish in the Junior Historians' journal. The journal was entitled *The Junior Historian* from January of 1941 to May of 1970. It then changed its name to *The Texas Historian*, which remains an active journal today.

In 1939, Webb also introduced his idea of a Texas handbook. He perceived that an encyclopedia of the Texas past could in time become the most read and referenced work in Texas history. It would define what was important and what was known. As the head of the TSHA, Webb could have merely suggested the idea with the hope that his colleagues might generously contribute. But Webb wanted the best of scholarship in the book, and he knew the project would take money. Webb wrote the newspapers to inspire editors—who he thought would be primary beneficiaries—to discuss the project. He inspired his university president, Homer Rainey, to press for legislative aid. The Forty-seventh Legislature of Texas complied, and the ultimate result was an ongoing, online project that has fulfilled Webb's prediction and hopes.¹⁸

Under Webb's direction and the aid of the University of Texas, the original two-volume *Handbook* was completed in 1952. The third volume was not released until 1976, over a decade after his passing. The *New Handbook of Texas* was released in 1996, containing six volumes. Finally, the *Handbook of Texas Online* was born in 1999. It now boasts over 27,000 articles, ranging from broad topics to biographical articles. Clearly, Webb's dream of creating a practical book that preserves Texas history came true. In fact, the best dreams are often the ones that live beyond the dreamer. Webb had predicted that "the most useful book that has ever been published in Texas" would have a long life. He was right.¹⁹

It was during these "gap years," these years when he worked with historians throughout Texas getting the *Handbook* launched, that Webb explored alternatives to the idea of the "heroic historian." Was it so necessary for only one person to so singlehandedly comprehend long stretches of history with coherent ideas? Webb refused to emulate European super-scholars such as Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) Fernand Braudel (1902-1985) and Arnold J. Toynbee (1889-1975) with their own personal commitments to engage in massive research. But being from Texas, where the only written history was relatively recent, Webb perhaps did not feel so responsible for thousands of years of human experience. Webb also wondered whether a solitary scholar simply receiving heirloom texts could address the problems of the present and future. He believed that the historian needed to interact and relate to experts in other fields, and indeed to experiences which historical records had been lackluster in portraying. In 1942, he purchased 630 acres of land which he would call the Friday Mountain Ranch.²⁰ He was enraptured with this land and enamored with the idea of how he could better understand past struggles by taking up the challenges posed by the environment. He worked with his own hands

to raise animals, replenish the land's grass and water. He erected barns and struggled to make a profit. To teach others about the experience, he opened a boy's summer camp in 1947 on the grounds. He also invited other scholarly friends to share this environmental outreach. It was at the Friday Mountain Ranch that Webb's close friend and celebrated naturalist, Roy Bedichek, penned *Adventures with a Texas Naturalist*, which has become a Texas classic.

Webb was passionate also about spending face-to-face time with top scholars of other fields. His grand conception of erudition depended on the chance to intimately question other scholars about their ideas. Webb's "Grand Arc" also involved receiving direct, candid feedback of others to best articulate his own constructs. It provided him, he thought, with the best perspectives to frame the significance of his historical studies.²¹ In one sense, in this pursuit, Webb anticipated Starbucks. The UT Professor was upset that whereas Austin provided numerous taverns and country clubs for socializing, there was not even one decent coffee house where he could engage in invigorating conversations. Due to his efforts, the Headliners Club was founded in the Driskill Hotel where just the right ambience for the best dialogues could ensue.²² Webb made it a habit to meet and exchange letters with J. Frank Dobie, a folklorist, and Roy Bedichek, a naturalist.²³ They reportedly met at Barton Springs often, where a statue called *The Philosopher's Rock* stands today in honor of them.²⁴ These men were known as the "Big Three" because of their impact on their subjects and their influence on society. They worked together getting classes and policies to work at the University of Texas in Austin, but they also carved out a whole mythic emphasis for Texas in modern life, emphasizing the cowboy heritage, and the challenge of the western frontier. David McComb has argued, for example, that it was at the point of this collaboration between the Big Three, that "the

Texas mystique at this point began to wear a Stetson."²⁵

Even during this time of the "gap" when Webb appeared to be retreating from the tensions of securing his intellectual leadership, he was, in fact, also working on another 'big idea' book. Just as *The Great Plains* received its fair share of the spotlight in the 1930s, so did Webb's *The Great Frontier* become important for the 1950s. In this latter book, published in 1952, Webb promoted the most controversial idea of his career: the "Boom Hypothesis." In short, he argued that the New World, or the "Great Frontier" had a profound impact on what he referred to as the "Metropolis," eastern population centers of the Western world. The idea explores this relationship over 450 years of European colonization. Webb asserts that this boom came in the form of abundant natural resources, such as indigo and tobacco along with the implementation of democracy, and capitalism.²⁶ Webb went on to claim that the close-off of the frontier around 1900 explained the loss of the boom in the 1930s. He warned that the closing of the frontier was a threat to democracy, capitalism, and individuality. In short, the historian claimed that the discovery and exploitation of the "Great Frontier" was the foundation of western civilization as it is known today.

Unlike *The Great Plains*, which featured Webb's idea of cultural fault lines, the "Boom Hypothesis" was not well received all-around. Some critics disagreed with the substance or gravity of Webb's claims. Though this was the case, the "Boom Hypothesis" remains one of Webb's most notable contributions to the historical discipline. In *The Great Frontier*, Webb ventured beyond his field of specialization and applied his knowledge to world history, drawing connections between the New World and Europe.²⁷ Moreover, he was now not just a "one-book wonder" but a top

thinker who could also write popular history, and had a steady stream of articles and lesser books to his credit. *The Great Frontier* elevated Webb to the presidency of the preeminent association of American historians, and then the preeminent association of historians in America, the American Historical Association, in 1958.²⁸ He now could claim to have completed the first segment in the Grand Arc of Erudition, which deals with the exploration of the past. Viewed solely as an interpreter of the past, Webb was a formidable historian.

But Webb was also a profound believer in the significant role that historical erudition could have on the present. He was ahead of his time in being a historically informed conservationist. As he endeavored to apply this knowledge to current problems, we see the second segment of his arc appearing in full color toward the end of his life--knowledge honed to present concerns. His book, *More Water for Texas*, was published in 1954. It brought attention to what Webb thought was one of Texas's most serious issues. He also went on to write an article called "The American West, Perpetual Mirage" in 1957.²⁹ Webb's convincing warnings made him special advisor on water issues to Lyndon B. Johnson when the latter was a senator of Texas. Webb even won an award from the United States Bureau of Reclamation for his exceptional contribution to conservation.²⁹ Though both of these writings took place during the 1950s Texas drought, which lasted from 1949 to 1957, Webb was convinced that even worse days were to come for Texas on the water issue. In the 21st century with the Ogallala reservoir and the Rio Grande approaching something like a death spiral, Webb's early warnings significantly demonstrate the value to our society of historians who are attuned to the present.

For all of Webb's strong points, he could be pitiless with professors at the university whose ego exceeded their ideas.³⁰ He grew tired of reading doctoral dissertations and found most of his correspondence a grind. In September

of 1960, Webb's wife of forty-four-years, Jane Elizabeth, died. Not a man inclined to go to church or to entertain notions about God, Webb grew depressed. His hair was now white, and his gestures laconic. Lyndon Johnson, now vice president of the United States, no longer needed his advice. The University of Texas Regents, who had never especially appreciated Webb, showed little sign of being any less conservative or critical. His favorite UT president, Logan Wilson, had been replaced. Webb's "Satchel Paige motto came to mind, because now there were many young historians beginning to chip away at the whole frontier model of interpretation used by both Frederick Jackson Turner, and Webb. But Webb searched for renewal. He decided to marry again; he chose a younger widow with a last name he fully appreciated—Terrell Maverick.

Terrell was vivacious and articulate. She was attractive—Webb could have posed as her father. But she was still very tied to her late husband's affairs in San Antonio, and to their two children. Webb was excited by his new wife, but had a hard time keeping up with her, and missed the wifely devotion of Jane. In February of 1963, Webb participated in a book-signing with his friend and journalist Lon Tinkle. Afterwards, a tired Webb confessed that he felt he had "no more books in [him]." Though he considered writing a history of the University of Texas and was working on several other projects, he had lost the rhythm of his steady night pounding in Garrison Hall. He sometimes bemoaned that he was always forced to think.³¹ On March 8, 1963, Webb and Terrell, got into their car and began a journey along Highway 35. Terrell reportedly fell asleep with her head in her husband's lap, and, not long after, the 1962 Plymouth was upside down in a ditch. Walter had been tossed out of the vehicle, which likely killed him immediately. Terrell sustained substantial damage, but she eventually recovered.³² Webb was seventy-four at the time of his death.³³

Had the stress of life literally worn him out

to the point where he too had fallen asleep--but at the wheel?

Webb's last embrace of a woman named Maverick said a great deal about his life, but also about the unique ways he used scholarship. Though scholars usually try to establish and defend a realm of clarity which they can claim as their own, Webb had a very cavalier attitude toward both the facts of this history, and its claims of truth. Facts alone were like the dry dust of his Friday Mountain Ranch—incapable of helping or supporting anyone. He believed in ideas, ideas that were brilliantly conceived, and yet always changing and being made suitable to the times. Unlike the vision of the solitary “heroic historian,” Webb embraced the ideal of having thousands of regional historians after him finding their own fields and constructs. He believed in the need for historians to shape the culture of the present, to address its current problems, and to envision the future. Though Webb lacked the national platform attained by Frederick Jackson Turner, or the loyal fan base of readers known to David McCullough, he had a much fuller vision than other great American historians about what history could do, and how historians could interact with their world. Like the west Texas sky, he dreamed big. The grand arc of his erudition made him one of the most influential historians of the modern era.

ENDNOTES

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- ¹⁵ Frantz. "Introduction." 44, 51.
- ¹⁶ Necah Stewart Furman. "WEBB, WALTER PRESCOTT," *Handbook of Texas Online*, <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fwe06>> [accessed September 4, 2019].
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FRAUD WITHIN THE ENRON CORPORATION: THE ENRON SCANDAL OF 2002

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On December 2, 2001, the Enron Corporation, one of the largest energy companies in the United States based in Houston, Texas, filed for bankruptcy protection, the largest filing for bankruptcy in the United States at that time.¹ Kenneth Lee Lay, founder and chairman of the board, resigned as chief executive officer of the Enron Corporation on January 23, 2002.² In 2006, Lay was found guilty on six criminal charges and an additional four bank fraud charges.³ Though facing charges, he told a KXAS-NBC 5 News Channel reporter that “in fact, we’re innocent,” showing his ignorance of the fraud.⁴ This company was the epitome of the “fake it until you make it” company that eventually failed, fooling investors to believe that everyone should invest in the Enron Corporation. Enron once was a respectable company, having one of the largest natural gas transmission networks and being the world largest gas and electricity marketer, yet quickly it became “synonymous with corporate greed and corruption” as well as a fraud company.⁵ How did this rising company fall to the wayside? Simply, the company’s desperation to stay afloat financially led them criminally to exploit accounting principles and security laws.

Enron started as a merger between Houston Natural Gas, a subdivision from the Houston Oil Company, and InterNorth company.⁶ Houston Natural Gas began selling gasoline in the 1920s but sold their retail gas business in 1976.⁷ This allowed it to diversify and expand to gas exploration, production, and other

industries. By 1984 they had made a profit of over \$123 million and had assets worth \$3.7 billion.⁸ InterNorth, formerly known as the Northern National Gas Company, began in Omaha, Nebraska in 1930, and their pipeline network had a total revenue of \$7.5 billion in 1984.⁹ The merger between Houston Natural Gas and InterNorth was initiated in 1984 when Sam Segnar, the Chief Executive Officer of InterNorth.¹⁰ Segnar bought out Houston Oil Company under the merger name of the “HNG/InterNorth” for \$2.4 billion. The company would be headquartered in Omaha, Nebraska with Segnar as both a chairman of the board and chief executive officer.¹¹ But in 1986, a year after the merger, Sam Segnar retired as chief executive officer and appointed Kenneth Lay.¹²

Kenneth Lee Lay, born on April 15, 1942, earned a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Houston in 1970.¹³ After graduation, he worked in many oil and gas refinery companies, including the Humble Oil and Refining Company and later at the Florida Gas Corporation in 1973.¹⁴ After the chief executive officer of Florida Gas Corporation, Jack Bowen, left the position for Houston’s Transco Corporation in 1980, Lay became president and chief executive officer.¹⁵ Lay moved to Houston in 1981 to take over as the president of the Transco Corporation—the same role Jack Bowen had.¹⁶ During that time, Lay became a well-known figure in the oil and gas industry. People described him as an “effective spokesman for the industry” that helped those

companies get out of long-term, high-priced contracts called “take or pay contracts” during a “time of falling prices and reduced demand” for oil in 1978.¹⁷ In 1984, Lay became the chief executive officer of Houston Natural Gas and retained the position after the Houston Natural Gas/InterNorth merger in 1986.¹⁸

Under Lay’s leadership the company’s name changed to Enron Corporation and its offices relocated to Houston. In 1986 Enron Corporation owned over “36,000 miles of pipe” connections in the United States.¹⁹ In 1984, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission allowed any gas distributing company to buy gas from anyone and anywhere.²⁰ Lay, with the help of a former consultant for McKinsey and Company, Jeff Skilling, in 1991 set up the Gas Bank, to serve as an “intermediary between buyers and sellers of gas.”²¹ With the success of the Gas Bank, Lay saw more opportunities for Enron to be a gas trader than as a gas producer and sold some of its pipeline networks in 2000.²² The company was number seven on *Fortune Magazine’s* “Top 500 Companies” list and was a well-respected business.²³ Enron grew more powerful through its innovative projects, but many projects failed and eventually Enron had to resort to illegal accounting practices to stay afloat.

One failed project occurred in 1994 after the U.S. Congress deregulated state control of electricity and gas utilities, allowing companies to sell their utilities to any state.²⁴ The Enron Corporation began spending \$100 million a year in California to control the electricity and gas utilities there.²⁵ The project ended in 1999, although Enron continued to provide electricity to California until 2000.²⁶ In 2001, the California Senate took Enron, along with other energy companies involved in California’s energy crisis, to court for manipulating energy prices.²⁷ Enron’s lawyer claimed that Enron did not have to comply with the state committee because only the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission had jurisdiction over energy

companies.²⁸ Another failed attempt to generate revenue occurred in July 1998, when Enron bought British company, Wessex Water, and renamed that company to Azurix.²⁹ Two years of supply and transmission problems led Enron to liquify Azurix and its assets, and write off the debt as a Special Purpose Entity (SPE). SPEs were “shell firms created by a sponsor but funded by independent equity investors and debt financing,” with the purpose of keeping the record of the debt out of Enron’s accounting book. Enron used that practice significantly to create the illusion that their business was doing well.³⁰

One more significant attempt to make revenue was by investing in broadband, fiber-optic cables. In 2000, Enron Corporation announced the creation of Enron Broadband Services, a broadband, fiber-optic cable business.³¹ Previously, Enron successfully invested in the technology industry as Enron Online. In 1999, it was one of the “largest e-commerce sites in the world,” so many people expected the Broadband Services to be a good natural expansion of the company.³² Due to issues related to the amount of fiber optic cables that can be put in the ground that other broadband companies had claimed before, Enron Broadband Services saw a loss of \$1 billion.³³ These failed projects put Enron in a tight situation. How much longer could they survive without a reliable, steady flow of revenue? Would Enron survive?

Once more Enron survived through illegal and unethical accounting practices. Instead of trying to find new ways to raise revenue, they doubled-down on creating false bookings of successful projects and revenues, and crafted a facade of a successful company to the general stock market.³⁴ With Jeff Skilling supervising accounting, he adopted the mark-to-market accounting, where the value of an anticipated revenue is determined, and the expected costs of the revenue is expensed once a contract is signed.³⁵ Unrealized and unexpected gains or

losses of the market value of those contracts should have been reported in the company's annual earnings reports, although Enron also falsified the losses.³⁶ Though this method of accounting is legal, the Enron Corporation and Arthur Andersen, another auditor company, illegally used this practice to increase Enron's stocks by fifty-nine percent in 1999 and eighty-seven percent the next year. They used this practice to their advantage to the point it went beyond parameters of the law to illegally inflate their stocks.³⁷ They also engaged in prepaid agreements that allowed the company to keep the liability of the agreements off the balance sheet so they could raise money.³⁸

During the 1990s they began using more SPEs in their business to manage or fund the risks within a project or asset. People criticized Enron for forcing investors and bankers to invest in their SPEs for a short time before replacing them with a new investor.³⁹ When Enron could not find investors for their SPEs, they relied on their own management personnel to create mark-to-market contracts or to hide the losses from underperforming assets or projects.⁴⁰ One final source of funding for projects was international loans. Enron Corporation borrowed \$56 million in 1989 from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) in Argentina, a shady investment company.⁴¹ Eventually, Enron racked up \$2.2 billion in loans spent on failed projects, powerplants, gas pipelines, and gas extraction.⁴² With many investments in projects that were doomed to fail and hiding those failures, Enron was in trouble. The company's fraudulent practices and falsified accounting books ultimately resulted in the bankruptcy of the Enron Corporation and its affiliate Arthur Andersen, and the creation of the Sarbanes and Oxley Act of 2002.

Enron's questionable practices eventually led to its crimes coming to light. In 2001, financial analysts began questioning bookkeeping.⁴³ In 2000, Enron claimed that it had \$4.8 billion in cash flow, even though there

was very little cash flow.⁴⁴ The same year, the company claimed \$100 billion in revenue not traded by hand that needed to be collateralized by credit rating services; credit rating services raised serious questions about the legitimacy of Enron's records.⁴⁵

While these events were happening, the fiber market was also in decline, yet Enron insisted that their broadband technology was doing fine, inviting more suspicion.⁴⁶ The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) reported that the Enron Corporation had a negative cash flow of \$1.3 billion, a stark contrast to the \$4.8 billion claimed.⁴⁷ One of the SPEs, Marlin, had a payment to investors at the end of 2001, but Enron managed to refinance it for \$1 billion dollars; a deal that would work only if their stocks did not fall below \$34 per share.⁴⁸ Due to falling energy prices, Enron saw its stocks fall below \$34 and had to pay out \$2 billion to investors.⁴⁹ This increased payment to investors, along with other complications in the company, prompted Jeff Skilling to retire from his position, leaving Enron in the hands of Kenneth Lay.⁵⁰ This sudden departure of Jeff Skilling invited even more suspicion about the company from analysts. All the while, Enron's stocks continued to decline, from a five dollar drop after Skilling left to a twenty-five dollar drop on September 12, 2001.⁵¹ The company's stocks continued to fall in price per share and reached a low point of \$20.65 per share.⁵² Enron used \$3 billion in credit lines to avoid bankruptcy and liquefaction, but the credit lines only lasted a few days due to short-term accounting filing.⁵³ Enron now owed lenders billions of dollars.⁵⁴ The company's only option to cover their obligations was to use their pipelines, worth \$1 billion, as collateral. They also hired Andrew Fastow as the chief financial officer to help them with their collateral.⁵⁵ Fastow worked with Enron's off-book affiliates to, once again, inflate the company's stock prices.⁵⁶ From Fastow's perspective, he was "being a hero."⁵⁷

As a last attempt to save the company, Enron merged with Dynegy Incorporated in November 2001 and stocks rose by ten dollars.⁵⁸ The Enron Corporation received \$1.5 billion from Dynegy and \$550 million from pipeline loans.⁵⁹ However, Enron's third-quarter losses amounted to \$664 million and their fourth-quarter prospects offered little hope.⁶⁰ Credit rating services rated the Enron Corporation barely above junk status, resulting in Enron owing Dynegy \$690 million from another SPE called Rawhide.⁶¹ This new SPE brought the total debt that Enron owed in 2002 to more than \$9 billion.⁶² Realizing their mistake, Dynegy Incorporated ended the deal and banks refused to lend any more credit.⁶³ Enron attempted to sue Dynegy for \$10 billion for backing out of the merger, but US District Judge Alvin Hellerstein shut the case down.⁶⁴ Ultimately without any other options, the Enron Corporation filed for bankruptcy protection under federal bankruptcy laws on December 2, 2002. It was one of the largest bankruptcy protection filings in U.S. history.⁶⁵

Many Enron employees suffered from the company's fraudulent accounting practices.⁶⁶ Employee savings and pension plans were tied to the value of Enron's stock.⁶⁷ As the value of the stocks fell, so did the value of the employee's savings and retirement fund.⁶⁸ About 20,000 employees sued Enron for encouraging them to buy Enron's shares in their 401(K) plans while the top executives sold theirs.⁶⁹ Twenty-two Enron executives pleaded guilty or were charged with crimes; some of the Enron executives received probation while other executives, like chief financial officer Andrew Fastow and accounting chief Richard Causey, received prison time.⁷⁰ Authorities also convicted Arthur Andersen, Enron's auditing company, for trying to destroy Enron's records to protect themselves.⁷¹ During a recorded video of the Congress questioning former chief executive of Enron Jeff Skilling at Washington, D.C. on February 26, 2002, Sherron Watkins, former

vice president of the Enron Corporation, stated that she expected "Mr. Lay to conduct a thorough investigation" over the potential danger of false accounting practices, but was disappointed when Lay ignored the potential threat to the corporation.⁷² She also stated that "Enron had a brief window" to save itself from fraud and manipulation of financial records, but since Lay ignored the issue, this manipulation caused the downfall of the Enron Corporation.⁷³ In contrast to Sherron Watkins, Jeff Skilling stated that he was a major shareholder and a "supporter of Enron Corp." He claimed that Enron and Kenneth Lay did nothing wrong and had "nothing to hide" from Congress.⁷⁴ Separate from the questioning, Richard Causey, though given the option of pleading guilty and testifying in exchange of leniency of punishment, also refused to testify against Lay and Skilling, stating that he did nothing wrong in the scandal.⁷⁵ Andrew Fastow also pleaded not guilty and refused to help convict Lay and Skilling.⁷⁶ With many people questioning the legitimacy of Enron's actions, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) searched the Enron Corporation's premises in Houston looking for any evidence of fraud in the documents stored at Enron's Houston headquarters.

In 2002, after Enron filed for bankruptcy protection, the FBI sent two of its Houston agents to investigate.⁷⁷ As more information surfaced, the case became one of "the largest and most complex white-collar investigations in FBI history." The FBI sent more agents from Houston and Washington, D.C., eventually, assigning forty-five agents to the investigation.⁷⁸ According to Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) and chief of the economic crime squad, Michael E. Anderson, in January 2002 they were given consent to search the premises of the fifty-stories-high Enron headquarters building. They examined five hundred boxes of documents and interviewed hundreds of witnesses during nine days in the building.⁷⁹ In February 2002, Enron's

board of directors conducted their own internal investigation, headed by William Powers, Jr. and reported that executives had “reaped millions by violating basic accounting principles.”⁸⁰ “That was a gold mine,” stated Anderson.⁸¹ This led to over 1,800 interviews being conducted in the United States and overseas.⁸² The FBI’s Computer Analysis and Response Team obtained over four terabytes of data that included emails from six hundred employees.⁸³ The Regional Computer Forensics Laboratory in Houston “processed some 30 terabytes of data” containing important leads and paper trails to lead investigators to cause and culprits.⁸⁴ Financial analysts processed hundreds of fraudulent bank and brokerage accounts and purchases to justify restraining orders of the culprits, while collecting information on over \$168 million worth of the Enron Corporation’s assets and insider trading charges.⁸⁵ With all the information collected from Enron overvaluing its anticipated assets by the billions to keep Wall Street happy to overpricing California energy utilities, the FBI had enough to indict Kenneth Lay and Jeff Skilling.⁸⁶

In 2006, Lay and Skilling were sent to a corporate jury trial overseen by District Judge Sim Lakes.⁸⁷ During the trial, the jury convicted Lay of six counts of “conspiracy, securities and wire fraud” and four more counts in another banking trial. Lakes sentenced Lay to forty-five years in prison.⁸⁸ Lakes also sentenced Skilling, after being convicted of nineteen counts of fraud, to one-hundred-eighty-five years in prison.⁸⁹ When the two were convicted, Lay, along with his family and friends, cried over the fact that he would serve the rest of his life in prison.⁹⁰ Skilling showed no emotion or remorse. Skilling’s reaction to his sentence and stern emotions suggested to some a lack of guilt.⁹¹ To discourage other companies from finding inspiration in Enron’s practices, Congress passed the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002.

The Sarbanes-Oxley Act was introduced by Michael G. Oxley on February 14, 2002 prior to Lay and Skilling’s sentencing.⁹² The proposed act established the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board to develop auditing rules and regulations, oversee auditing in public companies, and investigate and enforce their own auditing regulations to accounting firms and people.⁹³ Many more rules were also included, like section 101 that banned any accounting boards to have more than two certified accountants auditing.⁹⁴ The regulations sought to prevent companies from auditing false records and lying to investors.

The act became public law on July 30, 2002.⁹⁵ The collapse of the Enron Corporation is remembered as one of the biggest business scandals in U.S. history. Many employees lost their savings, retirement funds, and jobs. Some Enron executives were charged with crimes, arrested, and went to prison. After serving twelve years of his sentence Jeff Skilling was released from prison in February 2019.⁹⁶ The scandal was one of the most eye-opening scandals in business history and changed our perspective towards a company’s success. Though devastating, this incident resulted in changes aimed at making sure other companies did not meet the same fate as the Enron Corporation.

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HUMBERTO “BERT” REYES AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TEXAS BEEF CATTLE INDUSTRY

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Texas cattle have dominated the beef industry since the industry’s beginnings. Despite setbacks due to the Texas Tick Fever that nearly obliterated the industry in the late 1800s, the state beef cattle industry remains a large part of the Texas economy, accounting for approximately \$12.3 billion in 2017.¹ Many cattlemen rose to prominence throughout the years, making and losing millions in addition to formulating genetic improvements on the cattle themselves. One man’s influences on the trade emerged above many others; Humberto “Bert” Reyes. Reyes’ contributions as an innovative cattle auctioneer and breeder radically changed Texas beef cattle and the beef cattle industry in Texas and the United States.

Humberto “Bert” Reyes’ childhood prepared him for success in life. His father, Carlos Reyes B (B stands for Brillones, Carlos’ mother’s maiden name) was a resolute man who instilled the importance of hard work and education in his children. During the Mexican Revolution, Carlos was captured and released on the condition that he left Mexico. He emigrated to San Antonio and later moved on to Berclair, Texas where he met and married Humberto’s mother, Maria Villarreal, originally from Goliad. During an interview, Bert Reyes recalled how he and his thirteen siblings were required to wake up early and help with the farm work before school. His father remained adamant that the children never missed a day of school and attended college. Bert and his brothers all graduated from Texas A&M

University, and his sisters graduated from other local universities. However, Reyes was the only male to graduate with a degree in an agricultural field. His brothers all earned engineering degrees. Bert Reyes also initially enrolled at A&M as an engineering major; however, despite his father’s displeasure and with his mother’s help, he changed his major to Animal Science.²

As a youngster, Reyes raised Hereford calves for the 4-H program for five years and was selected as one of the top twelve 4-H club members in the state of Texas. He recalled being the only Hispanic child to show livestock at 4-H events, which made him stand out to the judges who remembered him years later while he attended A&M. Reyes acquired his first calf for showing at the Goliad Stock show from the Lucas Ranch where his father was employed. Young Bert struck a deal with Mr. Lucas, avowing that if the calf won a blue-ribbon, Reyes would not have to pay for the calf. The agreement remained in effect for the following four years. Reyes’ calves won blue ribbons all five years. His accomplishments earned him the Jesse Jones Scholarship to Texas A&M University.³

Reyes graduated A&M in 1950 with a degree in Animal Science and joined the Army. He spent thirteen months in Korea during the Korean War serving as an infantryman. Upon his return from the war, he went back to A&M and earned a master’s degree in Beef Cattle Production. After graduation, the university

hired him as a consultant and sent him to Saltillo, Mexico, to assist in establishing an agricultural school that mirrored A&M's curriculum. In 1956, towards the end of an eight-year drought and after two years in Mexico, Reyes returned to Texas. He began to work for the Hereford Association as the first Mexican-American field representative for Texas and Mexico. The drought devastated the cattle industry, so the Hereford Association relied on Reyes to serve as an impromptu ambassador to Mexico because of his fluency in Spanish. Furthermore, he met many ranchers in Mexico during his work in Saltillo. During his tenure at the Hereford Association, Reyes convinced the association to print two pages of Spanish advertisements in Hereford Magazine. The endeavor successfully led to the first *subasta* or auction of Texas cattle in Mexico, and increased the demand for beef cattle, which resulted in profitable sales for Texas Ranchers. Stories of the success of the *subasta* made numerous U.S. newspapers. After his success with the *subasta*, Reyes continued sales of Texas beef cattle to Mexican Ranchers, ultimately resulting in over \$4 million in revenue.⁴

Reyes resigned his position at the Hereford Association in 1958 to set up his own business as a livestock broker. He returned to San Antonio and set up an office at the Union Stock Yards. He attended a two-week auctioneering course in 1959 and went on to dominate the field of private treaty sales within three years. Despite his location at the stockyards, Bert only worked as a private treaty salesman and did not auction livestock there. He preferred private treaty auctions to commercial auctions because he enjoyed working with purebred cattle and felt uncomfortable auctioning cattle he was unfamiliar with before the sale. Initially, Reyes worked as sales manager for auctioneer Col. Walter Britton. As the sales manager, Reyes worked with the rancher before the event for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the cattle. He managed to be

the first to successfully operate simultaneously in roles as sales manager and auctioneer despite being told repeatedly that it was impossible. Reyes' ability to auction in both English and Spanish significantly contributed to his success. *The American Cowboy*, July/August 1998 issue, noted about Reyes, "fluency in English and Spanish skills as an auctioneer and his knowledge of the cattle business have made him a rare and valuable commodity in several countries."⁵

His first sale as auctioneer and sale manager was incredibly successful. The success of Reyes' first sale compelled ranchers to take notice. Reyes' sales quickly proved to generate 33 percent more revenue than other auctioneers. The increase allowed him to charge 5 percent of the revenue for Hereford sales versus the 1 percent that was customary. Within his first year of business, Reyes surpassed his goal of selling \$20 million worth of cattle. He ultimately sold between \$100-200 million that year.⁶ Within three years of going into business for himself, Bert was one of the most successful private treaty auctioneers in the field and was sought out by ranchers in multiple U.S. states, Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela. Reyes defied the odds again, becoming well versed in fourteen different breeds of pure breed cattle, rendering him the first private treaty auctioneer to sell multiple breeds.⁷ He also began holding auctions on Saturdays and Sundays instead of the typical weekdays. The weekend auctions proved fruitful, and others followed his lead.⁸ In the 1960s, his brother Ruben joined Bert in the auctioneering business, and together they established Reyes & Reyes. While Reyes still dominated the auctioneering trade, his younger brother Ruben became a notable auctioneer under his big brother's guidance.

Reyes partook in the establishment of *South Texas Farm & Ranch* publication. The publication provided photos and descriptions of beef cattle provided by cattlemen for upcoming auctions. The establishment of the

publication allowed Reyes to delegate the photography and other details that he had been conducting himself to other personnel. *El Ganadero Internacional* was a Spanish language publication that was established by Reyes in 1964. The publication featured U.S. cattle sales, including the Lyndon B. Johnson Dispersal Sale in 1973, and was distributed to Spanish-speaking countries.⁹ The Spanish advertisements and publication drew many potential buyers to U.S. sales and facilitated continued international commerce within the beef cattle industry.

One of his first customers was Hereford rancher Jack Williams. He advertised one of Williams' bulls named, Sam Donald, as possibly "the best Hereford bull in the world." Bert's advertisement sparked an interest in the bull and induced demand for Sam Donald's semen from all over.¹⁰ The Williams dispersal sale, including Sam Donald's one-quarter interest sale, attracted buyers from 14 states and Mexico.¹¹ Following Reyes' success with Sam Donald, successful rancher, oilman, and founder of the Southwest Research Institute and the Texas Biomedical Research Institute, and Bigfoot hunter, Tom Slick, asked Reyes to handle the sale of his cattle.¹² When Reyes started in the auctioneering business, auctioneers specialized in one specific breed. Reyes specialized in Hereford cattle, but he agreed to hold an auction for Tom Slick's Angus herd. The sale proved successful and sparked Reyes' venture into auctioneering multiple breeds of cattle.

As previously alluded, the historic Lyndon B. Johnson Hereford Dispersal Sale was also conducted by Reyes in 1973. According to Reyes, he was selected by LBJ for the sale prior to the President's death. Cattlemen began to RSVP in March 1973. The auction was conducted at the ranch and was advertised as a chance to "buy history" as the cattle were all from former President LBJ's herd.¹³ Interested buyers received sale pamphlets/catalogs before the sale. The catalogs contained information

regarding the lineage of each lot. For a registration fee of \$10, attendees received access to the sale, and an additional \$3.50 ticket provided a catered barbeque meal.¹⁴ Ranchers from fourteen states, Mexico, and Puerto Rico attended the sale.¹⁵ Mrs. Lady Bird Johnson sat in the front row of the auction ring as Reyes slammed the gavel down and began the auction. The first bull sold for \$1,500.¹⁶ A total of 213 cattle sold for an average of \$900 per lot resulting in \$142,985.00 revenue.¹⁷

In 1974, Reyes conducted another celebrated sale in the beef cattle domain. The American Simmental Association selected him to conduct the National Simmental sale held in Louisville, Kentucky, on February 2, 1974.¹⁸ The expectation was that the sale would be profitable. The advertisement budget was approximately \$92,000. Radio, magazines, newspapers, catalogs, and other print media vehemently advertised the auction.¹⁹ Breeders from twenty-seven states and some Canadian provinces nominated the cattle to be sold, which were also thoroughly inspected by Reyes. A Canadian rancher purchased the first bull for \$100,000. The most revenue previously made at the National Simmental sale was \$14,222. Reyes sold \$1.22 million in cattle in less than two hours, making him the first auctioneer to manage such a feat.²⁰

In 1983, Reyes was called upon by a bankruptcy judge to conduct a sale for Leo Jasik from Pleasanton, Texas, who had 81 liens against his property. Jasik's property amounted to approximately \$8-9 million.²¹ The owner initially refused the sale of his property, but Reyes convinced him to proceed. He scheduled the sale to occur over four days in December 1983; conversely, the sale proved problematic for Reyes. Unbeknownst to the bankruptcy judge and Reyes, Mr. Jasik had traveled to New Orleans to appeal the sale. The federal judge from New Orleans sent a lawyer on the sale's scheduled day to prevent it from occurring. Unhappily, Reyes explained to 1,000 attendees that the sale was canceled just

as the first animal was about to be led into the arena. Advertisements for the sale cost approximately \$30,000. The sale was postponed and eventually held in May 1984. Luckily for Reyes, prospective buyers knew the cattle well, and all returned for the second and third sale that consisted of the best cattle in the herd. The judge also tasked Reyes with auctioning Jasik's livestock handling equipment, horses, and an inventory of bull semen and heifer embryos. Sales amounted to \$2,524,498. Ultimately, Jasik was able to keep 200 acres of his property; however, it was not enough to prevent a great depression and his consequent suicide.²²

Other notable sales in Texas were the Red McCombs Brangus dispersal sale in February 1981 and the Blocker's Brangus sale. Advertisements for the Red McCombs sale showcased breeding cattle. Interest in brood cows and semen were sold as well as the cattle themselves. The final revenue for this sale equaled \$2,623,100.²³ The Blocker's auction was held in October 1982 and also highlighted semen and embryo sales. The total revenue for the Blocker's auction was \$2,070,100.²⁴ As is evident, Reyes' auctions consistently generated significant profits, which leaves no doubt as to why cattlemen so frequently sought him out for their cattle's sales. Furthermore, Reyes simultaneously sought to improve the U.S. beef cattle gene pool.

His first endeavor in purchasing foreign livestock proved more prosperous for himself and the beef cattle industry. Reyes introduced the first registered full-blood Simmental calf to the U.S. in 1970 (unsubstantiated reports report that Simmentals may have been introduced to the U.S. as early as 1887).²⁵ Amor, the United States' first full-blood registered Simmental bull, was purchased for \$154,000 and entered the U.S. via Canada. Amor made his permanent home at the Coddling Research Farms in Foraker, Oklahoma, until his death in March 1976.²⁶ Reyes utilized Amor as a semen donor for the duration of his life, accruing

approximately \$1 million in semen sales.²⁷ His second attempt was not as successful. In 1974, Reyes traveled to England on a family vacation and attended the annual agricultural fair. He purchased the fair's Royal Champion heifer for \$16,500.²⁸ To his dismay, laws prevented her removal from England. The heifer remained with her herd in England, where her ensuing calves were sold in efforts to recoup her cost. Although her first calf only sold for approximately \$300, the second calf sold for \$18,000, making Reyes' investment worth the trouble.²⁹

Reyes was at the forefront of Simmental popularity in the nation. According to Reyes, Simmentals became the third most popular breed in the U.S. within ten years of their introduction. *Star-Telegram* journalist Worth Wren Jr. reported in October 1979 that the first fifteen U.S. born Simmentals were born on Reyes' ranch. In 1971, Reyes included four half-Simmental bulls from his ranch in a beef cattle transport to Durango, Mexico, along with 110 Hereford bulls. The half-Simmental bulls were the first in Mexico.³⁰ In countries other than the United States, Simmentals are prized for their milk production. In the U.S., however, Simmentals played an essential role in the American beef industry. Simmentals adapt well to virtually any climate, making them versatile cattle for ranchers worldwide. Furthermore, cattlemen value Simmentals for their ease in calving, longevity, long term fertility, early maturity, and easiness in handling.³¹ In the U.S., they have been crossbred with Simmental strains from other countries resulting in the American Simmental.³² Along with his brother Ruben, Reyes began experimenting with crossbreeding Simmental with other leading beef cattle breeds. The two brothers began crossbreeding in attempts to improve beef cattle "as a whole." They immediately noted an advantageous boost on weaning weights with the Simmental crossbreeds.³³ Improvements in other superior lines of beef cattle included high beef yield, good marbling in the meat, and

improved milk yield.³⁴ Today, U.S. Simmental populations include full blood, purebred, Simbrah, SimAngus, SimAngusHT, and other hybrid breeds.³⁵ Today, the U.S. is the "world's largest producer of beef ... for domestic and export use."³⁶

The Reyes brothers dispersed their Simmental herds in May 1972 after effectively establishing the advantages and improvements of crossbreeding Simmentals with other superior beef cattle breeds. In a statement to Karl Johnson of *Focus on Beef*, Reyes stated two reasons for dispersing their herd. For the first reason, he said, "we have a pressing need to devote all of our time to taking care of our customers," and the second reason was satisfaction in proving the superiority in a Simmental cross breeding program. Reyes continued to work with the Simmental breed and was elected as the Secretary-Treasurer of the Texas Simmental Association the same year.³⁷

Occasionally, Reyes was asked to sell animals that would not be considered livestock. One ranch, the Riley Brangus Ranch, in Huntsville, Missouri, annually auctioned surprise lots. The proceeds benefited underprivileged children. In 1982, the Pyramid Land & Cattle Co. purchased the lot, an elephant, for \$27,000. The elephant was donated to Moberly Junior College in Huntsville, MO.³⁸ The elephant was a first for Reyes, but in 1987, he was required to auction off a three-week-old camel, which sold for \$25,000.³⁹ This camel was not a first for Reyes; in May 1973, the Alan Parkinson Ranch of Scottsdale, Arizona hired Bert for the Alan Parkinson Limousin Dispersal Sale held at the Joe Freeman Coliseum in San Antonio, Texas. The sale included four camels along with their calves, three buffalos, and six llamas. At the time of the sale, locals believed this to be the first-time camels were auctioned in San Antonio.⁴⁰ According to Bill Cunningham of the *San Antonio Express*, camels had been brought to the area in the 1800s as an Army transportation experiment; however, it was

unknown if a camel market had ever been established. In his interview with Texas Historian Martha D. Freeman, Reyes also claimed to have auctioned giraffes, bears, and lions for a circus from California that was closing its doors. The auction was held at the Freeman Coliseum in San Antonio, and Reyes managed to auction all the exotic animals to several zoos.⁴¹

Businesses and institutions sought out Reyes to handle charity auctions. In 1988, 1989, and 1990 he conducted the San Antonio Zoological Society's annual auction. The 1988 "Under the Big Top" Zoobilation sale successfully raised \$133,000 for the Zoo's building fund; the 1989 auction raised \$210,000, and another raised \$178,000.⁴² Reyes also conducted several successful auctions for the Witte Museum. Some of the items auctioned for the museum included tickets to a Texas A&M football game, antique cars, livestock, and guided fishing and hunting tours.⁴³ Other charity auctions included sales to raise funds for Boysville of San Antonio, several Catholic Schools and Churches in the area, and the Alzheimer's Association, to name a few.⁴⁴

It is essential to note the significant influence that Humberto "Bert" Reyes had on the Texas beef industry's success. His contributions to the auctioneering field and the beef cattle gene pool in the United States and other countries positively impacted the quality of beef internationally. His high-profile auctions, such as that of the LBJ herd, and revenue generated from such auctions also speak to his success as a ground-breaking cattle auctioneer. Furthermore, Reyes' accomplishments signify the importance of Mexican-American contributions to Texas ranching history and even Texas history more broadly and highlights the importance for further research into influential persons of Mexican-American descent and their impact.

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APOLLO 8: PAVING THE WAY FOR LUNAR LANDING

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On September 12, 1962, President John F. Kennedy gave an inspiring declaration in a speech given at Rice University in Houston, Texas. Kennedy boldly proclaimed, “We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard.”¹ In the 1960s, America raced against the Soviet Union to become the first nation to send astronauts to the lunar surface. At first, the Soviet Union was leading in the race to the moon. The Apollo program’s overarching goal was to fulfill Kennedy’s promise to land a man on the moon before the end of the decade, and to reach that goal before the Soviet Union. However, to accomplish this goal, NASA needed to first prove the dependability of the Apollo spacecraft before landing on the lunar surface. To help reach President Kennedy’s goal, Apollo 8 astronauts Frank Borman, Jim Lovell, and William Anders became the first men to exit Earth’s gravity and orbit another celestial body.

Apollo 8 modeled the framework of a lunar flight mission that every Apollo lunar landing followed. In addition, the Apollo 8 mission proved the reliability of the Apollo command module, which contributed to the success of the future lunar landing missions. According to *Roundup*, a newsletter published by the NASA manned space flight center that followed the space race during the 1960s, “The prime objective of the Apollo VIII mission” was “to prove the capability of the Apollo command and service modules

in the type of mission for which they were designed – operations at lunar distance.”²

This paper argues that the innovations of the Apollo 8 mission and the success of the Apollo command module’s lunar orbit paved the way for NASA’s lunar landings.

For the Apollo 8 mission, NASA selected Astronauts Frank Borman, Jim Lovell, and William Anders as the crew members. Born March 13, 1928, in Gary, Indiana, Frank Borman graduated with a B.S. from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1950 and an M.S. in Aeronautical Engineering from the California Institute of Technology in 1957.³ Borman, the commander of Apollo 8, was not a stranger to manned spaceflight, as he had previously flown on the Gemini 7 mission before launching on Apollo 8. On Gemini 7, Frank Borman alongside Jim Lovell, who would later work with Borman again as part of Apollo 8’s crew, executed the first manned spacecraft rendezvous in orbit, meeting with the Gemini 6 capsule. Initially, NASA planned for Mike Collins to be the second astronaut in the Apollo 8 crew, but because of a debilitating bone spur requiring surgery, Collins was unable to join Apollo 8. To make up for Collins’s absence, NASA assigned Jim Lovell to Apollo 8.⁴ In his autobiography *Countdown*, Borman stated his Apollo 8 and Gemini 7 crewmate Jim Lovell “personified the team worker,” saying “he never displayed a shred of resentment at being second banana on Apollo 8.”⁵ Like Borman, Lovell also earned a B.S. from the U.S. Naval Academy.⁶ The third astronaut in the Apollo 8

crew, Willaim “Bill” Anders received a B.S. in Electrical Engineering in 1955 from the U.S. Naval Academy and an M.S. in Nuclear Engineering in 1962 from the U.S. Airforce Institute of Technology.⁷ Unlike Borman and Lovell, Anders joined as the third member of the Apollo 8 crew as a rookie to manned space flight. Despite his inexperience compared to Borman and Lovell, Anders was determined to show his value to the crew. Borman described Anders as “one hell of a worker, a superb technician, and all in all a great guy.”⁸ The talents of the three Apollo 8 astronauts helped ensure the success of the Apollo 8 mission.

Initially, NASA planned the Apollo 8 mission as an earth orbital flight to test the dependability of the Apollo command, service, and lunar modules. However, as Frank Borman recalled in his autobiography, NASA changed the Apollo 8 mission into a lunar orbital mission due to the overwhelming success of the Apollo 7 mission, which orbited the earth for eleven days, the second longest manned space flight at that time.⁹ Apollo 7 had been the first manned spaceflight since the Apollo 1 flash fire, so the success of that mission set the stage for NASA to attempt lunar orbit. During Apollo 7, Walter Schirra, the commander of the mission, developed a head cold while in space.¹⁰ However, despite the difficulty of working with a sick and irritable Schirra, the crew and mission control completed the mission successfully and returned the crew safely. Throughout the mission, “Only twenty-six discrepancies were detected in flight. Over half were related to the instruments and communications.”¹¹ Apollo 7 astronaut Walter Cunningham described the Apollo 7 mission as “101% successful” because the crew completed all of the mission objectives defined for the mission in the planning stages as well as additional objectives that NASA added after launch.¹² Apollo 7 proved the dependability of the command module and service module for earth orbit, which set the stage for NASA to attempt a lunar orbital flight with Apollo

8. Since NASA had not yet finished work on the lunar module, if the Apollo 8 mission had stayed as a lunar module test flight, it would have had to wait until 1969.¹³ When asked about the decision to make Apollo 8 a lunar orbital flight in an interview, Glynn S. Lunney, a flight director for Apollo 7, said “the more you thought about it, the more it seemed like exactly the right step.”¹⁴ NASA had already proved the dependability of the command module and service module with Apollo 7, and the lunar module was not yet ready for Apollo 8 anyway, so NASA decided to gear the focus of the Apollo 8 mission towards lunar orbit. Furthermore, the Soviet Union’s alarmingly fast progress towards mounting a lunar flight further pressured NASA to pursue a lunar mission sooner than expected.¹⁵ Prior to the change of plans, NASA wanted Jim McDivitt to command the Apollo 8 mission. However, after the change of plans, NASA gave McDivitt the right to refuse the new assignment, and McDivitt turned down the revised Apollo 8 mission.¹⁶ Because of McDivitt’s refusal, Borman instead took command of the Apollo 8 mission, taking Lovell and Anders with him as his crewmates. Initially, Anders trained as a pilot for the lunar module, so when NASA changed the mission plan of Apollo 8 to focus on lunar orbit instead of an earth orbital mission with the lunar module, Anders “was forced to adapt quickly” to new assignments.¹⁷

The Apollo 8 mission pioneered the routing and flight procedures used for every Apollo lunar mission afterwards. The Apollo 8 mission’s patch, a graphic of a figure-eight wrapping around the earth and the moon, illustrated the path of the Apollo 8 mission. The Apollo 8 mission launched into earth orbit, performed a translunar injection to send the Apollo spacecraft into lunar orbit, then performed a trans-earth injection to return the spacecraft back to earth for splashdown. Before the Apollo 8 was launched, NASA *Roundup* reported, “The mission will fly the identical profile that will be flown on lunar

landing missions with the exception of actual descent and landing on the lunar surface.”¹⁸ Former Apollo flight director Gene Kranz said, “A lunar mission consists of a series of time critical maneuvers strung end to end.”¹⁹ In order to get to the moon, the crew of Apollo 8 needed to launch from Cape Canaveral into earth orbit, then pull away from earth orbit to enter lunar orbit, only to reverse the process to return safely to earth. At any point in this process, an error or miscalculation could potentially result in the astronauts veering off course, which in space could be fatal.

The movement preparing the Apollo capsule to enter lunar orbit from earth orbit is known as a trans-lunar injection, and prior to Apollo 8, NASA had never performed a trans-lunar injection, let alone fully transfer a manned spacecraft into the gravity well of the moon. “TLI [translunar injection] was a tricky business, involving lighting up the engine on the fifty-nine-foot third stage of the Saturn V, which was still attached to the spacecraft.”²⁰ When the engine fired, it propelled the Apollo 8 with the right amount of acceleration and velocity to bring the Apollo 8 capsule to the moon. Sending astronauts to the moon required near perfection with the translunar injection. This phase of the mission determined the trajectory the astronauts would fly during the translunar coast phase of the mission. A mistake in this phase could either lead to a fatal collision with the lunar surface or the astronauts missing the moon entirely, drifting into space until they run out of oxygen. After the translunar injection, “the third stage of the Saturn V would then be jettisoned and sent into a waste-disposal orbit around the sun.”²¹ Despite the unprecedented risk of the Apollo 8 translunar injection, the mission controllers hid their fears. According to Kluger, “if anyone in the room was feeling anxious about attempting the maneuver, they weren’t showing it.”²² On the other hand, despite the readiness of the crew to perform the mission, the astronauts fully realized the risks of their

mission. Apollo 8 commander Frank Borman recalled his “pre-Gemini insomnia was a good night’s rest compared to the hours I lay awake that night of December 20” before the Apollo 8 launch.²³ Although Borman prepared well for his mission and trusted mission control, he also realized the life-threatening risk carried by attempting a translunar injection. The translunar injection was a critical phase in the success of every lunar-orbital Apollo mission that had never been performed on a crewed spaceflight until Apollo 8.

Lunar flight required a series of difficult maneuvers executed near perfectly in rapid succession. About two and a half hours past the initial launch of the Saturn V from the Cape, the Johnson Space Center executed the first mission-critical maneuver, performing a translunar injection to send the Apollo spacecraft en route towards lunar orbit. Then, the mission continued with the translunar coast, which took approximately three days.²⁴ In translunar coast, the Apollo spacecraft “would literally be coasting on sheer momentum, as if hurled into space by a giant slingshot.”²⁵ During this period, the Apollo capsule exited earth’s gravitational pull and entered the gravity well of the moon in another phase known as the lunar orbit injection. When the crew was ready to exit lunar orbit circulation to conclude the lunar mission, they went through a very similar process to return back to earth’s orbit, reenter earth’s atmosphere, and safely land the capsule. Similar to the translunar injection, the Apollo crews performed trans-earth injections to prepare the Apollo spacecraft for entry into earth orbit. Just as the crews entered translunar coast when entering lunar orbit, crews returning from lunar orbit into earth’s orbit went through trans-earth coast. Finally, the Apollo crews ended their missions by reentering the earth’s atmosphere and landing in the Pacific Ocean. NASA used the Apollo 8 mission to ensure the dependability of the command module for entering and exiting

lunar orbit.

The Apollo 8 mission was the manned first launch of a Saturn V rocket. NASA later used the Saturn V on all subsequent Apollo missions after Apollo 8, including the Apollo 11 lunar landing. Standing upright, The Saturn V rocket stood “111 meters (363 feet tall)” which is “about the height of a 36-story-tall building, and 18 meters (60 feet) taller than the Statue of Liberty.”²⁶ A fully fueled Saturn V “weighed 2.8 million kilograms (6.2 million pounds), the weight of about 400 elephants.”²⁷ At launch, the Saturn V “generated 34.5 million newtons (7.6 million pounds) of thrust,” which exceeded the power output of “85 Hoover Dams.”²⁸ The Saturn V rocket was composed of seven stages: three stages of boosters, the service module, the lunar module, the command module, and the launch abort escape system. The first two stages of boosters primarily served the purpose of propelling the Apollo spacecraft into Earth orbit before detaching from the Saturn V and falling into the Atlantic Ocean.²⁹ The third booster of the Saturn V was used for the translunar injection to give the Apollo spacecraft the necessary velocity to escape earth’s gravity well and begin translunar coast. All three stages of the rocket were integral to the success of the mission. Because flying beyond earth orbit requires breaking out of earth’s gravity, the Apollo missions needed a powerful rocket that could produce a large amount of thrust in order to give the Apollo spacecraft not only the means enter earth’s orbit, but also the means to push beyond earth’s gravity well entirely with a translunar injection. The Saturn V rocket’s bulkiness and strength facilitated the Apollo missions.

On December 21, 1968, at 7:51 A.M. EST, the Apollo 8 crew launched from Cape Canaveral to begin the Apollo 8 mission.³⁰ Borman described his launch on Apollo 8 as “incredibly smooth” compared to his previous Gemini 7 flight.³¹ Three hours later,

the capsule communicator in mission control cleared Borman’s crew for the first mission-critical maneuver, the translunar injection. “ ‘All right,’ CapCom’s Metallic voice said calmly. ‘You are to go for TLI.’ ”³² During the translunar injection, the Apollo spacecraft reached a speed of 23,226 miles per hour, “The fastest man had ever traveled.”³³ This speed allowed the Apollo spacecraft to exit earth’s gravitational pull and begin translunar coast. After three days of translunar coast, the Apollo 8 crew began preparations for the transorbital injection to enter the gravity well of the moon. The transorbital injection succeeded and the astronauts successfully entered lunar orbit. During the later phases of the Apollo 8 mission, fatigue started to adversely affect the crew’s performance. Borman recalls an exhausted Jim Lovell “inadvertently punched a wrong number into the DSKY [computer system] that erased part of the computer’s memory.”³⁴ When mission control heard about the mistake, they feared the portion of the computer’s memory that was erased might have been necessary for the return flight from lunar orbit. After realizing the crew’s fatigue may have caused issues, Borman decided to prioritize the crew’s health and safety over the experiments planned for the mission and let his crew rest.³⁵ Fortunately, the crew’s fatigue did not cause any fatal mistakes, and the mission successfully brought the Apollo 8 crew home. The Apollo 8 mission completed 10 revolutions around the moon before splashing down in the Atlantic Ocean.³⁶ Apollo 8’s successful orbits around the lunar surface proved NASA’s ability to send men to the moon.

On Christmas Eve of December 1968, The Apollo 8 crew successfully completed their mission. During the ninth revolution of the Apollo 8 around the moon, the crew broadcasted an excerpt from the book of Genesis from the command module to earth. Anders began the reading of scripture, Lovell followed, and Borman concluded.³⁷ The

reading from lunar orbit deeply impacted listeners on earth on an emotional level. Gene Kranz recalled “It was a surprise, beautiful and timely for this achievement and this day... For those moments, I felt the presence of creation and the Creator. Tears were on my cheeks.”³⁸ Kranz’s reaction was not uncommon. The Apollo 8 crew’s Christmas Eve broadcast reached “An estimated one billion people in 64 countries.”³⁹ Although the use of religious themes in the broadcast, attracted negative attention from anti-theists, the moment stands in time as a historic milestone in manned spaceflight. In December 1968, the astronauts of Apollo 8 made history by becoming the first men to orbit the moon. By broadcasting a message globally, the crew ensured the entire world felt the impact of the Apollo 8 crew’s triumphant moment in history as Borman, Lovell, and Anders pushed the boundaries of space exploration.

The effectiveness of the Apollo 8 spacecraft’s guidance computer significantly contributed to the success of the Apollo 8 mission. Richard Battin, “an electrical engineer with a Ph. D. in applied mathematics,” helped design the guidance systems used for the Apollo 8 mission.⁴⁰ Because Apollo 8 pioneered travel from earth orbit to lunar orbit, the mission needed excellent guidance systems. Battin’s systems proved successful. During the translunar injection “When the Saturn rocket’s third-stage engine burned to send Apollo 8 out of earth orbit toward the moon,” Battin’s guidance systems worked better than expected.⁴¹ “On the way to the moon, guidance was so accurate that... four of the seven mid-course corrections were not even made.”⁴² Returning back to earth from the moon, the automated systems correctly aligned the Apollo 8 spacecraft to “leave lunar orbit and return, from the back side of the moon, using tracking data uploaded from the ground.”⁴³ When guiding the Apollo capsule for splashdown, “the automatically controlled touchdown was within one-third mile of the

target.”⁴⁴ The success of the computer guidance systems on Apollo 8 allowed the astronauts to effectively navigate to lunar orbit, enabling the success of the Apollo 8 mission.

As part of the Apollo 8 mission, the astronauts produced photo documentation of the lunar surface where the crew captured photos of both the near and far side of the moon as well as potential landing area sightings. Taking photos of the lunar surface aided the future Apollo lunar landings by helping NASA determine possible landing sites for the lunar module. The astronauts noted the moon appeared “black-and-white” with no visible color.⁴⁵ The photos taken by the Apollo 8 crew were the first photos taken of the moon at close proximity and helped NASA study the properties of the lunar surface. The Apollo 8 astronauts also took the first photographs of the earth from lunar orbit. The photographs taken by the Astronauts contrasted the dull, gray, and bleak environment of the moon with the vibrant colors of the earth. Long distance earth photography showed the earth on full display with all of its natural beauty from a previously unobtainable perspective.

The Apollo 8 mission’s success bolstered public approval of the space program and motivated NASA to reach Kennedy’s goal of a lunar landing by the end of the 1960s. Gene Kranz recalled that as NASA got closer to landing on the moon, the space program’s future prospects were unclear. “Starting in 1967, Congress had made significant budget cuts in the manned programs.”⁴⁶ The future of the manned spaceflight program was at risk, but the Apollo program’s success helped vitalize public interest in the future of human spaceflight. The Apollo 8 mission, in particular, boosted the American public’s confidence in NASA’s ability to eventually bring astronauts to the lunar surface. However, the lunar orbit was not just an American achievement, but an achievement for humanity. The *New York Times* reported “This first crossing of the

space frontier between the earth and the moon was a monumental triumph of American technology... In the more fundamental sense, however, the achievement was that of all mankind.⁴⁷ On Apollo 11, Neil Armstrong echoed the sentiment that exploration of the moon was a triumph for all mankind when he walked on the moon for the first time in human history. In celebration of the success of the Apollo 8 mission, Gene Kranz said, “For a brief moment in December 1968 we had united all humanity.”⁴⁸ On the Apollo 11 mission, NASA proved that the public’s confidence after Apollo 8 was not misplaced. On July 20, 1969, the NASA reached the goal set by President Kennedy, the goal to go to the moon before the end of the 1960s. The crew of Apollo 11, astronauts Neil Armstrong, Buzz Aldrin, and Mike Collins, successfully piloted the Apollo 11 spacecraft with the lunar module to the moon, and astronaut Neil Armstrong became the first human being to set foot on the moon. Public approval of the space program further increased with the success of Apollo 11. The monumental achievements of the Apollo 11 mission would not have been possible without Apollo 8 first paving the way for lunar landing.

The Apollo 8 mission demonstrated the crew’s capability of spaceflight, showed the dependability of the command module, and proved NASA’s ability to conduct a trans-lunar injection and take astronauts to the moon’s orbit. The crew for the Apollo 8 mission handled their tasks as operators of the Apollo command module with excellence, pioneering flight around the moon. Although NASA had originally planned for the Apollo 8 mission to test the lunar module, the reworked Apollo 8 mission proved instrumental in bringing NASA to President Kennedy’s goal of a lunar landing before the end of the 1960s. Furthermore, the success of the Apollo 8 mission proved NASA’s capability of performing a trans-lunar injection. Although NASA launched the Apollo 8 mission before the lunar module was ready for spaceflight, performing the

translunar injection and entering the orbit of the moon were necessary steps towards eventually landing the lunar module on the moon’s surface. Apollo 8 marked NASA’s first manned launch of the Saturn V rocket, which was later used in all subsequent Apollo missions. In addition, the Apollo 8 mission ensured NASA’s ability to communicate with astronauts in space from the distance of the moon. On Apollo 8, NASA broadcasted television and audio messages live from lunar orbit. The Apollo 8 crew’s Christmas Eve broadcast extended globally. The spectacular photography of the lunar surface and views of the earth from lunar orbit were admired across the globe. The Apollo 8 mission provided insight into the geography and physical structure of the lunar surface. NASA used the photographs taken by the Apollo 8 crew to help determine where the lunar module would land on the Apollo lunar landings.

The success of the Apollo 8 mission propelled America forward in the race against the Soviet Union to reach the moon and bolstered American morale. Not only did the Apollo 8 mission impact the space race, but it reached a global scale as well. The *New York Times* reported world leaders commended the crew’s successful flight around the moon, and the U.S. was now ahead of the Soviet Union in the space race.⁴⁹ According to renowned science journalist Andrew Chaikin, “Apollo 8 had given the United States a clear lead in the space race” over the Soviet Union.⁵⁰ Chaikin went on to say “In Houston, everyone felt the surging confidence that took hold of the Manned Spacecraft Center.”⁵¹ The success of the Apollo 8 mission inspired the American people in a never before seen way. For the first time, President Kennedy’s goal of landing men on the moon before the end of the 1960s became a tangible goal. An article in the *New York Times* published days after the Apollo 8 crew returned to earth speculated that the first actual moon landing might have happened as early as Apollo 10.⁵² Apollo 8 stands as a

turning point in NASA's manned spaceflight program that enabled the success of the lunar missions that followed. The mission's successful trans-lunar injection and orbit around the moon with the command module gave America a clear pathway towards landing on the lunar surface. The mission gave NASA the data that was necessary to develop the components and procedures needed for the Apollo 9 mission. After Apollo 9's successful flight of the Apollo Spacecraft with a lunar module, Apollo 10 put together the final pieces need to make a full lunar landing possible. Apollo 11 used the milestones started by Apollo 8 in order to fulfill the innate human dream of exploring beyond earth and walking on the surface of the moon. The Apollo 8 mission accomplished significant milestones in manned spaceflight, expanded humanity's understanding of lunar flight and space science, and enabled the Apollo 11 crew to make the historic Apollo 11 moon landing a reality.

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THE PROGRESSION OF MEDICAL MAINTENANCE: THE STORY OF TWO TEXAS NURSES 1980-2000

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For centuries caretakers struggled with the ill or injured with heritage remedies drawn from the distant past. Then in the nineteenth century, societies discovered that the best care was professional and scientific. With the twin realizations that people could live to be seventy rather than forty, and that scientific care could make the difference, nursing became a top, worldwide career choice. Unfortunately, two problems followed. Not everyone who wanted to be a nurse could obtain the comprehensive medical education to become one, nor could communities and hospitals always afford the nurses they wanted. Nurses were thus understaffed. They often had high-stress positions, trying to help patients, while also seeking better pay and more prestigious physicians. Nurses often had to balance providing for their own families with the idea of providing “nonstop care.” Nurses had to do all this while keeping ahead of the scientific learning curve.

Their jobs often suggested a scenario from the famous 1966 TV show, *Mission: Impossible*. Despite the difficulties, modern Texas has seen the rise of a sophisticated and caring nursing profession. Two modern nurses illustrate how medical progress was possible during the late-twentieth century. Dr. Karen Koerber-Timmons started the course of her nursing career with a drive to learn and succeed regardless of the obstacles of life. Though her career started in West Virginia, she was excited to extend her career to Texas. Dr. Timmons obtained a skein of five major

certifications as a nurse. Working with the Texas Nurses Association after coming to Texas, Dr. Timmons became the president of the Longview/Tyler District 19 for several years and then moved to become a member of District 35. Today she devotes her time to aspiring nursing students at Northeast Texas Community College as a professor of nursing.¹

Another nurse who experienced the late-twentieth-century Texas scene firsthand was Cynthia Amerson. Born and raised in California, Amerson sought a nursing career in Texas where she felt that nursing education was exceptional. She graduated with her Bachelor of Science in Nursing (BSN) and went straight into the workforce. Later she received a Master’s in Nursing (MSN). Amerson influenced the lives of many upcoming nurses by mentoring them and staying engaged in their education. Additionally, she taught at Northeast Texas Community college for twenty years and had a stunning reputation as an educator. Both Timmons and Amerson worked in the medical field from 1980 to 2000. These two nurses candidly portrayed the problems, challenges, and triumphs in their long careers. Examining their stories, one can discern the factors that shaped the development of nursing in Texas today.²

The greatest challenge in late-twentieth century Texas nursing according to Amerson and Timmons was technology. Incorporating new practices in the medical field such as multiple-access files were both beneficial and

at times disastrous. The purpose of multiple-access files in the medical field after 1980 was to disseminate accurate patient records. Handling patient records was a given for both nurses and doctors. The new technology of multi-access filing gave them the opportunity to browse through the history of patients without having to ask patients to memorize every prescription ever taken. They were also able to check for previous symptoms or medications. Of course, with technology came difficulties. It required both nurses and doctors to develop a profound sense of patience when handling the new, and expensive, equipment. While this was convenient for the patient, it was not always as easy as it appeared. Many times, the experience that nurses had with technological advancements was stressful. Some would go on to say that it was tedious. Dr. Timmons believes that this was a challenge that she faced while continuing her career. Amerson mastered new procedures and machines. Both stated that there was a time lag in learning new devices, but that they succeeded in internalizing every important innovation.³

Amerson and Timmons, coming from California, and West Virginia, both saw Texas as a progressive state in the field of nursing technology. Both lauded Baylor University Medical Center as a world-class center of technology-based learning. From the years 1980 to 1990, Baylor collaborated with nurses from local institutes and brought them to their institute to “observe and learn contemporary, technology-reliant nursing methods.”⁴ Not only did this assuage a nurse’s anxiety of working with new equipment, but it gave them more opportunities to provide optimal care for their patients. Challenges were gifts in disguise, especially when it came to medicine. According to Timmons and Amerson, obstacles kept nurses focused and resilient. Without challenges, nurses became mere functionaries. The nurses Timmons and Amerson knew in Texas were on the whole dynamic, and flexible.

The second distinguishing feature of

the late-twentieth century was the imposing educational gradient. In some biological fields, knowledge is said to have doubled during this period, with the human genome essentially mapped for the first time in history by 2001. One of the similarities between Amerson and Timmons was that they both believed in the importance of continuing-education for nurses, and rigid testing. The lives of millions of Texans were in the hands of caretakers. Therefore, the best of the best was expected, and nothing less. Texas was certainly not at a loss during the late-twentieth century for excellent schools with decorated nursing programs. Amerson was drawn to Texas by its educational success. Even though some Californians considered Texas a “yee-haw” state, Amerson knew that Baylor was the school for her. She said that her job search convinced her that the Texas nursing schools were superior to those in California. Baylor, Texas Christian, Texas Woman’s, and even a smaller school such as LeTourneau had nursing programs far more interested in holistic care than the California universities. At only eighteen, Amerson felt right at home in Texas. She started her undergraduate journey right after high school. She found that the state of Texas took research hospitals and facilities very seriously. Research at Baylor was well supported by the state. The nursing program was a very competitive program that required a perfect 4.0 and outstanding achievements. Once one was in the program, students like Amerson knew that among them were the finest nurses in Texas. The program itself was anchored by the Medical Center. Dr. Timmons was once a patient at Baylor University Medical Center with a serious condition and she had nothing but kind words to say about the institution. She felt that she was in exceedingly fine hands with their crew of nurses.

Nurses remain the most trusted profession in America, ahead of doctors, teachers, and clergymen.⁵ Knowledge is important, but

nurses are trusted and liked, and valued because they combine compassion with knowledge. Nursing students heard it every day, “a patient’s needs always come first.” Bedside manner was a basic virtue in nursing. Patient-centered care in Texas meant helping the patient feel comfortable and at ease. Elizabeth Poster, an outspoken Texan advocate for nurses, stated that “nursing is not just the curing of symptoms, it is the blending of technology with caring, compassion, and creativity.”⁶ Timmons and Amerson were also strong advocates for this personal type of care. Amerson noted that of all the specialists who may work with the patients during their time at any hospital, patients most remember their nurse. They remembered how they communicated with them, and the nurse’s attentiveness.

Timmons had a memorable story about the importance of caring. There was once a special patient that Dr. Timmons checked and talked with regularly. His name was Marvin. She developed a bond with this patient. One day, the hospital was particularly busy, Dr. Timmons oversaw numerous patients, but as she was rushing to check on a coding she passed by Marvin’s room and found him unconscious. For some reason, he was not coding. It was pure coincidence that she happened to see him because she was running so far behind in her rounds. Unfortunately, it was too late. The patient with whom she shared a bond was too far gone. He never made a full recovery. Dr. Timmons did everything she could, and if he had been on her caseload that day, maybe things would have been different. The goal was to develop a caring bond with the patients like Dr. Timmons did. Then, patients left the hospital knowing that they were looked after with detailed care.

In 1988, a top Texas nurse, Billie Welty shared an experience very similar to Dr. Timmons. She was a registered nurse at the Northwest Hospital in Amarillo, Texas. Welty emphasized the difference that she made in

each of her patients. It was her willingness to learn gentle ways, and compassion towards people that outweighed any hardships that she experienced. Bedside manner not only spotlighted being kind, but it also involved a readiness and fast-acting decision making. Welty admitted finding an unconscious patient during her rounds. She called for help and started performing emergency CPR. After her patient was stabilized, he was taken to the coronary care unit (CCU). He survived thanks to Welty’s early action. She always carried that memory with her, and it served to remind those around her that caring is a matter of life and death.⁷

Of course, nurses did not often find themselves struggling with the act of caring. In nursing school, many opportunities presented themselves that determined if the student was really where they belonged. Since nursing is a time-consuming and rigorous profession, it is very unlikely that anyone would put themselves through so much strenuous effort, if they did not truly feel that they were doing what they would like to be doing for the rest of their lives. Just as Welty said, “this is what nursing is all about.” The countless bed baths, vital checks, and conversations served as a reminder that the lives of many were in the hands of nurses. This instilled anxiety and sleepless nights for many nurses, and multiple fears also colored their daily work environment.⁸

A persistent problem during the late-twentieth century was the substantial shortage of good nurses. In 1996 there was a shortfall of 40,000 registered nurses in Texas.⁹ During her time working in hospitals, Cynthia Amerson found that quality care depended on her working smarter and smarter. Shortages meant that risks were inevitable. This sort of crisis was often not foreseeable. The only way that it was preventable was by allowing more accessibility to education. It may be that recently such accessibility has been enhanced. UT Arlington made it their top priority to make

nursing education available and affordable to people across the country. They do this by creating online programs that not only help nursing students financially, but also allow them to work and do school at the same time, with little interference. Their “online program prepares students to be leaders among nurses.” Although a second-tier state institution, UT Arlington was ranked in the top 26% in the nation.¹⁰ Most people are not able to attend college full time because of a lack of finances, or support at home. The development of online classes in the twenty-first century may give many people an unprecedented opportunity to move forward with their education.

Another factor that led to a shortage of nurses from 1980 to 2000 were harsh working conditions. Many hospitals overworked their nurses, pushing them to a limit that even they could not stand. Nurse abuse was an issue. Dr. Timmons recalled the time an enraged family member of a deteriorating patient brought a rifle into the hospital. Fortunately, the State of Texas made some crucial changes regarding abuse in the workplace. The Texas Nurses Association developed a Workplace Advocacy Program which promoted the protection of nurses and taught them their rights in their respective workplaces. To fix the funding problems, the TNA asked the “legislature to appropriate the funds needed to meet the goals of increasing RN graduates by 50% by 2010.”¹¹ They also made new computer software available for the benefit of nurses as well as health care for employees. This made employment more pleasurable. The Nurses Bill of Rights in 2001 provided a strong cultural affirmation of the rights that nurses had within their jobs throughout the United States, protecting them from lawsuits and overworking. These factors helped decrease the nursing shortage so that after 2000, there was a brief surplus.

Another issue that discouraged nurses from 1980 to 2000 was gender discrimination. The number of male nurses increased from 6

percent in 1988 to 10 percent in 1992. Men were equally qualified to work as nurses, but were often shunned in the nursing world. This was because of the discomfort felt by female patients when male nurses got too close. In reality, any nurse, male or female, was trained to be as professional as possible during this period. However, since this was the reality, some hospitals held lower numbers of male nurses. This was discouraging for males. In a profession that was so desperately short-handed, sex discrimination remained an intractable issue. Even Amerson recognized nursing as a profession where females had the edge.

From 1980 to 2000, very few nurses in Texas were unionized.¹² Texas nurses had a reputation, according to Timmons and Amerson, of accepting their lot or going elsewhere. They usually did not challenge the system. Though the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited employers with fifteen or more employees from discriminating against employees based on sex, and it covered hiring, promotion, compensation practices, and other terms and conditions of employment, “nurses were not very aware of these provisions.”¹³ Texas nurses had less of a tendency to “rock the boat.” This was unfortunate; during this period there were harsh work conditions accentuated by shortages and gender discrimination.

Texas nursing advanced in the late-twentieth century as the opportunities for education became more extensive. Dr. Timmons was a good example. In the 1980s, and 1990s, she became a Certified Nurse Educator, which was the highest certification one could achieve in academia for nursing. She also became a Certified Legal Nurse Consultant and a Critical Care Nurse. Finally, she achieved a doctorate in nursing, a designation that only appeared at the end of the century. These certifications gave Timmons greater pay, and a flexibility to work where she wanted. However, in the twenty-first

century, the innovation of the doctorate was not always optimized as it could have been. In 2003, after a study was made by the Institute of Medicine, it was concluded that many clinics were working better without Doctorates of Nursing Practice (DNPs) than with them. The education being provided DNPs was still not where it needed to be in 2005. The American Association of Colleges then entered the fray. The AAC suggested that the U.S. Secretary of Education should address the situation, and that changes go through “a nursing accrediting agency” to ensure improvement.¹⁴ The Nursing Education and Policy Coalition and the Texas Organization of Baccalaureate and Graduate Nursing Education then created the Texas Roadmap to the DNP. This helped direct nurses who wanted to turn their master’s degree into a doctorate in nursing. The Texas Organization of Nurse Executives and other organizations assisted in the evolution of the DNP programs in Texas, allowing nurses to continue with their careers. Today the DNP programs, although very exclusive, are a true example of what nursing in Texas represents: compassion, safety, and accuracy.

Texas nurses during the late-twentieth century had three great advantages to optimize. First, there was a good deal of money and patronage in Texas which included the buildup of the largest medical center in the world in Houston. Second, there was a lack of unions, making nurses more competitive, and innovative. Both Amerson and Koerber-Timmons agreed that the lack of unions made Texas nurses less worried about restraints on their profession, and less bureaucratized. Finally, Texas nursing programs like those at Baylor, La Tourneau, and the Harris School of Nursing at Texas Christian University were leaders in holistic care. Texas Nurses had a relatively high degree of freedom and incentives to pursue patient-centered care.

The encouragement of empathy, however, had its limits. In Texas, Christians constituted a majority of the population. Both Cynthia

Amerson and Karen Koerber-Timmons were church-going Christians, and when they knew the patient well enough, they inserted Christian hope into their conversations. However, increasingly, many nurses were not able to make this kind of connection. Sometimes decisions had to be made about patients that did not align with the beliefs of the patients or medical personnel. Fortunately, from 1980 to 2000, if the decision was too close and personal to the nurse, she could refuse to involve herself in a certain case. Medical practices such as termination of pregnancy or sterilization, however, were wrenching issues. Nurses and patients did not always agree. Some nurses such as Marjorie Swanson and Margaret Kenney were even suspended for expressing their viewpoints on these issues. But they were soon able to retain their positions. Discrimination in employment based on religion was illegal under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This protected nurses from any reprimands that came from the inability to stay in a situation that they felt was morally wrong. As of 1996, this applied to all medical staff in any medical facility. The Conscience Clauses forbade any discrimination that came to a nurse because of religious beliefs. Just as medical institutions were to respect the beliefs of their employees, the employees were supposed to respect the patient’s beliefs.¹⁵

In Texas during the late-twentieth century, there was a significant number of nurses and doctors who did not believe in God or any higher power. Some believed in science. When patients rejected treatments in life-and-death situations because of their religious beliefs, some nurses and doctors did not understand how they could refuse the appropriate care. However, a caretaker’s job was to respect the patient’s wishes. That made a health career discouraging for some. Nurses invested significant care in highly challenged patients. Then, some of these same patients disavowed the challenge that had spurred such ardor. Compassion was a big part of nursing, but from 1980 to 2000, nurses had to accept limitations and take

risks. Nurses had to be selective, and patients had to recognize that medical personnel were constantly making difficult choices.

So, when were nurses able to take a break? In healthcare, learning became a never-ending cycle. The increasing obesity rates in Texas during after 1980, the increases in aging, and inactivity, and the opioid crisis led to greater rates of acuity.¹⁶ During this era, however, healthcare professionals were able to rely on research which was more available and extensive. In Fort Worth, Texas, the Botanical Research Institute of Texas (BRIT) maintained millions of research materials available for colleges and hospitals. In 2003, the American Botanical Council made a generous donation to BRIT. They donated over 7,000 sheets of medicinal, spice, dye, and allied plant specimens.¹⁷ They named this donation the Herber W. Youngken Sr. Herbarium. This vastly enriched the BRIT research program, ‘Plants and People’. Donations such as these abetted a pattern of insights bequeathed to hospitals and medical students. Dr. Timmons averred that research greatly improved healthcare during the late-twentieth century and saved her from paralysis and death in her own struggle with the Guillain Barre Syndrome. She also mentioned the upswing in evidence-based practice. Paraprofessionals and nurse assistants began to cover more menial jobs, freeing registered nurses to connect with pharmacists, physical therapists, and researchers, thus finding answers to nagging questions. Nurses, in turn, had to keep better records, and had to keep researchers and physicians better informed. Of utmost importance for the proliferation of medical answers was the growth of the internet in the 1990s. The truly great nursing sites, like nursing.com, were not born until the 2010s. But by 1996-98, medical personnel were able to better communicate in real-time thanks to email, and virtual data banks.

Both, Dr. Timmons, and Amerson continue to enjoy lucrative careers in medicine

to this day. Each was able to give birth to several children through the late-twentieth century, and both continue to enjoy stable marriages. Both, however, believe they married a special kind of man who was able to tolerate late nights and unexpected schedule shifts. They both admit that life was a whirl, but they would not have it any other way. Though there was a rush of new technology and information, they both have a high sense of self-efficacy, of having mastered what was necessary for progress to occur. Both Timmons and Amerson exemplify the success of Texas nursing during the late-twentieth century. There were many challenges, but progress and job satisfaction continued apace.

ENDNOTES

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NANCY HARKNESS LOVE: THE RISE AND FALL OF WASP

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When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, more men were needed to serve as pilots in the United States military. Contacted first by Jackie Cochran, and then by Nancy Love, General Henry “Hap” Arnold, a very connected man pulled together a women’s ferrying squadron. The purpose of this group was to free up male pilots to serve overseas, and in active combat. The women’s job would be to transport planes from factories to airports which would then be used in combat. They were also asked to test the airplanes that were on the market. This was an exciting yet dangerous job. The women were very proud to serve their country and many quickly volunteered for the new military positions. Over 1,000 women graduated from the training base in Sweetwater, Texas, and continued on to ferry planes, tow gunnery targets, transport equipment, escort personal, and test planes coming off the market or from the repair shop. During war time in America women played a larger role in what was happening then is often realized. This work argues that Nancy Harkness Love and her development of women as service pilots during WWII paved the way for women to eventually have the opportunity to join the military.

Hannah Lincoln (Nancy) Harkness was born in Houghton, Michigan on February 14, 1914, to Dr. Robert Bruce and Alice Harkness.¹ Hannah Lincoln was a traditional name in her mother’s family line and while they finalized Hannah Lincoln as her official name, her

father’s name for her was Nancy.² Robert and Alice Harkness married in 1907. Afterwards they moved to Germany for his continued medical training. Eventually they settled in Houghton, Michigan, where he was named Public Health Officer for Houghton County.³ Both Alice and Robert came from upper to middle class families, which in turn gave them greater opportunities. When Nancy was still young, she was sent to Milton boarding school in Massachusetts.⁴ While there she stopped to watch a low flying plane and realized that aviation gave her great exhilaration. That night she told her parents that flying was exactly what she wanted to do and how much more interesting it was than school. As she left for her first flight lesson in August, 1930, her father told her to “do it well or not at all.”⁵ Her father’s words stuck with her for the rest of her life greatly impacting the way she accomplished things in both the mundane and great aspects of her life.

Nancy’s first lesson was with an eighteen-year-old boy employed at Upper Peninsula Airways named Jimmy Hansen.⁶ He was only two years older than Nancy and had just received his private pilot’s license. They got along well together and by September she had logged 4 hours and 30 minutes of flight time which was just enough to get a private license.⁷ Discovering flight gave Nancy direction in her life. She pursued flight until she was one of the most advanced and skilled of pilots.

The fall of 1931 Nancy started at Vassar

College in New York, going for a French and French history degree.⁸ She continued to improve her piloting skills as she worked towards getting a Limited Commercial License. While at Vassar, she paid for flight lessons by giving joyrides to classmates. This made her pretty popular and earned her the nickname of “The Flying Freshman.”⁹ Nancy flew a lot in the months to come, but it was not until after her third close call in an airplane that she focused harder on being a very cautious, calculated, and purposeful pilot.¹⁰ On April 25, 1932, she gained her Limited Commercial License at eighteen years old having only 87 hours of flight time under her belt.¹¹ In January of 1934 Nancy applied for and was accepted into the membership of the Ninety-Nines Club.¹² This Club had been started after Amelia Earhart’s famous flight across the Atlantic Ocean.¹³ Amelia called together a large group of female pilots in America to support and encourage each other.¹⁴ Only ninety-nine pilots came to the first meeting—thus the name “Ninety-Niners.”¹⁵ They were also known as the International Organization of Women Pilots.¹⁶

In 1934 as an economic depression swept the country, many business owners and good citizens were either put out of work or in a serious financial bind. Nancy’s father, Dr. Harkness, was unable to continue paying for Nancy’s education at Vassar, thus bringing Nancy home.¹⁷ In looking for a job, Nancy turned to her uncle Thomas L. Chadbourne, who, through his connections in New York, offered to get Nancy in touch with the Katherine Gibbs Secretarial School.¹⁸ This was not the job Nancy wanted, but it was money to bring home. She moved to New York City and roomed with two other girls. Soon Nancy decided it was time to move on.

In April, 1934, Nancy went to Boston to look for another job with pilot friend, Henry Wilder who also showed her around the city.¹⁹ After a prolonged search for work, Henry then

asked if Nancy wanted to visit a friend of his that owned Inter City Aviation operating out of East Boston Airport, now called Logan International Airport. She agreed and after an awkward meeting with the owner Robert Love (whom she later married), she was hired on.²⁰

Robert ‘Bob’ MacLure Love was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1909 to a wealthy and prominent New York family.²¹ He attended Princeton University and later Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).²² After graduation Bob started Inter City Aviation.²³ Newspapers and the company’s passengers were shocked when Bob hired Nancy.²⁴ However, Bob did not care, she was an excellent pilot. Nancy’s job included transporting passengers and various cargo around the city and state, at which she did very well.²⁵ Despite their awkward meeting, Nancy and Bob became good friends.²⁶ They would often attend parties and social gatherings together.²⁷ On one such occasion Nancy met Eugene Vidal who at the time was director of the Bureau of Air Commerce.²⁸ Vidal put Nancy in touch with Amelia Earhart, Amelia’s husband George Palmer Putnam, as well as James Roosevelt, who in turn connected her with Phoebe Omlie, the special assistant for the Intelligence of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA) the forerunner of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).²⁹ Together Nancy and Omlie convinced John S. Wynne, chief of the Airport Marking and Mapping Section of the need to map landmarks to aid pilots in flight.³⁰ He agreed and together with Louise Thaden started the marking of over 200 town rooftops around Massachusetts.³¹ While honoring Nancy in the newspapers, it was also announced that she was engaged to Robert Love.³² Bob and Nancy would marry the following January, 1936, at the First Presbyterian Church in Hastings, Michigan.³³ Their marriage was built not only on love, but on mutual trust and respect for one another. They were very happy.³⁴

After the wedding they settled in Waltham, Massachusetts.³⁵ In 1937 John Wynne and the Bureau of Air Commerce wanted Nancy back.³⁶ She helped calculate and test a new landing design called the tricycle gear.³⁷ Once that was rolling, she was back in the air with Louise Thaden making more landmarks around New York.³⁸

By 1940 the need for more pilots in the military was growing right along with the war in Europe. Nancy wanted to do something so she contacted her husband's friend Colonel Robert Old's asking if she could pull together a group of women to fill the need for more ferrying pilots.³⁹ Old's superior, General Henry "Hap" Arnold turned her offer down and set the letter in his desk to brew.⁴⁰ That same year, General Arnold was approached by Jacqueline Cochran asking to start a women's ferrying squadron and join the military.⁴¹ She was refused and recommended to join the Air Transport Auxiliary (ATA) in England which had recently started.⁴² She agreed and pulled together a group of female pilots to go over to Britain to serve.⁴³ She held onto General Arnold's promise that if there was a female squadron formed in the U.S. that Jackie could head it up.⁴⁴

Though the idea had been talked of in the past and a list of female pilots had been created, it had never gone anywhere. Plans to add a women's ferrying group slowly came back around in 1941. However, it was not until the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 that Brigadier General Old's realized the desperate need for more pilots.⁴⁵ Men were being transferred to fighter and bomber planes, reducing the number available to ferry and transport aircrafts. General Arnold called in Nancy Love to rekindle her plans for a women's ferrying squadron.⁴⁶ In March, 1942, Nancy, with the recommendation of General Olds, started work at the Operations Office of the Northwest Sector in Baltimore, Maryland.⁴⁷ She worked with Major Robert H. Baker.

Her tasks included mapping the ferry flights, learning specific military procedures, helping pilots get settled in and getting their sources.⁴⁸ Nancy was finally working where she wanted to be and her efforts were being recognized. Nancy's new job had her taking a 60-mile round trip to work, which was taken by plane because of automobile limitations.⁴⁹ This was not only fun, but it added to her time in the cockpit.

After a little while, Nancy's flying commutes were noticed by Col. William H. Tunner whose task was finding the women that were to be in the new squadron.⁵⁰ To his surprise Tunner discovered that the office across the hall from his belonged to Major Robert Love, Deputy Chief of Staff and Operations and that Love's wife was a very experienced pilot with connections.⁵¹ Tunner was very excited and asked Nancy to take time to compile a new list of women who would be interested in the job.⁵² The women's qualifications stipulated that they must have at least 500 hours of flight time, a commercial license, be between the ages of 21 and 35, and have at least a high school diploma.⁵³ Later Nancy suggested that U.S. citizenship, a 200-horsepower rating, and at least two letters of recommendation be added to the requirements.⁵⁴ The group Nancy pulled together in September, 1942, was named the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS).⁵⁵ WAFS had training bases in Wilmington, Delaware; Houston, Texas; and Sweetwater, Texas.⁵⁶ By 1943, all WAFS training had been consolidated to Avenger Field in Sweetwater, Texas.⁵⁷

When Jackie Cochran returned from England and heard that someone else was in charge of the Women's Service in the Army, she was furious. She was soon in Arnold's office convincing him that she needed to head the group.⁵⁸ Arnold agreed somewhere along the line making a compromise with her that on September 15 Jackie would take command

of a second service team labeled the Women's Flying Training Detachment, or WFTD.⁵⁹ Jackie brought her group to Texas.⁶⁰ Nancy and Bob were now spending more time apart, making the time they did have together all the more valuable. In the winter of 1942, Bob was sent to China and India to map new trade routes, helping the ATA with wartime supplies from the area.⁶¹ Nancy started to be on the move too, though only around the country. Her travels started off by going to Great Falls, Montana.⁶² There she teamed up with a group to help bring pilots who were in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RAF) to be trained in warmer climates like Texas.⁶³ Nancy however was called back to Washington to meet with the Ferrying Division to make sure that the girls were being trained well and were able to do what was asked of them.⁶⁴ They were being trained in the same military formalities like the men.

After Nancy's meeting in Washington, she was sent off to check on several training camps around America informing them that WAFS was being split up.⁶⁵ All women's ferrying groups would assemble at Romulus, Michigan; Long Beach, California; or the Dallas Love Field in Texas⁶⁶ (which was not named after Bob or Nancy Love, but rather Moss L. Love).⁶⁷ Love placed Florene Miller in charge of the Dallas squadron.⁶⁸ Nancy was stationed in Dallas for only a short time before she was off checking other command bases and finding what planes they could ferry. She wanted the best for her girls, not only by living lives without reproach, but with the newest and fastest planes she could get her hands on to pave the way for present and future female aviators. She was now the senior squadron commander, which took on its own load of paperwork and meetings.⁶⁹

In the meantime, Jackie Cochran was busy in Houston coaching and training girls in civilian airplanes not just for basic ferrying, but to be an advanced and one of a kind group.⁷⁰ They still also had to prove to

many men that women were just as good at flying as men were. Though there were many challenges, the WAFS kept at it. They were having fun and it was a chance to help their country -which any girl would proudly do.

While Nancy Love worked exceptionally well with others and finished her duties promptly, she had trouble working with Jackie Cochran. Jackie was a very determined person and viewed their relationship as a tough competition. Nancy didn't feel this at all, preferring to work together in peace. Nancy's boss Colonel Baker was pleased with Nancy and her work and encouraged her to keep going.⁷¹ Even Bob, Nancy's husband sent her many letters encouraging her to stay calm and focus on her achievements, not what Jackie or others thought.⁷² In the constant rush of excitement to fly new planes, Love went back to Dallas to fly the 650-horsepower single-engine AT-6 on January 3, 1943.⁷³ Soon after, on January 25, 1943, General Arnold's office sent messages stating that they would only employ women who had graduated from the Women Flying Training (WFT) school in Texas.⁷⁴ "This was a big blow to the Command," pilot Betty Gillies wrote, "There were still many eligible women pilots and the first graduates from WFT would not be available until mid-May" also stating that the "pilot shortage" from the attack on Pearl Harbor "continued to be a matter of great concern."⁷⁵ Betty Gillies was the first pilot to be accepted into WAFS, after being president of the Ninety-nines from 1939-1941. Betty was a good friend of Nancy Love. Together they were the first female pilots accepted to fly the B-17 Flying Fortress bomber. Betty returned to normal life with her husband and three children after the war, but continued to serve through the 1950s.⁷⁶ President Lyndon B. Johnson awarded Betty as the first Federal Aviation Administration Women's Advisory Committee member. She passed away in 1998.⁷⁷

In February, 1943, Nancy asked to transfer

from Dallas to Long Beach, California, where she would test a number of new planes.⁷⁸ On February 27, Nancy's logbook marked that she had flown one of the fastest airplanes ever built: The P-51 Mustang,⁷⁹ a wonderful and reminiscent experience of when Nancy first learned to fly back in Michigan.⁸⁰ The following March a tragic loss fell on the WAFS squadron. Cornelia Fort died in a mid-air collision over Merkel, Texas.⁸¹ There were mixed stories, but the Army accident report mentioned only that it involved one other plane.⁸² Nancy was very struck by Fort's death. Some of the girls say she never fully recovered. The realization that their job was indeed very dangerous never really hit many of them till then.⁸³ Cornelia Fort was a quiet girl and an "extraordinary pilot."⁸⁴ As an instructor at Honolulu's John Rogers Airport she was there when the attack on Pearl Harbor started. Fort made it safely back to the mainland, jotting notes the whole time, planning on later writing a memoir of her piloting experience.⁸⁵ Not long after, two more girls were killed.⁸⁶ Nancy became determined to not even think of their deaths, but rather of the illuminating future her girls had. They were at the front of the line when it came to testing and flying the newest and best planes.

In June, 1943, Nancy was sent to Cincinnati, Ohio, to supervise their Ferrying Division headquarters.⁸⁷ Later that summer both Nancy and Jackie were unexpectedly and unknowingly put in charge of essentially the same role in the ferrying and training divisions. All along Jackie knew that the girls she trained in Houston were sent to Nancy to disperse where there was a need, but Jackie felt tension about it.⁸⁸ When Jackie wrote to General Arnold telling him all the reasons that she should be placed in charge of all the female training and ferrying groups, it was only a month later that she was named Director of Women Pilots by the Office of Special Assistant for Women Pilots.⁸⁹ Word was slowly getting around however, and on July 5, the war

Office gave Nancy an executive position for WAFS through Colonel Tunner's staff.⁹⁰ Her job now consisted more of office work, but she was pleased because she would still be the first to test fly many of the airplanes that came through before letting the others ferry them. The second shock that summer was the joining of all WAFS and WFTD into one group: the Women's Airforce Service Pilots or WASP.⁹¹ Though Nancy was still an executive in WASP, Cochran was now calling the shots.⁹² With over 500 women training in Sweetwater, Texas at any given time, graduation and active duty applicants were rising.⁹³ With these two joining forces the effect of women pilots greatly increased. WASP was here, though not for long.

In the summer of 1943, many girls were chosen to be pursuit pilots. Ferrying fighter planes was a little more exciting, and sure felt more important.⁹⁴ The pursuit school was moved to Brownsville, Texas, in April 1944.⁹⁵ For most of the year, there were many attempts to try to militarize WASP. But there was too much going on and not enough people thought it necessary or worth government money.⁹⁶ Eventually on June 5, 1944, the Ramspeck Committee presented its report to Congress stating that WASP was no longer needed.⁹⁷ It was a very expensive endeavor to keep going.⁹⁸ The war also was close to an end and the men themselves would need jobs.

In the late fall of 1944 General Arnold sent out a memo that WASP would be disbanding on December 20 of that year.⁹⁹ Just about every WASP member was unhappy about the change. To some, they were just getting started. Others felt that they were just getting really good at what they did. How could they stop now? But orders were orders, and December would come. On December 7 the last graduation from Sweetwater training base took place.¹⁰⁰ It was a bittersweet day. General Arnold came out and gave a few words to the graduates and the alumni, thanking them for their efforts and great service.¹⁰¹ The night of December 19,

they held a banquet simply reminiscing of old times and spending time together.¹⁰² Morning came and WASP was officially off the books, and women were back to not being able to fly any military aircrafts. They would not be admitted to fly in any branch of the military again until 1974.¹⁰³

In 1945 after having completed many secret international government trips, Bob Love was assigned to San Francisco as the commander of the West Coast Wing of the ATC.¹⁰⁴ That summer Nancy was finally able to move out with him and the two were together again. It was during that April that President Roosevelt died,¹⁰⁵ passing on his office to his Vice President Harry Truman. The atomic bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan in the first half of August. Within two weeks the Japanese surrendered, the end of the war had finally come.

WASP was over, but the girls were still around. Only a few got civilian service jobs with the military, but most went home to their friends, families, and husbands if they were still alive. Their stories later sounded like fiction to those that did not know about WASP, and eventually they did not talk about their service at all. Some tried reunions to bring old memories back, but many did not want to remember the sadness they felt in being broken up. The women had felt fulfillment in WASP and now it was taken from them. They had to adjust and try their best to find it elsewhere.

Nancy returned to life with Bob. After finishing out Bob's military service in San Francisco, the couple moved to Wilmington, Delaware, in 1946.¹⁰⁶ By now they had been married for ten years. Nancy never looked back at her service, though often she would remember it, it was not something she held on to. In July 1946 however, the US Army Air Force recognized and awarded Bob and Nancy together in a ceremony. Bob was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal, and Nancy the

Air Medal.¹⁰⁷ In 1947 they welcomed their first daughter.¹⁰⁸ Bob also helped found Allegheny Airlines, which later merged with American Airlines in 1979.¹⁰⁹ Soon after they settled in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts,¹¹⁰ spending their days sailing the coast.¹¹¹ They welcomed two more daughters in the coming years.¹¹² Though they had both stepped out of the public eye, connections with old friends and occasional reunions of both military and WASP friends took place.

WASP opened doors for women in both the military and aviation. It also offered crucial support to the United States during WWII. Though WASP members were not official members of the military, the work of WASP and Nancy Love was groundbreaking in creating a future for women in flight and service and in 1948 women were allowed military status.¹¹³ In 1976 Congress allowed women to join the military academies to train as officers.¹¹⁴ We owe much to Nancy and her leadership, determination, and skills as a pilot. Nancy's work with WASP changed the per-

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THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXAS BIOMEDICAL INSTITUTE

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In the early 1940s Thomas Baker Slick, Jr, had an idea to devote an entire facility to scientific research and development in San Antonio Texas, and in 1941 he accomplished his goal of creating the Southwest Research Institute, its discoveries have impacted not just Texas, but the world.

Slick was an oilman, rancher, and philanthropist before founding the institute. Born in Clarion, Pennsylvania, on May 6, 1916. Slick was the son of a famous oil operator. He was known for his thoughts and eccentric ideas locally, his wealth allowed him to do almost anything. In fact, in a one-month span, Slick tried to start a cargo plane business, hiring ex-military pilots and even calling the planes the “Braggin’ Buggy”.¹ In prep school, he attended Phillips Exeter Academy and in 1938 he got his premedical degree in biology from Yale University. However, instead of becoming a scientist himself, he inherited fifteen million dollars from his father; today that’s equivalent to \$233,000,000. He used his wealth in a variety of different ways expanding his enterprises in cattle breeding, and oil drilling, while starting activities in scientific research and collections of modern arts. After his inheritance Slick purchased one thousand six hundred and two acres of land, eight miles west of downtown San Antonio. This section was intended to become the lab’s headquarters and was the first part of the Essar Ranch which was a phonetic name, with the letters “S” and “R”, standing for “Scientific Research.”² Leading directly to the development of not

only the Foundation of Applied Research which is now the Texas Biomedical Research Institute, but along with it he also founded the Institute of Inventive Research which was intended to develop and promote the ideas of independent entrepreneurs and inventors, the Southwest Agricultural institute, and the Mind Science Foundation which was intended to promote better conditions of people through science education and advancements in world peace. These were all branches inside of the Southwest Institute, and were functionally cohesively under his supervision, acting as one lab with different sections. Due to his involvement in research and pursuit of knowledge, he was a trustee and governor of the Texas Research Foundation, the Stanford Research Institute, and numerous other organizations. He lived until 1962 when on October 6, 1962, he died in a private plane crash.³

The location of the Southwest Research Institute (SRI) was pivotal to its success. Located in San Antonio Texas, eight miles from the west of downtown, in 1947, the SRI officially became a public trust for educational and charitable purposes increasing funding for research and development even further. The original facility for the Institute was a part of Slick’s estate with a three-story Victorian home serving as the headquarters with labs and offices being managed within the home. Because of the location of Texas and prior investments in oil and gas, much of the original research and funding was

focused on fuels and vehicle technology, using applied research programs for industry and government, the SRI obtained even more funding for the other branches of the institute with fifty-five percent of all revenue coming in from industry developments and forty-five coming from government research.⁴ The most famous developments early on came from the lab's fire technology because of the majority of research originally pertaining to the oil and gas industry. The innate understanding of engines, fuels, and lubricants gained the lab worldwide recognition with inventions like airbags, fire extinguishing garbage can liners, and fireproofing materials for buildings. These inventions created a safer environment and were all pivotal to advancements in safety in the twentieth century. All these inventions can be traced to the location of the institute having an immense effect on the development of products. Since, at the time fire prevention was a major focus for the institute due to the local economy being dependent on oil and gas, the hazards that oil presented required solutions, and although they were not constructing pivotal technology, they were creating practical and reliable solutions. The dependency on oil was so strong that in the 1980s when oil stocks plummeted, many projects could not be funded, and as result projects were sidelined. For the scientists working at the lab, fulfillment did not come from recognition, as Hare said, "Many of these achievements are not something that are going to be in the history book" Showing the importance of research even if they were not as exciting as developments in places like Silicon Valley.⁵

Up until this point the Southwest Research Institute was forced to keep regional interests in mind only since most funding came from local industries, specifically the oil and gas industry. Along with local industries, one of the biggest supporters for the lab at this time was the U.S. Navy. At the time The United States government was deeply focused on enhancing their military powers as tensions with the

Soviet Union escalated. To prepare for this the United States dumped billions of dollars into rapid research for the next pivotal weapon to ensure victory. The institute acted as an active center of research for the navy designing the world's first deep-diving submarine for the navy, the Aluminaut. As more federal funding and industries from across the country came more projects for advancing industries came as well. At this time the space race was becoming a growing phenomenon, and because of that SRI expanded research in previously neglected fields that were now pivotal for space travel. One of these fields was biomedical research, the purpose of biomedical research was to better understand how human bodies were affected by external sources in space like radiation and the lack of gravity. These studies were first starting to garner support in the late 1950s with a Burleson newspaper being one of the first Texas newspapers to cover "Monkey Baker" who was a squirrel monkey sent to outer space to test the effects of space that could potentially afflict a human. Baker went through a variety of different biomedical experiments and along with her different animals were being sent into space to see the dangers of the newest frontier.⁶ The Biomedical Institute thus started to receive more funding and contributed to the interest and advancement in the biomedical field. The incoming money was split between the three major branches: the division of biological growth, which contained things from molecular biology to organic chemistry; the division of clinical sciences, which focused on reproductive physiology and clinical pharmacology; and the division of microbiology which focused on viruses and infectious diseases.⁷

To begin research in biomedics, Slick had to hire researchers. One of the notable researchers was Henry C. McGill, Jr. McGill was known for his work in cardiovascular studies where McGill was one of the first to utilize Geographic Pathology which is the

process of investigating the processes of an organism interacting with its habits and the characteristics of clinical manifestations of diseases to the local features, and the people's way of life. He started utilizing this in the early 1950s.⁸ This concept led to the establishment of the International Atherosclerosis Project (IAP) in the late 1950s. IAP established many other basic ideas about atherosclerosis—referring to the buildup of fats and cholesterol inside artery walls. At the institute, McGill was most known for his research in baboons to investigate human diseases and pathogens. Since humans and baboons share ninety-four percent of all their DNA, diseases and pathogens found in baboons are very similar or identical to those in humans, so research can be conducted on baboons with certainty that humans will react similarly. McGill continued with his research of Geographic Pathology, trying to link genes that predispose humans to be more or less likely to be affected by diseases, pathogens, and other health problems. He used baboons because so many external environmental factors affected the spread that identifying individual genes it would be almost impossible to the number of uncontrollable variables that humans encounter in their daily life. McGill used these baboons to establish theories that are commonplace now, with his findings concluding that diets that containing lots of fats and cholesterol develop arterial lesions which narrow the flow of blood inside arteries and cause the subject to be more predisposed to various heart diseases. To gain a large enough sample size to confirm and legitimize his findings McGill had the world's largest colony of baboons for medical research.⁹

Along McGill another notable researcher was Joseph Goldzieher, who was most known for his work in developing the first oral contraceptive using Enovid, which contained large amounts of hormones causing many side effects, he invented the first effective oral contraceptive, paving the way for future pills to improve upon. After testing it on two

hundred different women and getting the FDA's approval, the pill was first available in 1960. These breakthroughs legitimized the Institute's endeavors in worldwide research and helped the push for future funding for research and projects outside of local affairs.

After all the life-changing developments being created and researched at the Institute all involving biomedical research, the organization changed the branch involving biomedical research formally, from the Southwest Foundation for Research and Education to the Southwest Foundation for Biomedical Research since the majority of important research was in biomedics. As more money and time was being spent on the foundation the number of employees in each department grew to separate the studies of each of the three major branches of biomedical research further, with each becoming more important in their field. In the earnings report from 1966, the Southwest Foundation for Research and education reported a staff with two hundred and sixty different people and a budget of only \$3,000,000 a year, which accommodated for inflation today is \$24,000,000.¹⁰ Because the main source of funding for the foundation with public grants and contract funds (making up 84% of all income), each department explained what they did that year, and why the research deserved funding. Each department was individualized with Martin Goland leading as institute president reconstructing the structure of how authority was handled in the lab. Before Goland's changes, the researchers were dependent on supervisors for instruction and help, leading to excuses when a project failed, putting the blame on the supervisor. To eliminate this Goland implemented a process giving the researchers full control over their projects, thus accelerating the Institute's growth. The anatomy department's main objective was to understand human's organs and structure and finding solutions to problems that affect our bodies in different

scenarios. The department of anatomy in 1968 focused on research in embryology, dental science, and histology to help provide data, so the use of drugs on young children and the embryo can be better understood. The department was using the colonies of baboons, and as such was the first known data on baboon reproduction and illustrations of the developing baboon embryos for the first seven weeks of gestation/fetal growth. Through the observations of the growth of the embryo, Raymond F. Gasser was able to observe the development of the cornea, optic nerve, and other organs which are akin to human organs at that stage. The anatomy department observed all the differences and similarities between humans and baboons in the fetus, finding that one of the major differences between the two being the interstitial implantation inside the human placenta. One of the other things that the anatomy department focused on was tooth reimplantation, which uses plastic teeth as a substitute for real teeth. Almost all these experiments in the early phases were able to be performed on baboons instead of humans letting the researchers use more creative methods since they were not being performed on humans (*Southwest Foundation for Research and Education Annual Report: pg.3-4*).

According to the report, the department of biochemistry, was primarily concerned with interdisciplinary research in chemistry and biology. This combination allowed the department to be highly collaborative, and their main work is focused on understanding diseases and creating steroids. For instance, they investigated acetylation which is a protein crucial for DNA synthesis they worked together with the molecular biology department.

The department of molecular biology was joined by Dr. Anthony Means initiated a series of studies on the mechanism of protein synthesis. Because of the strategy for researchers being responsible for their projects,

implemented, many joined the foundation in search of more control over their research. This was relatively unique to the institute at the time as many other research facilities would be forced into specific development for corporate endeavors. Means was one of these scientists looking for more liberty; after working with Professor Peter Hal in Australia on protein synthesis, he came to work for the foundation to be able to work in a larger setting with more resources readily available for studying protein synthesis. Along with Means, many others worked inside the lab researching different enzymes with notable brain research, where they found out the specific use of the enzyme choline acetyltransferase which breaks down neural transmitters when receiving a message. When creating drugs, this is important since the new medicine could potentially target the enzyme to cause the body to have a specific response.

Other branches were also doing groundbreaking research in their respective fields. For Instance, the department of organic chemistry department's focus was on stereochemistry. James E. Burdett presented a thesis using N.M.R. (nuclear magnetic resonance spectroscopy) data to resolve some of the stereochemical problems. They used the N.M.R. system, to identify which chemical compounds and components solve the stereochemical problems. Using this technology Burdett was awarded the M.S. degree with his thesis from the use of the N.M.R. data.

At the same time the department of pharmacology and toxicology were created, the toxicology department focused on creating drugs to cure illness through the study of toxins and toxic things. The department received a direct grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for the purpose of studying the effects of alcohol on the behavior of lab animals. The preliminary investigation determined which substances caused acute alcoholic intoxication. This study included

the relationship between psychological stress and the experimental induction of alcoholism. They also state, the investigated effects between how anxiety and alcohol affect a person's mental. The first phase they did was on nicotine on discriminatory behavior; these studies showed improvement in discrimination performance in lab rats under nicotine. Caffeine was ineffective in this experiment and comparisons between the two were measured. The department received multiple grants for drug research as well. Some researchers reported drugs classified as anti-anxiety agents which are qualitatively similar to barbiturates. (Although structurally different, they discovered that the mechanism of actions may differ from anti-anxiety drugs).

All these different departments worked cohesively to research new things and build on previously complete ideas. Compared to the 1966 earnings report, just ten years later the foundation grew from only 260 to toppling over 1,500 employees and earning \$46,000,000 in annual revenue. Although the field and research of Biomedics were growing at a rapid rate the lab still was dependent on the oil and gas industry for funding grants.¹¹ When the energy crisis of 1970 happened, and many businesses suffered, the SRI with a smaller dependence on oil, took it as an opportunity to research alternative energy sources like biofuel, solar, and wind turbines. Money from local grants shrunk and financial results fell well below projections, but with large military contracts, the institute managed thrived. The army recruited the lab for a program to help monitor air quality and to ensure safety in the Pacific Ocean as the US army disposed of chemical munitions. This was not the only job nuclear safety provided for the institute. The army also supplemented another mega-contract to plan out how to dispose of the country's large amounts of nuclear waste.

After the second oil crash in 1980, the institute was not able to recover as it originally did in the 1970s. This coupled with the fact

that the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union was ending meant that most of the governmental funding for the institute was rapidly declining. Many projects were either put on hold or canceled. With the main competition for the institute coming from Silicon Valley and giant corporations and institutions, they feared obscurity, and the institute was faced with a downsizing in the early 2000s. While the research was not any less important, the biomedical field was the only major part remaining, focusing funds and time to research hepatitis C and possible developments of vaccines/treatments. With the focus on biomedics once again increasing, they created their laboratory safe enough to study deadly pathogens and viruses with no known treatment or vaccines. In 2011 the Southwest Foundation for Biomedical Research changed its name to the Texas Biomedical Research Institute operating on a 200-acre campus with 275,000 square feet of lab space offering a massive amount of animals for testing and over 2,000 baboons, the institute still provides a way to research our biomedics using animals in viruses in new ways.¹²

The Texas Biomedical Research Institute went through a plethora of changes in objectives, research, and development, but has always maintained to stay relevant. The lab is not commonly known because of its relatively small size in comparison to large industries and companies now leading the way for technology and research, but the impact the institute had cannot be overstated, saving countless lives with their research and learning about how humans work in unimaginable ways. Dan Bates, the Institute's president in the 1980s described, this well saying, "We're somewhere between a university and an industry," Bates said. "We fill an important niche for the country, and I think we will continue to do that."

ENDNOTES

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A LEGEND OF THE WEST: JOHN WESLEY HARDIN

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The United States had a divide between two ideologies that were the main cause of the Civil War: the South (Confederacy) was pro-slavery and the North (Union) was anti-slavery. After the war, the United States reunified began an era of Reconstruction (1863-1877) in which the U.S. tried to restore the union and punish the south. As the Reconstruction went on, the era of the “Wild West” began in 1865 and lasted until 1895. Many legends arose during this time, leading to massive quantities of modern media entertainment. Although the popular depictions of the Wild West lasted for nearly a century, the era only lasted for about thirty years. Despite the era only lasting such a short time, why did its impact on media last for so long? The short answer would be the people themselves; these cowboys and outlaws made for exceptional characters both in life and myth. Both media depictions and their real life counterparts would rob banks, trains, people and other gangs, or on the other hand, they would protect people and form posses to chase outlaws. Although media would depict all of those actions as happening frequently, in reality the frequency of the acts were much lower. With the West having a diverse population, many of the cowboys were unique, and sometimes even inspired one another. However, some paved a path of their own and paved the road for others to come. A prime example would be John Wesley Hardin, considered one of the most notorious Texas outlaws, to where he escaped to during the Wild West era. He was a notorious outlaw

with a story to back it up, and an ideology of, “never killed a man who didn’t need no killing.”¹ It is no wonder media attention on the western outlaw lifestyle lasted so long.

John Wesley Hardin was born in 1853, in Bonham, Texas, and was raised by his Methodist mother and father. He lived in his hometown with his parents and received general education available in the frontier region of Texas. However, Hardin left Bonham at the age of fifteen. He argued with an African-American man, which ultimately led to a lethal fight with Hardin murdering the other man. Although the exact details of this confrontation are unknown, Hardin stated it was an act of self-defense. He wrote, which he penned in prison many years after the act, that the man had threatened Hardin and even confronted him.² At this moment in his life, Hardin became a fugitive. Normally, his father would have turned him in to the officials, but since the Southerners lost the Civil War, he let Hardin go in belief that he would not get a fair trial for killing an African-American man. They did not appreciate the “Yankees” being in Texas and the Freedman’s Bureau being in control of the courts; they did fear the perceived injustices the courts. As a fugitive, Hardin decided to go to his brother. However, the soldiers received word of his whereabouts and came after him. Hardin, having heard about the soldiers from his brother, decided to turn the tables. Hardin ambushed the soldiers, killing three of them and burying them in the creek. He then decided to take the soldiers’

horses and burn their supplies. As Hardin put it, “everything was kept quiet.”³ He killed four men within the span of a year. This marked the start of the notorious killer’s outlaw path. He remained passionate about education and his family. A year later, in 1869, he moved with his father to Navarro and became a teacher. He was initially hired for only one term (3 months), but eventually was offered an extended contract. However, Hardin dreamt of something else. Hardin decided to become a cowboy (cattle driver).

Although he had murdered four men, Hardin tried to do good in Texas communities as a cowboy even if he racially targeted African-Americans. Hardin describes a time when he “fixed” a “bad negro.” This African-American victim was accused of being rude to white men and women. As Hardin explained, the man had “no respect for no one,” and Hardin proved it by disguising himself as an old man. Hardin later revealed himself and shot at the man; Hardin did not kill the African-American, but just threatened him to change his behavior.⁴ Hardin lived well in Navarro County. Sadly, he still had run-ins with Yankees.

Another issue that Hardin developed was a love for gambling. As a cowboy, he started to gamble at poker, horse races, chicken fights, etc. If it could be bet on, he would. However, gambling led to issues with other people. Hardin played poker with some men: Jim Bradly, Hamp Davis, and Judge Moore. Hardin had a friend, Collin, who was there but did not play in the game. As the game progressed in a box-shaped home, Hardin began to take the other men’s money, and eventually won everything at the table. Moore saw this outcome as fair, but not Bradly and Davis. They planned on robbing Hardin. Bradly, according to Hardin’s notes, attacked him, but Collins protected Hardin while Davis just cursed at Hardin after taking his gun. The next day, Hardin went to collect his money and gun from Collins. However, Collins needed to get

permission from Bradly, who still wanted to kill Hardin, to enter and get his stuff. Collins was only able to retrieve Hardin’s boots. While Hardin waited, Bradly continued to threaten him, eventually approaching Hardin. This ended with a standoff between Hardin and Bradly. In the end, Hardin killed Bradly, called Bradly’s gang cowards for running away from their fallen friend, and went to notify his father about what transpired. His father tried to convince him to return to the family. However, since Hardin killed Bradly, a mob has formed to capture Hardin.⁵ These actions solidified Hardin’s criminal life. Hardin ran away from the law; this time Hardin needed stay away from law-abiding people, and in turn become an outlaw. He roamed all over Texas, and sometimes Hardin moved out of state to escape custody or herd some cattle. This would eventually bring the end of Hardin in 1895.

For Hardin, living a life on the run was difficult and he tried to keep something stable. For example, Hardin attempted to see his family even though he knew the risk if he got caught. Hardin even found time to marry Jane Bowen, who knew about his past. Both Hardin and Bowen expected the police to come during the ceremony. Hardin loved Bowen immensely, but sadly could not always be with her.⁶

In addition, Hardin continued his education. He went to Round Rock, Texas, to visit his professor from his school days. It turned out to be a family reunion of sorts when he discovered, through a letter from his professor, that his brother, Joe, was studying in Round Rock. Hardin’s professor wrote that Joe would soon graduate and urged Hardin to come finish his schooling and also graduate, without actually having to study. Hardin did graduate with his brother from the Round Rock School, after one day and taking one test.⁷ This was not the last time he would go to school, however. Hardin would go on to study law when he was imprisoned at Huntsville, Texas. This was mostly done by reading books on law. Even though Hardin was a killer, apparently, he still

held an interest the law for his own purposes.

Hardin possessed a violent streak, especially when he killed the soldiers by the creek, Hardin seemed live by his own sense of morals and guilty conscious. He wrote, "I still cherished the hope that the day would come when I could stand my trail and come clear." But he did not want to turn himself in yet because "my father always told me that when the Democrats regained power, I could get a fair trial, but I could never expect that under the carpet-bag rule."⁸ This indicates that Hardin knew he had done wrong, even if he felt justified. Hardin, in his notes, depicted the events as if it was self-defense. Of course, since Harden wrote this himself, it is expected for the account to be one-sided.

Hardin supported the Confederacy during the Civil War, so it can be argued that he solely killed the man for being an African-American. However, not all African-Americans in Hardin's crosshairs were killed. In Hardin's story of the "bad negro," Hardin did not kill but did threaten him to the point that the man changed. In the end, Hardin believed he was a killer with a conscience. Hardin tried to follow his father's advice, but somehow always got into a squabble. He seldom looked for an opportunity to kill people (with a few exemptions), but he seemed to have a knack for being in the wrong place at the wrong time.⁹

Hardin was always wary of the law and Reconstruction Era government. The Texas Rangers were usually the ones dealing with crime in Texas during the late 1800s. In addition, the local sheriffs and police also dealt with crime, but the Texas Rangers had more jurisdiction. The sheriffs and police could only work within their county or city; however, the Rangers could work the whole state and out of state if given permission. The rangers hunted Hardin down all the way to Florida.¹⁰ For Hardin's case, not only did the Rangers come after him, but also all other local sheriffs of Texas and other states or territories he ventured

into, such as Abilene, Kansas, which he visited when he went to move cattle from time to time. He also attempted to go to Mexico, but got captured by state police between Belton and Waco, Texas.¹¹ But a sheriff, Captain Jack Helm, a victim of Hardin, stood out.

Helm was the sheriff of DeWitt County served as the captain of the state police until he was dismissed.¹² Helm, angry and ready for revenge, formed a vigilante group known as the Regulators; he would arrest criminals like a normal officer, but sometimes he would just shoot them and claim they tried to escape. In essence, Helm's vigilantism was very similar to Hardin's violence. They both felt cheated by the Union victory in the Civil War and resented the government. However, Hardin's and Helm's tendency towards violence led them to different paths in life, until they merged. Hardin attempted to live a normal life but did not shy away from killing someone and even joined the Taylor gang. On the other hand, Helm became captain of the state police, then a vigilante, and then joined the Sutton gang.¹³ This put Helm on the wrong side of Hardin as the two gangs were far from friends. A sad fact about Helm is that if Hardin had not killed him, Helm would have most likely be lost to history. This is a good example of Hardin's and the Taylor gang's notoriety. There are only snippets of information about Helm, provided by Hardin and one of the Taylor boys that provides information on Helm.¹⁴ In truth, there is not any credible sources that describe the killing of Helm. In fact, in addition to Hardin, a different member of the Taylor gang claimed credit. The interaction was near a blacksmith, where Helm was working. Hardin wrote, "Jim Taylor had shot Helms repeatedly in the head. . .," clarifying what happened. However, the locals wanted to "blame everyone."¹⁵ Hardin's last interaction with the law, at least in an aggressive manner, was in 1878. The year 1878 marked the last time Hardin would be captured for his crimes. After some court cases, Hardin received twenty-five years and

was sent to Austin. Hardin claims in his notes that he tried to escape, but that the Austin jail was constructed of “good material.” Later he was sent to Huntsville, Texas.¹⁶ At this point in Hardin’s life, his outlaw ways were over.

Hardin also tried to escape while in Huntsville, but failed. This led to Hardin serving his time and eventually studying different subjects, such as law.¹⁷ This is the point in which the notes Hardin wrote about his life end (his son inherited the notes and decided to publish them, creating *The Life of John Wesley Hardin: As Written by Himself*). Hardin received a pardon and letter of restoration from Governor Hogg, who let Hardin out about nine years early.¹⁸

He became a free man and returned to his children (wife died during his time in prison), and started to practice law in Gonzales County. He later got remarried, albeit not lasting too long, since Hardin’s end was near.¹⁹ He gained the attention of a policeman, “Old John” Selman, who ended up killing Hardin due to a perceived insult. Hardin, who reportedly had his mistress fined by “Young John” Selman, got angry and offended Young John. Old John wanted to defend his son’s honor, so he confronted Hardin. Both men had the reputation of being comfortable with killing a man. Hardin claimed to be unarmed, so he entered a saloon to “get his guns,” but he never came back out. Old John, however, believed Hardin already had his guns holstered on his body, and perhaps Hardin ultimately decided not to kill. However, Old John entered the saloon and shot Hardin three times.²⁰ This was very odd for Old John, who had a reputation for killing but never by shooting someone in the back. There might be an explanation Old John shooting Hardin in the back. Hardin was said to be rolling dice in the saloon, and Old John might have mistaken the hand movements as Hardin reaching for his gun.²¹ Also what made it odd, was the fact that Hardin was shot three times. The first bullet was to the back of the head, the next two to his back.²²



TWO UNIDENTIFIED MEN IN FRONT OF JOHN WESLEY HARDIN’S GRAVE. PHOTOGRAPH BY RANDY MALLORY, 2002-08; UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS LIBRARIES, THE PORTAL TO TEXAS HISTORY; CREDITING UNT LIBRARIES SPECIAL COLLECTIONS.

It is possible Old John feared Hardin, very angry, or maybe just playing it safe. In *El Paso Daily Herald* on August 20th, 1895, an article discussed witness accounts of the altercation. The newspaper said Hardin was not seen going for his gun when Old John came in, even though he was armed. However, Hardin seemed to be enjoying gambling in his final moments.²³ Surprisingly, a killer like Hardin did not die or live a life alone.

Hardin did not always live a solitary life. Besides occasionally being with family when not being chased by the law, he was with other friends (some who were also desperados) and

was in a gang. As mentioned before, Hardin was in a gang run by the Taylors.²⁴ Hardin mostly worked as a hired gun for the Taylors but they formed a friendship. The most notable Taylor was Jim Taylor, who seemed to be the central Taylor in Hardin's notes when he is writing about the time with the Taylors.²⁵ Besides the Taylor gang, most of Hardin's time was spent with his family. Clements are most noteworthy. They helped Hardin out of a sticky situation in which Hardin would have gone to Mexico. They worked as cowboys, mainly herding cattle. This was also the main reason Hardin went to Kansas.²⁶ Hardin later worked with a man named Collins who was married to Hardin's cousin. They mostly gambled together, such as horse races.²⁷ In addition, Henry Brown was gambling with Hardin when he was killed (about the only interaction they had). Hardin never really spent any time alone. He was always around people. Some were killers like him, others more peaceful, like his wife and kids. Albeit, Hardin mostly lived as an outlaw.

Hardin killed somewhere from twenty to forty people; the exact number is hard to clarify since some deaths went officially unrecorded.²⁸ The rumors of Hardin's life of killing, led to him gaining notoriety across all of Texas and other outlaws outside of Texas. This led him to influence people and events. For example, when Helm was going after Hardin, there was a point during their feud when they came fact-to-face. However, Helm did not shoot but decided to play clueless, as he knew Hardin was not a man to be discounted.²⁹ Another example could be Old John. Old John was said to be an "honorable" killer, someone not to shoot at one's back.³⁰ But he did so with Hardin. Why? Perhaps Hardin was indeed reaching for his guns, but witnesses say Hardin was focused on his game. Old John testified Hardin reach for his guns, but Old John was on trial for murder at the time. Hardin's notoriety even extended beyond the borders of Texas. A city, in which he predominantly

visited was Abilene, Kansas. A man, who Hardin influenced, was a sheriff named Wild Bill Hickok. Hickok was a famous lawman, and knew about Hardin's arrest warrants from Texas. However, Hickok let Hardin be in Abilene as long as Hardin did not cause any trouble. The reasoning behind this was because Hardin "immediately saw Wild Bill as an idol, and the marshal [Hickok] took a liking to the fugitive kid."³¹ Another man influenced by Hardin was William Barclay "Bat" Masterson. Hardin's impact on Masterson is something that Hardin said: some men needed killing. Masterson took this statement to heart when his brother, Marshal Ed, was shot in a gunfight. The two men, Wagner and Walker, responsible for shooting Marshal Ed, surrounded the building in which Ed was being cared for after being shot. Masterson, before he stepped out to confront the shooters, had to decide between avenging his brother or following the law. He chose the latter. Masterson remembered what Hardin asserted, and that was some men needed killing, but not all. Masterson did believe that the shooters needed to die but feared the consequences for Dodge City (where all is taken place in) if he were to kill the two men. Masterson's decision to spare the lives of the two men who killed his brother, had a lasting impact on Dodge City and possibly throughout the West.³²

Hardin, without a doubt, had a certain charm. He even claimed as he was transported to Huntsville, the crowd supposedly "turned out like a Fourth of July picnic, and I had to get out of the wagon and shake hands for an hour..."³³ and that one lady had come up to him just to see him and say "I can tell everybody I have seen the notorious John Wesley Hardin, and he is so handsome!"³⁴ Hardin viewed himself as a, in modern terms, freedom fighter. However, since Hardin's is the only account, the crowd could have been rioting to get a piece of Hardin. Whichever the case may be, Hardin became famous one way or another. Maybe Hardin's actions made people think of

his as some legend.

Hardin had his share of cowboy outlaw stories. Some of these tales did seem to be embellished. Such as his visits to Abilene, Kansas, when Hardin befriended Wild Bill Hickok. Of course, their relationship did not last long, as the relationship was based solely on Hardin remaining on the right side of the law. However, no one was surprised when Hardin killed someone. Hardin claimed it was self-defense while the news said Hardin went to the victim's room and shot him in cold blood. The aspect of this story that made it attractive to newspapers was that Hardin and his partner escaped via a window and stole a wagon.³⁵ Events like this, coupled with the rumored number of men Hardin killed, built Hardin's legend. Other stories contributed to his infamous reputation such as the prison/jail breakouts and attempted escapes. This ranges from breaking out to breaking out others. One such account features Hardin, who was incarcerated with other prisoners. Hardin claimed he was locked up for a crime he did not commit. His fellow inmates sold Hardin a gun with four shots and concocted a plan. As they were being transferred, Hardin pulled out his gun and shot one of the escorts, and then Hardin escaped, notifying his father.³⁶ According to another narrative, Hardin was with a gang who freed a prisoner; Brown Bowen. Bowen killed a Governor Holderman's son and was arrested. Hardin decided to bust Bowen out, causing a larger bounty on both Hardin and Bowen, with a reward of \$600 offered.³⁷ There was also a time in which Hardin and his own gang murdered two men, Cox and Crissman. This was before Bowen was arrested as the forty-man gang was led by both Bowen and Hardin. The same gang, the "Hardin Party," surrounded a captain's home for two days.³⁸ Of course, these are just a few examples of what Hardin did in his life as an outlaw but whether true or rumor, they each build upon the Hardin legend.

Without a doubt, Hardin was a dangerous man. He managed to live a calm life in his early

years until the age of fifteen when he killed a man. After his first kill, he became an outlaw. Due to the post-Civil War Reconstruction Era's government, the perfect conditions for Hardin to become an outlaw cowboy were in place. Even in Hardin's time as a cowboy, trouble always found him. Most of the time this led to people being riddled with bullets. Throughout it all, Hardin clearly believed that he had a sense of morals. The law pursued Hardin, even in places outside of Texas, such as Kansas and Florida. Additionally, Hardin's interaction with Jack Helm's only built up Hardin's outlaw status. Sadly, Hardin's magnetism for trouble was ultimately what got him killed by Old John Selman. Hardin, however, did live a full life in his time. He got married, had kids, and became a lawyer. He also strove to spend time with family even when the risks were high and spent time with a gang. Besides the killing, Hardin did, at least according to him, influenced the hearts of the people around him. His proof being the fear of his victims (and perhaps his killer) to the crowd who formed to shake his hand during his transfer to Huntsville. In addition, he may have influenced the future of a whole city (Dodge City, Kansas). At the very least, Hardin is responsible for stories for future generations.

Hardin's life does propose a question, however. How did a killer like him, as well as others of his time, before, and after, become famous? Even in the twentieth century, killers are glorified. In reality, murderers are part of the culture. Killers such as the Zodiac, Ted Bundy, and those of Hardin's time fall victim to the same thing. Society shames killing yet make the killers famous. This can be noted when films of killers are made and attract a huge audience. Even the killer's tools would sell for thousands in auctions, such as Hardin's guns.³⁹ Hardin is a good example, among many, that show an aspect of society that it tries to hide in the open. Hardin, as cowboy outlaw, with his life story, and the body count proved societies' love and hatred for killers.

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INTEGRATION OF NORTHEAST TEXAS CHURCHES, 1950-2010

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In his renowned, “I Have a Dream” speech of 1963, Martin Luther King specified the objective of a liberal aspiration that retains much popular support in the United States. The Dream envisioned “little Black boys and Black girls,” one day being able to hold hands as “brothers and sisters” with “little White boys and White girls.” The Dream was prescient. In 2005, a White Texan, George W. Bush chose Condoleezza Rice to become the first female Black secretary of state in American history. The election of Barack Obama in 2008 seemed to signal a new era. Throughout even the former Confederate South, schools, businesses, and neighborhoods all have shown impressive degrees of integration. But one tell-tale saying about continuing segregation has survived to the twenty-first century—Sunday morning church still remains the most segregated hour in America. In the countryside of what was the Old South, the adherents of integration can point to signs of progress. But in the most vibrant voluntary associations of such rural areas—the churches—uneven and sporadic change remains the rule. King’s dream has yet to reach a definitive point of fulfillment.¹ Northeast Texas is an apt place to illustrate this phenomenon. With its rural vibe and the legacy of great plantations preceding the Civil War, Northeast Texas was, and is, representative of Southern culture. Lucy Pickens from Marshall appeared on Confederate money and became “Queen of the Confederacy” during the Civil War. The area became known as the “Devil’s Triangle” during the Reconstruction

Era due to previously unheard-of series of assassinations of Unionists, no matter their race, by former Confederates such as Cullen Baker and Ben Bickerstaff. The lynching of Henry Smith in Paris in 1893 remains as one of history’s worst lynchings of a Black man. The Dallas chapter of the Ku Klux Klan was the largest Klan chapter in the United States in the 1920s. The legacy of racial tension makes the changes in the 1970s, from the tolerated racism in the schools and neighborhoods to celebrated integration, even more astounding. But still surprising, is the tenacity of a cultural resilience.²

Segregation can be a product of racism. In an association where the bonds of affection between members is crucial, as in a Southern rural church, if even a small minority of a congregation feels tension with another race, integration may well be put off. Segregation can also be a product of inertia. Some smaller rural churches retain basically the same families, or networks within their denominations that tend not to change over time. Finally, segregation can be a product of dissimilarity. German-speaking members of the Texas Lutheran Synod formed in 1853, for example, tended to settle apart from the plantation economy, and from African Americans. Slaveholders in the Baptist and Methodist denominations separated with their northern counterparts while defending the right to own slaves. The TLS lacked such convictions, and never severed its association with the Lutheran General Synod of the North

before the Civil War. Nor were Lutheran areas in Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana hotbeds of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. As Lutherans developed liturgies and styles of worship so different from that of Southern Blacks, Lutherans today seem to have some of the most segregated congregations in America.³

Though there are many reasons to resist integration, churches of the Southern Bible Belt have always had a powerful incentive to be inclusive. The bedrock of their truth, the Bible, proclaims the need to be inclusive. Romans 10:12-13 notes: “For there is no difference between Jew and Gentile—the same Lord is Lord of all and richly blesses all who call on him.” Saints should not discriminate, for God does not discriminate, as Paul makes clear: “For God does not show favoritism.” Jesus pleads with his followers not to categorize by sight in John 7:24 when He says, “Stop judging by mere appearances and make a right judgement.” Such discrimination is even declared a sin, as in the Epistle of James: “But if you show partiality, you are committing sin and are convicted by the law as lawbreakers.” Underlying all Christian action is the Golden Rule: “So in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets.” Based upon these texts, the one place racism should not exist, and where integration should be complete is within the church.⁴

Beginning in the mid-1950s, at the same time Martin Luther King began his movement to integrate America, a White Southern evangelist was on his way to becoming one of the most famous Christian leaders of the world. This was the self-described “half-Texan,” evangelist, Billy Graham, who resided in North Carolina, but retained special ties with Texans. Graham became a long-term member of W.A. Criswell’s bellwether, First Baptist Church of Dallas in 1953. Graham also became a good friend of Criswell’s family, and through Criswell, some of the wealthiest oilmen in the world—H.L. Hunt, Clint Murchison, and

Sid Richardson. As he gained funding from rich Texas oilmen, and other rich conservative Christians, he appeared before millions of people throughout the world. Though at first, Graham thought he should respect the strong advocacy toward segregation that was still apparent in the South, he became a major advocate for the integration of churches. Graham, of course, wanted to succeed globally, and he knew that in that grand arena, even a hint of racism would destroy his appeal. By the late-1950s he began to embrace King’s dream warmly. He had a famous quote based on the book of 1 Samuel: “But when God looks at you, He does not look on the outward appearance; the Bible says He looks upon the heart.” This quote was one Graham frequently used to preach his ideas that every person is the same when you look at them from God’s perspective. Humans are the ones who see skin color and have preconceived notions due to it and judge by it—not God. Graham did not see why people were judging people when God was not judging them. That became his pedestal for preaching. As he was regarded by many as the most influential preacher of the 20th Century—a significant feat for a “Southern country boy”—his influence was important. All the Southern rural Christians who admired Graham’s unprecedented implementation of what he called Christ’s Great Commission to evangelize the world, now had to face the powerful trend this same evangelist was embracing.⁵

Graham, the most watched churchman of Northeast Texas in the 1950s and 1960s, was far more advanced on the integration issue than the ministers of this area. His pastor, W.A. Criswell, was more grudging on the issue, but he too became an important trendsetter. Criswell was raised in Texpline, in the Texas Panhandle, during a time of rampant segregation. In 1928, at the age of nineteen, he felt a calling to become a minister. He subsequently preached in many congregations, while continuing his education

at Baylor, and ultimately obtaining a Ph.D. at the Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1944, Criswell was called to replace the esteemed George Washington Truett of the First Baptist Church of Dallas. The Texline native soon became the leader among the most conservative of Southern Baptists. At first, Criswell suspected the drive toward integration as a form of liberal mind manipulation. Had not God warned his people in the Old Testament not to mix too freely with strangers? Twelve years later, on June 5, 1968, the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) met in Houston. It both elected Criswell president, and opened the door to the integration of churches. The SBC as a body encouraged every church to welcome and accept peoples of all races. Criswell was a megachurch preacher, and he believed in the literal meaning of Scripture. He was not required to focus on keeping every single member happy, he began to see integration as an Evangelical opportunity rather than a leftist plot. With his support, First Baptist also announced its support for integration in 1968, and had a small minority of Blacks in its congregation by the early 1970s. It seemed to follow that if Graham, and Criswell, the two most powerful evangelical leaders of Texas, promoted integration, the country preachers would soon follow their lead.⁶

Though both Graham and Criswell were integration trendsetters, they did not focus on integration as an ultimate concern of their ministry. For churches in Northeast Texas, two church leaders, both with the anomalous first name of “Foy,” were influential as they devoted considerably more time to questions about race, and how it should affect the rural heartland churches of the Old South.

One of these Foyes opposed integration. Foy E. Wallace, Jr. born September 30, 1896, in Montague County just north of Dallas, was a foremost writer and opinion shaper in the Church of Christ. According to Reverend Steven Curtis of the Church of

Christ in Naples, Texas, Churches of Christ tend to be more right-wing, independent-minded, and rural than Baptists, as well as related denominations that also stem from the Restorationist movement—the Disciples of Christ, and the so-called “Christian Church.” In Northeast Texas’s small cities, and large towns, Churches of Christ are all over--still having a presence in such past-their-prime towns as Talco, Blodgett, Pittsburg, Clarksville, and Omaha, and having multiple congregations in smaller cities such as Mount Pleasant, Paris, and Sulphur Springs. To such an audience, Wallace wrote that Blacks and Whites should not mingle, especially not at church. He wrote an article in 1941 entitled “Negro Meetings for White People.” Foy believed that many African-Americans were sincere Christians. But because Blacks in general still were associated with immoral behavior, mixing a White church with Blacks “lowers the church in the eyes of the world.” He further stated that for a White man to share a room with a Black man was “a violation of Christianity itself, and of all common decency.”⁷ He so opposed integration that he would not allow it when he moved to Los Angeles, California, and became a minister there. Later, he became an editor in Nashville, Tennessee, for the *Gospel Advocate*.⁸ In the 1950s, he was so opposed to integration that the Board of the *Gospel Advocate* forced his resignation. But Wallace continued to be a highly prolific writer, and found another periodical to carry his views, *Firm Foundation*. Wallace believed that when a society called for integration, it was moving against the divine order of God. By integrating for the sake of integrating, churches were accustoming themselves to the lax codes of conduct known to the Israelites who had mixed wantonly with their Canaanite neighbors to their own detriment in the Old Testament. His following, believed that to “be of one mind” (1 Corinthians 1:10), they had to be very careful to preserve the pristine cultural purity of their congregations.⁹

Another major Northeast-Texas-born writer, also named Foy, took a diametrically opposite view. Foy Valentine, who was born on July 3, 1923, in Van Zandt County, sixty miles east of Dallas. He was a former executive director of the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, now known as the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission. It has been said that Valentine was on the right side of the race issue, when too many institutions and individuals in American life and Southern Baptist life were on the wrong side. Valentine taught love and respect for other races and explained how it could better the world for them to work together. In his dissertation, “A Historical Study of Southern Baptists and Race Relations, 1917-1947,” Valentine wrote that he held out hope that “Southern Baptists will help to bring about the Christian way in race relations not by sponsoring legislative action or by fostering ecclesiastical fiat but by adopting, as individuals and as churches, the spirit and the mind of Christ in every phase of race relations.” Valentine was in *Who’s Who in America* and was recognized by *Christian Century* magazine in 1975 as one of twenty innovative leaders in the religious world. In 1949 and 1950 he served as a special representative in race relations for the Baptist General Convention of Texas. He was a member of Texas Baptist Christian Life Commission and became the Commission’s director in 1953. Valentine was the executive editor of *Christian Ethics Today* and used that platform to talk about how different interactions between church and social issues were related to the Word of God. He spoke in those entries about how racial segregation violated ecclesiastical norms of the New Testament and that it was not right either by legal standards. His final wish was that Southern churches would never let the race-relation issue affect how they worship God again. He was steadfast in his beliefs that church was better when mixed together with people from different walks of life and with

people who have different perspectives.¹⁰

The two Foys frame a context for the social challenges awaiting the actual churches of Northeast Texas as they related to integration during the latter half of the twentieth century. Of key significance in this struggle were the large “fortress” churches of the Southern Baptist Convention. These were the central urban parishes of Northeast Texas that had the largest choirs, and the most money—the local parallels to Criswell’s First Baptist. One such representative church, First Baptist Church of Mount Pleasant, also has had a long-term pastor, like its counterpart in Dallas, and one that admired W. A. Criswell, Pastor Clint Davis. Reverend Davis was born in 1959 in North Louisiana as one of four children. His father worked as a schoolteacher, but Davis felt he was being called to the ministry when he was around ten years old. In his own family, derogatory racial comments were not tolerated. But there were many in his community who rather lightly threw out the “N-word.” The family moved in 1979 to West Monroe, Louisiana. With the aid of a driver’s license, Davis began to preach for pastors who were sick or on vacation when he was just fifteen years old. He enjoyed filling in whenever the opportunity to do so presented itself. After high school, he chose to attend the only Baptist college in Louisiana—the New Orleans Theological Baptist Seminary. He earned a doctorate, married, and continued to preach while attending college.

In 1992, Reverend Davis and his wife moved to Mount Pleasant, Texas, with their three children. Pastor Davis described the move as a culture shock—moving from a place of relative anonymity to a place where everything the local preacher does is seen. His wife’s position as principal of a local elementary school also contributed to their being in the public eye. As to his own position on integration, Reverend Davis noted he encouraged it from “day one,” and in any case, by that date there were already a few people

of color in the large Baptist congregations of Mount Pleasant. Though Davis did not know the actual history of what happened at First Baptist, Mount Pleasant, he knew a number of stories from local ministers, and local lore, and offered a perspective. Davis noted that the entry of a Black family, or husband into all-White church was inevitably noticed. He recalled one occasion when a White deacon expressed his shock and confusion: “There’s a Black family here and they want to come to church. What do we do?” Davis noted, however, that he knew of no recent story, where an African-American family or spouse was asked to leave. On the other hand, many Baptist churches in the 1970s and the 1980s, had at least a few White members who did object to having Blacks in the congregation. This was a difficult issue for pastors to finesse. But Davis affirmed that in the larger Baptist churches, integration moved forward, and in time the opposing White families either learned to deal with the situation or departed to other churches.¹¹

Stephen Barker, a former Mount Pleasant Baptist who was around in the 1970s, attests that integration sometimes occurred through intermarriage. In a large Baptist church, the chance that someone would intermarry, was fairly good. He recalled integration first occurring in his congregation of Trinity Baptist in this way. Opposing a young woman of the congregation who had married a Black man—especially one who had served in the military and appeared steadfast in his faith—would have been foolhardy, even in the 1970s, he noted. At Trinity, this introduction of a biracial couple occurred about five years after the U. S. Supreme Court Case *Loving vs. Virginia* in June 1967 ruled that anti-miscegenation laws were unconstitutional. Texas was one of the last sixteen states to overturn miscegenation laws based on this landmark case. Fifty years after the court case was decided, a rise in interracial marriages and their acceptance in today’s society is apparent. The latest

research demonstrates an increase in interracial marriage. Interracial marriages by 2015 constituted about 15 percent of all marriages in the United States; however, this increase has not been uniform. In rural areas of the South, such rates can be as small as 4-5 percent. Generally speaking, cities like Honolulu and Las Vegas are trending toward King’s dream with rates of 40 and 30 percent. But a rate of 5 percent in an area with hundreds of very small churches, scattered over the countryside, is probably not going to insure integration. A current Google search, for example, indicates that there are twenty Baptist churches in or near Mount Pleasant, and hundreds more scattered around the nearby countryside extending out to other small cities such as Daingerfield and Pittsburg.¹²

Reverend Davis noted that it was during his pastorate, during the 1990s, when First Baptist of Mount Pleasant first actively pursued integration as a funded church goal. Prominent White business owners Harley and Patty Lamb were members of his church. They began a ministry in the late 1990s to bring low-income children into the programs of the church. Most of these kids were Black or Hispanic. Because the Lambs were so respected, church members accepted that these children were members of the church and would work to support them in any way necessary. Davis said, “It took them [the church members] a little while to grasp the fact that God put these kids in our lap for a reason.”¹³

Davis came to believe over time in Mount Pleasant that the racial tension in church was more pronounced between White and new Hispanic immigrants to Mount Pleasant after 1988 than between African American and White. This led him to remark that “. . . the barrier we face in racially integrating our church is not race—it’s culture.” This viewpoint most likely came from the increase in Mexican immigrants who flocked to Mt. Pleasant to work in Pilgrim’s Pride, a chicken company. Davis knew that the time was right

by the 1990s to welcome all people into his church. He claimed he never preached about the problem of conflict, but always about the promise of love and Christian fellowship. “To me,” he said, “the term ‘racist Christian’ is an oxymoron. A racist Christian is either not a Christian or they’re very immature in their faith. Either your racial prejudices are going to get in the way of your relationship with the Lord, or your relationship with the Lord is going to destroy your racial prejudices.”¹⁴

The other big Baptist Church in Mount Pleasant during the last half of the Twentieth century, one that skyrocketed into prominence, was Trinity Baptist. It was closer than First Baptist to the newly-developed country club area of Mount Pleasant’s north side.

Reverend Chris Wigley, who recently accepted the Pastorate there, stated that he is a “possibilist.”¹⁵ By that he means that he is optimistic that churches will be as integrated as the world around us; we are just not there yet. Wigley believes that with the influence of social media, television, and technology that it is only a matter of time until churches begin to reflect the surrounding world. Technology does and will improve the ability and likelihood to integrate as it will make communication, the ability to interact, and understand one another, easier. One of Wigley’s quotes that illustrates this was “God is colorblind, I’m sure.”¹⁶

Trinity, led consistently during the last quarter of the twentieth century by elders like Joel Chapman, seems even more sincere in its openness than First Baptist.¹⁷ Chapman like Davis, was also from Louisiana. He also remembered many Whites using racial slurs in the 1960s, though again, Chapman claims that his own Baptist family opposed such bigotry. Chapman’s anti-racist, warm personality has been a driving force at Trinity for a generation. A popular pediatrician in Mount Pleasant, Chapman has taught many classes and couple-encounter groups at Trinity over a long period, longer than any pastor. Trinity hosted civic fireworks celebrations and held

special Vacation Bible School observances in Dellwood Park, a popular Mount Pleasant community spot. His church is very outgoing, and Chapman is very personable.¹⁸ He spoke about how the world has drastically changed since his childhood in Farmerville, Louisiana. He said he was very “racially naïve” because he had never been around Blacks when growing up and knew very little about them or their struggles. His school did not integrate until he was a senior in high school. The racial tension it caused prevented many senior activities, including a prom. Dr. Chapman’s viewpoints of the integration of different races changed in the late 1970s when he went to universities and to medical school. He was surrounded by an integrated society and realized that there is not much difference between all the races. Basic human desires are felt by everyone—the need for love, acceptance, respect, and a way to participate meaningfully in society. As a university student, he changed from indifference to an avid supporter of the Civil Rights movement. Later, he said that his son, Jared, who has become a successful artist, taught him to be sensitive to the subtle ways in which racism continues. His son always stood up for the “underdog” and always made sure that the people who felt out of place or alone had a friend.

Reverend Davis seemed very sincere, but remains very traditional. He would welcome a Black family warmly, but one surmises that he would be less spontaneous if a gay couple sauntered into his church. One could imagine in his eyes some concern that his church might falter, becoming lukewarm, and tolerating heretics like the fallen churches in Revelation 2-3. Chapman and Wigley by contrast seemed by nature warm, and very affirming people. Trinity has attracted new members through civic events, First Baptist by special missions. Trinity features upbeat youth music, and sermons of love, while First Baptist preaching includes occasional jeremiads, and consternation about a possible decline of the Church in modern times. When Sunday mornings roll

around, both churches are proud to host gatherings that include Whites, Hispanics, and African Americans. But Whites are by far the largest majorities in these churches and all the leaders are still White. Unlike Davis, Wigley and Chapman both expressed an active desire to bring in Hispanic and Black leaders into their churches. Wigley was sure this could be done. Chapman, however, acknowledged the presence of a “monster.” The “monster” is that there are a lot of old people who simply oppose change of any kind. Chapman said he loved these people, and tried to look out for them, but that he has felt their presence for the entire time he has been a leader of Trinity church, since the 1980s. This one discordant note in what appears to be the area’s most progressive White church causes one to wonder what has happened elsewhere.¹⁹

Reverend Kirthell Roberts is a highly regarded Black preacher of Mount Pleasant who is often called upon by integrated civic groups to give prayer breakfasts, and other devotionals. He preaches at Mount Olive Baptist church.²⁰ He often talked about how much he supported integration and how happy it makes him to see the younger generation pushing for it. He has been around the local scene as a leading African-American preacher now for a quarter of a century. He believes that people in the age range of forty and below have been the biggest influencers of integration as they see that everyone is equal. Integration was already a fact by the time they were children. He said the generation below the age of twenty are actively fighting to insure integration, and are even more progressive on the issue than their parents. God’s salvation is for everyone; it is not based upon race but upon living and believing in Christ. Reverend Roberts talked of the increase in his congregation, mentioning that a few White and Hispanic families have joined his church since 2000. He also noted that “when Whites come to a Black church it is seen as acceptance, but when Blacks go to a White church it is sometimes seen as a threat. It is like

they are forcing themselves on the church.” Different races see integration differently.

Roberts, Wigley, Chapman, and Davis all favor and encourage integration. But Roberts still heads what is known as a “Black church” whereas Trinity and First Baptist remain predominantly White. To be sure, Wigley and Roberts are even optimistic about the final triumph of integration. But John Borum, a former youth minister of First Baptist Church of Pittsburg, has a slightly different perspective. Now Pittsburg, Texas, has a population of 5,000 compared with Davis’s Mount Pleasant which has 15,000. Pittsburg is known as a more old-fashioned town, but its old homes, unlike that of nearby Jefferson do not help to draw upscale residents. Borum spoke with Ashley Perzel, a former student president of Northeast Texas community College, and reflected on cultural comfort. His view was that there is nothing wrong with settling into one’s own group culture; it does not inherently make someone racially biased. An example is the Cowboy Church. A “Cowboy Church,” he noted, would typically be filled with people who ride horses—it doesn’t mean that they dislike people who do not ride horses. Borum did not, like Wallace, advocate exclusion as a matter of church policy. But he did indicate that a kind of cultural momentum, of people worshipping where they felt most comfortable, could give segregation a long lease of life. Thus, the large Baptist church of a smaller, nearby town, has very few people of color.²¹

More research shows that pockets of resistance remain. While the trend toward integration in churches was powerful even in Northeast Texas, it has not been in general pervasive enough after 1970 to guarantee a final victory. Churches of Christ, with old-timers attuned to the views of Foy Wallace, for example, have been more anti-integration than any other denomination. These churches are also the most old-fashioned. What do we mean by “old-fashioned?” They even have a few people who could be considered racist. For some old

people, the only thing *Brown vs. Board of Education* and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 concerned were civic institutions. Government had no right to trespass beyond the public sphere and transform a whole generation into “crash test dummies” for integration. Some still have resentment because they felt manipulated. As one Church of Christ member, Dr. David Howton, stated, “We were scared that we would lose control of everything that we could control.” They felt threatened and were afraid that if the government could force integration, what else could they do? Males were more opposed to the change because they thought as the head of the household, they should protect their families from the changing world and yet they were unable to prevent the changes and therefore their ability to protect their families was being threatened.²²

To be sure, Churches of Christ even in Northeast Texas are officially no longer as a group opposed to integration. As early as a convention in June 1968, the group decided that they should change, and not resist integration. As soon as Churches of Christ began integrating, some became markedly pro-integration and would not turn anyone away for any reason. Those churches which were described as having the most hateful and un-accepting people were sometimes even shunned by these new-school members of the denomination. The minister of Winnsboro Church of Christ spoke on this theme in a recent lesson. Winnsboro is a town of only 3,500, however, it is near newly created lakes in Northeast Texas that draw rich Dallas-ites out for the weekend. The minister said that segregation was accepted 50 years ago, but it was wrong then and is still wrong. John 3:16 says that “For God so loved the world that he sent his only begotten son so that whosoever believeth in Him shall have everlasting life.” “Whosoever” encompasses everyone.

Malvern Elmore, a new-school member of the Winnsboro church agreed with his pastor.²³ His name may not be familiar, but he was one

of the guards of the Little Rock Nine. During an interview with him, he told stories about what that period in history was like and how the world has changed since then. He supported integration—partly because guarding those students was his job and partly because he believed it was the right thing to do. He didn’t believe people should be judged based on their skin color. He was impressed with the courage and conviction the “Nine” demonstrated, even when surrounded by open hostility and hatred. Mr. Elmore later moved to East Texas and began to raise his children there. He became a deacon in the Winnsboro Church of Christ and was exultant when the first Black family integrated into his church. He enjoyed listening to them sing and really enjoyed the way that they brought new life into worshiping God. As he grew in Christ, he became more outgoing. Mr. Elmore said he loved seeing how far the world has come since he was in the service and he is curious to see what will happen in the future.

However, not every Church of Christ member is on the same page as their Winnsboro pastor. According to one parishioner, people were hostile when it came to integration because parents were concerned that their children would be influenced into relationships and practices that were “not of the norm.” Parents were unwilling to think that someone of a different culture could be completely harmless and pose no threat to their children. African-American worship practices were seen as very different than that of the Caucasians and some Caucasians worried that African Americans were practicing black magic. They believed the integration of the churches would corrupt the message and their ways of believing. Furthermore, African-Americans should not, according to this view, be allowed to hold authority in the “integrated” churches. Their authority could influence children to follow errant beliefs.

The situation in Northeast Texas has been further complicated by the immigration of Hispanics since the 1980s. Hispanics form a

major sector now of all Northeast Texas cities, from over 50 percent in Mount Pleasant to lesser figures elsewhere. A high school Spanish teacher, Maryna Otero relayed how difficult actually integrating a church is. Her congregation began the process in 2008 and attempted to merge with the largest congregation of the Church of Christ in Mount Pleasant. At first, all had planned for the merger to succeed. The children were naturals at integration and mixed very well—as did the young people. But the adults did not mix. After a few years of trying, the two congregations derailed the process. They are now totally separate.²⁴

There are other churches, and situations in Northeast Texas where integration likewise is either not occurring or is altogether unimpressive. The largest church between the Red and Sabine rivers west of Texarkana now is St. Michael's Church in Mount Pleasant, with 5,000 families. Though some services draw Whites and Hispanics, the services in Spanish, the quinceañeras, and special festivals for the Virgin of Guadalupe are almost exclusively Hispanic.²⁵ There are other smaller churches that remain completely White or completely Hispanic in the area. There are some White churches that would love to have minorities attend, but they can neither attract them nor expect them since there are few Blacks or Hispanics with experience in their denominations. This is reminiscent of Borum's view. Even when integration is welcomed, it is not occurring. In other situations, Whites want minorities, but do not want the two-hour church services they associate with Black religiosity or Spanish hymns. In still other cases, churches have implemented multiple services which speak to the various cultures of members. This may include an "old-fashioned fire and brimstone" service and a service using more contemporary Christian music or one which includes a "children's church."²⁶

Thus, the smallness of much of Northeast Texas, peculiar histories, and its ties with the past in a more rural setting is exhibiting signs

of resistance. To be sure, Graham changed, Criswell changed. People like Valentine, Roberts, Davis, Chapman, and Wigley show that Northeast Texas could change. Martin Luther King's dream does appear to be occurring in the cities. Reverend Roberts indicated that his son, Daron, married a White woman and that they attend a totally integrated church in Austin. But in Northeast Texas the trend of integration is not relentless or pervasive enough to declare it inevitable. One thinks, for example of C. Vann Woodward's study of the South which shows a tendency toward integration after the Civil War that was arrested, and even reversed. One thinks of the "monster" described by Dr. Chapman, the split between Whites and Hispanics that occurred in Otero's congregation, and the absence of African-Americans coming into a church like St. Michaels. If history could play a trick like C. Vann Woodward described again, Northeast Texas would be one place where a reverse trend would have some leverage to begin anew.²⁷

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IN TOUCH
WITH THE PAST

HONORARY TEXANS: JAPANESE AMERICANS IN THE LONE STAR STATE DURING WORLD WAR II

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When most Americans think of Japanese American history, Texas is not likely the first region of the country to come to mind. Immigration, forced relocation, and detention centers tend to convey images of the West Coast and bring to mind names like Tanforan, Manzanar, or Bainbridge Island. While there is certainly good reason for the emphasis on the West, there is a great deal to be learned about the experiences of Japanese Americans in other parts of the nation as well. Seabrook Farm in New Jersey offered jobs to hundreds of displaced Japanese Americans and the University of Nebraska at Lincoln welcomed many Japanese American college students who had lost their original acceptance due to relocation. Arkansas was home to two detention centers and the governor of Colorado, Ralph Carr lost political ground for his welcoming stance towards Japanese Americans in his home state. The Lone Star State has also had its share of interesting history related to the Japanese American experience, particularly during World War II. An examination of the Texas case, within the context of the larger ethnic experience reveals a great deal of the discrimination and racism as well as community and rebuilding that is reflective of the overall experience for many Japanese Americans.

Many of the Japanese immigrants that arrived in the earliest years of the late 1800s

were “sojourners,” or immigrants who intended to stay only long enough to make money before returning to their homeland, although many stayed in the end.¹ Japan practiced impartible inheritance and primogeniture, meaning a family’s inheritance stayed in one piece and passed to the eldest son, which left many younger sons looking for a new way to make a living. Many of these young men were well educated and reasonably wealthy compared to their Chinese and European immigrant counterparts, and they were often more likely to assimilate to Western styles of dress as well. Since most of the immigrants were single men, “picture brides” were sent from Japan to marry the immigrants and prevent the creation of immoral “bachelor” societies. Despite efforts to increase the numbers of women, by 1905 women still only accounted for one quarter of the Japanese population in Hawaii and less than one tenth of that on the mainland.²

Between 1885 and 1924 approximately 200,000 Japanese came to Hawaii and 180,000 arrived on the mainland and worked in farming, fisheries, logging, and agriculture and also worked on the railroads, owned businesses, and held professional positions.³ They established “Japantowns” in cities along the West Coast and created neighborhoods with newspapers and schools to educate their children about both academics and their Japanese heritage. As their

numbers increased through the creation of communities and stable families, Japanese Americans became viewed as increasingly successful economic competition. By 1919, Japanese farmers in California farmed only 1% of the state's farmland yet earned 10% of the state's total agricultural revenue. In an effort to slow their advancement, land ownership laws were increased and more strictly enforced and efforts to become naturalized citizens were forbidden based on preexisting laws. Tensions between Caucasians and the Japanese American community eventually resulted in two significant laws, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 that prevented the immigration of additional laborers but allowed wives, children, and parents to join their families, and the Immigration Act of 1924, which established quotas on the number of immigrants allowed to enter from European nations and forbade immigration entirely to "aliens ineligible to citizenship" – the Japanese among others.⁴

Despite the discriminatory laws and tensions, Japanese American communities continued to grow and spread throughout the country. Japanese immigration had reached the state of Texas as early as the 1880s. Many Japanese immigrants entered Texas from the South where they had worked in the mines of Mexico or on the railroads there, and while many of these early arrivals were laborers, some established themselves as businessmen or entrepreneurs. In the 1890s, Tsunekichi Okasaki, known locally as Tom Brown, opened the "Japanese Restaurant" in downtown Houston catering to the growing local Japanese community. He later expanded into two more restaurants, founded the Japan Art and Tea Company, and experimented in rice farming.⁵

Rice farming was one of the many ways in which Japanese immigrants to Texas attempted to establish themselves and their families. In 1902, Japanese Consul General Sadatsuchi Uchida visited Houston and learned that local city officials were interested in recruiting

Japanese immigrants to grow rice in the surrounding area. Uchida convinced Seito Saibara, who had previously worked in the Japanese government, to lead the colonization of a rice farm around the town of Webster located on the rail line halfway between Galveston and Houston. His rice plantation attracted many laborers and families from his home prefecture in Japan and others soon followed his example and established rice farms across the region. By 1908, Kichimatsu Kishi had founded the Kishi colony in Terry, Texas between Beaumont and Orange, and his colony boasted large prosperous families, well-educated children, and the latest in agricultural business techniques and farming technology.⁶ Unfortunately for many of the earliest immigrants, rice farming did not prove to be a lasting source of economic success. Drought, hurricanes, and falling rice prices affected the farmers and eventually encouraged them to branch out and diversify their efforts to include vegetables, cotton, cabbage, sugarcane, and other crops. The expansion of ports and ship channels along the coast of Texas also affected the extensive irrigation systems that were necessary to rice farming resulting in increased numbers of diversified Japanese vegetable farmers and nursery owners.

In addition to the Gulf Coast region rice farmers, Japanese immigrants also settled in the Rio Grande Valley. By 1920, records show twelve Japanese families farmed land near the cities of Mission and San Benito where they grew cotton, sugarcane, and vegetables. The city of El Paso hoped to use their Japanese population to create the only silk-producing center in the United States. With assistance from the El Paso Chamber of Commerce and the US Department of Agriculture, silkworm eggs and mulberry trees were brought to the region in 1903. Though the silkworm project ultimately failed, the farmers involved became an established part of the community and eventually raised poultry and grew vegetables that were trucked throughout the Rio Grande Valley region.⁷

The relationships of many of the Japanese

immigrants with their neighbors and business partners were often good on an individual level, but the general feeling of distrust towards the Japanese as a group began to increase as their numbers grew. As discrimination on the West Coast increased and larger numbers of Japanese settlers moved to Texas, discrimination seemed to follow them and negatively affect conditions across the state. Some families were refused land by local committees, and the Texas Legislature passed a land law in 1921 forbidding new arrivals from purchasing land. Saburo Arai, who owned a prosperous nursery in Alvin, south of Houston, led the fight against land laws, but he was up against a movement that was spreading with increasing strength across the nation.⁸ In 1924, Congress passed an anti-immigration bill that effectively halted all Asian immigration and significantly limited entrance by Europeans as well.

For the Japanese that were already settled in Texas, the new laws did not affect them and the existing Japanese communities of the Houston area, Rio Grande Valley, and El Paso continued to thrive. Second-generation Japanese Americans, or *Nisei*, grew up as Americans and established community organizations and participated in social events as did most teenagers. Japanese language schools were established to teach the language and customs of their relatives. Japanese foods, traditions, and celebrations were continued on American soil and many Japanese homes featured Buddhist shrines and tributes to their ancestors. In August of each year, the Japanese celebrated *O-Bon*, the return of the spirits of the dead, and on the Asian New Year families prepared *mochi*, symbolizing a long life. *Bonsai* trees were grown in their homes and the women practiced *ikebana*, the simplistic style of Japanese flower arranging, while the men mastered traditional martial arts. Both men and women relaxed, bathed, and socialized in communal baths, or *sentos*. Yet many Japanese immigrants also attended Protestant and Catholic churches and adopted the

contemporary American styles of hair and dress as individuals and families negotiated between their Japanese heritage and their new American home.

One symbol of cooperation and acceptance between Japanese immigrants and their surrounding communities, exists to this day in the form of Mykawa Road, located in southeast Houston. In 1904, Shinpei Mykawa arrived in the United States to participate in the Japanese-led rice-growing efforts. He later settled south of Houston and hired four young workers and began attempting to cultivate rice. After only four months, Mykawa was killed in a tragic accident involving a mule-driven seed roller. His investment ultimately failed and two of his four workers eventually returned to Japan, but he had made such an impact on the area in his short time in the region that the people of Santa Fe renamed the local train station and the subsequent connecting road Mykawa in his honor. According to one of his employees, Kasoku Sawada, the treatment and honor given to Mykawa in life and death earned Texas a positive reputation for many considering immigration to the states.⁹

With the outbreak of war between the United States and Japan sparked by the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the cultural symbols of the immigrant's Japanese heritage raised suspicions in local authorities. Japanese Americans in Texas and throughout the United States were subject to FBI raids to interrogate and confiscate contraband items like radios, maps, weapons, and cameras. Mykawa's large granite marker in Hollywood Cemetery was temporarily removed during WWII as reflection of anti-Japanese sentiment. Many Japanese Americans destroyed or hid any items that may imply they had loyalties to Japan including letters written in Japanese, family china and heirlooms, and samurai swords. Based on lists compiled before the war, thousands of Japanese *Issei*, or first-generation immigrants, were arrested as "enemy aliens"

by the FBI and confined to internment camps run by the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Fear and wartime panic fueled rumors that the remaining Japanese Americans on the West Coast were aiding the Japanese and would join forces with them if they were to cross the Pacific and assault the shores of the US. Anti-Japanese sentiment reached such a fevered pitch that military and political leaders eventually called for the forced relocation and confinement of all Japanese Americans living along the West Coast.¹⁰

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 allowing for the creation of "Exclusion Zones" near strategic locations from which any or all civilians could be removed as long as their needs were provided for. The order never used the word "Japanese," yet those of Japanese descent were the only ones to be affected by the new law.¹¹ In addition to the curfew and contraband laws already in effect, new directions and "Exclusion Orders" were posted in Japanese American communities instructing residents when and where to register and report for removal. The earliest forced removal occurred on March 31, 1942, when 227 Japanese Americans were escorted from Bainbridge Island, Washington, having had only six days to prepare for their departure. The Japanese Americans left behind homes, businesses, pets, and countless personal items as they were only allowed to bring what they could carry. These men, women, and children were housed in temporary Assembly Centers hastily constructed at fairgrounds and racetracks where the inhabitants were forced to live in horse stalls that still bore the odor of their previous residents.¹² By late summer the newly-created War Relocation Authority completed construction of ten relocation camps which would accommodate the approximately 110,000 Japanese Americans that had been removed from their homes. These relocated families were held unconstitutionally with no

criminal charges and no opportunity for a trial despite the fact that over two-thirds of them were American citizens and that no Japanese Americans were ever found guilty of espionage or treason.¹³

The Japanese Texans were not subject to EO 9066 as they were not living within the Exclusion Zone created along the West Coast and stretching inland hundreds of miles. Those who were arrested by the FBI in Texas were legal prisoners of the U.S. Government based on the Alien Enemies Act of July 6, 1798, which is still in effect today. According to this law, the President can force resident aliens of an enemy nation to be "apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies." These prisoners did have a right to a hearing and by World War II they were also protected by the limitations of the Geneva Convention. By the end of the war, as many as 11,000 Japanese, German, and Italian "enemy aliens" from the United States and Latin America had been arrested and imprisoned in camps and prisons across the country ranging from Fort Missoula, Montana, to Ellis Island, New York.¹⁴ Texas became home to three of these prisons in Kenedy, Seagoville, and Crystal City.

The Kenedy Alien Detention Station was located in Kenedy, Texas, southeast of San Antonio in what had previously been a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) site. This camp was used to house primarily single men and averaged between 500 and 800 at any one time with a total population of 3,500 throughout the course of the war. The high turnover rate at Kenedy was due to the repatriation of German and Japanese Latin American immigrants who were sent back to their ancestral home as a diplomatic tool to gain the return of wounded American soldiers and American and Latin American civilians. Using Lisbon, Portugal, as the neutral port, Swedish and Swiss ships carried German and Japanese immigrants across the ocean to return them to a homeland that they may not remember or, in some cases,

have ever seen. By the end of the war, those who were not repatriated were transferred, paroled, or released to be reunited with their families and the camp was converted to a POW camp for German and later, Japanese prisoners.¹⁵

Camp Seagoville, or the Seagoville Alien Detention Station, was southeast of Dallas and housed single women and their children. Considered by one historian to be “the most comfortable internment camp in the United States,” Seagoville was built in 1940 as a minimum-security women’s reformatory with dorm style rooms boasting carpets, beds, desks, bathrooms, and kitchen facilities. Initially this site was home to fifty female Japanese Americans who were arrested because they taught Japanese language and culture to Japanese American children in California, but they were soon joined by Latin American Japanese and Japanese couples with no children. At its peak, Seagoville housed 647 people in the original dorm buildings as well as fifty additional small huts built to accommodate the prisoners. The camp closed in June 1945 though the facility is still used as a small low-security prison for men.¹⁶

As the numbers of Latin American Japanese and Germans brought to the US increased, the Department of Justice opened a third Texas camp at Crystal City, southwest of San Antonio in what was then a migrant farm worker camp of the Farm Security Administration. Crystal City housed families from both the US and Latin America allowing many interned men who had been separated from their wives and children to be reunited upon completion of the new camp. With a peak population of 4,000, two-thirds of whom were Japanese, Crystal City was one of the larger Department of Justice camps and was one of the last to close in late 1947 due to the presence of Peruvian Japanese who did not want to repatriate to Japan but were not welcomed in either Peru or the United States. These Peruvians were eventually settled on

Seabrook Farms in New Jersey, which welcomed hundreds of Japanese Americans as laborers after the war.¹⁷

Camp life varied depending on where one was housed, but many aspects were similar regardless of location. All prisoners were required to report for roll call twice a day and were subject to bed checks throughout the course of the evening. Living quarters varied from the dormitory of Seagoville to small three-room apartments at Crystal City or the hastily constructed barrack style homes found at almost all War Relocation Authority and Department of Justice Camps. Each site provided education, recreation, and hospital facilities for the inmates and residents had some amount of time to themselves, yet all were also surrounded by barbed wire fences, guard towers, and search lights. Every internment camp was also subject to visits from organizations such as the Red Cross and the U.S. State Department as well as diplomatic representatives of the confined, meaning the Swiss for the German and Italian prisoners and the Spanish for the Japanese. These visits were to ensure the conditions met the standards of the Geneva Convention, which was strongly enforced by the US Government in the hopes that the Axis powers would provide the same compassion towards American POWs.

Though not explicitly affected by EO 9066, the discrimination and suspicion brought about by the war with Japan and the confinement order was felt by Japanese Texans as well. In downtown Houston, restaurateur “Tom Brown” changed his business’s name from “Japanese Restaurant” to “US Café” and a similar establishment shifted from “Japan Café” to “Kay’s Café” to avoid any discrimination towards the restaurants, owners, and customers. Ironically, these businesses had always served primarily traditional American foods not Japanese so the menu did not dramatically change!¹⁸

In Sheldon, Texas, Torata Akagi and his

family had their home raided by the FBI, as did thousands of other Japanese Americans across the country. Agents destroyed their traditional family altar, confiscated a camera, and toy radio receiver, and berated Akagi's Caucasian wife Beatrice for marrying a "Jap." Akagi and his uncle were arrested and briefly jailed before their release, but his father Fukutaro Akagi was held for three months. In a unique display of community support, local friends gathered signed statements from ten different Sheldon neighbors attesting to his loyalty and integrity, which were presented as affidavits in his hearing and helped bring about his release.¹⁹

While Japanese *Issei* and *Nisei* were confined behind fences, the war continued around the world. Americans enlisted in huge numbers and the draft was instituted to fill the ranks needed from Europe to the China-Burma-India Theater and beyond to the Pacific War. The government urged sacrifice and patriotism in light of the shortages and rationing necessary to support the material war effort, and Americans responded with victory gardens, war bonds, and patriotic fervor. Despite their mistreatment by the US government, Japanese Americans confined to the WRA and DOJ camps responded patriotically as well by raising money for the Red Cross, purchasing war bonds, growing their own gardens within the desolate camps, and even enlisting in the Army in large numbers.

Within the first days following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans serving in the Army were discharged and labeled "4-C" or "enemy aliens" and ineligible for service. The 298th and 299th Territorial Guard of Hawaii, which were largely Japanese American, were disbanded causing so much dissatisfaction that many of the members formed the civilian Varsity Victory Volunteers to continue to support the war effort. There was less discrimination towards Japanese Americans in Hawaii due in part to the historically diverse population that included

37% of Japanese descent in 1940. This more tolerant atmosphere allowed the Commander of the Army in Hawaii Lieutenant General Delos Emmons to successfully recommend to the War Department that they form a unit from the discharged Guard members. On May 28, 1942, Chief of Staff of the Army General George C. Marshall ordered the formation of a special infantry combat unit and the 100th Infantry Battalion (Separate) was created.²⁰

The 100th Infantry was comprised of 1,300 enlisted men and 29 Caucasian officers who left Hawaii in June 1942 to train on the mainland at Camp McCoy, Wisconsin.²¹ Their future was initially uncertain, but their dedication and determination to prove their loyalty eventually earned them the attention of military officials and resulted in their deployment to North Africa as part of the 34th Division of General Mark Clark's 5th Army. From the summer of 1943 to June 1944, the 100th Infantry fought their way from Oran, North Africa to Salerno and Benevento, Italy. The Nisei troops moved north along the Volturno River Valley and assisted in the capture of San Angelo d'Alife and other significant towns before reaching the Gustav Line centered on the fortification of Monte Cassino, a sixth century Benedictine Monastery. The fight to take Monte Cassino was a long and tragic engagement that earned the 100th Infantry the nickname of the "Purple Heart Battalion" for the number of casualties that they suffered before Polish troops finally took the hill. The 100th then assisted in the breakout from the Anzio Beachhead, before marching into Rome with the triumphant Allied troops on June 4, 1944.²²

Just weeks later, the 100th Infantry was removed from the 133rd Regiment, to which they were originally attached, and were combined with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT), which had just arrived from the United States. In the early months of 1943 as the 100th Infantry made a proud name for themselves in Europe, General Marshall

allowed for the creation of a second all-Japanese American unit comprised of men from both Hawaii and the mainland camps.²³ Despite their confinement in internment and relocation camps across the country, over 1,000 Japanese Americans volunteered from the mainland and joined 2,500 from Hawaii to create the 442nd RCT. Within days of the union of these two units, the 100th Infantry/442nd RCT fought so successfully at Belvedere, Italy that they earned three Presidential Unit Citations. The unit moved up the coast of Italy to occupy the strategically important cities of Livorno, Castellina Marittima, and Pisa before being transferred to Major General John Dahlquist's 36th "Lonestar" Division to participate in the invasion of Southern France. It was during the move north through France to reach the border of Germany that the 100th/442nd participated in what would become one of their most famous battles that would create a lasting relationship between two unique units.

The 36th Infantry Division was organized in Texas on July 18, 1917. Originally comprised of both Texas and Oklahoma National Guard units, the Division adopted a patch depicting a "T" for Texas on an arrowhead representing Oklahoma's Native American heritage. After the outbreak of World War II, the 36th, which had become an all-Texan unit, became the first combat division from the US to land on the European continent when they participated in the amphibious assault at Salerno. As part of the 5th Army, the 36th participated in the harsh battle for the Rapido River Valley, during which time they lost huge numbers of men from two of their three regiments. The "T-Patchers" helped break out of the stalemate at Anzio and led the way towards Rome. They landed in Southern France in August 1944 and moved north, eventually reaching the Siegfried Line. Emerging from the war with the dubious distinction of having suffered the ninth highest casualty rate of Army divisions during the war, the 36th had witnessed the surrender of Field Marshal Hermann Goering, participated in 400

days of combat, earned seven campaign streamers, and fourteen individual Congressional Medals of Honor. The 141st Infantry Regiment of the 36th Division, part of which would become "The Lost Battalion," contributed significantly to the honorable reputation of its parent unit. Tracing their lineage back to the Texas Revolution of 1836, they retained the designation of "First Texas" even after joining the 36th Division during WWII. As a reflection of their nickname, the 141st secured several "firsts" during the war including being first to land in Europe, first to land in Southern France, and first of the 36th to enter Germany.

In October 1944, the soldiers of the 36th Infantry Division and the 100th/442nd RCT pushed toward Germany, facing some of their heaviest resistance and harshest terrain in the Vosges Forest of eastern France. It was in this dense forest and mountainous landscape that the 1st Battalion of the 141st Infantry Regiment, 36th Division became "The Lost Battalion." The Texans had moved quickly through the forest taking advantage of significant gains made by the Allies during the previous days and weeks of fighting. In their haste to recapture more territory, they became separated from their fellow soldiers and were surrounded by German units. The 1st Battalion lost contact with headquarters and the 2nd and 3rd Battalions made little headway in their attempts to reach their comrades. The soldiers managed to hold off five separate German assaults, but they had no way to evacuate their wounded, no way to replenish supplies, and no idea how long they would remain isolated. Members of the 405th Fighter Squadron of the 371st Fighter Group dropped supplies and food to the men; but as temperatures fell, rations decreased, and the wounded deteriorated the situation grew desperate for the men of the 141st. After initial rescue attempts failed, the 100th Infantry and 3rd Battalion of the 442nd RCT tried to reach the surrounded unit, slogging through rain and mud towards the Texans. At some points during the

ensuing battle the *Nisei* were outnumbered by as many as four to one. One particular hill that witnessed a fierce bayonet charge led by Private Barney Hajiro came to be known as “Suicide Hill” due to the casualty rate of the advancing troops. Finally, six days after the Texans were surrounded, the 100th and the 3rd Battalion approached the Texans from two sides, pushed back the German troops, and reached the Lost Battalion. In what has become a famous exchange, Mutt Sakamoto, the first Japanese American to reach the trapped men, offered a cigarette to the men of the 36th when he found them. Major Claude D. Roscoe of the 141st Regiment remembered the moment when they finally realized who their heroes were: “To our great pleasure it was members of the 442nd Combat Team. We were overjoyed to see these people for we knew them as the best fighting men in the ETO.”²⁴

The *Nisei* had rescued the 211 Texans who remained of the 275 that had been surrounded. The 100th/442nd suffered staggering casualty rates in the process, and those companies that participated in the final push to reach the 141st averaged less than half their normal full strength after the battle. Companies I and K of the 3rd Battalion emerged with only seventeen and eight infantrymen respectively and both were led by sergeants because all higher-ranking officers and non-commissioned officers had been killed or wounded.²⁵

The 100th/442nd received a Presidential Unit Citation for their actions during the rescue, and nearly every man involved earned a Purple Heart and Bronze Star.²⁶ While the 100th/442nd would go on to reach Germany, liberate a subcamp of Dachau, and earn a total of seven Presidential Unit Citations, their heroic and determined efforts to rescue the Lost Battalion became their most famous engagement and one that the men of Texas never forgot.²⁷ In October 1963, Texas Governor John Connolly issued a proclamation declaring all members of the 100th/442nd RCT to be Honorary Texas Citizens in appreciation for their role in

rescuing the Lost Battalion.²⁸

In addition to the infantry units of the 100th/442nd RCT, Japanese Americans also served as linguists for the U.S. Army. The Military Intelligence Service Language School (MISLS) was created even before the U.S. joined the war to train and prepare Japanese linguists, many of whom were of Japanese descent.²⁹ Ultimately, approximately 18,000 men served with the MIS and were attached to nearly every unit of the Pacific War to serve as translators, interrogators, and liaisons between Americans and the Japanese. These men assisted in the interrogation of over 14,000 prisoners, the translation of 20,598,051 pages of documents, and are credited with shortening the war and saving as many as a million lives through their intelligence work. While their efforts remained classified for decades, the *Nisei* linguists were involved in the combat of the Pacific War, the Manhattan Project, and the Japanese Occupation after the war.³⁰

Just as men and women across the nation rose to the occasion of service during the war, many of the Japanese American community in Texas answered the call as well. Herbert Nagatori of San Benito offered his services as a linguist in exchange for an agricultural deferment for his son so he could care for the family farm in his father’s absence.³¹ Benjamin Franklin “Benny” Ogata of Dallas was drafted into the 442nd RCT and died in the final charge to take Hill 140 south of Pisa, Italy.³² In an unusual circumstance, Mutsu Kawamura was able to enlist before the founding of the 100th/442nd RCT and participated in the glider assault on the Normandy beaches in June 1944.³³ Kiyooki Saibara, son of early Rice Farmer Seito Saibara used his knowledge of the Japanese language to record broadcasts for the U.S. Army to distribute among Japanese citizens. In his broadcasts, Saibara spoke fondly of Texas and the treatment he and his family had received there stating, “it is not only our duty but our pleasure to be able to serve this country...”³⁴ While the unfortunate reality is that not all Japanese Americans or Japanese Texans could or

would say the same thing as Kiyooki, it is indicative of the unique experiences that these men and women faced throughout the war.

Another Japanese Texan, Houstonian Saburo Tanamachi participated in the final moments of the Rescue of the Lost Battalion in the mountains of France. Unfortunately, it was Tanamachi's death by machine-gun fire that inspired his best friend George "Joe" Sakato to lead the bonsai charge against the Germans that finally broke the line and ultimately earned Sakato a Medal of Honor. Tanamachi became one of the first two Japanese Americans to be buried at Arlington National Cemetery.³⁵ A graduate of what would become Aldine High School, Tommie Okabayashi also enlisted and joined the 442nd RCT where he was nicknamed "Tex" as one of the few Japanese American soldiers who spoke with a Texan accent. Okabayashi was awarded the Bronze Medal and French Legion of Honor for his time with the 442nd RCT.³⁶ While this is just a small sampling of personal stories of Japanese Texan soldiers, there are numerous others who contributed to the reputation of the 100th/442nd RCT as the most highly decorated unit for its size and length of service in U.S. Army history.³⁷

After the war, life regained some sense of normalcy for most of the Japanese Americans in Texas. The relocation and internment camps were gradually closed, and families were reunited to put their lives back together and rebuild their communities. Between 1940 and 1990 the population of Japanese Americans in Texas increased from 458 to over 15,000, due in part to the number of Japanese "War Brides" that returned to the United States with servicemen between 1950 and 1960.³⁸ While early settlements had existed primarily in rural areas, many of the Japanese Americans began to migrate towards urban areas in the latter part of the 20th century, and by the end of the century, two-thirds of the 15,000 lived in the Houston, San Antonio, and Dallas-Fort Worth areas. Japanese social and cultural organizations and businesses continued to develop in these areas to

provide community opportunities to residents and to keep their Japanese heritage alive. Japanese Gardens were built in Houston, San Antonio, Fredericksburg, Austin, and Fort Worth to symbolize the growing friendship between America and Japan, and migration between the two nations continued into the 21st century. According to the 2000 census, nearly 20,000 people of Japanese heritage now reside in the state of Texas.³⁹

The experience of Japanese Americans in Texas as in the rest of the nation is complex and features both positive examples of community support and negative demonstrations of the worst sort of discrimination. In addition to the experiences of WWII, there have been recent issues that have arisen over representations of Japanese Americans as in the fight over the renaming of "Jap Road" in Orange County and the attempt to include more of Japanese American history in the state education standards. Furthermore, recent events like the attack on September 11, 2001, and the creation of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) family detention centers has raised questions of similarities and correlations to the Japanese American experience of World War II. The unfortunate reality is that many Americans are unfamiliar with the Japanese American experience of WWII, whether in Texas or the U.S. more broadly, but there is no doubt that there are many lessons still to be learned from their experience of confinement and military service

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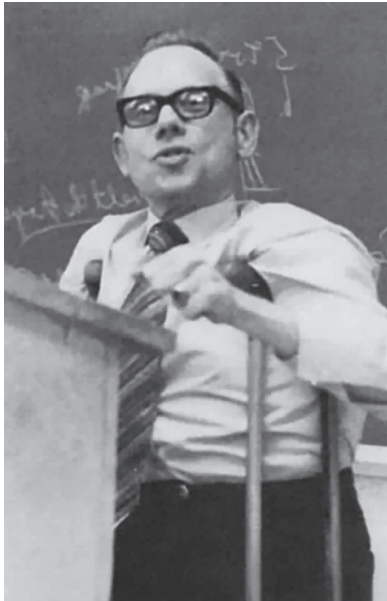
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IN TOUCH
WITH THE FUTURE

WEBB SOCIETY HAPPENINGS

LISA BERG, DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION SERVICES, TSHA



THE BARNWELL ANDERSON WEBB SOCIETY CHAPTER AT JACKSONVILLE COLLEGE, NAMED IN HONOR OF C. BARNWELL ANDERSON, REMEMBERED A BELOVED FORMER PROFESSOR WHO PASSED AWAY MAY 10, 2019. THE CHAPTER IS COMMITTED TO CONTINUE HIS LEGACY.

The 2019-2020 school year kicked off with an interesting Webb Society fall meeting starting on Friday, November 1, 2019, at San Felipe de Austin State Historic Site visit, followed by a dinner which featured chapter reports from Northeast Texas Community College, Jacksonville College, and San Jacinto College-South Campus. The next day, Saturday, November 2, 2019, Webb Society chapter members and sponsors met at Washington on the Brazos State Historic Site to learn more about “Where Texas Became Texas!”

The Texas State Historical Association’s Annual Meeting was held February 27-29, 2020, in Austin, Texas at the AT&T Center Hotel and Convention center. The Webb Society met at the same time and chapters presented reports during the business session on the afternoon of Friday, February 28. On Saturday morning, Katherine Racic from Texas A&M University-San Antonio presented her paper, *Texas Ticks*. The guest historian presenter was Dr. Gene Preuss from the University of Houston-Downtown. He shared his research, *Preparing for the Ever-Present Past: Toward a Better Understanding of the Confederate Monuments Issue*. The Caldwell Awards were announced immediately after the presentations. The winners were:

LOWER DIVISION—(College or University Freshmen and Sophomores)

1st Place

John Paul Stolle of San Jacinto College, paper titled: *The Musical Triumph of Van Cliburn*

2nd Place

Katelyn Cox of Northeast Texas Community College, paper titled: *Walter Prescott Webb and the Grand Arc of Erudition*

3rd Place

Maritza Quinones of Northeast Texas Community College, paper titled: *Marvelous Makeover: Adina De Zavala and the Making of a Patriotic Supersite*

4th Place

Joshua Naisbitt of San Jacinto College, paper titled: *Apollo 8: Paving the Way for Lunar Landing*

UPPER DIVISION—(College or University Juniors and Seniors)

1st Place

J. Ione Matthews of Texas A&M University at San Antonio, paper titled: *Chaos and Freedom on the Texas-Mexican Border*

GRADUATE DIVISION

1st Place

Brooks Winfree of University of Texas, paper titled: *Family, Slavery, and Native Americans in Antebellum Texas: A Comparison of the Groce and Hagerty Families*

2nd Place

Tim Seiter of Southern Methodist University, paper titled: *The Coming of the Karankawa and Spanish War, 1778-1779*

The Caldwell Chapter Research Project Award went to Northeast Texas Community College for their scholarship and film on *Adina De Zavala*, and the *Making of a Patriotic Supersite*.

The Lower Division Chapter of the Year Award went to Jacksonville College and the Upper Division Chapter of the Year Award went to Texas A&M University-San Antonio.

The 2020 Walter Prescott Webb Society DeBoe Chapter Adviser Award went to Dr. Beverly Williams of Lamar College.

Chapters rounded out their time in Austin with visits to such places as the Bullock Texas History Museum, the Capitol building, and Treaty Oak.

The members of Webb Society could not foresee the events that took place just a few short weeks later as the world found itself in a global pandemic with governments and businesses shutting down for months. March 2020 was the start of a “new normal.” Many of the students and sponsors did not return to their college or university, and classes were either canceled or moved online.

Thus the 2020-2021 school year began much differently, with many students remaining home and attending classes remotely due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This greatly affected the Webb Society because the very nature of the organization is one of experiencing history with fellow members. However, chapters figured out ways to continue to meet and “Zoom” became a common word in everyone’s vocabulary as the application allowed classes and clubs to continue to meet, but in an online setting. The Fall Webb Society occurred on November 14, 2020, with chapters submitting videos of a significant historic location in their area. Those videos were then uploaded to the Webb Society website and viewable all year.

The global pandemic lasted through the holidays and forced the Texas State Historical Association’s Annual Meeting to go virtual in March. Therefore, the students who were invited to present their Caldwell Award papers at a session during Annual Meeting instead recorded their presentations for meeting attendees to view virtually. Gem Elmore from Northeast

Texas Community College presented her paper, *Integration of Northeast Texas Churches* and Jay Matthews represented Texas A&M University-San Antonio with her presentation on, *Chaos and Freedom at the Texas-Mexico Border*. The guest historian speaker was Dr. Abbie Grubb from San Jacinto College who discussed Japanese Americans in Texas with her talk, *Honorary Texans: Japanese Americans in the Lone Star State During World War II*. The presenters were on hand during a live Q&A on Saturday, March 6 to answer questions and share research tips.

Usually, the Caldwell Awards would be announced right after the speakers; however, this year was anything but usual. Instead, the award ceremony was held online on February 6 when the winners were announced.

LOWER DIVISION

1st Place

Aaliyah Avellaneda from Northeast Texas Community College for *Texas Ticket-Splitter: Bill Ratliff's Timely Take to Politics*

2nd Place

Andrew Nguyen from San Jacinto College for *Fraud Within the Enron Company: Enron Scandal of 2002*

3rd Place

Maxime Risner from Northeast Texas Community College for *Disenchantment of a Veterinarian*

4th Place

Dorali Hernandez from Northeast Texas Community College for *The Progression of Medical Maintenance: The Story of Two Texas Nurses, 1980-2002*

UPPER DIVISION

1st Place

Dani Vidal from Texas A&M—San Antonio for *San Antonio's Tex-Mex Food Culture: The Chili Queens and the Beginning of the Traditional Cuisine*

2nd Place

Sterling Gardner from Texas A&M—San Antonio for *Military City USA*

3rd Place

Emilia Guerrero from Texas A&M—San Antonio for *The Texas Beef Cattle Industry and the Contributions of Humberto "Bert" Reyes*

4th Place

John Suk from Texas A&M—San Antonio for *Artemisia Bowden: San Antonio Saint*

The 2021 Walter Prescott Webb Society DeBoe Chapter Adviser Award went to Dr. Francis Galan from Texas A&M-San Antonio.

The Lower Division Chapter of the Year Award went to Northeast Texas Community College with the Upper Division Chapter of the Year Award going to Texas A&M University-San Antonio.

Jacksonville College received Caldwell Chapter Research Project Award.

As the Spring semester wound down, Webb Society chapters were eager to get back to in-person activities. The students at Northeastern Texas Community College enthusiastically embraced having a live premiere for their chapter project, a film on Bo Pilgrim, on March 26 after having to postpone it earlier in the spring.

The years 2020 and 2021 are the perfect examples of how Webb Society students not only study and research historical events, but they also live them.

TOUCHSTONE 2020-2021

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