

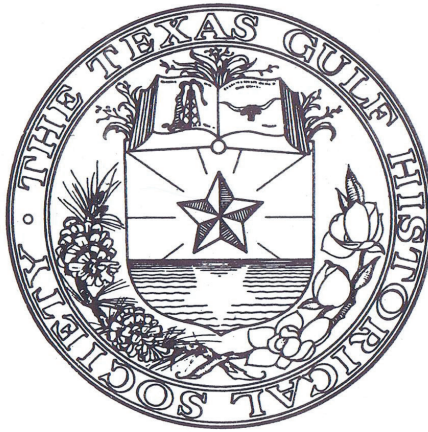
THE TEXAS GULF HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD



The Journal of the Texas Gulf Historical Society
and the Lamar University History Department

Volume 56: 2021

The Texas Gulf
Historical and Biographical
Record



Vox audita perdit, littera scripta manet.

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THE JOURNAL OF
THE TEXAS GULF HISTORICAL SOCIETY &
THE LAMAR UNIVERSITY HISTORY DEPARTMENT

The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO
THE HISTORY OF SOUTHEAST
TEXAS AND THE GULF COAST

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EDITOR'S NOTE

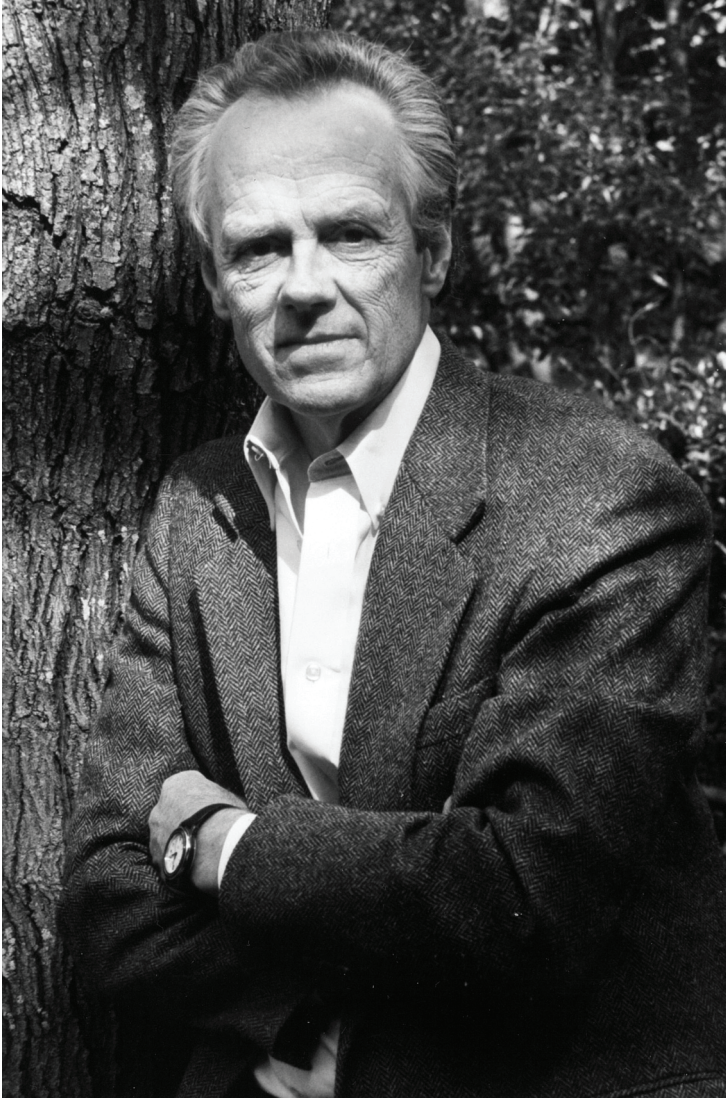
JIMMY L. BRYAN JR.

This special volume showcases the decades of scholarship by one of the most active scholars of the Southeast Texas historical community. *The Record* compiles under the same cover nine journal articles written by Robert J. Robertson. Members of the Texas Gulf Historical Society and many readers of *The Record* know Robert well, and I hope you will gain a better appreciation of the scope of his work when taken all together. Judith W. Linsley, vice president of the Society, provides an introduction to the articles and Robertson's work as a community organizer and teacher.

In 2011, Robert Robertson played a crucial role in arranging for the Lamar University History Department to share production responsibilities for *The Record* and bringing me on as editor, and I am grateful his continuing support. As colleagues in the history department, Robert and I have shared many cups of coffee and properly shaken half-and-half as we "search for the truth."

We present these articles in their entirety, moderately edited for conformity with *The Record* house style. Instead of historical chronology, we present them in the order that they appeared in print.

I am indebted Judith Linsley for writing the introduction. I extend a special thanks to Jasmine A. Lopez for the hard work in converting these articles into electronic files and copy editing the proofs. Thanks to editors Ondine Le Blanc, *Massachusetts Historical Review*; Alexander Mendoza, *Military History of the West*; Scott Sosebee, *East Texas Historical Journal*; and Elissa Stroman, *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* for granting permission to reprint the articles that first appeared in their journals.



Robert J. Robertson.

Robert J. Robertson

The Historian and His Work

Judith W. Linsley

Robert J. Robertson has for decades championed the investigation and preservation of Southeast Texas history as scholar, teacher, and community organizer. A native of Beaumont, Texas, Robertson earned a bachelor's degree in history from the University of Texas (1959) and a master's from Lamar University (1969). Although he made his career in insurance, ultimately as vice-president of J.S. Edwards and Sherlock Insurance Company in Beaumont, he continued to pursue his interest in the region's complicated past, and in 2001, he began teaching US history courses at Lamar.

Robertson is a longtime member of the Texas Gulf Historical Society and served as its president from 1992 to 1994. In 2011, he helped to arrange for the Lamar University History Department to assume editorial duties of the society's journal *The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*. He was a founding member of the Beaumont History Conference, and in 1990, he was highly instrumental in the restoration of the Tyrrell Historical Library and later served as president of the Tyrrell Historical Library Association.

As a scholar, Robertson has written extensively on the history of social justice, immigration, and other fields often situating Southeast Texas within the larger contexts of national and international movements. In 1998, he published *Her Majesty's Texans: Two English Immigrants in Reconstruction Texas* (Texas A&M University Press) in which he demonstrates how John W. Leonard and J.W.L. Johnson moved to Beaumont in 1869 and became "invisible immigrants." In his 2005 *Fair Ways: How Six Black Golfers Won Civil Rights in Beaumont* (Texas A&M University Press), he investigates how a group of African-American players, Civil Rights leaders, and local attorneys used a court case to gain equal access to the municipal golf course at Tyrrell Park to extend the US Su-

preme Court case *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) beyond public education to other areas where “separate but equal” still applied in the segregated South.

In addition to his two monographs, Robertson also published articles that cover a wide range of topics, including slavery, politics, civil rights, and immigration. The nine articles republished in this volume originally appeared in *The Record*, *The East Texas Historical Journal*, *The Massachusetts Historical Review*, *Military History of the West*, and *The West Texas Historical Association Year Book*.

In his first two articles, Robertson examined the rare and scattered issues of the *Beaumont Banner*. In both “Beaumont on the Eve of the Civil War: As Seen in *The Beaumont Banner*” and “Slavery and the Coming of the Civil War: As Seen in *The Beaumont Banner*,” he utilizes the surviving copies to describe life in Beaumont, Texas, just before the onset of the Civil War.

Two articles feature the career of Jack Brooks, a well-known Southeast Texas political figure. In “Congressman Jack Brooks: The Struggle for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Desegregation of Public Accommodations and Facilities in Southeast Texas” Robertson focuses on Brooks’s work with Civil Rights, while “Congressman Jack Brooks: “Taking Care of Business,”” he deals with the congressman’s ability to work with both big business and labor interests in his district.

Robertson discusses prominent Southeast Texans in “John E. Gray, Educator, Banker, Civic Leader: A Brief Introduction,” and “U.S. Judge Joe Fisher and the Borel Asbestos Case,” an article written with attorney Robert Q. Keith. The Borel article, however, more specifically recounts Judge Fisher’s presiding over a landmark legal decision.

The remaining three articles in this collection have a much broader range, both in location and subject matter. All are based on letters describing personal experiences in the midst of historic change. “Texas: ‘*La Terre Promise*,’” follows the immigration of the Chauveaux family from France to the West Texas plains in the nineteenth century. “A Texan at War” tells of the service and ultimate death of a World War II Marine from East Texas; in addition to using material from Sgt. Travis Moore’s letters home, Robertson communicated extensively with surviving family members. Finally, “Louisa Catherine Adams Kuhn: Florentine Adventures, 1859-1860,” takes the reader to Italy, where Louisa, a descendant of John Quincy Adams, witnessed some of the events of the Italian Risorgimento and described her experiences in letters to her family; she died in Florence and is buried in the English Cemetery there.

Robert Robertson’s historical writing has earned him widespread and well-deserved respect among historians. The Texas Gulf Historical Society is proud to be able to present to current and future readers this volume of his articles.

Beaumont on the Eve of the Civil War

As Seen in the *Beaumont Banner*

The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record, 30 (1994): 9-26

Every week in *The Beaumont Banner*, editor A.N. Vaughan advertised the strategic location of his town. “Beaumont, Texas,” he declared, sat “at the junction of the Texas and New Orleans Railroad (T&NO) and the Eastern Texas Railroad, and at the head of the permanent navigation of the Neches River.”¹ In addition to its advantageous location, the community was blessed with vitality and diversity. On the eve of the Civil War, Beaumont thrived; the population was growing, business was expanding, and two railroads were being constructed. And even though Beaumont was a Southern slaveholding town, its character was distinguished from the rest of East Texas by a polyglot population and a mixed, noncotton economy.²

The largest municipality in Southeast Texas, Beaumont was a key point in East Texas, a region comprising all the counties east of the Trinity River and closely identified with the Lower South. Writers have pointed to the typically Southern characteristics of East Texas: the cotton economy, the large number of slaves, the Southern origins of the population. But Beaumont did not fit this pattern; it was not altogether homogeneous with East Texas and the South. Politically, it was similar to the East Texas region, but demographically and economically, it was very different. Beaumont and its environs did not possess a plantation economy or a large slave population. Its white population was more varied in origins and its business was quite diverse. Farming

1. *The Beaumont Banner*, September 11, 1860 (hereafter BB). Surviving issues of *The Beaumont Banner* are located in the follow archives: Tyrrell Historical Library, Beaumont, Texas; New York Historical Society, New York; Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; San Jacinto Museum of History, LaPorte, Texas.

2. Walter F. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 10, 13-14; Mary Helen Hatchell Freeman, “East Texas, A Social and Economic History of the Counties East of the Trinity River, 1850-1860” (MA thesis, Lamar University, 1976), 32-34.

and ranching were mixed with commercial services, sawmilling, steamboating, and railroading.

The vitality of Beaumont was personified by editor Vaughan. Born in Virginia in 1829, he was a dynamic and educated young Southerner. He had immigrated to Beaumont by 1858 at which time he was employed as the principal and teacher of the Beaumont Male and Female Academy. Two years later, when only twenty-nine years old, he founded *The Banner*, the town's first newspaper. He was a single man of modest financial resources, but he played a large role in local affairs, serving as mayor and one of the chief spokesmen of Beaumont.³

Vaughan constantly used his paper to champion the town and promote its development. In September 1860, he pointed with pride to "the building of sawmills, construction of railroads, opening of farms and the general influx of every rank ... all bidding fair to become useful citizens." The same month, he published official returns of the 1860 US census which included population figures for three Southeast Texas counties for which Beaumont was the principal town and *The Banner* the official newspaper. The combined population of Jefferson, Orange, and Hardin counties was 5,194. These figures showed growth of more than 250 percent since 1850, when the population for the same area was only 2,007.⁴

Jefferson County alone contained 2,033 persons congregated in three communities: Grigsby's Bluff, Sabine Pass, and Beaumont. With about 1,100 residents, Beaumont was the largest of the three but even so was small when compared to larger Texas cities. Marshall, the biggest town in East Texas, enumerated 4,000 people. Austin counted 3,500 persons; Houston, 4,800; and Galveston, 8,200.⁵

In spite of its growth, Beaumont was still a raw frontier town with frame buildings and dirt streets. Travelers often complained about the rain, mud, and mosquitoes, all of which were notorious. Frederick Law Olmsted, who passed through the area in 1854, almost lost his horse to drowning on the road just east of Beaumont after a local resident had warned him that the route was "pretty wet." Elizabeth McHatton-Ripley, a Civil War refugee fleeing west, told of miserable, chilling rains and reported that the train service between Beaumont and Houston was "deo volente," or "weather permitting." The insect problem was analyzed in 1857 by Henry R. Green, a Galveston

3. *Beaumont Enterprise*, February 3, 1883; March 21, 1955; W.T. Block, *A History of Jefferson County, Texas, From Wilderness to Reconstruction* (Nederland: Nederland Publishing Company, 1976), 51; Jefferson County, TX, 1860 Federal Population Census, US National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (1,438 rolls, microfilm publication M653), rolls 1298, 1311; Record of Board of Aldermen, Beaumont, TX, October 2, 1860, Sam Houston Regional Library and Research Center, Liberty, TX.

4. BB, September 11 and 25, 1860; Block, *Jefferson County*, 91.

5. Population figures for Beaumont include temporary residents such as railroad construction workers. Jefferson County, 1860, roll 1298; Freeman, "East Texas," 64.

newspaperman; according to his calculation, the composition of the Beaumont atmosphere was about “one-third ... mosquitoes, two thirds ... ‘gallinippers’ (king-sized mosquitoes), and the remainder fleas.”⁶

In terms of population origins, Beaumont and Jefferson County showed a diverse mixture of Southerners, Northerners, and Europeans markedly different from the state of Texas and the region of East Texas. In Texas, seventy-seven percent of the heads of household were Southern born, while in Jefferson County, this number was only sixty-two percent. In East Texas, the concentration of Southerners was even greater; there, ninety-five percent of the total population were born in Southern states. A comparable figure for Jefferson County was seventy-two percent, meaning that twenty-eight percent of the people had been born in Northern states or European countries.⁷

Perhaps two-fifths of the Northerners and Europeans in Jefferson County were railroad people, residing there only temporarily. They were an assorted lot: contractors, engineers, clerks, craftsmen, and laborers, coming mostly from New England, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The laborers were often natives of Western Europe, notably Germany and Ireland. Most of the railroad men lived as bachelors, but some resided with wives and children.⁸

Likewise in Beaumont about two-fifths of the non-Southerners were transient railroad people, the remaining three-fifths long-term residents. These immigrants from Northern states and European countries had been well assimilated, socially, economically, and politically. A sampling from the 1860 census demonstrates the sectional and national variety of the community. From Massachusetts came a cabinetmaker; from Vermont, a boot maker; and from New York, a gunsmith, a tanner, and a ship carpenter. From France had come a farmer and a merchant tailor; from Germany, a butcher, a wagoner, a merchant, a shingle maker, and a sawmill owner; and from England, a carpenter, a seafarer, a cabinetmaker, a hotel keeper, and a lawyer.⁹

6. Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey through Texas; or a Saddletrip on the Southwestern Frontier* (1857 rept., Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 376; Eliza McHatton-Ripley, *From Flag to Flag: A Woman's Adventures in the South During the War, in Mexico, and in Cuba* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896), 67-70; W.T. Block, editor, “Beaumont in the 1850's: Excerpts from the Writings of Henry R. Green,” *The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*, 11 (1975): 56.

7. Randolph B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1989), 2; Freeman, “East Texas,” 33; Block, *Jefferson County*, 90-91; Jefferson County, 1860, roll 1298.

8. Jefferson County, 1860, roll 1298; Block, *Jefferson County*, 90-91.

9. The diversity of the local population was also seen in the composition of the crew of the *Sabine*, a steamboat which operated on a regular schedule on the Neches River. Captain J.R. Burch had immigrated from Ohio, while members of his crew were from New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Germany. Jefferson County, 1860, roll 1298.

The composition of the city government further reflected the mixing of Northerners and Europeans with Southerners. Vaughan was a Virginian; the Board of Aldermen included a Louisianan, a Georgian, a North Carolinian, and two New Yorkers. The City Clerk was an Englishman and the Treasurer was a German. Likewise, at the county level, the County Clerk and the Sheriff were from Louisiana while the Chief Magistrate was from Pennsylvania.¹⁰

Another demographic feature of Beaumont and Jefferson County that did not conform to the Southern pattern of East Texas was the relatively small slave population. In East Texas, slaves accounted for thirty-one percent of the total population, while in some individual East Texas counties they amounted to more than fifty percent of the whole. In Jefferson County, the 309 enumerated slaves constituted only eighteen percent of the whole population.¹¹

Even the characteristics of slave ownership in the county were different. In the whole state of Texas, ninety-four percent of the slaves were owned by farmers and six percent by nonfarmers. In Jefferson County nonfarmers held forty percent of the bondsmen; among the owners were doctors, lawyers, merchants, innkeepers, sawmill operators, and railroad contractors. One quarter of the slaves were owned by women and a few were held by immigrants from Northern states and European countries. The nonfarmers employed the slaves in a variety of commercial, urban, and domestic activities.¹²

If Beaumont and Jefferson County were different from the rest of East Texas because of demographics, the area was even more dissimilar in terms of its economics. East Texas was cotton country; the Beaumont area was not. In 1860, the cotton production in some East Texas counties was substantial. San Augustine County produced 31,342 bales; Harrison, 21,440; Rusk, 11,791; and Bowie, 6,874. In sharp contrast were the counties in the Beaumont region, where cultivation of the popular staple was almost nonexistent. Jefferson County was credited with only eighty-four bales while Hardin and Orange counties reported 208 and 251 respectively.¹³

Likewise, farming production in the Beaumont area was apparently noncommercial and modest in scale. Corn and sweet potatoes, the leading crops, were raised in good

10. Jefferson County, 1860, roll 1298; Record of Board of Aldermen, Beaumont, TX, October 2 and 3, 1860.

11. Freeman, "East Texas," 28; Jefferson County, 1860, roll 1311.

12. Jefferson County, 1860, rolls 1298, 1311; Campbell, *Empire for Slavery*, 118-125.

13. Freeman, "East Texas," 32-34; Allan C. Ashcraft, "East Texas in the Election of 1860 and the Secession Crisis," *East Texas Historical Journal*, 1 (July 1963): 7-16. Hardin, Jefferson, and Orange counties, TX, 1860 Agriculture Schedules, Nonpopulation Census Schedules for Texas, 1850-1880, US National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (60 rolls, microfilm publication T1134), rolls 4-6. Cotton in 1860 from San Augustine County was 3,901 bales; from Harrison 20,006; and from Rusk 12,737. W.T. Block, "Cotton Bales, Keelboats, and Sternwheelers: A History of the Sabine River Trade, 1837-1900," manuscript (Nederland, 1977), 45, Special Collections, Lamar University Library, Beaumont, TX.

quantities but probably consumed in the local market. Stock raising, on the other hand, was practiced on a larger scale and produced real values for export. According to one authority, census records for livestock holdings for 1860 were incomplete, but tax records indicated that more than 50,000 head of range cattle grazed on the thick coastal grasses of Jefferson County. Leading ranchers like the McFaddins, Broussards, Heberts, Hillebrandts, and Blanchettes tended big herds and sold cattle and hides in the Galveston and New Orleans markets.¹⁴

In addition to ranching, Beaumont's principal economic strengths came from commercial services, lumber, and transportation. The governmental seat of Jefferson County, the town was a genuine commercial center with lawyers, doctors, and craftsmen. Its streets were lined with stores, hotels, and saloons. But perhaps the most important commercial service was the local newspaper.

Vaughan published *The Banner* for just over a year, from the spring of 1860 until the beginning of the war. The four-page weekly was packed with advertisements and public notices and filled with news, editorials, and human interest items. And as the only paper in Beaumont, it performed many vital functions, serving as the prime source of news and culture, the principal medium of advertising, the main voice of community spirit and governmental activities, and a vital focus of political activities.¹⁵

Every week Vaughan furnished his readers a variety of news: local, state, national, international, and financial markets. Local items included reports on the condition of the county treasury and the reorganization of the municipal government, and accounts of murders, divorces, and deaths. Among the obituaries were those of Colonel J.R. Alexander, a prominent merchant; the Honorable E.A.M. Gray, a popular lawyer;

14. Jefferson County, 1860, roll 1298; Block, *Jefferson County*, 66-75. In 1860, Jefferson County had 50,257 cattle. Clarke A. Mathews, "History of the Schools of Jefferson County" (MA thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1937), 29.

15. Vaughan's *Banner* was similar in appearance to other Texas papers. It was a full sheet, printed on both sides and folded in half. From week to week, the layout of the paper was fairly consistent; news and editorials were mixed with advertisements, public notices, and human interest items. The paper was well-nourished by paid items with approximately one half its columns taken by public notices and advertisements. About fifty percent of the paid items came from local sources: Beaumont, Sabine Pass, Orange, Wiess' Bluff, Hardin, and Jasper. Nearly twenty percent was from Galveston and fifteen percent from Houston. The balance originated from other places like Houston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Like his advertising, Vaughan's sources of news were diverse. He participated in an extensive exchange of newspapers with editors across the nation and around the state. Numerous stories were credited reprints from papers in Houston, Galveston, Austin, Gonzales, Waco, and Victoria. Another source of news, especially on national and international developments, was the telegraph. In his column "Latest by Telegraph," the editor provided snippets of late news. Apparently *The Banner* did not have a telegraphic connection in its office but received telegraphic dispatches from New Orleans by way of steamboats coming to Beaumont. The circulation of *The Banner* was reported to be 400. Jefferson County, 1860, Social Statistics, Nonpopulation Census, roll 44; Marilyn McAdams Sibley, *Lone Stars and State Gazettes* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1983), 3-14.

and Angenette Reading, an eighteen-year-old girl memorialized in poetry: "One more flower hath been plucked from the garden of life ... Such is life ... our destiny."¹⁶

From Austin came stories about state activities. In the fall of 1860 when Southern states were threatening secession, Texas Governor Sam Houston tried to focus on nonsectional state issues. In November, he issued a benign Thanksgiving message. The next month, he addressed Indian problems by appointing a commission to present claims to the US Congress for damages and expenses caused by the Indians.¹⁷

National news during late 1860 and early 1861 was dominated by the presidential campaign, the secession crisis, and the mobilization of troops. Vaughan reported these events and played a prominent local role in these activities. But he covered other national stories such as Indian troubles in New Mexico, gold mining operations in Colorado, the Congressional debate of the Pacific Railroad Bill, and a tour of the United States by the Prince of Wales.¹⁸

The Banner's international coverage included stories about Polish Jews immigrating to the United States, religious feuds in Syria, and civil wars in Italy and Mexico. Also originating overseas were reports from commodity markets; from Liverpool, London, and Le Havre came the latest prices on flour, corn, sugar, wheat, and cotton.¹⁹

In addition to keeping his readers informed, Vaughan entertained and educated them with "gems of literature." Every week he printed long columns of poems, anecdotes, and literary stories. Widely varied in tone and quality, the "gems" reflected the diverse reading tastes of local citizens. The poems were numerous; some were written by famous authors such as Byron and Tennyson while others had been penned exclusively "for the Banner" by local poets like Nellie Howard of Beaumont and Charles Worsham of Orange.²⁰

Perhaps one of Vaughan's most pleasant duties was to boost Beaumont and cheer his readers with good news about the town. In December 1860, he was gratified to observe "the spirit of improvement ... manifest in Beaumont," the recent construction of twenty-four new buildings: a livery stable, two schools, two drinking saloons, one billiard saloon, millinery shop, Daguerian gallery, hotel, and fifteen dwellings.²¹

Vaughan worked hard to improve the quality of life. In September, he announced a public meeting to raise money for the construction of a church, for which several hundred dollars had already been subscribed. He recommended the church project to all, whether Baptist, Methodist, Union, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian. "Worshipping

16. BB, September 11, October 23, November 6, 20, December 11, 1860, January 8, February 19, 1861.

17. BB, November 20, December 11, 1860.

18. BB, September 11, 25, 1860, February 19, 1861.

19. BB, September 11, 25, October 23, 1860.

20. BB, September 25, October 23, November 6, 20, 1860, February 19, 1861.

21. BB, December 11, 1860.

our Creator in a Christian sanctuary” would “open wholesome springs of feeling and foster tender sensibilities of human nature.” For citizens not spiritually inclined, the editor suggested that the church would bring economic benefits and reflect credit on the town.²²

He campaigned in favor of the construction of a public school building, reporting the progress of fund raising and urging the ladies of the town to use their influence to assure success. At the same time, he printed advertisements for two private schools. Mary Wardell kept a girls’ school at nearby Grigsby’s Bluff, while Felix O. Yates operated the Beaumont Male and Female Academy. Yates offered thorough education and sound discipline with classes in reading, writing, mental arithmetic, higher sciences, mathematics, French and Latin, drawing, painting, and music.²³

Beaumonters interested in higher education could consider colleges that advertised in *The Banner*. Austin College at Huntsville, Texas, listed courses in moral and intellectual philosophy, ancient and modern languages, and mathematical and natural sciences. And for those wanting a military education, The Texas Military Institute at Rutersville announced a spring session with preparatory and collegiate courses beginning in January.²⁴

Important commercial services were provided by lawyers and doctors who advertised in *The Banner* under “Professional Cards.” Five Beaumont attorneys offered their services as well as others who practiced in Hardin, Jasper, Orange, and Sabine Pass. Six Beaumont physicians were listed plus several in outlying communities. A doctor headquartered in Hardin County quoted rates for house calls: \$1.00 per mile during the day, \$2.00 per mile at night.²⁵

Citizens not satisfied with local medical services could check in *The Banner* for patent medicines which had wide, almost universal applications. Helmbold’s Buchu, a genuine vegetable tonic, was recommended as a curative for “loss of memory, weak nerves, universal lassitude ... diseases of dissipation ... and afflictions of the urinary organs, male and female.” Vandever’s Medicated Gin, also known as genuine Scheidam Schnapps, was offered to cure “dysentery, dyspepsia, diarrhea, gout, and fevers.” More limited in promised benefits was Dalley’s Magical Pain Extractor, a potion designed simply to allay pain and inflammation.²⁶

Another drug, perhaps sold as a remedy for unwanted pregnancies, was Dr. Wheating’s Female Pills, distributed by Dr. J.P. Creager of Baltimore, Maryland. While there was no overt mention of abortion, the Great Female Pill was advertised as truly valuable in restoring “the monthly courses which may have stopped for any cause whatever.”

22. BB, September 11, 1860.

23. BB, December 11, 1860; February 19, 1861.

24. BB, January 8, May 21, 1861.

25. BB, December 11, 1860, January 8, May 21, 30, 1861.

26. BB, December 11, 1860, May 21, 1861.

The pills had never failed, the advertiser vowed, if directions were followed. Dr. Creager also offered three “useful” books that were probably intended for sex education and birth control: *A Book for Young Men to Prepare for the Society of Females*, *Errors of Courtship*, and *Reproductive Control*. Also coming from Dr. Creager’s Baltimore address was an advertisement from Mrs. Creager. On October 16, 1860, she offered “Good News for the Ladies,” a mysteriously veiled message that hinted at sex education. “Woman,” Mrs. Creager advised, “know thyself and be happy.” She promised to send “something of importance” to any woman who would furnish name, address, and three cents postage.²⁷

If Beaumonters could not be cured by local physicians or patent medicines, they might try mineral water spas that advertised in *The Banner*. From nearby Sour Lake, the hotel proprietor touted benefits of the water and the qualities of the establishment, particularly the bar, billiards, and bowling alley that were in “Number 1 Apple Pie Order.” The manager at Tyler Springs listed travel connections to his facility—regular stage service from Liberty to Woodville and from there, a hack to the spa. Claiming broad powers for the Tyler Springs water, the proprietor declared it could cure diseases of kidneys and liver, rheumatism, and dyspepsia. Moreover, the man noted cryptically, the water had proved “sovereign in all secret diseases.”

In addition to lawyers and doctors, Beaumont boasted the services of skilled craftsmen, some of whom advertised in *The Banner*. T.L. Clark, practical machinist and gunsmith, made rifles and repaired guns, pistols, and revolvers. A cabinetmaker and carpenter, James W. Boyle owned a shop just opposite the railroad bridge where he manufactured bureaus, secretaries, wardrobes, sofas, and book cases. W.J. Peaseley worked as a boot and shoemaker, while Adam Depold provided the services of a merchant tailor. Mr. Depold promised the latest styles, best materials, and most desirable patterns from the New Orleans market.

Retail stores were an important part of Beaumont’s commercial services. At least a half-dozen such establishments provided goods to the people of Southeast Texas. Alexander and Brothers operated a large store and offered clothing and accessories for men, women, and children. In addition, they stocked housewares and hardware, as well as numerous kinds of groceries such as coffee, crackers, hams, “fresh oysters in cans,” and wines of all kinds. Everything was offered at “the very lowest prices.”

Another sizeable merchant was the Railroad Store of Maurice and Company that operated retail locations along the T&NO at Liberty, Gentry, and Beaumont. They advertised large stocks of dry goods for the planter, mechanic, housekeeper, and contractor. In addition they carried good quantities of spirits: one hundred barrels of Christy’s Celebrated XXX Whisky, twenty-four cases of Heidsick Champagne, and six cases of Longworth’s Sparkling Catawba.²⁸

27. BB, September 11, 1860.

28. Foregoing in BB, December 11, 1860, May 21, January 8, 1861.

Hotels, boarding houses, and saloons were other commercial services advertised in the paper. The new Texas Hotel claimed to be a first-class establishment, providing a table with the highest quality foods and, for the traveler's mount, a commodious barn with ample provender and attentive hostlers. Other establishments were Johnson's Hotel, Beaumont Hotel, Burel's Boarding House, and two saloons: Ranger's and the Lone Star. Ranger's Saloon offered wines, liquors, cigars, oysters, and sardines.²⁹

By 1860, the lumber industry was well established in Beaumont and Jefferson County. Along the reaches of the Neches River large quantities of pine, oak, and cypress logs were harvested and floated downriver to steam powered sawmills at Beaumont, Grigsby's Bluff, and Sabine Pass. There they were manufactured into a variety of building materials, including siding, timbers, lathes, staves, and shingles. The economic importance of this industry can be seen in the operations of David Wingate at Sabine Pass. During 1859, he manufactured 2,496,000 feet of lumber valued at \$43,680, some of which he exported to Cuba and Mexico.³⁰

At least three Beaumont sawmills advertised in *The Banner* during 1860–1861. The company of Long and Carroll manufactured pine and cypress lumber, as did the Andrew J. Ward organization. During 1860, Mr. Ward employed ten men and cut more than a million feet of lumber. He also employed his steam plant to operate a grist mill and sold corn meal by the bushel. Another substantial manufacturing company was the Beaumont Sash, Door, and Blind Factory, managed by Nathan and E.R. Wheeler. Headquartered near the T&NO depot, the Wheeler brothers constructed buildings and supplied a variety of materials including windows, flooring, door frames, furniture, and coffins. Like their competitor, A.J. Ward, the Wheeler brothers also ground corn and sold meal, even offering free transportation to and from the railroad depot.³¹

Beaumont's lumber industry was successful, but the town's role as a transportation center was more so. Vaughan had noted the town was perfectly situated. Located forty-two miles upstream from the Gulf of Mexico, the town was a busy river port with regular steamboat service to the ocean port at Sabine Pass. More importantly, Beaumont was at the junction of two railroad projects: the Eastern Texas Railroad and the T&NO. Pending completion of the railroads, steam-powered river boats were Beaumont's principal means of communication and transportation. Carrying passengers and freight, the shallow-draft vessels navigated river and coastal waters. They exported cotton, lumber, and other produce, and brought to the town a wide variety of freight plus mail, newspapers, and telegraphic dispatches; they also delivered materials and equipment for the railroads such as lumber, rails, cars, and locomotives. In addition,

29. BB, January 8, May 21, 1861.

30. For the lumber industry in Jefferson County, see Block, *Jefferson County*, 47-58; Block, "Mill Towns and Ghost Towns of East Texas: The Early Steam Sawmills and Shingle Mills of Jefferson County, Texas," typescript., n.d., 4-11, Tyrrell Historical Library, Beaumont, TX.

31. BB, May 21, 1861.

the river boats connected at Sabine Pass with the ocean-going steamships of Harris and Morgan, a New Orleans shipping company that conducted extensive and regular operations in the Gulf of Mexico.³²

Vaughan reported frequently about arrivals and departures of the river boats at Beaumont. Among them were the *Sunflower*, *Florida*, *Alice*, *Belle Sulphur*, *Grand Bay*, and *Sabine*. Advertised weekly in the paper, the *Sabine* was described as a “splendid new light-draught packet.” Offering services for both passengers and freight, she operated on a regular schedule between Sabine Pass, at the mouth of the Neches, and Wiess Bluff, a small east-bank port just north of Beaumont. Vaughan greatly admired the *Sabine* and called her “the fastest and sauciest craft that ever came up the river.”³³

Partial completion of the T&NO allowed the operation of new rail-water system and facilitated travel between Houston and New Orleans. By January 1861, the rail line between Houston and Beaumont was complete. Thus, Houstonians going to New Orleans could take the train to Beaumont, then a steamboat to Sabine Pass, finally a steamship to New Orleans. For passengers traveling from New Orleans to Houston, a similar service was available because a portion of the railroad had been completed westward from New Orleans to Berwick’s Bay. In August 1861, a west-bound traveler could take the train from New Orleans to Berwick’s Bay, then a steamer to New Iberia, a stage to Niblett’s Bluff, a steamer to Beaumont, and finally the train to Houston. The advertised time for this improved travel between New Orleans and Houston was only seventy hours.³⁴

Other choices for rail-water service were advertised regularly in *The Banner* by the Southern Steamship Company. Controlled by the Harris and Morgan group, the Southern Steamship Company offered a variety of rail road-steamboat connections between New Orleans and Texas ports at Sabine Pass, Galveston, Indianola, and Brazos Santiago. The popularity of this New Orleans-to-Texas service was growing rapidly. In 1859, the number of Texas-bound passengers was 16,261; in 1860 the number jumped to 28,783.³⁵

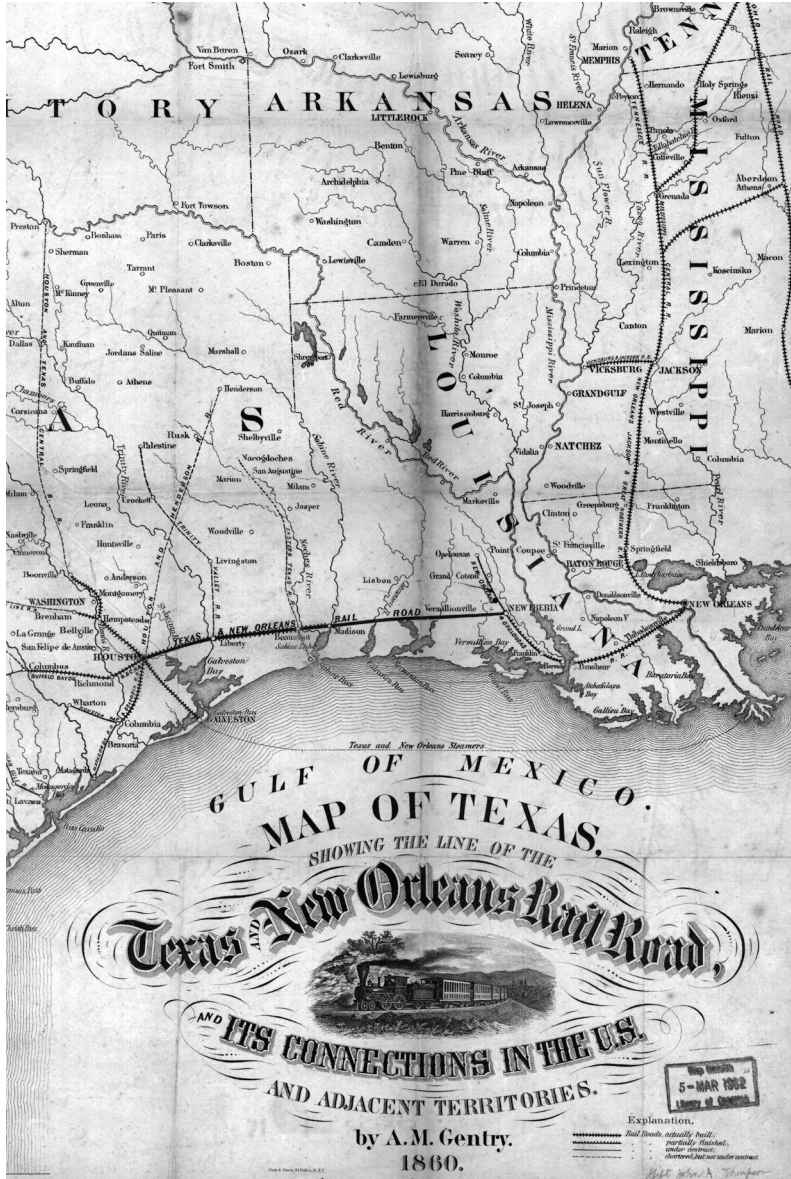
Beaumont was a focal point in the development of the railroads in Texas. Before the war there were ten railroads in operation in the state with 468 miles of track. Two of these projects and more than one hundred miles of the track were connected to Beaumont. Both projects had great economic potential not only for the town but for East Texas. The Eastern Texas Railroad was being constructed northward from Sabine Pass to Henderson, a plantation center in Rusk County; this line would connect the cotton

32. James P. Baughman, *Charles Morgan and the Development of Southern Transportation* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), 94-104.

33. BB, September 11, 25, October 16, 23, 1860, January 8, May 30, 1861.

34. S.G. Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads and of Transportation Conditions under Spain and Mexico and The Republic and The State* (Houston: Saint Clair Publishing, 1941), 84-86.

35. BB, December 11, 1860; Baughman, *Charles Morgan*, 103.



Showing the strategic location of Beaumont at the junction of the T&NO and Eastern Texas Railroad. A.M. Gentry, *Map of Texas Showing the Line of the Texas and New Orleans Rail Road* (1860). Library of Congress.

and lumber of East Texas with the ocean port at the Pass. Of even greater importance was the T&NO, an ambitious project that would, when completed, bind together Texas and Louisiana, linking Houston, Liberty, and Beaumont with Opelousas and New Orleans.³⁶

Vaughan ran regular advertisements related to the T&NO project, some from contractors such as Marsh and Campbell Company and W.J. Williams and Company that wanted to hire slave laborers for the work. He also periodically reported about the progress of the construction, telling about the erection of the Neches River railroad bridge, the occurrence of a railroad accident in Orange County, and the delivery by steamboat of passenger cars and locomotives. The completion of the T&NO between Houston and Beaumont was confirmed in October by an article from the *Galveston Civilian* claiming that Beaumont had become “an important part of the beau monde since the completion of the railroad.”³⁷

On October 23, 1860, Vaughan wrote a long article about a recent excursion on the T&NO line. Having ridden fourteen miles eastward from the Neches River to Cow Bayou, the editor was pleased; the weather was delightful, the traveling most excellent. Along the way, he observed much about the railroad work and about the contractors and their jobs. Especially impressive was the Neches River railroad bridge which was being erected by Messrs. Pride and Boomer. Ferrying across the river just above the bridge, Vaughan noted the pilings, the stringers, the draw, a whole catalog of railroad “fixings.” The center pier, on which the draw rested, was filled with concrete, “making it as solid as granite itself.” Completion of the bridge was expected in two months; its durability and safety would be beyond question. On November 6, 1860, *The Banner* reported a T&NO railroad accident in which two men had been killed and others injured when two flat cars went off the track between Beaumont and Orange. The cause of the accident was unknown, but no blame whatsoever was attached to the engineer or any person connected with the train. In the same paper a reprint from the *Houston Telegraph* touted the T&NO and praised its locomotives that were manufactured by the New Jersey company of Danforth and Cooke.³⁸

While construction of the T&NO line moved eastward, work on the Eastern Texas job progressed northward from Sabine Pass. Writing in December, Vaughan offered good news about the project, claiming that completion of the road was a certainty. All means requisite were being used, including more than 500 hands, mostly slaves owned by the stockholders, enough labor to grade one mile per day. A large cargo of iron had just arrived at Galveston and more was in route from New York. Fifty miles of roadbed

36. For Beaumont's strategic location in the development of railroads, see Reed, *Texas Railroads*, 84-89, 122-125.

37. BB, September 11, October 23, November 6, 20, 1860, May 30, 1861.

38. BB, October 23, 1860;.

were prepared for the iron and three were ready for the Iron Horse, the editor proclaimed. Before long the whistle of the Eastern Texas would be heard in Beaumont.³⁹

Although the Beaumont area was demographically and economically different from the rest of East Texas, it was politically similar. As reflected by Vaughan and *The Banner* and demonstrated by the votes and actions of the local people, Beaumont and Jefferson County were much like the Lower South. Vaughan and his readers embraced the institution of slavery; they owned slaves and passed laws to enforce and perpetuate the system. Vaughan himself held no slaves, but he vigorously defended the institution. And when slavery was threatened by national politics, he and his fellow Beaumonters strongly aligned themselves with the South. They opposed Abraham Lincoln, favored secession, and joined the military mobilization.⁴⁰

Even though the number of slaves was modest and the rate of slave ownership was not great, the institution was nevertheless deeply embedded in the community. Slaves were owned and employed in all areas, on farms and ranches, in homes and hotels, in the sawmills, and on the railroads. Vaughan often reported on the large number of slaves employed on the railroad projects and frequently ran notices from contractors wanting to hire more.

The industrial employment of slaves, while common in Beaumont, was unusual in Texas, even in urban settings like Austin and Galveston. According to a study of urban slavery in those towns, most slaves were employed in domestic and farming activities, with some working as artisans and mechanics. The study made no mention of bondsmen being engaged in sawmill operations or railroad work.⁴¹

The extent to which slavery pervaded Beaumont society was demonstrated in November 1860 when *The Banner* published newly adopted town ordinances. Here Vaughan printed the laws which, as mayor, he had drafted and signed. A section entitled "Offenses related to Slaves and Slave Property" regulated slave behavior and controlled relations between the races. For violation of the regulations, white Beaumonters could be fined and slaves were subject to whipping.⁴²

39. BB, December 11, 1860.

40. Robert J. Robertson, "Slavery and the Coming of the Civil War as Seen in *The Beaumont Banner*," *East Texas Historical Journal*, 34 (March 1996): 14-29 [republished in this volume—Editor].

41. Paul D. Lack, "Urban Slavery in the Southwest," *Red River Valley Historical Review*, 6 (Spring 1981): 21-24.

42. During the fall of 1860, the municipal government reorganized. A.N. Vaughan became mayor and George W. O'Brien, John W. Patridge, Thomas Fletcher, Nathan Wheeler, and John J. Herring became alderman. The Board of Aldermen adopted a series of town ordinances dealing with public peace, morals and decency, health and cleanliness, taxes, responsibilities and remuneration of city officials, and slavery. Vaughan published the ordinances in *The Banner*, the regulations about slavery appearing on October 23 and November 6, 1860.

When slavery and Southern traditions were threatened by national events, Beaumont and Jefferson County went with the rest of East Texas and joined the Southern camp. As reflected by their newspaper and their ballots, the local people strongly supported the Southern cause. During the presidential contest of 1860, Vaughan employed *The Banner* to campaign in favor of the Southern Democrats and against the Republicans. Borrowing articles from other Texas papers, he praised the candidacy of John C. Breckinridge and lambasted Lincoln and the “Black Republicans.” He published essays showing what he considered to be the fanaticism of radical Republicans and their hostility to the Southern way of life.⁴³

In the national election, Vaughan’s readers voted unanimously against Lincoln. The voters of Jefferson and Orange counties gave most of their ballots to the Southern Democrats—283 votes for Breckinridge against ninety-one for a fusion ticket composed of other anti-Lincoln electors. After Lincoln’s victory was announced, Vaughan soon began a campaign in favor of secession and printed articles about disunion movements spreading across Texas and the South. He published the entire text of Robert Barnwell Rhett’s “The Address of the People of South Carolina ... to the People of the Slaveholding States,” a lengthy pro secession treatise in which South Carolinians invited all Southerners to join them in a new confederacy.⁴⁴

Vaughan himself, of course, editorialized strongly in favor of secession. In January 1861 he debated the issue and urged decisive steps. “Shall we remain silent? ... Shall we enter into resolves? ... No! Texas should take immediate action ... to disunite ourselves from a government under which our most sacred rights are disregarded.” And in February, when the secession question was being submitted to the voters of Texas, the editor counseled with his readers and argued in favor of separation from the Union. “We will not bear allegiance to a government inaugurated upon sectional issues. We ... absolve our ties which bind us to it.” Unless the people of the North fully corrected their ways, Vaughan warned, the people of Texas would consider them enemies in war.⁴⁵

Local support for the Southern cause was confirmed on February 23 when the people of Texas voted on the secession resolution adopted by the state legislature. Across the state the voters approved the decision by a margin of four to one. In Jefferson County, the numbers were even more decisive, with 256 in favor and only sixteen against.⁴⁶

As further and final proof of their solidarity with the South, area residents took up arms. In early 1861, Vaughan reported area mobilization. In February, men in Beaumont organized the Jefferson Light Dragoons and in May citizens from Orange Coun-

43. Robertson, “Slavery and the Coming of the Civil War,” 14-29.

44. BB, November 20, 1860, January 8, 1861; Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 53, 58.

45. BB, January 8, February 19, 1861.

46. Ralph A. Wooster, *Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962), 132-133; Block, *Jefferson County*, 98.

ty formed a fighting company, the Duncan's Woods Independent Rifle Company. By the end of May, with the war already in progress, Beaumont troops were serving with the Jefferson Mounted Rifles at Brownsville, Texas. They built fortifications and wrote letters home full of bravado and Southern patriotism. Promising to carry the fight all the way to the nation's capitol, they vowed to have victory or death.⁴⁷

Vaughan was soon caught up in the military spirit that he described. During the early summer of 1861, he abandoned his paper and, with fellow Beaumonters George W. O'Brien and Felix O. Yates, joined the forces of the Southern confederacy. He served with Company F, Fifth Texas Regiment, John B. Hood's Brigade, and was wounded in May 1864 in the Battle of the Wilderness. Remaining with the army for the duration, he witnessed the defeat of the Confederate armies and the failure of the Southern cause.⁴⁸

After the war, Vaughan returned to Beaumont, where he taught school, married Alabama E. Keith, and served as tax assessor of Jefferson County. Later, he and his wife relocated to Sabine Pass, engaging in the shipping business and then to Cairo, Jasper County, where he was employed by the Texas Tram and Lumber Company. He never went back to the newspaper profession. Vaughan died at Cairo in 1882 at the age of fifty-three, survived by his wife, a son Nicholas, and three daughters, Florence, Anna, and Addie.⁴⁹

47. BB, February 19, May 21, 30, 1861.

48. Harold B. Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade: A Compendium* (Hillsboro, TX: Hill Junior College Press, 1977), 210.

49. *Beaumont Enterprise*, February 3, 1883, March 21, 1955; Block, *Jefferson County*, 51. Family papers dealing with Vaughan, including his photographs, are in the possession of his great-granddaughter Vallie Fletcher Taylor, Hico, TX, who generously made them available to the writer.

Slavery and the Coming of the Civil War

As Seen in *The Beaumont Banner*

East Texas Historical Journal, 34 (March 1996): 14-29

Texas newspaperman A.N. Vaughan was very much a Southern man. He advocated the cause of Southern rights, defended the institution of slavery, demanded the protection of states' rights, opposed the election of Abraham Lincoln, and favored the secession of Texas. He was also a man of conviction and action. When the Civil War came, he was true to his politics. He gave up his newspaper business and joined the army of the Confederacy.

Editor and publisher of *The Beaumont Banner*, Vaughan produced his newspaper for just over one year, from the spring of 1860 until the beginning of the war, and published some sixty issues. Of this number, eleven are available for study, scattered from September 1860 to May 1861. These issues, filled with news, editorials, advertisements, and public notices, tell much about slavery and politics in Beaumont, about secession, and the coming of the war. Because the newspaper was the primary source of news and information and reflected public opinion, these issues provide valuable insights about Beaumonters and their political attitudes. Also, these issues, which demonstrate how Vaughan molded the political opinions of his readers, are important for understanding the secession of Texas.¹

In addition, the paper provides a picture of Vaughan, the newspaperman. Born in 1829 in Mecklenberg County, Virginia, his complete name was Archibald Nicholas Vaughan. His given names must have seemed awkward to him because as an adult he consistently identified himself simply as A.N. Vaughan. Little is known about his early years, but records show that he had arrived in Beaumont by 1858 when he

1. Surviving issues of *The Beaumont Banner* are located in the follow archives: Tyrrell Historical Library, Beaumont, Texas; New York Historical Society, New York; Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin; San Jacinto Museum of History, LaPorte, Texas. For a discussion of the importance of newspapers, see Donald E. Reynolds, *Editors Make War: Southern Newspapers in the Secession Crisis* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966), vii-ix, 5.

was employed as teacher and principal of the Beaumont Male and Female Academy. By 1860, when he was only thirty years old, Vaughan was well-known in the town, serving as mayor of the Board of Aldermen and publisher of the newspaper. A political and business leader, he boosted the town and worked to promote its commercial development, especially the railroads.²

Vaughan's career in Beaumont was similar to those of fellow editors in nearby Galveston and Houston. Willard Richardson edited and published *The Galveston News*. After migrating from Massachusetts to Texas by way of South Carolina, he enjoyed an early career in Texas as a school teacher. Hamilton Stuart, proprietor of the *Galveston Civilian*, served as mayor of his city from 1849 to 1852. The editor and publisher of *The Houston Telegraph*, Edward H. Cushing, used his paper to encourage the development of railroads and other economic improvements for his city. Like Richardson, Stuart, and Cushing, Vaughan was prominent and influential in his town. And like these men, Vaughan was "sound" on the slavery question; he favored the institution.³

Vaughan's newspaper was one sign among many that Beaumont had become a real town. Well-situated on the Neches River in the farming and ranching country of Southeast Texas, the town in 1860 boasted more than 1,100 people with farmers, stock raisers, doctors, lawyers, and craftsmen. Its streets—which hugged the high, wooded banks of the river—were lined with hotels, saloons, dry goods stores, sawmills, and woodworking shops. Nourished by a growing population, Beaumont was fast becoming an important transportation center; steamboats came and went and two railroads were under construction.

Vaughan's market area, the town of Beaumont and the three counties of Jefferson, Orange, and Hardin, possessed a definite Southern character, but the region was not typical of most of East Texas. In terms of cotton and slaves, it was not homogeneous with the Lower South of the United States. The three counties did not have a plantation economy; they were considered "poor" in cotton production and were not characterized by extensive cultivation of the popular staple. Instead, the economic base was diverse; agriculture and animal husbandry were mixed with goodly portions of business. In Jefferson County, no more than thirty-five percent of the heads of households claimed occupations engaged directly in any kind of farming or stock raising; a

2. *Beaumont Enterprise*, February 3, 1883, March 21, 1955. W.T. Block, *A History of Jefferson County, Texas, From Wilderness to Reconstruction* (Nederland, TX: Nederland Publishing Company, 1976), 51; US Eighth Census (1860), Jefferson County, Texas, Schedule I, Inhabitants, City of Beaumont; "Record of Board of Alderman," Beaumont, Texas, Official Minutes, October 2, 1860, Sam Houston Regional Library and Research Center, Liberty, Texas.

3. For a discussion of Galveston and Houston editors, see Earl Wesley Fornell, *The Galveston Era: The Texas Crescent on the Eve of Secession* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), 142-150, 151-154.

large majority reported jobs in urban, commercial, and transportation activities. No one described himself as a planter.⁴

In Vaughan's corner of Southeast Texas, the system of slavery was firmly established, but the actual number of slaves was modest. Over the entire state, slaves represented thirty percent of the total population, while in some East Texas counties, the bondsmen accounted for more than fifty percent of the whole. In contrast, the counties of Jefferson, Orange, and Hardin had a slave population of only seventeen percent, with 892 enslaved and 4,400 free. These were similar to the numbers for Galveston County, a truly urban area, which counted a slave population of eighteen percent—1,520 enslaved and 6,709 free.⁵

Locally the percentage of citizens who owned slaves was not great. Of the 269 households in Jefferson County, only about sixty-five, or approximately twenty-four percent, had residents who held bondsmen. In Beaumont itself, about fourteen percent of the households listed occupants who owned slaves.⁶

Despite living and working in such a non-typical Southern region, with its diverse economy and relatively small slave population, Vaughan was completely orthodox in his political attitudes and activities. He was similar to the partisans of the Lower South on the important questions of the day and was strongly committed to slavery and the Southern cause.

In every issue of *The Banner*, Vaughan reiterated the original two-fold political mission of his paper: maintain the US Constitution with all its restrictions and advocate the cause of the South and Southern rights. However, in the fall of 1860, with the presidential campaign and the election of Lincoln, his two missions became one: defend the cause of Southern rights against Northern interference even at the cost of breaking up the Union.⁷

Among all the issues of Southern rights, the most important was slavery—its protection in the South and its extension into the western territories of the United States. As previously noted, the institution was solidly in place in Beaumont and Southeast Texas. In Jefferson County, of which Beaumont was the governmental seat, there were

4. The homogeneity of East Texas with the Lower South is described by Walter L. Buenger. *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 10, 13-14. The lack of cotton production in Jefferson, Orange, and Hardin counties is shown by Allan C. Ashcraft "East Texas in the Election of 1860 and the Secession Crisis," *East Texas Historical Journal*, 1 (July 1963): 7-16; US Eighth Census (1860), City of Beaumont.

5. Slavery in Texas and its eastern regions is discussed by Randolph B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 55-60. See also, Barbara I. Rozek, "Slavery in Galveston, Texas, on the Eve of the Civil War" (unpublished ms., Houston), 2. US Eighth Census (1860), Jefferson County. Slave Schedules.

6. US Eighth Census (1860), Jefferson County. Slave Schedules.

7. *The Beaumont Banner*, May 30, 1861 (hereafter BB).

seventy slave owners and 309 slaves. As the economy of the county was diverse, agriculture combined with business and transportation, so was the ownership of slaves. This diversity of ownership was in marked contrast to the rest of Texas where ninety-four percent of the slaves were held by owners who reported agricultural occupations and only six percent were owned by non-farmers.⁸

In Jefferson County, the ownership patterns were very different. Agricultural owners held only sixty percent of the slaves while non-farmers owned forty percent. Among the farmers and stock raisers were William McFaddin, who had eight slaves, Joseph Hebert, who owned fourteen, and Alex C. Blanchat, who also held fourteen. On the other hand, non-farmers or "town people" held at least 120 slaves and employed them in urban and commercial activities, such as domestic service, sawmill operations, and railroad construction.

The variety of town people who held bondsmen showed the manner in which slavery was embedded in the business and society of the county. Surveyor James Ingalls owned three slaves; carpenter George Wilkinson, one; tanner David French, one; steamboat pilot Charles Burch, one; merchant Otis McGaffy, two; physician Sylvester Mansfield, two; and lawyer William Lewis, one. The slaveholder with the greatest number of bondsmen was John Stamps, a Tennessee railroad contractor, who owned twenty-six. Another significant owner was David Wingate, the operator of a sawmill at Sabine Pass, who owned thirteen. Vaughan was not a slaveholder.

About one-fourth of the slaveowners were women. Among them were Eliza Lewis, wife of a lawyer; Nancy Hutchinson, an innkeeper; Lucinda Ruff, wife of a sawmill operator; Sarah Herring, wife of a merchant; Mary Coffin, wife of a ship carpenter; and Elizabeth Junker, wife of a county official.⁹

In Beaumont, the largest town in the county, slaveownership was common but not a requirement for holding public office. The municipal government, which was reorganized in October 1860, was comprised of Vaughan, the mayor, and five aldermen: George W. O'Brien, clerk of Jefferson County; Thomas Fletcher, farmer; John J. Herring, merchant; John W. Patridge, saloon keeper; and Nathan Wheeler, machinist. Among these city officials, only Fletcher and Herring were slaveholders. Early appointments by the Board of Aldermen confirmed that slaveownership was not a condition for participation in government. Henry E. Simpson, cabinetmaker, was appointed town clerk; Robert Ruff, merchant, was named treasurer; and Wilson A. Junker, blacksmith, was selected to be constable. None of these men were slaveholders, although Junker came from a family which owned bondsmen.¹⁰

8. Campbell, *Empire for Slavery*, 118-125; US Eighth Census (1860), Slave Schedules.

9. Foregoing in US Eighth Census (1860), Slave Schedules.

10. US Eighth Census (1860), Slave Schedules. See also, "Record of the Board of Alderman," October 2, 1860, to April 9, 1861. Among leading county officials, non-slaveowners were prominent. County Clerk

On the other hand, advertisements in *The Banner* demonstrated how important slave labor was to the region. A farm for sale in Hardin County had particular features: one well, two springs, comfortable dwellings with kitchen, overseer's house, and Negro cabins. W.H. Dunbar, a general auctioneer at nearby Sabine Pass, offered his services to sell real estate, furniture, and slaves. Cave Johnson, a Beaumont saloon keeper and land agent, had a slave for sale in May 1861, describing him as "a likely Negro boy;" Johnson touted the twenty-two-year-old slave as a good blacksmith.¹¹

In a notice of an administrator's sale, Dr. P.H. Glaze and Sarah Pattillo announced the disposition of all the assets of the estate of W.C. Moseley. Included was "a certain Negro girl, of dark complexion, aged about seventeen years." The girl would be sold for cash to the highest bidder.¹²

Other advertisements in the paper revealed that slaves were employed in sawmill operations and railroad construction. Such practices apparently were not common in Texas, as shown in a recent study which discussed various employments of slaves but did not deal with their use in sawmills or railroads. At Beaumont, such procedures were routine. In September 1860, the sawmill operator J.M. Long took out a notice "Negroes Wanted;" he needed five or six to work at his mill.¹³

On the railroad projects of Southeast Texas, the use of slave workers was extensive. Editor Vaughan often reported about the use of slave labor in the construction of the Eastern Texas Railroad. In September 1860, he told of "another gang of 50 slaves" from Rusk County which had passed through Beaumont on their way to Sabine Pass to labor on the road. Later, the editor mentioned a similar occurrence—105 slaves passing through town on their way north to work on the same line. In December, while praising the progress of the East Texas project, Vaughan noted an ample supply of labor—"more than 500 hands, mostly Negroes owned by the stockholders."¹⁴

The use of slaves on the Texas & New Orleans Railroad project was also covered in *The Banner*. In September, contractor W.J. Williams & Co. advertised for 200 Negro laborers. The company wanted to hire slaves and offered good wages to the owner, by the month or by contract. The next month, Vaughan complimented the yeoman service being performed by enslaved workers under the contractor Minter and Gilder, saying they were doing "excellent work."¹⁵

George W. O'Brien did not own slaves, and neither did Sheriff A.J. Tevis. Chief County Magistrate Josiah Junker was counted as an owner by virtue of bondsmen held by his wife and children.

11. BB, September 25 and December 11, 1860.

12. BB, September 25, 1860.

13. BB, September 11, 1860. Campbell discusses the employment of slaves, including their hiring and rental, but does not write about the use of slave labor in sawmill or railroad work. *Empire for Slavery*, 67-95.

14. BB, September 11, November 20, and December 11, 1860.

15. BB, September 11 and October 23, 1860.

Another contractor working on the Texas & New Orleans project and hiring slaves was Marsh, Campbell & Co. Their advertisement, "Two Hundred Negroes Wanted," offered liberal wages, good frame houses, and attention paid to the slaves' comfort. The company also promised to care for the sick, provide a well-ventilated building, and a physician who would give constant attention. These conditions of hire showed evidence of at least some humanitarian feelings for the bondsmen.¹⁶

Humanitarian sentiments towards blacks also were expressed in "The Latest Slave Murder Case," a lengthy story which *The Banner* borrowed from the Petersburg *Express*. In Mecklenberg County, Virginia, which was Vaughan's birthplace, a white man had been convicted and imprisoned for the stripping, whipping, and murdering of his slave woman. The paper applauded the punishment of the white man, saying it vindicated Southern character against aspersions cast by enemies in the North. Southerners "utterly detest and abhor cruelty and barbarity," the paper declared, "whether to whites or blacks."¹⁷

Printed by Vaughan, these protestations against cruelty and barbarity were ironic. They were contradicted by other articles which he published and by his performance as mayor of Beaumont. In these activities he demonstrated his loyalty to the slavery system and his sympathies with racist ideas which justified the enslavement and exploitation of African Americans. Like many Southerners and Texans, he apparently believed in their inferiority, in the stereotype that they could withstand heat and hard physical labor, and in their inability to govern themselves.¹⁸

Vaughan borrowed materials from other publications to promote these racial concepts and to justify the institution of slavery. For example, he ran a long article about slave management which he took from *The Southern Cultivator*, a popular agricultural journal published in Augusta, Georgia; the anonymous writer supported the concept of African American inferiority and suggested that slaves should be firmly disciplined, preferably with a cow hide whip. And in apparent support for expansion of slavery, and perhaps for the reopening of the slave trade, Vaughan printed a *Harper's Weekly* essay which argued that only "the dark races" were suitable for laboring in the Southern climates. Because it was illegal to import slaves by force, the article asked, how were they to be had?¹⁹

With the system of slavery came risks of slave escape and slave rebellion, Incidents of such were reported in September 1860, when *The Banner* carried stories about the "Texas Troubles," a wave of hysteria and violence which spread across the state during the summer of that year. Destructive fires in North Texas, rumored to be the work of

16. BB, May 30, 1861.

17. BB, December 11, 1860.

18. Billy Don Ledbetter, "White over Black in Texas: Racial Attitudes in the Ante-Bellum Period," *Phylon*. 34 (December 1973): 406-411.

19. BB, September 11, 1860.

arsonists, produced tales of abolitionist plots and slave insurrections, of arson, murder, and rapine. Fear and panic in white communities prompted the organization of vigilante committees and the enrollment of patrol companies that regulated slave behavior. Numerous suspects were rounded up and subjected to whipping and lynching.²⁰

Perhaps as many as fifty men, black and white, died in the “Troubles.” The Waco *Southern Democrat* reported the hanging of two men named Boatwright; one, Richard Boatwright, was described as notorious for stealing horses and tampering with slaves. *The Colorado Citizen* (Columbus, Texas) told of a Fayette County plot in which 200 enslaved people had banded together and planned to escape to Mexico; the plot was discovered and the leader arrested. The affairs of the Athens Vigilance Committee were recorded by the *Trinity Advocate* (Palestine, Texas). The committee had uncovered a plot to poison water wells: one well was poisoned and slaves were discovered in possession of bottles of strychnine. The plot had been suppressed and the Vigilance Committee subsequently disbanded.²¹

Details of the slavery system in Beaumont were revealed in November 1860 when *The Banner* published various town ordinances. Here editor Vaughan printed the laws which he had drafted and signed as mayor. And here, in a section entitled, “Offenses related to Slaves and Slave Property,” he demonstrated his loyalty to slavery, his willingness to enforce the system, and his approval of whipping as a punishment. Also seen in these city regulations was the manner in which the institution of slavery was entwined with the city government. The citizens owned the slaves but the municipality claimed the right to regulate slave behavior and to control relations between the races.²²

The slave regulations for Beaumont were similar to urban slave codes adopted in other Texas towns such as Austin and Galveston. The Beaumont statutes prescribed crimes and penalties. For white citizens, there were fines of ten to fifty dollars for various violations: allowing a slave unauthorized possession of guns, ammunition or intoxicating liquors; associating on terms of equality with any slave or slaves; or resisting the orders of any slave patrol company. For Beaumont slaves, the ordinances set forth penalties for possessing firearms or alcoholic spirits, lounging in public, engaging in any insolent or boisterous behavior, or being found away from home at night. The punishments were specific and brutal—fifteen to thirty lashes “well laid-on by the town constable.”²³

20. For a discussion of the role of newspapers in the “Texas Troubles,” see Reynolds, *Editors Make War*, 99-116.

21. BB, September 11, 1860.

22. BB, November 6, 1860.

23. BB, November 6, 1860. Paul E. Lack discusses urban slave codes in “Urban Slavery in the Southwest,” *Red River Valley Historical Review*, 6 (Spring 1989): 9.

As slavery was seen and discussed in *The Banner*, so the coming of the Civil War was reported in the paper. From September 1860 through May 1861, Vaughan covered a chain of critical national events: the presidential campaign, the victory of Lincoln, the secession of the Southern states, the separation of Texas from the Union, the formation of the Confederacy, and the mobilization of troops. The editor recorded the political attitudes of the voters of Beaumont and Southeast Texas, their opposition to Lincoln, and their support for secession of the Lone Star state. Here also, working to influence public opinion, Vaughan used his paper for advancing the Southern cause, opposing Republicans and advocating the movement for secession.

In the presidential campaign, two matters were clear for Southerners, according to Vaughan. The Southern Democratic ticket of John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane was the preferred choice; Lincoln and the Republicans were completely unacceptable. Editorials taken from other Texas papers made the case. Fellow newspaperman Hamilton Stuart of the *Galveston Civilian* listed his choices for president first Breckinridge, next Douglas, then Bell, last Lincoln. Also favoring the Southern Democrats, the *The Redland Express* (San Augustine, Texas) claimed Breckinridge was the only man who could “drive back the tide of fanaticism and silence the waves of frenzy that lashed at the proud columns of the Union.” Taking a slightly different angle, an article borrowed from Edward Cushing’s *Houston Telegraph* attacked Stephen A. Douglas, the nominee of the Northern Democrats. Describing the candidate as “bold, talented and unscrupulous,” the writer predicted Douglas would cause a catastrophe—the defeat of Breckinridge and the election of Lincoln.

In September, while writing about the presidential campaign, Vaughan lashed out at Texas Governor Sam Houston, castigating him for his attitudes of moderation and for his failure to provide strong leadership in the cause of Southern rights. Once hailed as the hero of San Jacinto and “the infallible man of Texas,” now Houston was condemned for “his specious dogmas . . . and electioneering cant,” for his “blubber about the Constitution and the Union.” For failure to face the hard issues, Houston should be ignored, along with moderates such as John Bell and Edward Everett, the candidates of the Constitutional Union Party. What was needed, Vaughan argued, was vigorous opposition to the Black Republicans. He recommended Breckinridge and Lane.

The next month Vaughan stirred up the sectional controversy and tried to build opposition to the Republican Party. He published articles showing the fanaticism of radical Republicans and their hostility to the Southern way of life. “Helper’s Creed” was a distillation of the anti-slavery diatribe contained in *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (1857). Written by Hinton R. Helper, the extremist book was denounced in the article as a Republican manual. Advocating immediate termination of slavery, the “Creed” recommended the unqualified condemnation and the total ostracism of all slaveholders.

Equally obnoxious to readers of *The Banner* were the “irrepressible conflict” speeches of New York Senator William H. Seward, a prominent and provocative Republican spokesman. The collision between North and South was not accidental, Seward declared, it was an irrepressible conflict: “The United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or a free labor nation.”

Also in October, *The Banner* reported a campaign rally in Beaumont. A Mr. Gammage had spoken in favor of Breckinridge and Lane but Vaughan thought it a poor effort, redeemed only by its cause. Gammage was followed by Judge E.A.M. Gray, a popular local lawyer, whose remarks the editor described as a brief but eloquent appeal to the Southern patriotism of the audience. In the paper of November 6, Vaughan included a brief notice: “Election Today.” He predicted Jefferson County, the whole of East Texas, the entire state would give an overwhelming majority to Breckinridge and Lane.²⁴

Two weeks later *The Banner* furnished details of the Republican victory. Northern states, with large popular votes and great electoral power, had gone for Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin. The South, including Texas, had voted for Breckinridge and Lane; that ticket had carried every Texas county by large majorities. As forecast by Vaughan, Jefferson and Orange County voters had given most of their ballots to the Southern Democrats—283 votes for Breckinridge and Lane against ninety-one for a fusion ticket composed of anti Lincoln electors.²⁵

The same edition of the paper carried news of reactions to Lincoln’s election: business distress in the North and political unrest in the South. In New York, a financial panic was reported; trade was restricted and the bills and stocks of Southern companies were scarcely negotiable. Hoping to restore public confidence, three New York papers—*The Herald*, the *Tribune*, and *The Times*—called on Lincoln to issue a manifesto promising he would protect Southern interests and institutions.

From Louisiana, Alabama, and Florida came reports of movements for secession and organization of armed militias. In South Carolina, where political excitement was intense, the legislature set the date for a secession convention. At Augusta, Georgia, thousands joined in a disunion parade, a hussar company was raised, guns were fired, and the “Marseillaise” was sung.

Adding to the tensions between North and South was Lincoln’s plain spoken vow to maintain Federal authority in the Southern states. In a New York article appearing in *The Banner*, the President-elect insisted that he would maintain Federal laws at all hazard. He declared that his duty forbade his permitting the secessionists to take possession of Federal forts.

24. Foregoing in BB, September 11, October 16, 23, and November 6, 1860.

25. BB, November 20, 1860. For a discussion of the 1860 election results, including the role of the Fusion ticket, see Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas*, 53, 58.

Resistance to Lincoln and the coming Republican administration mounted in Texas. From Willard Richardson's *The Galveston News* came a long article by C.G. Forshey, Commandant of the Texas Military Institute. Forshey demanded that Lincoln and Hamlin resign their offices; failing that, Southerners should refuse to live under a sectional president. He wanted all citizens to decline service under Lincoln and all judges and postmasters to refuse to function. Suggesting that Texas send delegates to a general Southern convention, he recommended secession within a strong confederacy. If that was not possible, Forshey wanted Texas to go it alone under the Lone Star banner that floated from the flagstaff at the Institute.²⁶

Borrowing additional items from Texas papers, Vaughan printed more reactions to Lincoln's election, reactions which promoted secession and which he no doubt wanted to encourage. Richardson of *The Galveston News* argued that the "election of a Black Republican president" meant the "hour of waiting was past" and the time for "a bold and decided Stand" had arrived. Waiting for an overt act from the new president was folly, *The Rusk Enquirer* declared; his election was an overt act. *The Anderson Texian* reported a company of cavalry had been organized while the Waco *South West* told of Lone Star flags flying in the city. Recommending immediate secession, *The Huntsville Item* claimed it never saw the necessity of joining the Union in the first place.²⁷

At Orange, Texas, meetings were held in December to consider issues raised by Lincoln's election. The crowds there were large and enthusiastic, *The Banner* said, much in favor of protecting the rights of Texas. A beautiful Lone Star flag was presented by the young ladies of the town to the young gentlemen.²⁸

Across the state of Texas, support for secession was widespread, but not unanimous. There were voices of moderation, but these were not heard in *The Banner*. Governor Houston and others urged caution, delay, careful consideration of the issues. Also recommending caution was Hamilton Stuart, editor of the *Galveston Civilian*. While not absolutely condemning secession, Stuart suggested that "it will be hard to institute better governments or a happier order of things than we have hitherto enjoyed."²⁹

For Vaughan, the need for protecting Southern rights was clear already. In early January, he invited his readers' earnest and thoughtful attention to "The Address of the People of South Carolina ... to the People of the Slaveholding States." Here he offered Beaumonters a lengthy rationalization for secession.

Covering more than five columns, the open letter from the South Carolinians was an impassioned statement of the Southern position, including its historical development. Southerners had loved the Union and fought on her behalf. But all fraternity between

26. BB, November 20 and December 11, 1860.

27. BB, December 11, 1860. See also Fornell. *Galveston Era*, 278.

28. BB, December 11, 1860.

29. Fornell, *Galveston Era*, 281.

North and South had been lost. The sections were driven apart by stern destinies. The North preferred a system of industry in which capital and labor were in perpetual conflict while the South had a system in which labor and capital were held in common, and capital therefore protected labor. Benefits of the Southern program were numerous; many fertile regions, where Anglo Americans could not labor, were brought into usefulness by the work of the Africans. The South Carolinians demanded to be left alone and invited Southerners to join them in forming a confederacy of slaveholding states.

Vaughan was convinced of the necessity for Texas to secede. Echoing the impatience expressed earlier by Richardson of *The Galveston News*, Vaughan declared on January 8, 1861, that all argument had been exhausted and all appeals to the North were unheeded, that Southern rights would not be guaranteed if Texas remained in the Union. Urging decisive steps, he thought cooperation with the other Southern states was desirable but not essential. It was high time for action, he proclaimed, but what action? "Shall we remain silent? ... Shall we enter into resolve? ... No! ... Texas should take immediate action. Let us ... disunite ourselves from a government, under which our most sacred rights are disregarded."

Some even believed that secession was not only necessary but also desirable, that separation would bring many benefits to the South. Probably embracing this view and wanting to persuade his readers, Vaughan ran an article from *The Times* of London, England, which suggested that if all the Southern states combined to form a confederacy, they would be the real United States, so far as prosperity was concerned. Every advantage was with the slaveholding states, the writer claimed. Mexico would be conquered, and the Southerners would be the lords of the most magnificent domain in the world, controlling the passage between two oceans.

By February, the secession movement among the Southern states had made significant progress. On February 19, Vaughan published a status report: five states had seceded—South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia; three—Louisiana, Virginia, and Texas—had called secession conventions; Arkansas, North Carolina, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee had not acted.

In Texas, the secession question was considered in a special convention in Austin. Commencing on January 28, the conclave was covered in *The Banner*. A "Proceedings" report dated February 4 advised readers about various bills and resolutions. One demanded that US General David Twiggs, commander of Federal forces in Texas, surrender all government arms in his possession. Another provided for the purchase of military weapons for the state. A third prescribed a referendum, the submission of the secession act to the voters for ratification.

Feelings of Southern patriotism ran high. A reprint from the *Austin State Gazette* called on all Texans to stand by the state and the South in the struggle that was pend-

ing between the two great sections of the country. Late events had proved the validity of the Southern position. "Every man must raise his voice on behalf of the honor and safety of his state," the article declared. "He who is not with us, is against us."

Locally, Colonel Henry C. Hicks, a lawyer from nearby Sabine Pass, addressed citizens of Beaumont about the questions then shaking the pillars of the nation. In a speech described by Vaughan as "cogent, beautiful and loudly applauded," Hicks recommended the immediate secession of Texas. "Long live the Colonel," the editor proclaimed, "and all such patriotic men."

The secession of Texas, approved by the Austin convention, was referred to the voters for ratification in an election set for February 23. Writing a few days before the vote, Vaughan counseled with his readers and argued in favor of separation from the Union.

The issue of secession had been forced upon the South, the editor wrote. Earlier, Southerners had submitted patiently to injustice, but continued submission would be the part of a people degraded, ignorant of their rights, too cowardly to defend them. Texas did not fear the coming election or its results. The honor, the tranquility, the future independence, and prosperity of Texas were safe in the hands of Texans. Threats of coercion had no effect on them, except to confirm them in their opposition to the oppression planned by a fanatical sectional majority.

Vaughan claimed that the Constitution had been violated by the North. Also, he vowed Texas would not bear allegiance to a national government inaugurated upon sectional issues, "We, as freemen, absolve the ties which bind us to it," he declared, "protesting solemnly but peacefully, against the usurpations which impelled us to act." He hoped "that the people of the North may yet concede that we are right" and that "they will learn to construe our national pact as we do." Closing his argument, Vaughan threw down the gauntlet: unless the people of the North fully corrected their ways, the editor warned, the people of Texas would regard them as enemies in war.

Even before the ratification of Texas secession, *The Banner* announced the mobilization of troops in Beaumont. A notice printed on February 19 ordered members of the Jefferson Light Dragoons to assemble for drill at the courthouse on the following Saturday afternoon. The orders were signed by Captain Frank P. Powers and Orderly Sergeant Ben Gammon.³⁰

The separation of Texas from the United States was approved by the voters on February 23. Across the state the vote was nearly four to one in favor of secession; in Jefferson County the numbers were even more decisive, with 256 in favor and only sixteen against.³¹

30. Foregoing in BB, January 8 and February 19, 1861.

31. BB, May 21, 1861. For results of the secession ratification vote, see Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962), 132-133; Block, *Jefferson County*, 98.

With Texas officially separated from the Union, the next step involved realignment of the state with the new Confederate government. Covering this process, Vaughan told of a meeting in Beaumont on May 17 to select delegates to a convention in Jasper that would nominate a candidate for the congress of the Southern confederacy. George W. O'Brien, County Clerk, served as chairman of the meeting, and Felix O. Yates, principal of the Beaumont Male and Female Academy, served as secretary. O'Brien appointed six delegates: Joseph Hebert of Taylor's Bayou, Messrs. Alexander, Hotchkiss, and Eddy of Sabine Pass, and John J. Herring and Cave Johnson of Beaumont. Hebert was a farmer; Hotchkiss, a county official; Johnson, a saloon keeper; Alexander and Herring, merchants. The delegates were instructed to support, insofar as it was possible, the nomination of Colonel Henry C. Hicks, the Sabine Pass lawyer who had campaigned earlier for secession.³²

In these early political activities of the new Confederacy, slaveownership was not a requirement for participation. Neither O'Brien or Yates were slaveholders. Among the delegates, three—Hebert, Herring, and Johnson—were slaveowners, while the other three—Alexander, Hotchkiss, and Eddy—were not. Colonel Hicks, the proposed nominee, owned six slaves.³³

The separation of Southern states from the Union continued. On May 21, Vaughan happily reported the secession of Arkansas and Tennessee. He welcomed these states with "open arms" and greeted them with "demonstrations of affectionate regard."

While secession proceeded, preparations for war already had begun. *The Banner* provided numerous reports from the North and South; Federal troops were maneuvering and Confederate forces were taking up positions. At nearby Galveston, the construction of breastworks and fortifications was almost complete. Fifteen hundred citizens were drilling, getting primed for the enemy. Houston and other area towns were preparing to send additional troops to assist in the defense of the island city.

Vaughan also printed stories intended to hearten the Confederates and belittle the enemy. Two articles ridiculed President Lincoln and a third made fun of Pennsylvania troops. Lincoln was depicted as a drunkard and at odds with his generals. The Pennsylvanians were described as unarmed, undisciplined, uncouth, woe to them, the article warned, when they met the mighty South Carolinian regiments.

In other attempts to encourage his fellow Southerners, Vaughan published articles showing a lack of resolve among some Northern leaders and their efforts to head-off a military collision. In late May, he printed a long statement from Ohio Congressman Clement L. Vallandigham, detailing his opposition to Republican policy and to the possibility of war. Presenting a similar view was a story about Indiana Congressman Daniel W. Voorhies, who asserted that Indiana had no quarrel with the South and

32. BB, May 21, 1861; US Eighth Census (1860), Inhabitants.

33. US Eighth Census (1860), Slave Schedules.

that he would vote no funds to make war against fathers, brothers, and friends. And from *The Daily Exchange* of Baltimore came “The Position of Maryland.” Denouncing the tyrannical Republican government and its repression of the South, the newspaper pleaded for patience and peace.

At the same time Vaughan published “The St. Louis Massacre,” a bloody story which no doubt was intended to inflame his readers. An eyewitness account written by a Dr. Ed Crescent told of a violent incident in which Union soldiers had opened fire without warning on a crowd of Southern militia and civilians. Between twenty and one hundred persons had been killed, including a fourteen-year-old girl and two young brothers. In anger, Dr. Crescent cried out, “We are now overrun by a horde of barbarians from Illinois and blood thirsty Abolitionists from Iowa and Wisconsin and jayhawkers and freebooters from everywhere. But God is just,” he declared, “and by his help we will maintain the right.”

On May 30, Vaughan was not happy. The nonarrival of steamboats from New Orleans had prevented him from getting newsprint. Also, he had received no mail or newspapers and found it impossible to offer his readers any late news. In those critical times, when the need for news was so great, he was compelled to print only a half sheet—two pages instead of four. But even with this last available, abbreviated issue of *The Banner*, he gave vivid glimpses of the days just as the war was beginning. Emotions were running high. Troops were being mobilized.

Being deprived of supplies and mail from New Orleans, Vaughan complained bitterly about the interruption of shipping in the Gulf of Mexico. He lambasted the steamship company of Harris and Morgan for taking their ships out of the Southern trade and sending them North. “Good riddance!” the editor declared; the company held “one of the most damnable monopolies ever practiced on a people ... They have amassed millions of dollars, and in return—what have they done? Flown to Abraham’s bosom for safety, of course!”³⁴

In Beaumont, a vigilance committee was organized. According to a notice in the paper, the Beaumont Vigilance Committee ordered the expulsion of Peter B. Ennis, a twenty-eight year old carpenter and railroad worker from Pennsylvania. A unanimously adopted resolution required Ennis to leave Jefferson County by midnight, Sunday, May 26. Reasons for this action against the man were not given, but perhaps it was to suppress slave insurrections or root out Union sympathizers.³⁵

The paper reported continuing mobilization of troops in Southeast Texas. Orange County citizens met at Duncan’s Woods to organize a fighting company. Dr. S. Gill, chairman of the meeting, spoke eloquently, declaring that the new company would defend the rights and liberties of a free and independent Confederacy, that they would

34. Foregoing in BB, May 21 and 30, 1861.

35. BB, May 30, 1861; US Eighth Census (1860), Inhabitants.

meet any foe who might attempt to invade Texas soil, which had been bought most dearly by pioneer fathers. Officers were elected: David E. Lawhon, captain; William Gill, first lieutenant; George Haynes, second Lieutenant; and Josh Harmon, first sergeant. Dubbing themselves the Duncan's Woods Independent Rifle Company, the men spent several hours in good-order drilling.

Other East Texas troops were already on their way to various points. *The Banner* reported that the Woodville Volunteer Company had passed through Beaumont before dawn on Tuesday, May 28; the company of sixty men were going downriver on board the steamboat *Belle Sulphur*. Having been accepted by President Jefferson Davis, the group first had to travel to New Orleans where it would await further orders. Vaughan applauded "these first class citizens of Tyler County," declaring they had no other object than to fight. "Three cheers for the Woodville volunteers!" he cried.

Men from the Beaumont area were also under arms near Brownsville, Texas. A letter "From the Rio Grande" provided a lively report from the Jefferson Mounted Rifles who were on duty at Fort Brown. Located opposite Matamoros, Mexico, the fort had been used previously to protect Brownsville and the United States border against Indian raiders and Mexican freebooters such as Juan Cortina. Now the fort was a point of contention between North and South.

Beginning "Dear Vaughan" and signed with the nom de guerre "Dragoon," the letter told of exciting times at Fort Brown. Union vessels cruised the coast and there was danger in trying to ship anything, even a bale of cotton or a pack of wool, out of Texas ports. The Confederates had seven companies, about 600 men working day and night on the trenches. Soon they would complete the fortifications. If Northern troops took fort Brown, the writer vowed, "they will have to kill every mother's son of us."

Elated that the military spirit had taken hold of the good citizens of Jefferson County, "Dragoon" believed the Jefferson Mounted Rifles would prove themselves under fire. He hoped they would not allow any man to join them except those "prepared to go to Washington or the devil." Having a high opinion of the men from Jefferson County, he called them "gallant fellows." Truly, he said, the county was well-represented in the defense of her state. Biding "au revoir" to Vaughan and readers of *The Banner*, the writer unleashed a round of Texas bravado: "After making a meal of the Yankees," "Dragoon" declared, we will "take Cortina for dessert. Matamoros for dinner and the whole world for supper."³⁶

The military spirit which had inspired the words of the Soldier "Dragoon" soon gripped the newspaperman Vaughan. In a short time, perhaps only one or two weeks after publishing the May 31 issue of *The Banner*, he abandoned his paper and joined the Confederate Army. Vaughan served with Company F, Fifth Texas Regiment, Hood's Brigade. He campaigned with the Southern forces, suffered episodes of debilitating ill-

36. Foregoing in BB, May 30, 1861.

ness, and was wounded severely in May 1864 in the Battle of the Wilderness. Staying with the army for the duration, he witnessed the defeat of the Confederate armies, the failure of the Southern cause, and the destruction of slavery.³⁷

After the war Vaughan returned to Southeast Texas but did not re-enter the newspaper business. He lived in Beaumont, taught school, and served for a while as tax assessor and collector of Jefferson County. He married Alabama E. Keith and later moved with her to Sabine Pass, engaging there in the shipping business. Then he and his wife relocated to Cairo, Jasper County, where he had an ownership interest in the Texas Tram & Lumber Company. Vaughan died at his residence in Jasper County in 1882 at the age of fifty-three. He was survived by his wife, a son Nicholas, and three daughters, Florence, Anna, and Addie.³⁸

In the period just before the Civil War, Beaumont and Jefferson County was different from East Texas and the Lower South. The area did not have a plantation economy and its business was varied; farming and ranching were balanced with operations of sawmills, steamboats, and railroads. Also, the number of slaves was modest, as were the quantity and influence of slaveholders. This section of the country was not dominated by planters or a slaveholding aristocracy. There were no planters and many of the city and county leaders, such as Vaughan and O'Brien, were non-slaveowners.

But the institution of slavery was completely ingrained in the society of Beaumont and Southeast Texas. And while the number of slaveholders was not large, their variety was great. Their chattels were found throughout the community, not only on farms and ranches, but also in sawmills, on railroads, and around the town of Beaumont in hotels and stores and in the homes of doctors, lawyers, and craftsmen. In short, slavery pervaded Beaumont culture.

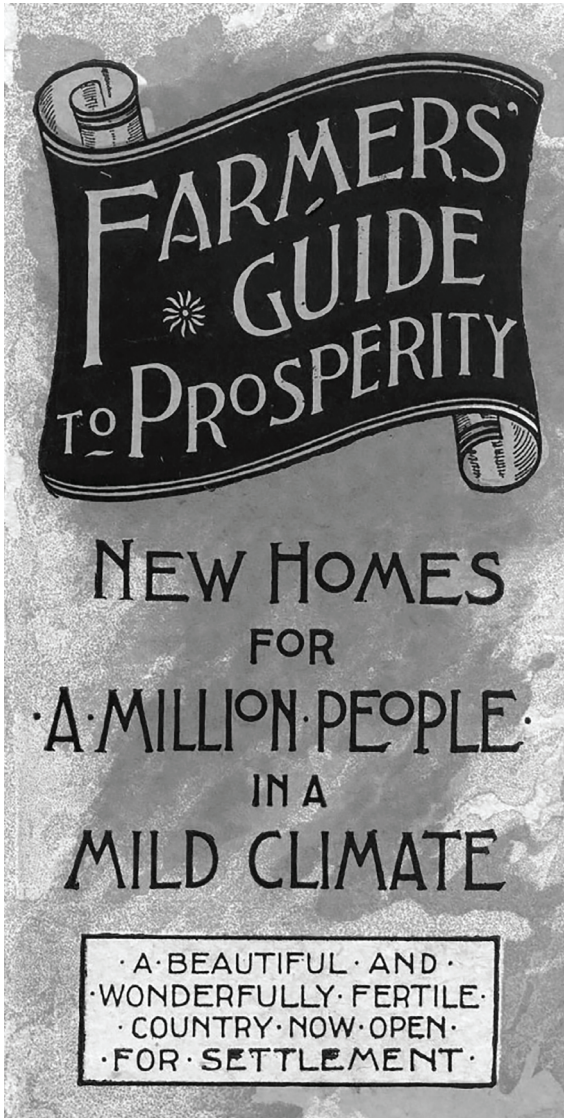
Editor Vaughan was not a slaveholder, but he strongly supported the institution with his actions as newspaperman and mayor. He published articles expounding racist theories which justified slavery and wrote approvingly about their employment on railroad projects. And as mayor, he drafted and signed town ordinances which perpetuated the slavery system and regulated slave behavior.

With slavery deeply rooted in his community, Vaughan aligned himself and his paper with the politics of the Lower South, with the diehard defense of the institution. When slavery was threatened by national events, Vaughan used *The Banner* to promote the Southern cause. Writing editorials and borrowing like-minded articles from other papers, he worked to mold the opinions of his readers on the critical issues of the day. He opposed Lincoln and the Republicans, favored the secession of Texas, and endorsed the mobilization of troops.

37. Copies of Vaughan's military records, including Company muster rolls, are located at the Historical Research Center, Texas Heritage Museum, Hill College, Hillsboro, TX.

38. *The Beaumont Enterprise*, February 3, 1883. Vaughan family papers, including photographs, were made available to the writer by Vaughan's great granddaughter, Vallie Fletcher Taylor, Hico, TX.

Vaughan's readers agreed with his editorial and political policies. When given opportunities, the people of Beaumont and Jefferson County consistently supported the Southern cause. Even though their ownership of slaves was not great, they steadfastly demonstrated their loyalty to the institution and the Southern way of life. In the presidential campaign, they voted decisively for Breckenridge and Lane; during the secession crisis, they voted conclusively in favor of separation; and in a final test of their political convictions, the men of Southeast Texas took up arms and risked their lives to defend the South.



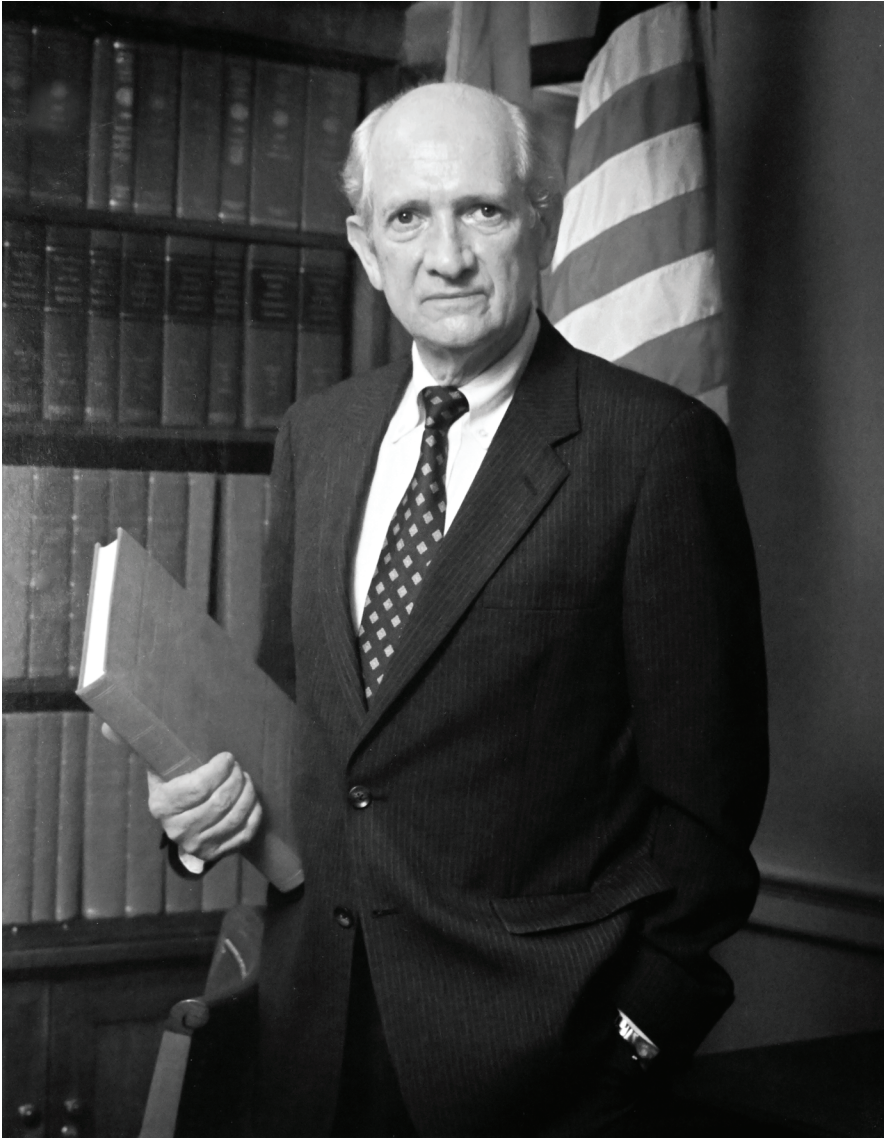
The Fort Worth and Denver City Railway published this brochure the same year that Francois and Elizabeth Chauveaux moved to Armstrong County, promising bounty and comfort for new settlers to the high plains of the Texas Panhandle. *Farmers' Guide to Prosperity* (Denver: Denver, Texas, and Fort Worth Railway, 1888). Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, University of Texas at Arlington and Portal to Texas History, University of North Texas.

Texas

La Terre Promise

West Texas Historical Association Year Book, 73 (January 1997): 11-30

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Congressman Jack Brooks. Special Collections and Lamar University Archives, Mary and John Gray Library, Lamar University.

CONGRESSMAN JACK BROOKS

The Struggle for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Desegregation of
Public Accommodations and Facilities in Southeast Texas

The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record, 49 (1999): 19-31

In the early 1950s when Jack Brooks first won his seat in the U.S. Congress, African Americans in the South were trapped within the Jim Crow system of racial segregation. In his hometown of Beaumont, Texas, white Americans enforced this collection of laws and customs that denied black Americans access to most hotels, restaurants, libraries, parks, and golf courses. Less than fifteen years later, the efforts of African-American activists and all three branches of the federal government demolished Jim Crow. Congress passed a series of civil rights laws, the most important coming in 1964. The Civil Rights Act, among other things, guaranteed African Americans access to all public accommodations and facilities from which they had been barred. Scholars have credited the NAACP and other civil rights groups, presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, and a small cadre of congressional leaders for the successful passage of the landmark legislation. The principal congressmen included senators Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), Mike Mansfield (D-MT), Thomas H. Kuchel (R-CA), and Everett Dirksen (R-IL); and representatives William McCulloch (R-OH), Richard Bolling (D-MO), and Emanuel Celler (D-NY), who chaired the House Judiciary Subcommittee Number Five that drafted the bill. Rep. Jack Brooks (D-TX) deserves inclusion in this discussion. He served on Celler's subcommittee and voted for the bill when most other Southern congressmen cast votes against it.¹

Born in 1922 in Crowley, Louisiana, Brooks was reared and educated in Beaumont, Texas. He attended Lamar Junior College, transferring to the University of Texas at

1. For the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, see Charles and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Cabin John, MD: Seven Locks Press, 1985); Robert D. Loevy, *To End All Segregation: The Politics of the Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, Inc., 1990); Loevy, ed., *The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The Passage of the Law That Ended Racial Segregation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997); and Georgianna F. Rathbun, ed., *Revolution in Civil Rights*, (Fourth edition, CQI, 1968), 53-65.

Austin where he earned a journalism degree in 1943. During World War II, Brooks joined the U.S. Marine Corps and spent almost two years in the Pacific. He won a commendation for service on Okinawa, and in 1946, he received his discharge with a commission as first lieutenant. Between 1946 and 1950, he served two terms in the state House of Representatives, making use of spare time to earn a law degree at the University of Texas in 1949. In the Texas House, he sponsored legislation that elevated the two-year Lamar Junior College to a four-year state college of technology.²

After completing his second term in the Texas House, Brooks returned to Beaumont to practice law. Within two years, however, he resumed his political career. In 1952, when Congressman Jesse M. Combs retired, Brooks ran for the position, surviving a twelve-way Democratic primary and winning a runoff. In the general election, November 4, 1952, he defeated Republican Randolph C. Reed and thus began a forty-two-year career in the U.S. House of Representatives. During his long tenure, Brooks rose to the chairmanship of two committees—Government Operations and Judiciary. He also sponsored various development projects for his district, including B.A. Steinhagen and Sam Rayburn reservoirs.³

On January 3, 1953, Brooks began service in the Eighty-third Congress. At that time, the Texas delegation consisted of two senators and twenty-two representatives, all members of the Democratic Party. It was a prominent and powerful group with Lyndon Johnson as Senate minority floor leader and Sam Rayburn as Democratic floor leader in the House. Two years later, when the Democrats won majorities in both houses, Johnson became Majority Leader and Rayburn reassumed the position of Speaker of the House, a post he had held in 1940–1947 and 1949–1953. Other influential Texans included Martin Dies of Lufkin, Albert Thomas of Houston, Clark Thompson of Galveston, Homer Thornberry of Austin, and Lloyd Bentsen Jr. of McAllen.⁴

Right away, Brooks became friends with Johnson, later enjoying a close, personal relationship when he and his wife Charlotte often dined with the senator and his wife Lady Bird. He also became a protégé of Rayburn, the legendary Texas Democrat who held sway in the House for more than forty years. With Rayburn's help, Brooks was appointed to the Government Operations Committee in the Eighty-third Congress (1953-1954) and to the Judiciary Committee in the Eighty-fourth Congress (1955-

2. Theresa Wiersema Prince, "Jack Brooks and Impeachment Article Five" (MA thesis, Lamar University, 1985), 1-6; Michael Barone, ed., *The Almanac of American Politics—1972* (Washington, DC: Barone & Co., 1972).

3. Prince, "Jack Brooks," 1-6; Phil Duncan, ed., *Politics in America: 1990, The 101st Congress* (CQI, 1989), 1450-1453. Brooks retired in 1995. He passed away on December 4, 2012. For documents on Jack Brooks's forty-two-year congressional career, see the Jack Brooks Collection (hereafter JBC), acquired in 2008 by the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, from Lamar University Archives and Special Collections.

4. *Congressional Directory* (GPO, 1953), 138-143, 169, 299, 303.



On March 1, 1968, US President Lyndon B. Johnson made an unannounced appearance at a Jack Brooks dinner at the Ridgewood Motor Hotel, the first presidential visit to Beaumont according to *The Enterprise*. Charlotte Brooks watches as her husband Jack Brooks shakes hands with Johnson. Rolfe and Gary Christopher Negative Collection, Special Collections and Lamar University Archives, Mary and John Gray Library, Lamar University.

1956). Brooks was much influenced by Speaker Rayburn, learning from him the ways and workings of Congress. From the very first, Brooks recalled, Rayburn included him in meetings of his “Board of Education,” an informal gathering in the Speaker’s private office where a small, exclusive group enjoyed drinks and discussed congressional business. Also, Brooks was a regular at Rayburn’s Wednesday luncheon for the Texas delegation. Later, after Rayburn’s retirement, Brooks himself became chairman of the Texas delegation and hosted the Wednesday group.⁵

5. Duncan, *Politics in America 1990*, 1451-1453; Charles L. Clapp, *The Congressman: His Work As He Sees it* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1963), 41-42. Brooks recalled that he and his wife Charlotte often dined with the Johnsons and remained “close personal friends and political allies throughout the ‘64 effort and thereafter also.” He also remembered the Texas delegation Wednesday luncheons, when he discussed legislative matters with Johnson who “stood for civil rights and was dedicated to equality for all.” A September 1963 photograph documents this friendship, depicting then Vice President and Mrs. Johnson visiting the Brooks family farm in Jasper County, Texas. Jack Brooks interviews with the author, August 21 and December 9, 1998.

Under Rayburn's tutelage, Brooks learned to manage the dilemmas inherent in the congressman's job of casting votes, balancing various interests, loyalty to the Democratic Party, the sentiments of voters in his Second Congressional District, his own convictions, and myriad other considerations. Sometimes, to satisfy fellow Democrats, he had to "go along to get along," while other times, he followed Rayburn's admonition to "vote your district first," all the while trying to figure out what he wanted to do. It was a responsibility filled with many hard and complicated decisions. But as Brooks later said, "I never thought being a congressman was supposed to be an easy job."⁶

Early in his career, Brooks made progress in his committee work. He got along well with William L. Dawson (D-IL), the African-American congressman who chaired the Government Operations Committee, and who in 1955 appointed Brooks chairman of the Special Government Activities Subcommittee. The same year Celler, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, designated Brooks a member of the Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights Subcommittee. Brooks's relationship with the *New Yorker* became critical later in civil rights matters. Celler, a prominent civil rights advocate, used his Judiciary Committee as a workshop to forge all the civil rights bills of the 1950s and 1960s.⁷

As a student of Rayburn and undoubtedly influenced by Senator Johnson, Brooks became a highly partisan Democrat. One observer described him as "an irascible, tough-talking Texan, a man of strong loyalties and fierce independence." Another saw him as "Congress' [*sic*] most partisan Democrat" who "simply by his presence can rile Republicans," and yet another described him as a Democrat "who thinks the G in GOP is an expletive." He steadfastly supported Democratic initiatives, compiling records in terms of loyalty to the party. In 1958, for example, he ranked among the most loyal of all Democratic congressmen, voting with his party on ninety-five percent of the roll call votes. By the same measure and compared with other Texas Democratic congressmen, Brooks ranked second in 1957 and 1958, and first in 1959. Other Texans noteworthy for party loyalty were Thompson of Galveston, Lindley Beckworth of Gladewater, Jim Wright of Fort Worth, and John Young of Corpus Christi.⁸

Brooks's opponents often castigated him as a "liberal Democrat." He denied the charge, saying, "I'm just like old man Rayburn, just a Democrat, no prefix or suffix." But he

6. Alan Ehrenhalt, ed., *Politics in America: Members of Congress in Washington and at Home* (CQI, 1981), 1169-1171; Clapp, *Congressman*, 288, 378.

7. Brooks developed a close relationship with Dawson. On one occasion, he gave the Illinois congressman a jar of homemade mayhaw jelly. The gesture reminded Dawson of his boyhood days in Georgia and his immigration to Chicago "with nothing but a carpetbag." Brooks interviews.

8. Ehrenhalt, ed., *Politics in America*, 1169-1171; Duncan, ed., *Politics in America 1990*, 1450-1453; *Congressional Quarterly Fact Sheet 1958* (CQI, 1958), 122-125; *Congressional Quarterly Fact Sheet 1959* (CQI, 1959), 126-129.

did have strong labor support in Jefferson and Orange counties, and he compiled a “liberal” record when voting on labor and business issues. During the 1960s, his voting record received high rankings from the AFL-CIO and correspondingly low marks from the Chamber of Commerce. But such rankings do not tell the whole story. Early in his career, Brooks supported Rayburn and Johnson in their legislative programs that favored the Texas oil and gas industry. Also, he did not team overtly with liberals of the party. He was not among the organizers in 1957 of the liberal Democratic Study Group, nor the same year did he sign the “Proposed Program for Democrats in the House of Representatives,” a “liberal manifesto” of legislative proposals.⁹

Brooks, nevertheless, demonstrated a sympathy for civil rights causes early in his career. In 1954, he hired as his administrative assistant Davis B. Carter, a college friend and Episcopal rector, who had come under fire from conservative Anglicans for his outspoken views on the need to racially integrate the University of the South Seminary and other Episcopal facilities. In 1956, Brooks distanced himself from Southern segregationists when he declined to sign the “Southern Manifesto.” Drafted by Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina, the notice was a declaration of white supremacy and state rights, clothed in constitutional arguments. It condemned the Supreme Court’s *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* decision, pledging to use all lawful means to reverse the decision and resist its implementation.¹⁰

The Southern Manifesto had no official standing in Congress, but it circulated among delegations from the Southern states, where it drew broad support. Out of 128 Southern senators and congressmen, 101 signed the state rights declaration. Among the twenty-seven Southerners who refused to sign, fifteen were Texans, including Senator Johnson and congressmen Brooks, Rayburn, Thomas, Thompson, and Thornberry. Texans who did attach their signature included Sen. Price Daniel and representatives Wright Patman, Martin Dies, and John Dowdy.¹¹

Brooks may have declined to sign the Southern Manifesto, but this did not mean that he would automatically support civil rights legislation. In fact, he voted against the first two civil rights laws passed in modern times. In 1957, he voted “nay” on a civil rights bill proposed by Dwight Eisenhower’s Republican administration. Designed to protect and enlarge the voting of African Americans, the law created an executive Commission on Civil Rights, established a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice, and empowered the Attorney General to seek court injunctions against obstruction or deprivation of voting rights. By final vote taken June 18, 1957,

9. Duncan, ed., *Politics in America 1990*, 1450-1453; Ehrenhalt, ed., *Politics in America*, 1142-1144, 1169-1170.

10. Davis B. Carter telephone interview with author, Aug. 23, 1998; Duncan, *Politics in America 1990*, 1452.

11. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 84th Congress, 2nd Session* (CQI, 1956), 416-417; *Congressional Record, 81st Congress, 2nd Session* (CQI, 1956), 4515-4516, 4459-4464, 12760-12761.

the House largely divided along traditional lines, North and South. Congressmen from Massachusetts, for example, voted one hundred percent in favor, while all the Texans, including Brooks, Dies, Thomas, Thornberry, and Wright cast their votes in opposition. Rayburn, then Speaker of the House, did not vote. Senators Johnson and Ralph Yarborough voted “yea.”¹²

In 1960, Brooks voted against a second civil rights bill proposed by the Eisenhower Administration. The 1960 law bolstered voting provisions in the 1957 act. It authorized judges to appoint referees to help African Americans to register and vote. It also provided criminal penalties for bombings and bomb threats, and for mob action designed to obstruct court orders. Brooks cast several votes in opposition to this legislation, the last coming on April 21, 1960, when the bill won final approval in the House. He voted “nay” along with most of his fellow Texans. However, six Texans voted “aye,” including Thomas, Thornberry, and Wright. Both senators Johnson and Yarborough supported this legislation.¹³

About 1961, Brooks apparently amended his position on civil rights legislation. That year, Speaker Rayburn died, and the following year, Celler, the New York liberal Democrat who chaired the Judiciary Committee, appointed Brooks to the House Judiciary Subcommittee Number Five. This appointment by Celler, who also chaired the subcommittee, strongly indicated that Brooks had adopted a liberal civil rights position and would support that legislative agenda.¹⁴

Civil rights was a critical issue in Brooks’s Second Congressional District, an eleven-county East Texas region where African Americans made up twenty-one percent of a total population of 480,000. Of the 103,000 Black Texans in the district, 39,000 resided in nine rural counties, while 64,000 lived in Jefferson and Orange counties, an industrialized region. A majority sixty-five percent of African Americans lived in larger towns, with 35,000 making their homes in Beaumont where they comprised thirty percent of the residents.¹⁵

In Beaumont, blacks congregated largely in their own neighborhoods such as Pine Street, Gladys Street, Pear Orchard, and Lower Woods. Most worked in manual labor or domestic service, but some had achieved middle-class status, at least within their segregated community. These individuals included physician Ed Sprott, lawyer

12. *Congress and the Nation, 1915-1961: A Review of Government and Politics in the Post War Years* (CQI, 1964), 1621-1624 , 76a-77a. Brooks remembered the Republican civil rights bills of 1957 and 1960 as “totally ineffectual with lots of verbal rhetoric and very little substance.” Brooks interviews.

13. *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1960* (CQI, 1960), 86-89, 185-203, 428-435, 1625-1630.

14. Brooks recalled that he and Celler “shared common goals [about] . . . major civil rights and other major judiciary legislation.” Brooks interviews.

15. In 1960, the Second Congressional District included Angelina, Hardin, Jasper, Jefferson, Liberty, Newton, Orange, Sabine, San Augustine, Shelby, and Tyler counties. For population, see *United States Census of Population 1960, Inhabitants, Texas* (GPO, 1961).

Theodore Johns, lawyer Elmo Willard, dentist L.L. Melton, undertaker William Taft, undertaker Bessie Knighton, and high school principal James Jackson. Also, African-American business districts operated on Washington Boulevard, Gladys Street, and Forsythe Street, boasting cafes, taverns, taxi services, pharmacies, barber shops, and insurance offices.¹⁶

In Beaumont, across the Second Congressional District, throughout Texas, and all the Southern states, African Americans were relegated to a second-class existence by a Jim Crow system of racial segregation. As a collection of customs and laws created and enforced by white Americans, Jim Crow represented a white supremacy system that prevented association of white and black Americans on terms of equality in virtually all aspects of life. “Persons of color” were denied access to public accommodations such as hotels, restaurants, and movie theaters, as well as public facilities such as libraries, swimming pools, and golf courses. Even drinking fountains and restrooms were segregated, bearing signs “White” and “Colored.” Cleveland Nisby, a local NAACP leader, remembers only two public rest rooms in downtown Beaumont available to black citizens—one at City Hall and the other at the Greyhound bus station.¹⁷

Of course, in the eyes of African Americans, Jim Crow segregation was a gross violation of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It was evil, humiliating, and completely unfair. In Beaumont, black citizens paid municipal property taxes, but were not permitted to borrow books at the Tyrrell Public Library or play a round on the Tyrrell Park city golf course. They spent money in the downtown Kress store, but could not sit at the lunch counter and have a Coca-Cola. Access was denied to all African Americans, regardless of education, wealth, or personal merit. In Beaumont, neither the laborer, the lawyer, nor the teacher could see a movie at the Jefferson Theatre or buy a hamburger at the Ramada Inn.¹⁸

16. For African-American businesses on Forsythe Street, Gladys Street, and Washington Boulevard in Beaumont, see *Beaumont City Directory 1960* (Dallas: R.L. Polk & Co. 1960), 180, 192, 408.

17. Cleveland Nisby interview with author, December 2, 1998. For discussions of Jim Crow, see C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), xvii, 5-10, 43-45, 65, 70-116; Stephan Thernstrom and Abigail Thernstrom, *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 25-52; David R. Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture, 1940 to the Present* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 2-11. For Texas, see Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas, 1528-1971* (Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1973), 140-143, 163-166; Lawrence D. Rice, *The Negro in Texas 1874-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 140-150; NHT, 1:46-51, 5:965. See also, Steven F. Lawson, “Freedom Then Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement,” *American Historical Review*, 96 (April 1991): 456-471. For a brief discussion of segregation in Beaumont, see Paul Isaac, “Municipal Reform in Beaumont, Texas, 1902-1909,” *Southern Historical Quarterly*, 78 (April 1975): 409-432.

18. Segregation of the races was common knowledge to Beaumonters, including the author, who was born in 1936.

Americans born after 1960 may wonder how earlier generations, both white and black, could have tolerated a segregation system that was so unfair and such a blatant contradiction to the democratic principles of the United States. The French historian Marguerite Yourcenar recounts the story of Louise of Lorraine, a sixteenth century French queen famous for her piety and her works of mercy and charity. In the company of her husband, Henri III, she attended the execution of the traitor Salceve, watching calmly as the man was chained hand and foot to four young stallions and ripped asunder. Apparently Louise found the horrific scene reasonable and natural. "So utterly does custom govern our sentiments," Yourcenar remarked.¹⁹

In 1960, the plight of black Southerners was not completely static nor completely hopeless. Already, they had made some progress. Beginning in the 1940s, presidents Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight Eisenhower used executive powers to advance the interests of African Americans, integrating federal jobs, and desegregating the armed forces. In 1950, the Supreme Court, with *Sweatt v. Painter*, ordered the desegregation of the University of Texas Law School. Four years later, the court ruled in the case of *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education* and outlawed segregation in public schools. In the 1950s, African-American leaders such as Roy Wilkins, John Lewis, Rosa Parks, Ralph Abernathy, James Farmer, Thurgood Marshall, and Martin Luther King and groups such as the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality spearheaded desegregation campaigns throughout the South. They orchestrated numerous non-violent demonstrations, including the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955, integration of Little Rock schools in 1957, sit-ins at Greensboro lunch counters in 1960, Freedom Rides on bus lines in Alabama in 1961.²⁰

Likewise in the Lone Star State, James Farmer and other African-American leaders made progress in breaking down the walls of segregation in public accommodations. Following the lead of protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina, black Texans carried out sit-ins in 1960 and 1961, forcing the desegregation of lunch counters, cafeterias, and cafes in Houston, Dallas, Austin, San Antonio, and other cities. In 1961, their campaigns in cafes and lunch counters produced a quiet and largely voluntary desegregation of many hotels and motels in larger cities. Many movie theaters in Austin and other cities were also desegregated, some in response to demonstrations, others voluntarily.²¹

19. Marguerite Yourcenar, "Ah, Mon Beau Chateau," in *The Dark Brain of Piranesi* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1984), 58-63.

20. Rathbun, *Revolution in Civil Rights*, 2-6, 10-11; Steven F. Lawson, *Running for Freedom, Civil Rights and Black Politics in America since 1941* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 66-75; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom, A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 476-481.

21. Artis Hill, "'Jim Crowism' in Several Areas of Twentieth Century Texas Life Relative to the Negro: Transportation, Eating and Lodging Places, Public Parks, and Movie Theaters" (MA thesis: Abilene Christian College, 1969), 2-6, 40-68.

In Beaumont, the NAACP and local African Americans such as O.C. Hebert, Cleveland Nisby, Dr. Ed Sprott, Collis Cannon, and Ed Moore led desegregation efforts. In 1955, Booker Fayson and five fellow African-American golfers teamed with NAACP lawyers Theodore Johns and Elmo Willard of Beaumont and U. Simpson Tate of Dallas to win the right to play at Tyrrell Park municipal golf course, obtaining a desegregation order in the court of U.S. District Judge Lamar Cecil. The next year, Johns, Willard, and Tate returned to the federal court of Judge Cecil and won the admission of two black students, Versie Jackson and James Anthony Cormier, to the previously all-white Lamar State College of Technology. Between 1960 and 1962, local African Americans carried out peaceful demonstrations, desegregating some lunch counters, the Tyrrell Public Library, and the movie theaters of the Jefferson Amusement Company.²²

By 1963, despite this progress, segregation persisted in Beaumont, across Texas, and throughout the South. Countless public and business facilities still did not welcome black Americans. To address this problem from the federal level, President Kennedy and his staff drafted a new civil rights bill, stronger than the one that had been languishing in Congress. Brooks and his administrative assistant Davis Carter both recalled that the Congressman first heard about the new Kennedy bill late one afternoon while working out at the House of Representatives gymnasium. The bill would be sweeping, with provisions aimed at voting rights, integration of schools, fair and full employment, non-discrimination in federal programs, and desegregation of public accommodations.²³

On June 19, 1963, Kennedy officially sent the bill to Congress. The action set off “the longest debate,” a year-long legislative battle that featured intense lobbying by opponents, such as the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, and by proponents, including the NAACP, National Council of Churches, and the AFL-CIO. The struggle in Congress was accompanied and indeed shaped by shocking national events such as the historic march in Washington, the murderous church bombing in Atlanta, and the assassination of President Kennedy that provided the final catalyst for passage.²⁴ On June 26, the House Judiciary Subcommittee Number Five received Kennedy’s bill. Chaired by Celler, the subcommittee consisted of eleven congressmen, including in the minority four Republicans: William McCulloch (OH), William E. Miller (NY), George Meader (MI), and William C. Cramer (FL). According to historians, Celler

22. Hill, “Jim Crowism,” 65-67, 82, 87; Nancy Dailey, “History of the Beaumont, Texas, Chapter of the National Association of Colored People, 1918-1970” (MA thesis, Lamar University, 1971), 47-72.

23. Brooks interviews; Carter interview.

24. Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound: A History of America’s Civil Rights Movement* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), 75-86; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 484-486; Rathbun, *Revolution in Civil Rights*, 10-11, 51, 56.



Congressman Jack Brooks and President Lyndon B. Johnson (ca. 1964).
LBJ Presidential Library.

had handpicked six left-leaning Democrats to assure a friendly reception to liberal causes. Those six included Peter Rodino (NJ), Byron Rogers (CO), Harold Donahue (MA), Herman Toll (PA), Robert Kastenmeier (WI), and Jack Brooks (TX), the last of whom scholars have described as “a lone Southern Democrat,” “Celler’s ally,” “a longtime associate of Lyndon Johnson,” and “a Texan favorable to civil rights.”²⁵

Brooks was indeed favorable to civil rights. In the coming months he helped Chairman Celler advance the Kennedy bill—first through Subcommittee Number Five—and later in the higher Judiciary Committee. He remembered one morning when Celler called him to his office. There the chairman and two Justice Department lawyers, including Nicholas Katzenbach, agonized over problems that might develop at the next meeting of the subcommittee. Here Brooks intervened, and bluntly reminded Celler, “Manny, you came to Congress the year I was born and you’ve been here for forty-one years and I don’t see why you worry about criticism from people. Just go in there and gavel the meeting to order, recognize who you please, call for votes, announce the results and pass the bill and that’s the end of it.” Brooks recalled that

25. Hugh Davis Graham, *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960-1972* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 87-89; Whalen and Whalen, *Longest Debate*, 1-6, 49, 59; Loevy, *To End All Segregation*, 46-49.

Celler thought for a minute, and said “fine.” Then he reached into his desk and pulled out a bottle of whiskey. He poured drinks for Brooks and himself, and they toasted their resolution to proceed. That was the way Celler and other “old school” lawyers used to do business and that was how the civil rights bill was moved forward. Brooks also remembered that Chairman Celler did not offer any libation to Katzenbach and the other Justice Department lawyer.²⁶

When the bill finally reached the floor of the House of Representatives, it was subjected to nine days of heated debate and assaulted by Southerners who tried to weaken or defeat it. On February 10, 1964, it passed the House by a vote of 290 to 130. Congressman Brooks voted in the affirmative and helped to send the proposition to the Senate.²⁷

From June 1963 to June 1964, as Congress debated the bill, Brooks was besieged by an avalanche of letters, telegrams, and petitions from almost 1,100 Southeast Texas citizens. Most came from Jefferson and Orange counties, with a scattering from the rest of the Second Congressional District. The overwhelming majority was opposed—about seventeen to one. The opponents, apparently all white, came from all walks of life, such as refinery workers, mechanics, salesmen, stock brokers, insurance agents, car dealers, restaurant operators, hotel keepers, real estate agents, engineers, housewives, and retirees. Brooks and his staff answered all the mail promptly, except a few letters he judged too radical or too crude. Most were given a “standard reply” that was calm and reasoned and that showed his intentions to support the proposed legislation. He described the civil rights problems as “very serious in nature” and hoped that the proposed legislation would be “genuinely constructive” and “contribute to a sound and equitable solution to these problems.” He reasoned that “legislation alone cannot provide a just solution to the problems concerning civil rights.” Then he counseled with his fellow Texans. “The ultimate responsibility lies with each individual. The cornerstone of our Nation is the unqualified Christian concern for each individual person. And so it is fundamental to our Democracy that we as individuals must ... protect the rights and dignity of other individuals in order to preserve our own.”²⁸

Opponents to the legislation employed a wide range of reasons. Many blamed President Kennedy, condemning him and his brothers, Robert Kennedy, U.S. Attorney General, and Edward Kennedy, senator from Massachusetts, ridiculing them as “The Brothers Three,” blasting them as “The Harvard Fabian clique,” and predicting that the president had opened “Pandora’s Box” from which all society’s evils would

26. Brooks interviews. For proceedings of Celler’s subcommittee, including attendance records and speeches, see *Hearings before Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Eighty-Eighth Congress, First Session, Serial No. 4, Parts I, II, III, and IV* (GPO, 1963).

27. Rathbun, *Revolution in Civil Rights*, 53; Whalen and Whalen, *Longest Debate*, 1-101.

28. For constituent letters received by Brooks and samples of his responses, see JBC.

escape.²⁹ Another group feared the concentration of new power in the hands of the federal government. One suggested that Congress “go very slow in extending Federal [*sic*] government powers in civil rights matters.” Others judged the proposed law “a vicious dictatorial challenge to the freedom of the majority of American citizens” and “a violation of every right that our founding fathers fought for.” The act was “degrading and morally disastrous,” “beyond comprehension,” “absurd,” “un-American,” and the “road to ruin.”³⁰

Motel operators, restaurateurs, and other business people protested the loss of “property rights,” which many believed included the right to discriminate against African Americans. They thought the proposed legislation was “unfair to every businessman,” “a step toward socialism,” and “an extreme danger to free enterprise.” The Beaumont Chamber of Commerce, which was working on a voluntary desegregation program, opposed the bill, finding the public accommodations section “particularly objectionable.” The Beaumont Jaycees, composed of younger businessmen, were “unalterably opposed” to this “extreme, militant move on the part of our government.”³¹

Many opponents of the bill expressed frankly racist attitudes. They believed in white supremacy and black inferiority. They feared the end of segregation and the beginning of integration. One expressed a common theme, declaring that “millions of white Americans will NEVER accept social equality with an inferior race.” Another wondered, “Why the Negroes want to force their way into the white man’s life.” Another employed inflammatory racism, referring to “negro problems” and declaring that “young buck negroes are taking liberties ... trying to flirt with white girls [*sic*].” Still another argued that the bill was “designed and intended to degrade the white people of the South.”³²

Others were frightened by the boldness of the civil rights workers and demonstrators. They condemned the NAACP as “a Communist backed organization,” the civil rights movement as the work of “negro anarchists and non-Christian Zionists,” and the demonstrators as “paid and professional integrationists.” Many opposed any legislation

29. Bill Howell letter, June 12, 1963; Earnest A. Cryer Jr. letter, June 14, 1963; Paul and Luri Robinson letter, June 10, 1963, JBC.

30. I. D. Robertson telegram, July 2, 1963; S. W. Marshall letter, June 13, 1964; James L. Crouch letter, June 3, 1964; Mrs. Clovis Medoza letter, May 27, 1964; Lee A. Jackson telegram, June 10, 1964; John R Robichaux letter, May 12, 1964; Mrs. E.O. Williams letter, November 14, 1963; Mrs. Murray Ezzell letter, June 25, 1963, JBC.

31. Dixon L. Coulbourn letter, June 2, 1964; Valery Brown letter, November 29, 1963; Charles J. Kainer letter, May 27, 1964; Howard Hicks, Beaumont Chamber of Commerce, letter, September 20, 1963; Jerry N. Boynton, Jaycees, letter, September 18, 1963, JBC.

32. Mrs. Gertrude Stagg Carruth letter, October 23, 1963; B.J. West letter, June 17, 1963; J.S. Arnold letter, July 12, 1963; Vivian Doucette letter, June 13, 1963, JBC.

passed under the threat of violence, one observing that “violence is no way to go about getting ‘rights.’”³³

Many longtime Democrats were also infuriated by Brooks’s support of the bill. “We deplore your stand,” said one. “This is hard to take,” moaned another. Several predicted his defeat at the next election, one announcing that “we’ve decided not only to vote the GOP ticket but to contribute \$100 to its cause.” Another urged him to change his policies and stop being “a rubber-stamp Congressman of the extreme left wing and vote for the good of your own people.”³⁴

Despite intense opposition expressed by constituents, Brooks did not hide his support for the bill. In October 1963, he issued a press release to media outlets in Jefferson and Orange counties. He confirmed his approval of the legislation, then counseled with his fellow citizens concerning civil rights issues. “Problems concerning these Constitutional rights of American citizens call for new horizons of mutual understanding,” he said. “I will continue ... to support genuinely constructive legislation and to personally encourage my fellow Southeast Texans to support meaningful ... progress toward the solution of these ... difficult problems.” On another occasion, Congressman Brooks further explained, “I sincerely hope and feel that Southeast Texans—while not all are happy with this new law—basically want to be fair and accept human relations as a problem we must face and solve, if our area is going to be happy, prosperous, and progressive, [and] where opportunity is extended to all our people.”³⁵

Brooks was not entirely alone in Southeast Texas. Of course, local African Americans favored the bill, but few sent letters of encouragement. A dozen black citizens did send telegrams on December 9, 1963, urging the congressman sign a discharge petition and thus keep the bill moving in the House. Some local white people approved the legislation, but only a handful openly expressed themselves—mostly ministers, teachers, students, and housewives. Urging passage of the bill, a college coed wanted “[e]qual rights for all,” while another reasoned that “no one’s rights are free unless the whole people are free.” A woman suggested that “our country cannot maintain world leadership or even command world respect unless all our citizens are given their rights.” Expressing a similar line, a group of local educators wanted approval of the bill so that the United States can be “the greatest national champion for justice and freedom of all men of all nations.”³⁶

33. Lee J. Coffee letter, January 31, 1964; letter and petition with fifty-four names, August 10, 1963; Basel Cassidy letter, July 22, 1963; Jacob Hansen [letter], August 12, 1963, JBC

34. Mr. and Mrs. Calvin E. Turner letter, March 25, 1964; Sam Aquilina letter, June 24, 1964; J.P. Brackett telegram, June 24, 1963; E. . Horn letter, August 16, 1963, JBC

35. Brooks press release, October 29, 1963, and letter to Elray W. Estes, June 3, 1964, JBC.

36. Verlie Mitchell, Albert J. Price, Mary Bordelon, and others, telegrams, December 9, 1963; Ronnie Anne Bishop letter, December 12, 1963; Mary Alice Rodgers letter, December 12, 1963; Mrs. Glenn C. McCombs letter, July 15, 1963; W.H. Graves Jr. letter, June 13, 1963, JBC. The *Beaumont Enterprise*,

In the Senate, the civil rights bill was debated for eighty-three days, including a fifty-seven-day filibuster led by Richard Russell of Georgia and John Tower of Texas. This was the first filibuster in history broken by a vote of cloture, a parliamentary move orchestrated by Everett Dirksen of Illinois. The bill passed the Senate on June 19 by a vote of seventy-three to twenty-seven, with the Texas senators splitting their votes, Senator Tower voting “no” and Yarborough voting “yes.”³⁷

The bill, amended in the Senate, was sent back to the House, and on July 2, 1964, given final approval by a roll-call vote of 289 to 126. The law drew negative votes from almost all Southern Democrats, including nineteen Texas congressman, such as Wright Patman, Jim Wright, and Joe Kilgore. But eleven Southern Democrats voted “yes,” including four Texans: Albert Thomas of Houston, Henry Gonzales of San Antonio, Jake Pickle of Austin, and Jack Brooks of Beaumont.³⁸

For Brooks, the vote must have represented a classic dilemma, balancing conflicting interests. At the national level, he was voting with Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson, and with the national Democratic Party, but against most of his fellow Democratic Congressmen from Texas and the South. At home, he was voting against the wishes of most of his white constituents, but for the interests of 100,000 African Americans living in his district. Probably, it was a difficult vote, but as Brooks always said, “I never thought it was supposed to be an easy job.”³⁹

On July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the bill, thus enacting “the most far-reaching and comprehensive law in support of racial equality ever enacted by Congress.” The outcome was a rapid and massive change. The Jim Crow system was broken, producing almost immediate desegregation of public accommodations and facilities throughout the South. In Jack Brooks’s Second Congressional District, a new day dawned for 100,000 African Americans. For the first time they had access to all hotels, restaurants, bowling alleys, movie theaters, and libraries. For the first time in Beaumont, James Jackson, the Hebert High School principal, took his young son Craig to the Ramada Inn for a hamburger. Thirty years later, Craig Jackson, a law professor in Houston, remembered the momentous outing and the historic hamburger. “It tasted good,” he recalled.⁴⁰

under the direction of Editor-in-Chief Robert W. Akers, editorialized in favor of the legislation on December 5, 1963.

37. Rathbun, *Revolution in Civil Rights*, 57-59; Whalen and Whalen, *Longest Debate*, 124-217.

38. Rathbun, *Revolution in Civil Rights*, 57-59.

39. Duncan, *Politics in America 1990*, 1450.

40. For the great significance of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, see Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 487. Craig L. Jackson recorded his recollections about eating at the Ramada Inn in “Hebert High School and the Brown Aftermath—Good Intentions and Troubled Policy,” *Thurgood Marshall Law Review*, 21 (No. 3, 1996): 45-97; Craig L. Jackson telephone interview with author, December 2, 1998.

A Texan at War

Sergeant Travis Moore, US Marine Corps, 1942-1944

Military History of the West, 30 (Fall 2000): 123-154

The death toll of the Second World War was horrific. According to British military historian John Keegan, the conflict was “the largest single event in human history.” Killing fifty million people, it “left hundreds of millions of others wounded in mind or body and materially devastated much of the heartland of civilization.” The Soviet Union lost 14 million people, half soldiers and half civilians; Germany, 4.6 million, including six hundred thousand civilians; and Japan, 1.5 million three hundred thousand soldiers and civilians killed. The United States suffered three hundred thousand military deaths, including nineteen thousand Marines. Among the Marines was Travis Moore, a Texan killed on the island of Saipan in June 1944.¹

In December 1941, Travis Moore was working as a convenience-store clerk for the Polar Ice Company in Dallas. A twenty-nine-year-old bachelor, Moore was a country boy, born and reared in rural region near the town of Waco. His parents Zephinah and Lucretia Moore lived at Axtell, a community of two hundred, where they struggled to support themselves as chicken farmers. He had two sisters, Lillian and Bertha Lou, and three brothers, Alvy, Calvin, and Bert, all with spouses and children. As a youth Travis hunted and fished, attended the Baptist church with his parents, and went with his brothers and sisters to the movies in Waco. He attended local schools for ten years, then worked for a time as a hired hand on a commercial poultry farm in Limestone County.²

1. John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York: Viking, 1990), 5, 588-595. For other estimates, see David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 856; Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 894; Williamson Murray and Allan R. Millett, *A War to Be Won: Fighting the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 547, 558.

2. Bert Z. Moore, brother of Travis Moore, interview with author, March 9, 2000.

In Dallas, Moore roomed in a private residence and lived modestly. He spent his spare time with friends, including Bruce Barron and Charlie Warwick, both Axtell natives. They went to dance halls, such as the Plantation, and to the Majestic, Rialto, and Tower movie theaters. They attended the state fair, an annual event that during 1941 featured a special patriotism rally: 2,300 troops, two fleets of airplanes, and forty-five marching bands. Moore worked long hours in the convenience store, but he earned little money and had few prospects for advancement. Likewise, his life experiences were limited: he was familiar with Waco and Dallas but had never been to San Antonio, Houston, or Galveston or seen an ocean.³

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States was catapulted into war against Japan, and soon against Germany and Italy. Right away the nation needed thousands of soldiers. In September 1940, Congress and President Franklin D. Roosevelt had activated a Selective Service law to draft men into the US Army. Now that system was accelerated, and the other services—the Army Air Force, Navy, and Marines—stepped up recruiting programs. In Dallas newspapers, the merchant marine offered “Big Jobs and Fine Careers,” while the Army Air Force touted “New Opportunities,” cheering “Let’s go USA—Keep ‘em Flying.”⁴

“First to Fight” was the recruiting call of the Marine Corps, an organization that prided itself on elitism, patriotism, and combativeness. Since the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, Marine Corps personnel had grown from nineteen thousand to sixty-five thousand. With the US entry into the war, enlistments surged, growing from five hundred to six thousand per week and bringing in almost forty-five thousand new marines during the first three months after Pearl Harbor. Among the new recruits was Travis Moore, who, like many others, joined the Marine Corps as an alternative to being conscripted into the army.⁵

Moore was not eager to go to war. He did not rush to volunteer but bided his time until January 23, 1942, when he received his draft notice. Not wanting to serve in the army, he went to the navy recruiting office and tried to enlist but was told he would have to go first to Waco and pick up papers previously signed there. Impatient, he went instead to the Marine Corps recruiting office and signed up. That night he wrote

3. Moore interview, March 9; *The Dallas Morning News*, June 3, October 10, 1941, and January 24, 1942

4. *Dallas Morning News*, December 7-9, 1941; A. Russell Buchanan, *The United States in World War II* (2 vols.; New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 1:120-125.

5. Frank O. Hough, Verle E. Ludwig, and Henry I. Shaw Jr., *Pearl Harbor to Guadalcanal: History of US Marine Corps Operations in World War II* (Washington: Historical Branch, US Marine Corps, 1958), 47-50; Henry I. Shaw Jr., *Opening Moves: Marines Gear up for War* (Washington: Marine Corps Historical Center, USMC, 1991), 19-24; Allan R. Millett, *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1980), 359-360.

to his mother and father, telling the news and bragging that he was now a member of the US Marines, “one of the world’s toughest fighting forces.”⁶

Thus Moore began a thirty-month career with the Marine Corps. After training at San Diego, he was sent to Samoa, then to Guadalcanal, where he won the Silver Star, next to New Zealand and Hawaii, and finally to Saipan. During this time, he corresponded frequently with family members, receiving more than two hundred letters and sending at least 175. He wrote mostly to his parents at Axtell, but also to his sister Bertha Lou Harkins at Bosqueville, his brother Bert Moore in Dallas, and other family members elsewhere in the Lone Star State. His letters trace his travels around the Pacific and track his advancement up the ranks from private to sergeant and squad leader. His correspondence reveals a continuing interest in affairs at home; he consoled his elderly parents, praised his nieces and nephews, and consulted with his brother Bert about his prospects for military service. The letters follow the evolution of his attitudes about the war, demonstrating how the realities of combat changed his feelings from naive enthusiasm to resignation and stoicism.⁷

Moore left Dallas soon after his enlistment. “I would like to come home and see you before I leave, but it is easier this way,” he explained to his parents. “It’s not because I don’t love you ... but because I love you so much, that I couldn’t stand to say good-bye.” Ever thinking about his parents’ precarious financial situation, he urged them to “use the \$50 I have at home to build a brooder house ... [or] spend it for Defense Bonds and insurance.” He closed by asking them to tell Bertha Lou and others “good-bye for me and to wish me Luck.”⁸

The next day Moore took the oath, swearing allegiance to the United States and promising to obey the orders of the president and military leaders. That afternoon he wrote to his parents. “I leave with eleven other men for San Diego at 9 o’clock tonight.” Generally, men recruited east of the Mississippi were sent to Parris Island, North Carolina, and recruits west of the river were shipped to San Diego. The Dallas Marines gave Moore and the other men train tickets plus \$5.60 each for travel money. Also much to his amusement, they gave him responsibility. “I am in charge of the men from the time we leave Dallas until we reach San Diego. Ain’t that sumpin.”⁹

6. Travis Moore to parents, January 23, 1942, Travis Moore Collection, Texas Collection, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

7. Moore’s grand nephew Mitchell W. Templeton, an attorney in Beaumont, Texas, provided access to the papers. Templeton, long fascinated with the story of his great uncle, collected books, papers, photographs, oral interviews, and other pertinent materials, all of which he furnished freely to the author. Other Travis Moore letters and associated materials were provided by his brother Bert Z. Moore, Big Sandy, Texas, and his niece Joyce Harkins Beaubien, West, Texas. All the Moore letters and personnel records cited for this article are located in the Moore Collection, Baylor University.

8. Moore to parents, January 23, 1942.

9. Moore to parents, January 24, 1942; William Manchester, *Goodbye Darkness: A Memoir of the Pacific War* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1980), 143.

That evening Alice Moore, Bert's wife, drove Travis to Union Station in downtown Dallas. She remembers the trip and something of their conversation. She agonized out loud about his having to go to the fighting, saying it was not fair, that they should be taking younger men. No, he countered, it was the right thing. He was single and had no children. He would go and take care of this business with the Japanese. That was typical of his brother, Bert recalls. He was always willing to do his part and more. At family gatherings Bert loved to tell how Travis saved him from a beating by the Axtell school bully. Travis confronted the boy and "whipped him all the way to his house."¹⁰

On the morning of January 26, Moore and his fellow Texans arrived at the San Diego train station and were sent to the Marine Corps Recruit Depot, a large and well-established base, dating from 1923 and rich with traditions of the Corps. When the new men walked through the famous pink stucco gates, they passed beneath the time-honored Marine Corps emblem, a composite of a globe, an anchor, and an American eagle. "Semper Fidelis," the eagle cried—"Always Loyal."¹¹

As the new arrivals started boot camp, they embarked on a course known to every Marine of that era. "You'll be sorry-e-e!" someone always shouted at new recruits as they came on the post. Whether at Parris Island or San Diego, war-time basic training was the same—an intense and brutal regimen to transform civilians into Marines, and in short order. The program was run by corporals and sergeants of "the old breed," veterans of other wars, men infamous for their intimidating methods and notorious for their cursing. Always a drill instructor ordered the newly arrived recruits into lines; almost always he shouted, "Give youah hearts to Jesus, boys, because youah ass belongs to me."¹²

On the first day the recruits were marched over to the quartermaster's warehouse, where they were loaded down with uniforms and boots, received a rifle and serial number, and had their heads shaved with four or five strokes of an electric razor. Gone was their hair, gone were their civilian clothes, gone was evidence of their individual personalities. Now Travis Moore was a "boot," a member of Platoon No. 173, one of sixty men to be hammered into Marines. On January 29, he penned a hurried note to his parents. "I am in Boot Camp now. I can't tell you anything about it, because I don't know anything about it ... I am O.K. ... The food is good and plenty of it ... You should see the haircut I've got."¹³

10. Alice and Bert Moore interview with author, March 3, 2000.

11. Moore military records; Hough, Ludwig, and Shaw, *Pearl Harbor to Guadalcanal*, 50-52

12. Millett, *Semper Fidelis*, 360-361; Robert Leckie, *Helmet for My Pillow* (New York: Random House, 1957), 3-25; Martin L. Myers, *Yardbird Myers* (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1944), 11-27; E.B. Sledge, *With the Old Breed at Peleliu and Okinawa* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1981), 8-13; Elmore A. Champie, *Brief History of the Marine Corps Base and Recruit Depot at San Diego, California* (Washington, DC: Historical Branch, USMC, 1962), 13-16.

13. Moore to parents, January 29, 1942; Myers, *Yardbird Myers*, 30-31; Leckie, *Helmet for My Pillow*, 8-9.

Always, the drill instructors were harsh, cursing and abusing the boots, driving them relentlessly, but now they became even more intense, if that was possible. They were motivated by a new sense of urgency caused by disheartening setbacks suffered by US military forces. In recent weeks the Japanese had captured the Pacific islands of Guam and Wake, and they had landed strong forces in the Philippines. Heavy fighting was underway on Luzon Island, and American soldiers under General Douglas MacArthur were being killed.¹⁴

The drill instructor (DI) bossed and harassed the recruits, indoctrinating them with Marine traditions and molding them psychologically. David Nelson, a Marine from Beaumont, Texas, went through boot camp a few months before Travis Moore. Nelson remembers that many recruits hated their DI, but that this hatred produced a corresponding comradeship among the men, a group solidarity that would help sustain them in the trials that lay ahead. Moore acclimated quickly to the pressures of boot camp, but others in his unit did not. "I get by better than most of the boys," he explained. "Some of them really get themselves in trouble." Not everything was new and unfamiliar. "There are 59 in my platoon, 30 of them from Texas ... I like it here very well. Of course, there are a lot of rough spots, ... but I can take it."¹⁵

The men lived a communal life. They slept in open barracks and went everywhere together. They learned to drill, salute, make a bed, polish shoes, fold clothes, pack a sea bag, and clean a rifle. They adopted Marine Corps jargon; they ate "chow" at the mess hall, puffed a cigarette when "the smoking lamp was lit," and drank beer in the "slopchute." And they learned to curse, in particular becoming fluent with the "F" word. "Always there was that four-letter ugly sound that men in uniform have expanded into the single substance of the linguistic world," observed Robert Leckie, a former Marine. "It was a handle, a hyphen, a hyperbole; verb, noun, modifier; yes, even conjunction. It described food, fatigue, metaphysics. It stood for everything and meant nothing."¹⁶

Learning to fire a rifle was the culmination of boot camp. Moore, who had hunted and handled guns as a youth, was an eager student. "We leave in the morning at 5 o'clock for the rifle range," he wrote on February 14. "After two weeks up there, I'll be a full-fledged Marine ... I hope I can make Expert rifle man ... It will mean \$5.00 per month more." He mastered his rifle, the famous Springfield .30-caliber, but he did not

14. Keegan, *Second World War*, 279-81.

15. Moore to parents, February 10 and March 5, 1942; David Nelson interview with author, January 22, 2000; James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 1-5; James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 86-90. Nelson, a businessman in Beaumont, Texas, served in the Second Battalion of the Eighth Marine Regiment during 1941-1945. Nelson does not recall Travis Moore, but he freely shared letters, books, and recollections of his own service with the Marines.

16. Manchester, *Goodbye Darkness*, 145-46; Myers, *Yardbird Myers*, 41-53; Leckie, *Helmet for My Pillow*, 17-18.

win the expert qualification, or even the next lower designation. “I was disappointed when I didn’t make at least Sharp Shooter with the rifle. I will get a Marksman medal, but no extra pay.” The extra money would have been helpful; he would be earning only thirty-four dollars per month as a Marine private.¹⁷

On March 4, the end was in sight. “I have only two more days in boot camp, and then I will be a full-fledged Marine,” Moore reported happily. He brimmed with team spirit: “My platoon took all honors at the rifle range ... We are the best in camp and 50% Texans. I am really proud to belong to the 173 platoon.” He bragged about new clothes: “We got new uniforms and dress shoes ... and look plenty snappy in our new duds.” He reveled in new privileges: “The corporals have eased up on us. We get to go to the show once or twice a week and get ice cream every day for dinner. Not bad at all.”¹⁸

Two days later, Moore finished boot camp and received his next assignment. “We got our skatter sheets yesterday,” he explained to his parents. “I will be at Camp Elliot in the Second Marine Division” With headquarters in San Diego just to the south of Camp Elliot, the Second Marines were dubbed the “Hollywood Marines,” as the men were sometimes employed as extras in patriotic films. David Nelson remembers serving as an extra in *To the Shores of Tripoli* (1942), a movie that starred Maureen O’Hara, John Payne, and Randolph Scott.¹⁹

Moore spent six weeks at Camp Elliot, living in a tent, taking more training, and serving as a guard at the Marine Corps prison. While standing guard at the prison, he heard the exciting report about Jimmy Doolittle’s air raid on Japan. “We got the news about the boys bombing Japan,” he wrote on April 21. “The old Sergeant came running in ... shouting ‘MacArthur’s done it’ over and over. It took about ten minutes to get any sense out of him.” Just a few days earlier, on April 18, Lieutenant Colonel James Doolittle had led a fleet of American bombers in an unprecedented raid on the Japanese home islands. The attack caused little damage to the enemy but provided a much-needed boost in American morale. In recent weeks, Japanese forces had achieved more surprising victories, capturing the British naval base at Singapore, seizing control of the Dutch East Indies, and defeating and humiliating the Americans in the battle of Bataan.²⁰

In the spring of 1942, the Japanese were triumphant in the Pacific; now it seemed they were about to complete the establishment of their “New World Order” in Asia. Needing more natural resources—especially oil, tin, and rubber—they had embarked on a

17. Moore to parents, February 11 and March 2, 1942, and Moore military records; Sledge, *With the Old Breed*, 10-13; Myers, *Yardbird Myers*, 229-30; Shaw, *Opening Moves*, 11.

18. Moore to parents, March 4, 1942.

19. Moore to parents, March 6 and 8, 1942; Nelson interview, January 22, 2000; Millett, *Semper Fidelis*, 348-349.

20. Moore to parents, April 20, 1942; Keegan, *Second World War*, 242-250.

program of territorial conquest, capturing parts of China as well as colonial territories of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States.²¹

The French and Dutch had been defeated by the Germans in Europe, and the British were fighting for their lives there. Now, only the United States, allied with Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, remained as a viable opponent to Japan's ambitions in Asia. It was the collision of Japan and the United States, and their ambitions for control of the Pacific and its resources, that had led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and provoked open war between the two nations. It was this dispute that would cause President Roosevelt and other American leaders to send large military forces to the Pacific, including the U.S. Marines, and among them Travis Moore.²²

At Camp Elliot, Moore marked time and tried to adjust to his new life. He liked his fellow Marines, explaining, "There's a bunch of swell guys in my outfit ... It seems like I've known them for years." He also liked his life in the Corps, as compared to his earlier times in Dallas, remarking on April 20, "I have a better and easier life now that I did on the outside." The same day he reported news of his impending transfer. "We just got word that we are going to be shipped out this week." He did not know where they were going, but doubted they would be sent overseas. "I don't think we're going to be shipped across the pond." On April 22, he was making final preparations, washing clothes and getting his equipment in order. And still he was in the dark. "I can't even guess where we are going."²³

Soon, Moore learned the answer: he was in fact going "across the pond." On April 24, he and other Marines traveled to San Francisco and boarded the USS *Wisconsin*. Two days later, the ship weighed anchor and headed west, starting a two-week, four-thousand-mile voyage across the ocean to American Samoa, an island chain in the far South Pacific. There, Moore and the others would join the The Eighth Marine Regiment of the Second Marine Division—an outfit that had been sent to the Samoa Islands in January 1942. Commanded by Colonel R.H. Jeschke, the Eighth Marines were responsible for defending the islands against Japanese invasion and preventing the enemy from cutting vital communications lines between the United States and Australia and New Zealand.²⁴

Moore sent a letter to his parents soon after disembarking at Pago Pago, the principal village on the Samoan island of Tutuila. This letter, and all subsequent ones, was

21. Keegan, *Second World War*, 242-50; Ronald H. Spector, *Eagle against the Sun: The American War with Japan* (New York: Free Press, 1985), 54-69.

22. Keegan, *Second World War*, 279-81; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 500-515; Spector, *Eagle against the Sun*, 54-69.

23. Moore to parents April 20 and 22, 1942.

24. Shaw, *Opening Moves*, 13-14; James S. Santelli, *A Brief History of the 8th Marines* (Washington, DC: History Division, USMC, 1976), 10-12; Richard W. Johnston, *Follow Me! The Story of the Second Marine Division in World War II* (Nashville, TN: Battery Press, 1987), 13-15.

written in a guarded tone and reviewed by a military censor for fear of giving vital information to the enemy. "I have reached my destination safely and have never felt better in my life. I cannot tell you where I am, but the place is beautiful, and I think I will like it fine." Samoa may have been "beautiful" to the eye, but it was a hard environment for the Eighth Marines, who lived and worked in the open and suffered from tropical heat, monotonous rain, and swarming insects. Despite the adverse conditions, Moore, now a member of Company H of the Eighth Marines, remained cautiously optimistic. "Don't worry about me," he explained on one occasion. "Since I have been in the Marine Corps, I have learned to take care of myself, at least I think so." Working with other members of the Eighth Marines, he stayed busy, first shoring up Samoan fortifications and later training for jungle warfare.²⁵

The Texas Marine remained on Samoa for five months, May through October, when the balance of power in the Pacific began shifting, first in terms of naval forces. In May and June 1942, the US Navy with its aircraft carriers won two important victories, defeating the Japanese in the Battle of the Coral Sea and the Battle of Midway. But still, Japan reigned supreme with its land forces, holding firm control of the Philippines and other islands, including the Gilberts, Marianas, and Solomons. In August, American forces would begin attacking the Solomons, using Samoa as one of their training grounds and jumping-off points.²⁶

Generally, Moore took the preparations in stride. "I don't have time to get lonesome or homesick. We keep too busy for that. I am going to school and learn something new every day and would like it fine, if it weren't so far from the States." But sometimes he was less optimistic "I am doing alright. We keep pretty busy, so I don't get the blues very often. It sure will be a great day when I see the United States again, and even a better one when I get to come home." He loved his country and expressed his patriotism well. "There's always been a question about where Heaven is located," he remarked one day. "Well, I can tell you—the people of the U.S.A. are living there and just don't know it."²⁷

He experienced wide mood swings, sometimes voicing high and patriotic spirits. He believed in the American cause and probably had a general understanding of the issues at stake for his nation. "As for myself, I never felt better and am right where I ... should be, doing all I can for a Grand Country and a swell family, though I must admit that what I am doing is a pitiful small bit." But other times he suffered from the blues. "I am well but definitely not happy and won't be until this war is over, and I'm back in the States." He was a country boy, used to camping out-of-doors, but living everyday in a tent was getting tiresome. "If I ever get back, don't mention camping to

25. Moore to parents, May 10 and 15, 1942; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 13-15.

26. Keegan, *Second World War*, 268-273; Santelli, *Brief History*, 11-12

27. Moore to parents, May 28, June 14, 21, and August 22, 1942.

me,” he joked to Bert, his brother and hunting buddy. “I haven’t been in a house since I left Texas.”²⁸

Mail and photographs from home often boosted his morale. “There’s no way ... to say just what the pictures and your letters mean to me,” he explained to family members. “All the fellows have pictures of folks back home. We take them out ... and pass them to each other.” He often thanked his family for sending candy, cookies, and cigarettes, and one time he suggested that Bert try shipping an item of contraband. “How about sending me a quart of good old Bourbon. You will have to pack it ... to make it look like a box of candy or cookies.”²⁹

In July 1942, Moore was transferred from H to F Company, the outfit he would serve with for the remainder of his military career. Now thirty years old, he got along well with the other Marines. “I am anywhere from 3 to 12 years older than the rest of the fellows and of course they call me ... Pappy. But that doesn’t bother me, because I can do as much or more [work] than any of them.” He enjoyed a playful camaraderie with the men, remarking about its benefits to lift his spirits. “Once in while I get fed up with it all, but then ... we will start arguing ... or scuffling and carry on a bunch of horse play and time passes pretty good.”³⁰

Money was frequently on his mind. “I heard our base pay was raised to \$42 per month. Of course I’m glad to get it, but it looks to me it’s going to be a mighty big strain on the taxpayers,” he remarked naively. He planned for the future, putting aside some of his pay and bought insurance that might help his parents. “In case I am killed, it will be paid to you at the rate of fifty dollars per month until the \$5000 is gone ... The US Treasury backs it, so it should be good.”³¹

On August 15, Moore reported having a radio and being able “to get the latest news from others parts of the world.” Perhaps, he heard reports from Europe where war raged between the Allies and the Axis powers. In Africa, British forces battled German armies, and in the Soviet Union, soldiers fought desperately to defend their homeland against German invaders. He certainly heard the big news about the war in the Pacific; this was his war, and the news was highly relevant. Just a week earlier, on August 7, US Marines of the First Division and other forces had landed in the Solomons, attacking the Japanese-held islands of Tulagi, Gavutu, Tanambogo, and Guadalcanal. This was the first major US offensive in the Pacific. Now, they were beginning their long campaign to defeat the Japanese and reverse their territorial conquests. Tulagi and the

28. Moore to parents, August 1, October 4, 1942, and Moore to Bert Moore, September 25, 1942. McPherson discusses soldier motivation, contrasting patriotism, ideology, and politics with group cohesion and solidarity with comrades, all of which influenced Travis Moore. *For Cause and Comrades*, 86-90.

29. Bert Moore sent the Bourbon whisky, but Travis never received it. Moore to parents, August 23, 1942, and Moore to Bert Moore, July 20, 1942.

30. Moore to parents, July 4, September 2, 1942, and Moore military records.

31. Moore to parents, March 2, June 4, August 1, and October 11, 1942.

other small islands fell quickly to the Americans, but the fight for Guadalcanal became an epic struggle.³²

For six months, August through February, the Americans and Japanese battled for possession of Guadalcanal and its small air base, Henderson Field. It was a bloody and protracted fight with seven major naval engagements, uncounted air attacks, and at least twenty land battles involving as many as thirty-one thousand Japanese and sixty thousand Americans. At the outset, US ground forces were commanded by Major General Alexander A. Vandergrift, and the First Marine Division did most of the fighting; they defended the beachhead and Henderson Field, holding off relentless attacks by the Japanese. In October, the First Division was reinforced by the US Army's Americal Division and the next month was relieved by the Second Marine Division. This group included the Eighth Marines, who came ashore near Lunga Point on November 4 after a ten-day voyage from Samoa.³³

Robert Leckie, a hardened veteran of the First Marine Division, remembered watching the arrival of the newcomers, a group that included Travis Moore and other members of F Company. "The men of the Eighth Marine Regiment came clambering up ... They looked miserable, plodding up the slippery ridge in the drizzle. We pitied them, even though the worst was over," Leckie remarked with a condescending air. "But we couldn't resist needling them, these men from San Diego in sunny California." He recalled shouting at them. "Here come the Hollywood Marines ... Hey-what's the latest from Hollywood? How's Lana? Yeah—that's it—how's Lana Turner?"³⁴

Two days later, Moore scribbled a note to his parents, a note in which the censor permitted mention of his location. "This is just a line to let you know I am on Guadalcanal and still O.K. Everything is on the up and up, so don't worry about me. Time is short so I'll ... write again as soon as possible." The Eighth Marines were on the move. At first, General Vandergrift sent them westward toward Point Cruz, supporting a drive by the US Army's 164th Infantry Regiment; then, fearing a Japanese counterattack, he ordered them back to strengthen the Lunga Point perimeter. From this position, Travis and his fellow Marines could hear the tremendous guns of nearby naval battles as American ships and airplanes attacked Japanese vessels, some of which were trying to land fresh troops on the island.³⁵

On the "Canal," the Eighth Marine Regiment was commanded by Colonel R.H. Jeschke, the Second Battalion by Lieutenant Colonel John H. Cook Jr., and F Com-

32. Moore to parents, August 15, 1942; Keegan, *Second World War*, 292-297; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 545-561.

33. Richard B. Frank, *Guadalcanal: The Definitive Account of the Landmark Battle* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), vii-viii, 613-614; Spector, *Eagle against the Sun*, 190-201, 205-214, 217-218.

34. Leckie, *Helmet for My Pillow*, 137-138.

35. Moore to parents, November 6, 1942; Santelli, *Brief History*, 14-16; Spector, *Eagle against the Sun*, 211-213.

pany by Captain Albert G. Carr. A college man from Durham, North Carolina, Captain Carr counted 160 men in his company, including Travis Moore and his comrades Ray Bowman, Richard Lawrence, Gene Hoover, Ralph Waldorf, and Raymond Snapp. Moore's buddies called him "Seabag," and he referred to "Big Stoop" Bowman as a "killer deluxe" and "Jungle Gene" Hoover as a "Jap killer" and "lady killer."³⁶

Living conditions on the jungle island were depressing. The Marines suffered from heat and humidity and also from torments of spiders, flies, and mosquitoes. Rain often flooded their bivouacs and foxholes, contributing to the spread of disease. Dysentery, intestinal worms, and fungus infections were common among the troops, but more so was malaria, the disease infamous for its delayed and repeated attacks. David Nelson, a member of H Company, remembers suffering an awful rash at his waist, where he wore a money belt holding \$1,100 he had won shooting dice on the voyage from Samoa to Guadalcanal. "I was determined to hold on to that cash, no matter what," he reported with a grin.³⁷

On December 4, Moore sent early Christmas greetings to his parents. "Here's hoping you have a very merry Xmas," he wrote on a V Mail card. "Sure wish I could be there." Furnished free to Marines, the card featured a cartoon of an American eagle carrying a blood-thirsty Japanese soldier by the seat of the pants. The grotesque caricature of the Japanese man was indicative of how the Marines came to hate the Japanese on Guadalcanal. Americans had heard reports from China and the Philippines that Japanese troops committed acts of heartless brutality. But on "the Canal," the Japanese became notorious for treachery and savagery. In August, Japanese soldiers, reportedly showing a white flag and feigning surrender, ambushed Lieutenant Colonel Frank Goettge and twenty-five other Marines, hacking most of them to death with swords and bayonets.³⁸

After witnessing the behavior of the Japanese, the Marines began repeating racist comments that stereotyped and dehumanized their enemy: "The Japs are crazy!" and "The Japs aren't human." "They are like animals," one soldier remarked. "You have to . . . blow them out of every foxhole, lime cave, or coconut tree and kill them all." The Japanese soldiers were "bees," "jackals," "lice," "little yellow monkeys," and "dirty little rats." Certainly Moore shared these views, referring several times to the enemy as "rats." He looked forward to a time when more US power could be directed against the hated Japanese. "[We] will hit the rats from so many directions, they won't know which way to jump," Moore promised his parents. "When the rats start getting it

36. Moore to parents, April 24, 1943; Eighth Marine Regiment, F Company, muster rolls, January 1943, Records of the US Marine Corps, Record Group 127, US National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. (hereafter RUSMC).

37. Santelli, *Brief History*, 12-19; Frank, *Guadalcanal*, 256-261; Nelson interview, January 22, 2000.

38. Moore to Parents, December 4, 1942; Frank, *Guadalcanal*, 129-131.

right, there will be more of them kill themselves than we can possibly kill. That will suit me fine, just so they die.”³⁹

During the first two weeks in December, the Eighth Marines were assigned to the defense of Henderson Field, patrolling the perimeter and improving barbed wire and other fortifications. Then, from December 14 through January 12, they served on the front line, holding positions on one side of a ridge that ran parallel to the Matanikau River; the other side of the ridge was occupied by the Japanese. From this position the Marines were sent out on a series of small hit-and-run attacks to harass and pressure the enemy troops. Captain Carr, F Company commander, remembers those operations. “It was a dirty business—going out in the darkness, sneaking close to the Jap lines, killing the bastards, and bringing back their weapons,” he recalls. “I hated to go out myself and hated to send the boys.”⁴⁰

On January 2, Moore went out on a raid, either under orders from his superiors or on his own initiative. During the next three days, he made a number of daring, single-handed attacks on the Japanese, actions for which he won the Silver Star. A *Waco Sunday Times-Tribune* article—“Silver Star for Axtell Youth; He Mops Up on Japs”—told the story. Frank Knox, US Secretary of the Navy, had awarded the coveted medal to the Texas Marine for “conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity.” Travis had gone voluntarily and alone into enemy territory, making repeated attacks on Japanese positions, killing a number of the enemy, and capturing or destroying their weapons and ammunition.⁴¹

News of the prospective award came quickly to Moore. On January 7, he sent his brother Bert a veiled report. “The outfit I’m with has been through the mill lately, but I have great news, the nature of which I can’t reveal.” Two weeks later, he offered more hints to his parents. “I have some good news, . . . but like always it will have to wait.” The paperwork was in process; the commendation documents were circulating for signatures by three officers, including the much-decorated Captain H.P. “Jim” Crowe, commander of the regimental weapons company.⁴²

Exactly how Moore won the Silver Star remains a mystery. Captain Carr, F Company commander, was in the hospital part of the time and has no memory of the Texan’s

39. Moore to parents, October 12, 1943; Gerald F. Linderman, *The World within War: America’s Combat Experience in World War II* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 161-173; John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in The Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 77-93.

40. Albert G. Carr, a resident of Durham, North Carolina, freely shared his recollections of Guadalcanal and New Zealand. Albert G. Carr interviews with author, April 8 and August 16, 2000. Eighth Marine Regiment Report of Operations (1 December 1942 to 12 January 1943), WWII, Geographic File, Guadalcanal, RUSMC; Santelli, *Brief History*, 16.

41. *Waco Sunday Times-Tribune*, October 10, 1943.

42. Moore to Bert Moore, January 7, 1943, and Moore to parents, January 21, 1943.



Corporal Thomas Travis Moore at Paekakariki, New Zealand, with the Silver Star that he won at Guadalcanal (1943). Mitchell W. Templeton, Beaumont, Texas, and HonorStates.org.

heroic actions. Others who would have known the details of his gallantry are deceased. But Stanley Bowen, a Navy corpsman who joined F Company after Guadalcanal, has a theory. He recalls hearing about a Marine on “the Canal” who would “take off by himself, with only a K-Bar knife . . . and would come back to his outfit 2-3 days later, with Jap maps, guns, etc. He’d sneak into Jap camps at night, and God only knows how many Japs he killed.” Bowen does not remember the name of the Marine but suggests it might have been Moore. Richard Elliott, a Marine who served with Moore later, reports that the former store clerk never discussed his heroics but believes the knife story could be true. Bert Moore, Travis’s brother, likewise thinks the story might be accurate. “That’s the sort of thing Travis could do,” he says, his voice quivering with emotion. “He was shy and quiet, but very tough.”⁴³

43. Stanley W. Bowen was a Navy corpsman during 1942-1946 and resides in Laguna Beach, California. Bowen interview with author, January 27, 2000; Bowen letter to author, January 27, 2000. Richard N. Elliott was a comrade of Travis Moore and lives in Nashville, Tennessee. Elliott interview with author, January 30, 2000; Bert Moore interview, March 3, 2000.

On January 10, 1943, US forces started an all-out attack to finish the job on Guadalcanal. The ground troops, now under command of Army Major General Alexander M. Patch, pushed westward toward Cape Esperance. The Eighth Marines, Second Division advanced against the Japanese and made good progress. At one point, however, the Marines faltered under withering fire from a Japanese emplacement. Captain Crowe hurried forward to rally the men. "Goddam it, you'll never get the Purple Heart hiding in a foxhole!" he shouted. "Follow me!" Heartened by his commands, the Marines jumped to their feet and followed Crowe in a rifle and grenade charge that wiped out the Japanese position. Crowe's cry "Follow Me!" was immortalized as the Second Marine Division motto, and his heroism was rewarded with a Silver Star.⁴⁴

During January 16-18, the Eighth Marines were pulled off the line, their services no longer needed as US forces overwhelmed the Japanese. Initially, they moved into division reserve, but on February 9, the very day that General Patch declared victory on Guadalcanal, they boarded ships and departed for New Zealand. Sailing on the USS *Hunter Liggett* and USS *American Legion*, the exhausted Eighth Marines could take a soldier's pride in their Guadalcanal operations. They had been on the front lines fifty-six days, killed over one thousand Japanese soldiers, and captured hundreds of mortars, howitzers, machine guns, grenade launchers, rifles, pistols, and sabers. They had been bloodied, losing 115 killed and 451 wounded. Purple Hearts would be granted to all the killed and wounded, and medals for heroism would be awarded to eighteen Marines, including Captain Crowe and Private Travis Moore.⁴⁵

Likewise, President Roosevelt and US military leaders could take grim satisfaction in the Guadalcanal operations, their first major victory over Japanese land troops. The Americans had lost more than seven thousand men, including 4,911 seamen, 420 airmen, and 1,769 land troops. But they had killed more than thirty thousand Japanese, including over twenty-five thousand soldiers. Additionally, they had established the amphibious tactics they would use to defeat their enemy. Elite landing troops, supported by air and naval gun fire, would take and hold key islands to be used as stepping stones toward the Japanese home islands. This became the bloody "island-hopping" campaign that led to Tarawa, Saipan, Guam, Tinian, Peleliu, Iwo Jima, Okinawa, and others, where both sides fought bravely, but where Americans would unleash overwhelming numbers of guns and troops to defeat the Japanese.⁴⁶

44. Eighth Marine Regiment Report of Operations, Guadalcanal, 13-17 January 1943, RUSMC; Santelli, *Brief History*, 16-17; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 71-76.

45. Santelli, *Brief History*; Eighth Marine Regiment Report of Operations, Guadalcanal, RUSMC.

46. Richard B. Frank, *Guadalcanal*, 613-614; Keegan, *Second World War*, 292-297; Benis M. Frank and Henry I. Shaw Jr, *Victory and Occupation* (Washington, DC: Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, US Marine Corps, 1968), 653-58; Millett, *Semper Fidelis*, 369-70; Samuel B. Griffith II, *The Battle for Guadalcanal* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1963), v, 244-245; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Struggle for Guadalcanal, August 1942 February 1943* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1950), ix, 333-337, 341-344, 370-373.

On February 16, following a week's voyage, the Eighth Marines made it to New Zealand; here they would be rested, reinforced, and retrained for their next assignment. After the tropical desolation of Guadalcanal, the capital Wellington and the surrounding countryside seemed like a wonderland. The climate was cool and dry; the food and drink were plentiful, and the hospitality afforded by New Zealanders became legendary. David Nelson recalls that the local people credited the Americans with having saved them from invasion by the Japanese and that most young New Zealand men were away in Africa, fighting the Germans. New Zealanders welcomed the American heroes, opening their homes and hosting dances and parties, and many of the local girls dated and entertained the young Marines. Many couples fell in love, some married, and others vowed to be reunited after the war.⁴⁷

The Eighth Marines were sent north to an established base at Paekakariki, a small town thirty-five miles from Wellington. At Paekakariki, Moore and his comrades lived in large tents, slept in clean bunks, and feasted on great quantities of eggs, steak, mutton, and milk. "I am doing all the good right now," he wrote on February 26. "We are in a real good place ... I can go to the picture show about three times a week and there's a post exchange here where we can buy any kind of supplies and Coca Cola, too."⁴⁸

With ample food and rest, Moore began to gain weight, adding pounds lost on Guadalcanal and soon telling his folks, "I am in the best of health and having a good time." But his health was less than perfect. Like many Marines, he suffered episodes of malaria, at least one that later would land him in the hospital. Relaxing at Paekakariki, he read magazines, listened to music on the radio, and sent letters home. He enclosed photos of his buddies: Bowman, Lawrence, Waldorf, Snapp, and Hooker, calling them "as blood thirsty bunch of Marines that ever dug a foxhole." "Seabag" Moore poked fun at Gene Hoover, denying his claims as a "lady killer," saying, "I've seen him in action and don't agree with him at all."⁴⁹

Moore was promoted to Private First Class on March 1 and on July 15 was awarded the Silver Star in a regimental parade. Dressed in a fresh green uniform, he stood with other medal recipients as the decorations were pinned on their chests. "Something really big happened to me," he reported a few days later to his parents. "I was awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action." Always modest, he joked. "Guess they got me mixed up with a couple of other guys." He sent the medal to his mother, and right away, she wrote to Bert, describing it: "a large gold-colored star with a smaller silver star in the middle, large as a half dollar ... We are proud of it," she said. "I know he deserves it. He did plenty of hard and dangerous work to win it."⁵⁰

47. Santelli, *Brief History*, 17-19; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 87-90; Nelson interview, January 22, 2000.

48. Moore to parents, February 26, 1943; Santelli, *Brief History*, 19.

49. Moore to parents, March 3, 13, and April 24, 1943.

50. Moore to parents, July 18, 1943, and Lucretia Moore to Bert Moore, August 5, 1943.

There was more dangerous work in the offing. Before long, the Eighth Marines would be sent into battle again, and much training and reorganization was needed. Hundreds of new men were fed into the regiment, and many of the older hands were promoted. Captain Crowe, for example, was advanced to major and given command of the Second Battalion.⁵¹

Determined to improve the conditioning of his men, Major Crowe led the whole outfit on a grueling forced march. They road trucks fifty miles up to Foxtton, then marched all the way back to Paekakariki. Captain Carr just promoted to a staff office, recalls the Foxtton march as “a real gut buster.” Moore remembered, too. “It took twenty hours of steady walking to reach camp,” he explained to his parents. “All of us were darn near dead, but very few fell out. I was the tiredest I’ve ever been in my life, and don’t think I’ve fully recovered.”⁵²

As always he thought about money. Now a corporal, he earned a bit more salary, enough to buy a \$25 bond every month and send funds home from time to time. “Don’t hesitate to use the money ... if you need it, because I don’t think I’ll be home for a long time.” In letters from brothers and sisters, he was hearing news about their father’s health problems, episodes of an undiagnosed “stomach trouble.” Repeatedly he expressed hopes for his recovery. In October, he wrote, “I sure hope everything is still alright at home and that Pop’s stomach stops giving him trouble.”⁵³

Often Moore longed for a furlough to go home for a few weeks to rest and check on his parents. But the Marine Corps had no rotation policy until 1944, and furloughs were rarely given to Marines in the Pacific except in cases of severe injuries or illnesses. In June, he mentioned that Richard Lawrence and another buddy had been sent home. “Boy, would I like to be with them, but I’m just too darn healthy.” The next month he reported a rumor “that all of the fellows who have been in action will be sent back to the States, before being sent into action again,” but he doubted the truth of the story. Later he was more optimistic, believing that he and other combat veterans would be sent back to the States “after one more round with the rats.”⁵⁴

Another round was coming soon. US military planners had selected the Tarawa Atoll in the Gilbert Islands as their next objective, though this fact was a closely guarded secret. It would be an amphibious assault, with the Second Marine Division, now commanded by Major General Julian Smith, having a major part. In September, the

51. Nelson interview, January 22, 2000.

52. Moore to parents, September 14, 1943; Johnston, *Follow Me!*, 88-89; Carr interview, April 8 and August 16, 2000; Elliott interview, January 30, 2000. Nelson remembers the Foxtton march, when the malaria-stricken Major Crowe rode in a jeep and shouted encouragement to the troops. Nelson interview, August 23, 2000.

53. Moore to parents, June 9, July 1, September 18, October 12, 1943.

54. Moore to parents, June 17, July 9, 12, October 12, 1943; Spector, *Eagle against the Sun*, 544-545; Linderman, *World within War*, 354-355.

Marines stepped up their training; they boarded ships and practiced landings on nearby beaches of Hawke Bay. When Moore got back to Paekakariki, he was impatient. "Everything is going well enough, but I'm tired of this place," he wrote. "I want some action. We will never get this thing over laying around here. I want to get it over with and come on home."⁵⁵

Early in November the Eighth Marines packed their gear, boarded transports, and headed for Tarawa. But Moore was not among them. He was left in New Zealand to recover from another bout with malaria. In late September or early October, the fever had hit him hard, causing him to spend several weeks in the Silver Stream hospital near Wellington. On November 7, just a few days after his regiment departed, Moore reported the aftermath of his illness to his family. "I've just got out of the hospital," he said. "I'm no longer with the old outfit. I was in the hospital too long at the wrong time."⁵⁶

Now he was attached to a casual company of the headquarters battalion. "I have good duty where I am now ... but do not think it will last long." As he recuperated, he often went to the recreation hall, listening to the radio, reading magazines, and watching movies. He enjoyed serving with the headquarters unit and thought briefly about making the military a lifetime career. "If I had something like this permanent, I'd stay in the Marine Corps from now on," he wrote on November 15. "Sorry to say that I'm a line duty man and expect to be sent back to my outfit before long."⁵⁷

Five days later, his outfit, the Second Marine Division, attacked the Japanese on the Tarawa Atoll. They assaulted Betio, a tiny island fortified and defended by five thousand enemy troops. US naval and air forces bombarded the enemy fortifications, then the Marines and other amphibious troops hit the beaches. The Japanese killed many Marines as they left their landing craft, waded through the surf, and charged up the beaches. But the Americans soon prevailed, capturing the entire island within four days. The Marines killed almost all Japanese troops but paid a high price, losing 1,100 dead and 2,300 wounded. Raymond Snapp, one of Moore's comrades in F Company, was killed. David Nelson, the Beaumont Marine, was wounded fighting on the beaches of Betio, but he recovered, received the Purple heart, and would fight again on Saipan.⁵⁸

After Tarawa, the Eighth Marines were sent to the Hawaiian Islands, where they began preparing for their next assignment. In the meantime, Moore lived the good life at

55. Moore to parents, October 12, 1943, and Moore military records; Santelli, *Brief History*, 19-22; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 94-97.

56. Moore to parents, November 7, 1943, Santelli, *Brief History*, 19-22.

57. Moore to parents, November 15, 1943.

58. Nelson interview, August 23, 2000; Santelli, *Brief History*, 19-30; William D. Parker, *United States Marine Corps, 1775-1969* (Washington, DC: Historical Division, USMC, 1970), 64-65; Robert Sherrod, *Tarawa: The Story of a Battle* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), 154.

Paekakariki, recovering his strength, serving in the headquarters unit, and going to parties. “Between working and playing, I was busier than I ever been in my life,” he confided later to his brother. “I went as high as sixty hours without sleep, but boy, did I have fun.” But he longed to be back with his friends in F Company. “I am in good shape now ... outside of being lazy ... I’ll have to snap out of that real soon [because] I’m going to try to join my old outfit.”⁵⁹

Moore finally received orders to go to Hawaii and join his comrades in F Company. Before leaving New Zealand, he sent early Christmas greetings to his parents. “Dear Mom and Dad,” he wrote. “If it were possible, I’d give a year of my life to be with you on Christmas Day.” On December 21, he departed Wellington and commenced a two-week voyage to the Hawaiian Islands. Along the way he celebrated the holidays and suffered a bit from the blues. “Another Christmas has passed and another year will be gone soon. Almost two years overseas, and I don’t have the least idea when I’ll get back home.”⁶⁰

Moore arrived on the big island of Hawaii on January 3, 1944 and the next day traveled sixty-five miles to Camp Tarawa, a new Marine encampment on the huge Parker Ranch. The Eighth Marines were bivouacked near the village of Kamuela, within sight of the lofty peaks of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa. Soon, Moore found F Company, including his old pal “Jungle Gene” Hoover. He collected old mail, more than thirty letters, and had the pleasure of unwrapping holiday packages. “Thanks a million for the Christmas gifts,” he wrote to his family on January 5. “Frankly, I don’t know who sent what. I was opening packages and talking to a bunch of my old buddies at the same time. When it was finished, the cards and presents were all mixed up.”⁶¹

Moore was with the Eighth Marines at Parker Ranch for five months, January through May, when the outfit was rested and reinforced. The camp accommodations were similar to those at Paekakariki—large tents, fresh cots, and plenty of hot food—but there was no nearby city like Wellington with its bars and hotels and hospitable people. “Wellington was a great place and I really had fun there,” Travis wrote on one occasion. “After being there, the place I’m in now sure does seem dead.”⁶²

For recreation, he loved to go to the movies. “We have a picture show in camp and I go over there most every night,” he wrote. “If it wasn’t for that, a fellow would just about go crazy.” He reported seeing *So Proudly We Hail* (1943), describing it as “a real good show” and clearly perceiving its patriotic purpose. Starring Claudette Colbert, Paulette Goddard, and Veronica Lake, the film told the story of the bombing of Pearl

59. Moore to Bert Moore, January 5, 1944, and Moore to parents, December 30, 1943; Santelli, *Brief History*, 30.

60. Moore to parents, December 7 and 30, 1943, and Moore military records.

61. Moore to parents, January 5, 1944, and Moore military records; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 166-168.

62. Moore to parents, January 6, 1944; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 166-168.

Harbor and Corrigedor. "It sure got under my skin," he said, "and I guess made a lot of the other fellows feel the same way, and so it served its purpose."⁶³

Many combat veterans manifested attitudes of isolation and abandonment, feeling estranged from the high command and separated from home and family. Moore experienced these feelings but only to a modest degree. On one occasion, he complained of exhaustion and frustration. "I haven't been doing much writing of late and don't expect to ... After two years overseas, I am kinda tired of the whole works." But more often he was upbeat. "As for myself, I'm in good shape physically and have tried to retain my sense of humor. I have ... succeeded because I still get a lot of fun out of life." And always he wanted news from home, one time asking his mother to write long letters, telling him all about family and neighbors. "So take a week," he said, "and really give me the scoop."⁶⁴

He received plenty of news from home, but some of it was not good. Letters from Bert and Bertha Lou told of their father's declining health. Zephiniah Moore, now age sixty-eight, continued to suffer from "stomach troubles," symptoms actually caused by a liver ailment and heart disease. Stricken with illness and worn out by hard work, the old man was forced to sell his chickens and was reduced to near poverty. His son in Hawaii, after realizing the financial plight of his parents, responded quickly. He went to the battalion office and signed papers for a dependency allotment. "I will put up \$22.00 per month and the Government will put up \$15.50," he explained to his mother. "So when the papers come, please sign them as prescribed ... You will put my mind at ease."⁶⁵

A few weeks later, Moore was promoted to sergeant, a rank that gave him more money and more responsibility. His own group, F Company, and the entire division were being reorganized for their next assignment in the island campaign. Already US strategists had secretly selected the Mariana Islands as the next objective with Saipan as the initial target. Capture of the Marianas would cut Japanese lines of communications in the central Pacific and provide air bases to strike enemy installations in the Philippines, China, and even the home islands of Japan.⁶⁶

Sergeant Moore was advanced to squad leader and given charge of twelve Marines, including eight men armed with M-1 rifles and two carrying Browning Automatic Rifles. Corporal Richard N. Elliott was named assistant squad leader. With Elliott's help, Moore led the men on hikes and directed them in "problems," live-fire maneuvers where they attacked "Japanese" fortifications built on Parker Ranch by army

63. Moore to parents, March 8 and May 3, 1944; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 166-168.

64. Moore to parents, January 23, March 14, April 23, 1944; Linderman, *World within War*, 345-362.

65. Moore to parents, February 16, 1944, Bert Moore interview, March 2, 2000.

66. Moore military records; Santelli, *Brief History*, 31-32; Henry I. Shaw Jr., Bernard C. Nalty, Edwin T. Turnbladh, *Central Pacific Drive: History of US Marine Corps Operations in World War II* (Washington, DC: Historical Branch, USMC, 1966), 237-239.

engineers. He also took the men on landing exercises, boarding the USS *Bolivar* and participated in a mock amphibious invasion of beaches on the island of Maui.⁶⁷

In April, Moore received unhappy news from home. Letters from Bertha Lou reported that their father's health was failing fast and urged him to apply for an emergency furlough. The sergeant went to battalion headquarters and filled out the papers, but the process did not produce a furlough. "I did everything that you suggested ... to get the emergency furlough, but it's no go," he explained to his sister. A local Red Cross representative reported erroneously that there was no immediate cause for alarm, and the application was denied. Moore was very disappointed. "I am sure the furlough would have been granted if I had asked for it a month earlier, but under the present conditions, I can't possibly come home." He knew they were headed for combat. "I know you won't be able to understand ... All I can say is that a man in [the] Marine Corps just does what he is told and doesn't ask questions."⁶⁸

On May 14, Moore led his squad up the gangway onto the deck of USS *LST 34*, a "landing ship transport" that carried troops and landing craft, a vessel with bow doors allowing the forces to be launched directly into the sea. That day they sailed to Lahaina Roads, Maui, then a few days later, on to Pearl Harbor, where they stayed a week, taking on supplies and making final preparations. On May 28, they joined a task force of 110 ships assembled for the invasion of Saipan. On board were seventy-one thousand Marine and Army troops commanded by Lieutenant General Holland M. Smith.⁶⁹

On the way to Saipan the American fleet headed first to the island of Eniwetok (Enewetak, Marshall Islands), where final preparations would be completed. The voyage to Eniwetok took twelve days, a long time for the Texas sergeant and his men to suffer the discomforts of confinement and crowding. Corporal Elliott remembers that he and other squad members slept on cots on the open deck; Moore and other squad leaders were afforded bunks inside the ship. In neither place did they sleep well. The men had to stand in long lines for chow and to access the latrines.⁷⁰

In accordance with procedures in the Marine chain of command, squad leaders and their assistants were given direct briefings. Lieutenant Wallace, commander of the Second Platoon, escorted Sergeant Moore and Corporal Elliott to a meeting where they heard the invasion plans, received maps, and saw a model of Saipan. The island would be stoutly defended by the Japanese, who had an extensive system of concrete fortifications and a force of twenty-five thousand troops. A naval and air bombardment would commence June 11, and the amphibious invasion would begin June 15. Moore and Elliott looked at the island model and saw the southwestern shores, the village of Cha-

67. Richard Elliott interview with author, January 30, 2000; Frank and Shaw, *Victory and Occupation*, 695-702; Shaw, Nalty, and Turnbladh, *Central Pacific Drive*, 251-253; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 168-74.

68. Moore to Parents, April 23, 1944, and Moore to Bertha Lou, April 26, 1944.

69. Moore military records.; Shaw, Nalty, and Turnbladh, *Central Pacific Drive*, 253-255.

70. Moore military records; Elliott interview, February 4, 2000.

ran Kanoa, and its small airfield. On the maps they saw “Red” and “Green” beaches. Their squad, a part of the Second Battalion now commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Crowe, would hit the Green beaches just north of Charan Kanoa.⁷¹

Shortly before his ship stopped at Eniwetok, Moore wrote two letters: one to his mother and father, the other to Ben Willis, an Axtell man who lived near his parents. These letters reveal an amalgam of attitudes, bravery mixed with resignation and fatalism. “Dear Mother and Dad,” he wrote.

You’ll be wondering why you haven’t heard from me and will be worrying about me, so I might as well tell you that I am aboard ship and headed for combat ... There’s no use me telling you that it’s a small operation and not dangerous, because you will be reading about it in the papers and listening to accounts of the operation over the radio.

You have more than your share of troubles without worrying about me, so just try to remember that I am able to take care of myself. The Japs are no match for Marines anyway, and I think my chance of coming through ... is good.

I will write to you as soon as possible after the landing ... Hope you are OK. Take the best care of yourselves. I’ll do the same. All my Love, Travis.⁷²

His letter to Ben Willis was a “thank you” note, expressing appreciation to him and others for helping his elderly mother and father. Again, Travis told the story about the upcoming Saipan operation, but this time with a much more pessimistic viewpoint. “Dear Ben,” he wrote:

I’m aboard ship and headed for combat and of course know there’s a big chance I won’t come through. So before I go in, I want to say thanks to you and some of the other neighbors for their acts of kindness to Mom and Pop.

Those that I remember that Mom spoke of ... are you, Mr. and Mrs. McWhirter, Charlie and Marybelle, and Mr. & Mrs. Young, also Tessie. There are others—Brother and Mrs. Magness, Mr. & Mrs. Cook, and probably some others I forgot to mention. I have never worried about Mom and Pop ... as long as they ... have neighbors like yourselves ...

Thanks again, Ben. So long and good luck. Yours truly, T.T. Moore.⁷³

After stopping two days at Eniwetok, the task force left for Saipan. Along the way, the higher officers, veterans of Guadalcanal, Tarawa, and other operations, estimated the difficulty of the upcoming fight. “This one isn’t going to be easy,” said Brigadier General Merritt Edson, second-in command of the Second Marine Division. Gen-

71. Elliott interview, February 4 2000; Frank and Shaw, *Victory and Occupation*, 691-702; Santelli, *Brief History*, 30-33; Shaw, Nalty, and Turnbladh, *Central Pacific Drive*, 245-248.

72. Moore to Parents, ca. June 8, 1944.

73. Moore to Ben Willis, ca. June 8, 1944.



“Saipan Invasion, June 1944. Marines of the first invasion wave hug the beach and prepare to move inland on ‘D-Day’ June 15, 1944. Note burning LVT in the background.” Caption from source. US National Archives and Naval History and Heritage Command Archives.

eral Holland Smith, commander of the entire invasion force, countered with a more specific opinion, comparing Saipan to the Tarawa Atoll. “We are through with the flat atolls now,” he said. “We learned how to pulverize the atolls, but now we are up against mountains and caves where the Japs can dig in. A week from now there will be a lot of dead Marines.”⁷⁴

In the early hours of June 15, the transport ships, including *LST 34*, maneuvered close to the shores of Saipan. Moore, Elliott, and their men heard reveille at 2:00 AM and two hours later had a breakfast of steak and eggs. Just before dawn they listened to the opening salvos of navy guns as nearby American warships began their final bombardment of the island. The men gathered their weapons and gear then filed down into a vast cargo hold where they found rows of “amtracs,” amphibious tractors that would take them to the beaches. Moore and his troops climbed into their assigned amtrac, waited as the drivers started their engines and suffered as noxious exhaust fumes filled

74. Robert D. Heintz Jr., *Soldiers of the Sea: The United States Marine Corps, 1775-1962* (Annapolis, MD: United States Naval Institute, 1962), 433-434.

the air. Finally at seven o'clock, they saw the bow doors swing open, providing breaths of fresh air and glimpses of Saipan, the island now obscured by the smoke of exploding bombs and shells.⁷⁵

A few minutes later, the amtrac operators gunned their engines and drove their vehicles over the ramp and into the sea. Churning in the water, the amtracs circled, maneuvered, and formed into lines. Just after 8:00 AM, they sped toward the beaches. Moore and his squad crouched along the bulkheads of their boat. Overhead, they heard the continuing naval bombardment, now augmented by fighter aircraft that strafed and bombed enemy positions, both trying to cover the American landing forces with out hitting them with friendly fire. The progress of the amtracs went unchallenged until they crossed a shallow reef a few hundred yards from shore; here they were attacked by intense Japanese fire from automatic cannons, antiboat guns, artillery, and mortars. A few of the landing craft were destroyed, killing or wounding the troops on board, but most of the boats continued toward the beaches.⁷⁶

Corporal Elliott remembers getting to shore and scrambling out of the amtrac. The beach was a mad house of confusion and terror. Moore's squad and other elements of Colonel Crowe's Second Battalion had landed too far to the north, crowding them with troops from other battalions and presenting easy targets for Japanese gunners. The air was filled with incoming gunfire, the beach erupting with explosions of cannon and mortar shells. Dozens of Marines were killed or wounded. Many others were hunkered down, frozen in their tracks by the intensity of the barrage.⁷⁷

Elliott recalls seeing Moore jump to his feet, gesturing and shouting to the men, urging them forward. Lugging his rifle, Moore hustled across the beach, leading the men out of direct fire and into the cover of nearby brushy thickets. Elliott and other squad members followed him, as well as men from various units, maybe fifteen or twenty in all. "Moore saved us," Elliott says, "that's for sure." In the thickets they worked their way forward, meeting little resistance, advancing one thousand yards, and by noon, they helped seize control of the Charan Kanoa airstrip. Later, in cooperation with other units, Moore and his squad advanced beyond the airstrip, first through rows of cedar trees, then into low and marshy ground near the edge of a swamp. From here, they fell back a short distance and seized a patch of firm ground that might be defended. Theirs was a mixed group, about twelve or fifteen men from various units; Lieutenant Wallace, the Second Platoon commander, was there; also Moore's old buddy,

75. Nelson interview, August 23, 2000; Heinl, *Soldiers of the Sea*, 434-436; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 176-178.

76. Special Action Report (12 May to 17 June 1944), Eighth Marine Regiment, WWII, Geographic File, Saipan, RUSMC; Santelli, *Brief History*, 32-34; Heinl, *Soldiers of the Sea*, 434-436; Johnston, *Follow Me*, 176-179.

77. Elliott interviews, January 30, February 11, 2000; Special Action Report, Saipan, RUSMC; Santelli, *Brief History*, 32-34.

“Jungle Gene” Hoover. Right away they began digging foxholes, extending their line, and trying to link up with other Marine units.⁷⁸

By late afternoon the men recognized that they were in a precarious position. They had advanced too far and were exposed to attack from all sides. Japanese snipers lurked under thick cover and fired with devastating results. About 4:30 PM, Travis Moore was hit, a bullet shattering the large bone in his upper left arm. Elliott remembers going to Moore’s side and watching a navy corpsman attend to the wound. The medic made a splint with long leaves of coarse grass and bound the arm with tape. Moore was conscious; he smoked and he talked quietly. The serious wound would be a ticket home to the United States. Others in the group were nursing wounds suffered earlier in the day. One had been hit in the foot, another in the chest, Elliott recalls, and Hoover had an injured arm, though not so serious as Moore’s wound.

That night they stayed alert, watching in the darkness and firing their weapons at suspected targets as the Japanese prowled in the underbrush. Early the next morning, June 16, they were ordered to pull back and link up with other Marines who were advancing slowly against the enemy. In the withdrawal every healthy man in the group took an assignment; some would provide covering fire, others would help the walking wounded, while two would carry Sergeant Moore back to the beach. Elliott remembers loading him onto the stretcher, the corpsman taking his feet and he, standing behind the wounded man, raising him by the shoulders. Just as they lifted him, a Japanese machine gun opened fire and shots ripped across the Marine position. Bullets hit Moore in the back, but inexplicably they missed Elliott who was holding him. “I don’t see how it could have happened,” Elliott says, “but it did.”

With the corpsman and another Marine carrying Moore and Elliott helping another wounded man, the group made its way back to the beach—an area by then crowded with incoming troops and equipment. Here, navy corpsmen tended wounded Marines in a string of aid stations, before sending them out to the hospital ships. Elliott remembers kneeling down beside Moore and trying to talk to him. He was alive, but very weak and barely conscious. “Probably Travis was bleeding to death, from the wounds in his back,” Elliott surmises. Minutes later Elliott got to his feet and headed back to find F Company. That afternoon navy corpsmen transferred Moore and other wounded men to a hospital vessel USS *Callaway*.⁷⁹

The next morning, June 17, 1944, Travis Moore died of his wounds. That day, or the following, he was given a formal funeral, complete with Christian blessings, military honors, and a mournful playing of taps. Then his body was slipped over the side of the *Callaway* and buried in deep waters off the coast of Saipan. The battle continued

78. Elliott interviews, January 30, February 11, 2000; Santelli, *Brief History*, 32-34; Shaw, Nalty, and Turmbladh, *Central Pacific Drive*, 270-271.

79. Foregoing in Elliott interviews, January 30, February 11, 2000.

almost three weeks, with the United States claiming bloody victory on July 9. US forces killed more than twenty-three thousand Japanese but suffered heavy casualties of their own: 3,200 killed and thirteen thousand wounded. David Nelson was among the wounded, shot through the chest while leading his squad on Mount Tapotchau. Before long, US B-29 bombers would begin arriving at Saipan to start bombing the Japanese home islands. The island war, in which Travis gave his life, was proceeding apace. The Americans would take back all the territories the Japanese had seized.⁸⁰

After Moore died, almost six weeks passed before his family received the news. In the meantime, their correspondence with him continued to flow. His mother received the letter of June 8, and his brother Bert sent him two letters, July 9 and 23. Bert's letters carried the sad news of the death of their father, Zephiniah Moore, who had passed away on July the Fourth. Bert tried to console his brother about the care given to their father—"Everything was done that could be done"—and reassure him about their mother—"Don't worry about Mamma. We will take care of her."—Thus, by a coincidence of timing, the family buried the father without knowing about the death of the son.⁸¹

On 28 July Lucretia Moore received the dreaded telegram: "Regret to inform you that your son Sergeant Thomas T. Moore died of wounds received in action in the performance of his duty and service of his country." She was devastated, as were Bert, Bertha Lou, and other members of the family. Lucretia had lost a loving and lovable son as well as a critical source of financial support. Later, her sorrow was aggravated when she learned that her son's body had been dropped into the ocean. She made arrangements for a headstone to be erected in the family plot at the Axtell cemetery.⁸²

Lucretia Moore eventually received letters of condolence from the Marine Corps. Major P.H. Uhlinger advised that Travis would be awarded the Purple Heart and other medals. Harry R. Boer, Protestant chaplain, expressed his sympathy, suggested she would find comfort in "God's all sufficient grace," and urged her to submit her will "to the ever wise but often mysterious providence of our God." Lieutenant General A.A. Vandergrift, Commandant of the Marine Corps, likewise expressed his sympathy and hoped her grief would be lessened by the knowledge of Travis's splendid record and "the thought that he nobly gave his life in the performance of his duty."⁸³

80. Moore military records; M.C. Craig to Lucretia Moore, December 30, 1944; Santelli, *Brief History*, 34-40; Shaw, Nalty, and Turnbladh, *Central Pacific Drive*, 346. Nelson's Saipan wound, which caused medical doctors to send him back to the United States, ended his combat service. Nelson remembers witnessing services for burials at sea when taps were played and tears flowed. Nelson interview, August 23, 2000.

81. Bert Moore to Travis Moore, July 9 and 23, 1944. Both letters, stamped "Return to Sender," eventually came back to Bert Moore.

82. A.A. Vandergrift to Lucretia Moore, July 28, 1944 (telegram). Bert Moore interview, April 9, 2000.

83. P.H. Uhlinger to Lucretia Moore, September 13, 1944; Harry R. Boer to Lucretia Moore, October 17, 1944; Vandergrift to Lucretia Moore, July 31, 1944.

But she was not consoled by the medals or the fine words; she had suffered a loss that would never be repaired or replaced. For the rest of her life, she would cry when speaking of Travis. Bert is still not reconciled to the death of his brother. He is proud of him, lovingly preserving his letters and photos and the Silver Star. But he keeps thinking that if things had been different, if Travis had been given the furlough he deserved, he would be alive today, growing old and enjoying the company of family and friends. Others, however, have different opinions. Robert Leckie, the Marine who became a writer, credits Travis Moore and all his fallen comrades with eternal life. "There are no glorious living, only glorious dead," he writes. "Warriors age and grow soft—but a victim is changeless, sacrifice is eternal."⁸⁴

84. Bert Moore interview, April 9, 2000; Leckie, *Helmet for My Pillow*, 311-312.

John E. Gray

Educator, Banker, Civic Leader: A Brief Introduction

The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record, 45 (2009): 31-46

Educator, banker, and civic leader John E. Gray wore many hats—and wore them well. In a long and remarkable career, he worked ten years as Lamar College president, twenty years as a banker, and another five years as Lamar University president. Also, during his banking years, Gray became a prominent civic leader and a statewide leader in higher education. In this “brief introduction,” I offer a broad outline of his career in education and business but concentrate on his activities and accomplishments as banker and civic leader.

Gray was born in March 3, 1907, in Buckeye, Texas. He moved to Beaumont where he graduated from South Park High School in 1923; later he attended the University of Texas where he earned BA and MA degrees. He taught at South Park High School, later working at South Park Junior College (forerunner of Lamar University) where he coached football and taught mathematics, economics, and government. In 1930, he married Mary M. Hahn and with her had two daughters, Jean and Ann. He served as president of Lamar College from 1942 through 1951, taking time off to serve in the US Navy during World War II. After the war, he worked to win four-year senior college status for Lamar, a goal that was realized in 1951 with the creation of Lamar State College of Technology.¹

In December 1951, John Gray resigned his position as president of Lamar College to become Executive Vice President of First National Bank, the largest financial institution in Beaumont. Seven years later in January 1959, Gray was elected president and chief executive officer of First National. Later in 1970, he became chairman of

1. For a brief biographical sketch of John E. Gray, including his education and banking careers, see Ralph A. Wooster and Robert J. Robertson, “John E. Gray,” Handbook of Texas Online (tshaonline.org/handbook). For a more thorough discussion of Gray’s education career, see Ralph A. Wooster, “John Gray and Higher Education,” Beaumont History Conference, January 19, 2008.

the board. During the last thirteen years of his banking career (1959-1972) when he served as chief executive officer (CEO) of First National Bank, later First Security National Bank, Gray became the town's most important civic leader, working to promote development and manage change in Beaumont and throughout the Southeast Texas region. At the same time, he rose to prominence in higher education, serving on two statewide committees before becoming chairman of the Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System.²

As CEO of First Security Bank, John Gray achieved impressive financial results, working with directors, officers, and staff members to produce large increases in deposits, loans, resources, and net income. Over the years, his fellow officers included Paul Bullington, Jack Darling, Marcus Dougharty, Joe J. Fisher Jr., Otis Pullen, David Hitt, Robert L. "Roy" Hooker, John Geis, Ralph Grantham, Harry Long, Gene Monger, Bill Machemehl, Charles Schmucker, Revere St. John, Emil Weaver, and Will E. Wilson. Another was Elvis L. Mason, a Lamar College graduate, who Gray hired and mentored and who later succeeded him as the bank's chief executive officer.³

Gray led the bank in numerous changes and improvements. He orchestrated a merger with Security State Bank and Trust Company, creating a new entity: First Security National Bank. In 1963, he presided over the dedication of a new, ultra-modern bank building in downtown Beaumont. He authorized the computerization of the bank's operations and the creation of a data processing center that provided services to other financial institutions. He helped organize First Security Mortgage Company and also First Beaumont Corporation, an entity that acquired partial ownership of several smaller banks in the Beaumont area. Following state and national trends, he presided in 1969 over the creation of a one-bank holding company, and in 1972 a multi-bank holding company, First Security National Corporation. All the while, he led the bank in its competition with Beaumont's other large bank, American National, which was headed by Frank Betts and later W.W. Phillips Jr. American National Bank was much like First Security, opening a building in 1961, acquiring initial ownership of a suburban bank and ultimately joining the multi-bank holding company movement.⁴

2. For abundant information about John Gray and First Security National Bank, see First City Texas Bank Collection, Tyrrell Historical Library, Beaumont, TX (hereafter FCTB). The collection includes minutes of the board of directors, annual reports, scrapbooks, and photographs. See also William F. Baker, "The Growth and Development of the First Security National Bank of Beaumont, Texas" (MA thesis, Lamar State College of Technology, 1971), 86-105; Joe J. Fisher Jr, "Banking in Beaumont, 1960-2006," *The Texas Gulf Historical Biographical Record*, 43 (2007), 3-6.

3. Financial statements, information about mergers, and bank minutes, FCTB. For a recap of financial results for Gray's thirteen-year tenure as chief executive officer when the bank produced large increases in deposits and loans, when total resources rose from \$67 million to \$173 million and when net income more than tripled, see minutes, March 30, 1972, FCTB.

4. For mergers, computerization, construction of new bank buildings, and founding of one-bank and multi-bank companies, see FCTB. For information about American National Bank, see American National Bank/Texas Commerce Bank Collections, Tyrrell Historical Library, Beaumont, TX.

Gray was a banker's banker. A 1954 graduate of the Stonier Graduate School of Banking at Rutgers University, he was active in the Texas Bankers and the American Bankers Association. He served as a director of the Houston Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, and a member of the Federal Advisory Council for the Eleventh Federal Reserve District. At the Beaumont bank, he directed the publication of "The First Security Code," a twenty-one-point code of conduct for officers and staff, a that emphasized traditional values such as fairness, integrity, courtesy, community service, citizenship, leadership, professionalism, and "good taste" in "personal appearance." Point number one was "We will consider the safety of our depositors' funds as our first obligation, and we will maintain a strong, well-balanced financial condition at all times."⁵

Clearly, Gray was a professional and competent banker, but perhaps more impressive were his vision, efforts, and accomplishments as a civic leader in Southeast Texas. John Gray became the top leader in a multitude of affairs: business, industrial, governmental, cultural, educational, and political. He achieved this prominence because of his leadership abilities, and also because of his position as headman at First Security.

During the 1960s, before the multi-bank holding company movement in Texas, First Security was a Beaumont institution, owned and controlled by a Board of Directors, a group of about thirty-five Beaumont business, industrial, and professional leaders including Gray himself. The First Security directors were prominent, well-to-do people, an all-white group with only two women. Many came from "old Beaumont families" among them were Joe Broussard II, Walter J. Crawford, W.C. Gilbert Jr., Brudge Kyle, W.P.H. McFaddin Jr., Patrick H. Phelan, B.A. "Mark" Steinhagen, and Thomas Reed II, and two females: Mrs. J. H. Phelan and Pansy Yount. Other directors during this era included Ben J. Rogers, entrepreneur, H.E. Dishman, oil operator, Lum C. Edwards, and Walter M. Mayer, insurance agents, Rudy Williams, businessman, and Jerry J. Nathan, Chilton O'Brien, Ewell Strong, and Peter Wells, attorneys. A director of special note was Gene Davis, the First Security bank trust officer who managed the trust that owned and published Beaumont's two daily newspapers, *The Enterprise* and *The Journal*, an arrangement that gave Gray and his bank control of the town's most important media.

Other directors were local officials of national corporations that conducted large business and/or operations in the Beaumont area. First and foremost was Roy S. Nelson, president and chairman of the board of Gulf States Utilities Company, the only New York Stock Exchange company in Beaumont. Others were local corporate officials such as R.G. Sanders and L.E. Cranston, Mobil Oil Corporation; R.E. Turkleson, Mobil Chemical Company; Gordon Wilbur, Dresser Industries, Inc.; A.K. O'Keefe, Texas-US Chemical; and E. Buchanan and Joiner Cartwright, Sun Oil Company.

5. Gray membership in banking associations, service with the Federal Reserve Bank, "The First Security Code," FCTB.



John Gray with his grandchildren John Pigue and Kathleen Richardson at the ribbon cutting ceremony for the opening of First Security National Bank, June 22, 1963. Rolfe and Gary Christopher Negative Collection, Special Collections and Lamar University Archives, Mary and John Gray Library, Lamar University.

Nelson and the others, sometimes known as the “plant managers,” had much influence with John Gray and the bank; they owned bank stock personally, and their companies had large deposits in the bank. Likewise, Nelson and the plant managers had great influence throughout the Beaumont region, where their companies distributed large payrolls for thousands of employees, awarded big contracts to local contractors and suppliers, and paid hefty taxes to school districts and other public entities.⁶

Obviously, the First Security directors were a powerful group—business and industrial elites—bankers, lawyers, investors, business owners, and corporate executives. This combination of elites was common in Texas and often centered in banks, a phenomenon documented by various historians. Joseph M. Grant, a Texas banker and historian, described these banks as “institutional power bases,” entities that had great influence in cities and towns all across the Lone Star State. “The board rooms ... were seats of power where business and civic leaders, who were also bank directors, made many of the critical decisions affecting their communities.” Here, Grant pointed to various banker-civic leaders in Texas, such as Jesse Jones and James A. Elkins of Houston, both of whom headed large banks and wielded great power in their city.

6. Directors, FCTB.

John Gray was such a banker-civic leader, but on a smaller scale, at least when comparing bank sizes. In 1967 when Elkins's bank, First City National of Houston, had resources of more than one billion dollars, Gray's First Security had resources of only \$123 million. Nevertheless, First Security was a "power base," its board room a "seat of power," and its directors "business and civic leaders" who made "critical decisions" affecting Beaumont and the region. And clearly, John Gray was the leader of the First Security "power base"—he worked tirelessly and skillfully with the officers, directors, and others to carry out a three-fold mission: build the bank, advance the interests of the "power base" members, and develop the community.⁷

Gray strived to advance the civic life of Beaumont and Southeast Texas, leading many organizations, often as chairman or president. Among these were the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, United Appeals, Beaumont Port Commission, St. Elizabeth Hospital Governing Board, McFaddin Ward House, Inc., Trinity-Neches Boy Scouts Council, Neches River Festival, Babe Zaharias Memorial Committee, YMCA, and US Savings Bond campaign. He promoted the economic development of Beaumont, working for downtown redevelopment, presiding over the groundbreaking for a \$6.2 million St Elizabeth Hospital, hosting an official meeting of the Houston Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, helping arrange financing for the Beaumont Roughnecks, a new team in the Texas Baseball League, and a campaign to raise \$170,000 for Lamar Tech land acquisition. In addition, Gray was a longtime board member of St. Paul's Church.⁸

Gray worked especially hard for the industrial development in the Beaumont region, and in 1961, he served as chairman of the Southeast Texas Citizens Committee for Sabine-Neches Waterways Improvements, a new group of business, industrial, and political leaders from Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange, an area known as "The Golden Triangle." In an article written for the *American Banker* magazine, Gray pointed with pride to new facilities being developed by Mobil Chemical, Houston Chemical, Foster Grant Company, Texas Gulf Sulfur, Dupont, and Gulf States Utilities, facilities that would cost more than \$150 million and "give a lift to all facets of the economy of Southeast Texas."⁹

7. Joseph M. Grant, *The Great Banking Crash: An Insider's Account* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 251-252. The teaming of bankers, lawyers, investors, corporate officials, and others and the wielding of civic power is a well-known phenomenon. Joe R. Feagin, *Free Enterprise City: Houston in Political and Economic Perspective* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 1-5, 30-31, 38-39, 106-110, 121-131. For more about the banking, political, and civic career of Jesse Jones and his relations with other Houston elites, see Walter L. Buenger, "Between Community and Corporation: The Southern Roots of Jesse H. Jones and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation," *Journal of Southern History*, 56 (August 1990): 481-510. For financial resources and other data for First Security National Bank (Beaumont), First City National Bank (Houston), and others, see *Texas Banking Redbook*, 1967 Edition (Dallas: Bankers Digest, 1967).

8. FCTB.

9. *American Banker*, June 1, 1961.

But, Gray explained in his article, there were problems with “structural unemployment,” where “electronic controls and computers” were “eliminating many types of operators in refineries and petrochemical plants.” Employment in these facilities was critical, as the refineries and chemical plants accounted for more than sixty percent of all industrial jobs in Jefferson County. In discussing “structural unemployment,” Gray did not comment on a related issue: that job losses caused by automation were producing confrontations with labor unions that had great power in the region. From time to time, the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union called strikes against local refineries in disputes over wages, working conditions, and job security. The author found no documentation of Gray’s private opinions about the eternal struggles between labor unions and oil companies, but his close association with the plant managers and his warm praise for their industrial developments are obvious.¹⁰

As a top civic leader, Gray demonstrated a large vision, seeing state and even national benefits that resulted from industrial and maritime developments in the Golden Triangle. In another *American Banker* article, he explained the critical importance of the ports of Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange and of the Sabine-Neches waterway that provided ready access to the Gulf of Mexico and the world. In 1960, the local ports handled over sixty-eight million tons of shipping, more than the Houston waterway, and second only the Port of New York. The impact of this maritime trade was tremendous, pouring seven million dollars into the Beaumont region and contributing greatly to the benefit of the State of Texas. To further develop this maritime trade, the Port of Beaumont was undertaking a twenty-five million dollar expansion, and at the same time, federal authorities were working new projects to widen and deepen the Neches River ship channel all the way to Beaumont.

Moreover, Gray explained, petrochemicals and other products produced in the Golden Triangle were important in our nation’s Cold War competition with the Soviet Union, a competition for world markets, not only for petroleum products, automobiles, food, and medicine, but also for the “minds and hearts of men all over the world.” Thus, Gray declared, with more development of world trade, we would “be helping both American business and American labor ... and helping our nation to meet the challenge of greatness which has been thrust upon us in the last half of the twentieth century.”¹¹

In 1960, Gray teamed with Mobil officials and First Security board members to orchestrate a “Thank you, Mobil” dinner celebrating the petrochemical complex being developed by Mobil Oil Co. and Mobil Chemical Co. More than 150 business, industrial, and community leaders met in the Rose Room of Hotel Beaumont. Mobil

10. *American Banker*, June 1, 1961. For relations between oil refineries and labor unions on the upper Texas coast, including quantification of labor in oil refineries and petrochemical plants, see Joseph A. Pratt, *The Growth of a Refining Region* (Greenwich, CT: Jai Press, 1980), 153-188.

11. *American Banker*, June 1, 1961.

Oil Vice President Rea Jackson predicted a bright future, even “world fame” for the Beaumont region, as did John Gray, the master of ceremonies, who suggested that the development of petrochemical manufacturing would “mean more to Beaumont and Southeast Texas than anything that has happened since Spindletop.”¹²

Gray’s enthusiasm for industrial development, along with his allusion to the 1901 Spindletop oil boom, was apparently justified, if measured by local and regional population growth. During 1950-1970, when Gray worked so hard for industrial development, the population of Beaumont increased from 93,715 to 115,919, or about twenty-four percent, while the population of the Jefferson and Orange counties increased from 235,650 to 315,943, or about thirty-four percent.¹³

In Beaumont, Gray hosted meetings for various politicians including Lyndon Johnson, Ralph Yarborough, Ben Barnes, Allan Shivers, Jack Brooks, and John Connally, meetings that demonstrated his considerable influence in regional and state political affairs. Especially noteworthy were Gray’s leadership in higher education and his relationship with Governor John Connally who advocated education reform and sponsored necessary legislation. Already Gray had served on Governor Price Daniel’s Texas Commission on Higher Education, and Connally’s Committee on Education Beyond the High School. On March 3, 1965, Governor Connally signed a law creating the Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System, an entity that consolidated and wielded many powers held previously by elected representatives and legislative committees, powers for development, financing, and management of higher education in the Lone Star State.

On September 1, 1965, the day the law became effective, Governor Connally appointed John Gray as the chairman of the new board. Later that year, the governor came to Beaumont to honor Gray and other members of the new Coordinating Board. Speaking to a crowd of five hundred at the Ridgewood Motor Hotel, Connally explained that the Board was a “new agency with unparalleled powers to co-ordinate higher education and direct its development. The Board has immense responsibilities, [and] because it involves the entire system of state-supported universities, colleges, and junior colleges, it is potentially a center of political and economic controversy. Its powers require wisdom, deliberation, understanding, and diplomacy . . . When time came for me to appoint a chairman,” the governor said, “there was no doubt in my mind that the man was John Gray.”¹⁴

Gray chaired the Coordinating Board during 1965-1969 and oversaw the development of important new programs in higher education. These included a ten year mas-

12. *Beaumont Enterprise*, September 29 and 30, 1960 (hereafter BE).

13. *Texas Almanac* (Dallas: Belo Corporation, 1951); *Texas Almanac* (Dallas: Belo Corporation, 1973).

14. FCBT; BE, December 1, 1965; Carlos Kevin Blanton, “The Campus and the Capitol: John B. Connally and the Struggle over Texas Higher Education, 1959-1970,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 108 (April 2005): 469-497.

ter plan, a statewide core curriculum, increased funding, establishment of four new state colleges, facilitation of federal grants, and various benefits for faculty members including development leave, health and retirement plans, and protections for tenure and academic freedom.¹⁵

Gray knew Congressman Jack Brooks, the powerful Beaumont Democrat who represented the Second Congressional District, and who helped obtain federal funding for water development projects for the Southeast Texas region. In a 1962 article for *The Houston Chronicle*, Gray praised the region, likening it to “a sleeping giant” soon to be awakened by the more than one hundred million dollars in new federal water projects, such as McGee Bend Dam on the Angelina River, Dam B on the Neches River, and Toledo Bend Dam on the Sabine River. These and other federal projects on the Sabine-Neches waterway, he wrote, would greatly boost agricultural and industrial development throughout the region.¹⁶

Additionally, the actions of Brooks on civil rights provide an opportunity to estimate the position of Gray, the civic leader, on racial issues. African American civil rights struggles provoked heated debate all across the State and the nation. In 1964 when Congress debated and passed a broad civil rights bill, Brooks went against the opinions of most white Beaumonters and voted for the controversial legislation.¹⁷

The documents in the First City Texas Bank Collection does not reveal what John Gray thought personally about race relations or the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Some evidence, however, can be inferred from a June 21 editorial in *The Beaumont Enterprise*, the newspaper that was managed by First Security’s trust department. Entitled “When It Becomes Law,” the article condemned the new law, saying that it represented a “serious invasion of the rights of property and privacy” which does “immeasurable harm to the free enterprise system,” and threatens “more American freedoms” than it proposes to protect. On the other hand, the editorial cautioned against exaggerated reactions. “Our unhappiness . . . does not lead us to defiance,” the paper said. “We are a nation of laws . . . It is not the business of private citizens to take the law into their own hands . . . There must be no violence. Demonstrations would be a mistake. Instead [it is] time for restraint on the part of both races, a time for the highest type of leadership in both groups.” Probably these expressions of opposition, accommodation, and statesmanship suited Gray perfectly, as they would have been sound strategy for a civic leader.¹⁸

15. Wooster, “John Gray.”

16. *Houston Chronicle*, February 4, 1962.

17. During the Congressional debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Brooks received constituent mail with opinions that ran 17 to 1 against the proposed legislation. Robert J. Robertson, “Congressman Jack Brooks, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Desegregation of Public Accommodations and Facilities in Southeast Texas: A Preliminary Inquiry,” *Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*, 35 (1999): 19-33 [reprinted in this volume—Editor].

18. BE, June 21, 1964.

Gray was a board member of the Beaumont Club, a men's private club located in the new First Security National Bank building. The luxurious club was a regular meeting place for members of the First Security "power base" and other men of the business, professional, and industrial elite classes. In accordance with race traditions of the era, African Americans were barred as members or guests but worked as waiters and waitresses. And in accordance with gender traditions, all women, except black waitresses, were barred from the main lounge and dining room until 4:00 in the afternoon. If Gray's wife, Mary, his daughters, Jean and Ann, his administrative assistant, Eloise Petkovsek, or other women came to lunch, they followed a side hallway to a secondary dining room that was separated from the main dining room by sliding partitions. The record consulted for this essay do not reveal how John Gray felt personally about these racial and gender restrictions or about women's rights generally. Probably he favored women's rights but would advise a conservative "go slow" approach, given his age (born 1907), his prominence at the Beaumont Club, and his position as leader of the First Security "power base."¹⁹

That John Gray was a strong civic leader, that his office at First Security was the headquarters of a civic "power base," was an opinion shared by many, including some at very high levels. Recently, Beaumont attorney Tanner T. Hunt Jr. shared a story about an incident in 1964 when he joined his father T.T. Hunt, editor of *The Beaumont Enterprise*, at a White House reception for Texas newspaper editors hosted by President Lyndon Johnson. As Tanner and his father were leaving the White House, President Johnson spoke privately to Mr. Hunt saying, "Please say hello to John Gray for me." Moments later, as they walked out of the White House, Mr. Hunt remarked to his son: "That's just like LBJ, the consummate politician—he knows the one man in Beaumont who can get things done."²⁰

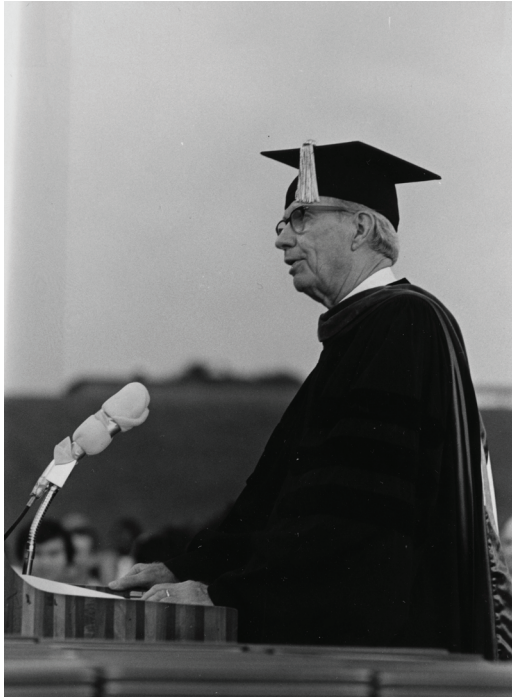
Was John Gray "the one man?" Many thought so, including local radio personality Gordon Baxter who sometimes attacked Gray and referred to him disparagingly as "Mr. Big." Another was *Houston Post* newsman Martin Dreyer who wrote a long article in 1965 describing Gray as "Beaumont's man at the top," and credited him with substantial civic and political powers. "Soft-spoken John Gray is a powerful voice in the community," Dreyer wrote. "He is said to manipulate many strings in the city and county political scene." Being more specific, Dreyer added, "Gray and Roy Nelson, retired head of Gulf States Utilities Co., reportedly pulled the strings on the 1961 vice cleanup in Jefferson County."²¹

Here, Dreyer referred to the activities of the "James Commission," a much publicized investigation of vice and corruption in Jefferson County headed by State Representa-

19. FCTB. Race and gender traditions at the Beaumont Club were confirmed in Tanner T. Hunt Jr. interview, December 10, 2007.

20. Hunt interview, September 14, 2007.

21. Hunt interview, December 10, 2007; *Houston Post*, *Texas Magazine*, October 31, 1965; FCTB.



John Gray presiding over graduation ceremonies at Lamar University, May 18, 1974. Special Collections and Lamar University Archives, Mary and John Gray Library, Lamar University

tive Tom James that resulted in suppression of prostitution, gambling, and other vices, as well as reforms in county law enforcement. In an interview with newspaperman Dreyer, Gray claimed no credit for the vice cleanup, but he was outspoken about its benefits. “One of the effects of the cleanup,” Gray said, “has been the creation of an industrial and business climate which engenders the confidence of investors. These people [probably meaning Mobil Oil, Mobil Chemical, et al.] feel more secure in making capital outlays when there’s good sound local government.”²²

If Gray had indeed helped orchestrate the “James Investigation,” it probably would have been an instance where all his interests—the bank, the “power base,” and the community—were aligned and where all benefited. But such was not always the case. James D. McNicholas, Beaumont mayor during 1968-1970, remembers an incident in which Gray’s interests were divided between the “plant managers” and the larger

22. *Houston Post*, *Texas Magazine*, October 31, 1965; Wanda A. Landrey and Laura C. O’Toole, *Betting, Booze, and Brothels: Vice Corruption and Justice in Jefferson County, Texas* (Austin: Eakin Press, 2006).

community, an incident in which his civic leadership was thwarted. In January 1968, the city council debated a controversial issue: “contributions in lieu of taxes.” For many years, the Mobil Oil refinery, the Gulf States “Neches Station,” and other industrial facilities were located just outside the city limits and paid no property taxes to the city of Beaumont. Mayor McNicholas and others believed that these corporate facilities benefited from their proximity to the city and that they should either pay property taxes to the city or make financial contributions in lieu of taxes. When the corporate officials declined to make such contributions, Mayor McNicholas and the city council threatened to annex the industrial facilities and tax them as any other property, a threat that provoked controversy in the local business community. McNicholas remembers receiving a visit from John Gray, Roy Nelson, and others, warning him that his actions would slow and maybe even ruin the industrial development in the Beaumont area. Rejecting the admonitions of Gray and the others, the council held firm to demand for contributions in lieu of taxes, a demand to which Mobil Oil and the others eventually agreed and which produced annual contribution \$750,000.²³

In most cases, John Gray probably found the high ground, coordinating the interests of the bank, the “power base,” and the community, and working to improve them all. As he said when presiding over the groundbreaking and later the dedication of a new building for the bank, “We believe in the future of Beaumont; we believe in the future of the area; we believe in the future of the bank.” But even more, he said, “We believe the bank is the heart of a community.” Here he voiced a vision that the bank was some kind of quasi-municipal entity, or perhaps a private chamber of commerce, one that had a strong public service mission, a responsibility to lead in the development of the town and region, not only industrially and economically, but also educationally, culturally, and politically.²⁴

For Gray, this public service mission was especially pronounced in his own life. While he labored to build the bank, worked for the interests of his “power base,” and strived to develop the community, he seemed to care little about his own self-interest. Unlike Jesse Jones, James A. Elkins, and other Texas banker-civic leaders, Gray apparently did not amass a great personal fortune. At the bank, he earned a handsome salary and collected dividends on his stock. He lived comfortably, dressed well, hunted and fished with friends, vacationed at his Turkey Creek Farm in Tyler County, and traveled frequently in connection with his responsibilities in Texas higher education and with the Federal Reserve Bank. But his life style and demeanor always bespoke modesty and restraint. Ever loyal to the Lamar University community, he and his wife, Mary, lived most of their lives in a dwelling across the street from the college campus. A tall man, often the tallest in the room, he was noted for his dignity, warmth, and self-effacing humor, also for his habits of greeting everyone personally and giving credit to others.

23. James D. McNicholas interview, July 12, 2008; BE, June 19, 1968.

24. Baker, “Growth and Development,” 89-91.

Lawyer Robert Keith remarked recently, “I doubt 5% of Gray’s efforts were motivated by a sense of personal gain.” Likewise for lawyer Jerry Nathan, who served on Gray’s bank board, remembers Gray as a “very humble man,” who “had no personal hidden agenda” and who was genuinely interested in “improving every facet of community life.” In Nathan’s eyes, Gray personified the Rotary Club motto: “Service above Self.”²⁵

Gray’s view of his Beaumont bank and its civic mission is ironic, given the bank’s ultimate history. In 1972, he and his fellow directors and shareholders organized First Security National Corporation, a multi-bank holding company, which was given total ownership of First Security National Bank. Shortly thereafter he left the bank and returned to Lamar University, where he served as president for another five years, during which time he presided over various improvements including increases in enrollments and scholarships, creation of new degree programs, construction of the John and Mary Gray Library, dedication of the Speech and Hearing Center, and opening of the Mamie McFaddin-Ward Health Science Building. After retiring again as university president in 1977, Gray served as director of the Brown Center of Lamar University, was appointed by Governor William Clements to a Special Committee on Higher Education Financing, and in 1981 was honored by industrial and political leaders with the dedication of the John Gray Institute, a Lamar University center for mutual advancement of business, industry, and labor. During these later years, Gray witnessed amazing and shocking events in the business world—the rise and fall of multi-bank holding companies in the Lone Star State.²⁶

In the middle 1970s, First Security National Corporation followed the lead of other Texas bank-holding companies, acquiring ownership and control of smaller banks in the Beaumont region and elsewhere in Texas. Then in 1978, when Gray was still an advisory director of First Security National Corporation, he joined the then-president Will E. Wilson and his fellow directors and shareholders in an agreement to merge their company with First City Bancorporation of Texas, a \$7.6 billion bank-holding company headquartered in Houston. In this merger, Gray and the other owners of First Security of Beaumont exchanged their shares for shares in “First City” of Houston. In this way, the owners of the Beaumont bank took a gigantic step—they gave up local control, yielding it to owners of a much larger Houston organization.²⁷

As recounted by Joseph Grant in his book, *The Great Texas Banking Crash*, a precipitous fall in oil and real estate prices produced a near collapse of the Texas banking industry during 1986-1993, when nine out of ten of the state’s largest banking organizations were taken over by the federal government or sold to out-of-state banking

25. Gray salary, stock holdings, dividend income, bank minutes, March 8, 1966, FCTB; Robert Q. Keith email to author, December 5, 2007; Jerry J. Nathan interview, December 6, 2007. The author new Gray and attended meetings conducted by him.

26. FCTB; Wooster, “John Gray.”

27. FTGB.

companies. First City Bancorporation, Inc., which owned Beaumont's First Security National Bank, was taken over by the FDIC and its assets ultimately sold to Texas Commerce Bancshares, Inc., which earlier had been sold to Chemical Banking Corporation of New York.²⁸

As a result, First Security National Bank of Beaumont, the one for which John Gray worked so hard, was closed, its modern bank building shuttered, and all its positions for directors, officers, and staff members eliminated. The value of all First City stock, including the shares held by Gray and the other former First Security shareholders, was wiped out.²⁹

In looking back on the failure of the Texas banks, the author Grant decried the loss of "power bases" and the elimination of "the institutional incubators that in the past spawned so many of Texas' leaders," such as R.L. Thornton of Dallas, James A. Elkins of Houston, and K.M. Van Zandt of Fort Worth. Grant went on to bemoan the plight of "hundreds of smaller communities throughout Texas, which lost their leaders and their institutional power bases." Such was certainly the case for Beaumont, where during 1959-1972, John Gray and members of his "power base" at First Security National Bank had worked so hard for the benefit of their institution, their own interests, and their city.³⁰

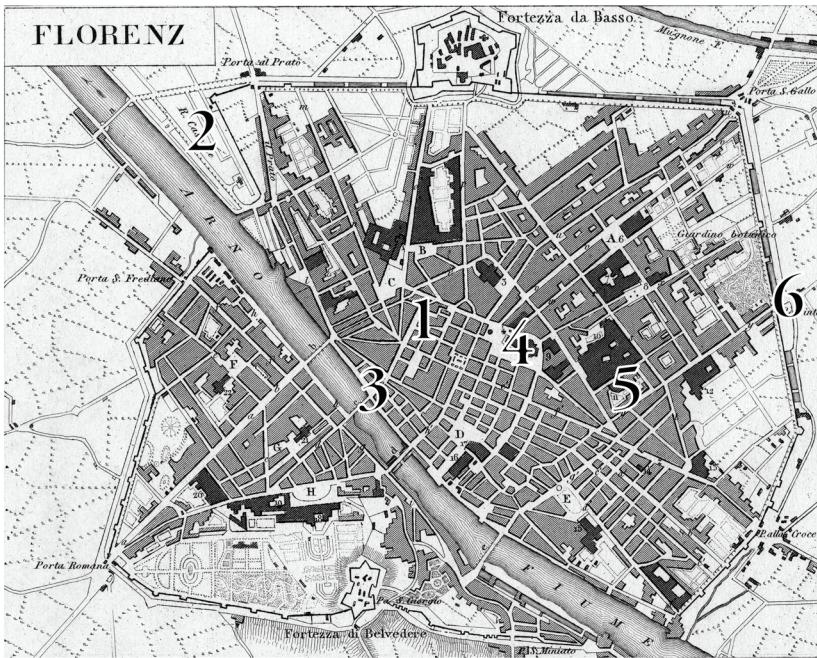
Postscript

John Gray, the educator, banker and civic leader, the man who accomplished much for his university, his bank, his city, and his state, passed away March 20, 2002.

28. For developments in Texas banking, including 1992 governmental seizure of First City Bancorporation of Houston and 1993 sales of its assets to Texas Commerce Bancshares which was owned by Chemical Banking Corporation of New York, see Grant, *Great Texas Banking Crash*, 1-3, 247-250. See also, Joseph A. Pratt, "A Look Back at the Bank Holding Company Movement in Texas: National and State Retrospectives," paper East Texas Historical Association Meeting, February 15, 2007.

29. Nathan interview, February 15, 2007.

30. Grant, *Great Texas Banking Crash*, 251-252.



Johann Georg Heck, *Plate 44: Livorno. Ancona. Florenz. Modena* (detail, 1850). From *Iconographic Encyclopaedia of Science, Literature, and Art* (New York, 1852). David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries.

1. Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore where the Kuhns had an apartment
2. Cascine Park where Louisa Kuhn saw the parade of the new Tuscan National Guard
3. The Jockey Club where Charles Kuhn was a member
4. Duomo Santa Maria del Fiore where King Victor Emanuel II arrived
5. La Pergola opera house where the Kuhns had a box
6. Protestant Cemetery where Louisa Kuhn would later be buried

Louisa Catherine Adams Kuhn

Florentine Adventures, 1859-1860

Massachusetts Historical Review, 11 (2009): 119-151

In 1854 Louisa Catherine Adams (1831-1870), daughter of Charles Francis Adams and Abigail Brooks Adams, married Charles F. Kuhn, a wealthy businessman from Philadelphia. They lived for a while in New York City, where in October 1857, Louisa gave birth to a baby girl who died a short time later. Not long thereafter in May 1858 Louisa and Charles embarked on a grand tour of Europe. On the Continent, they traveled leisurely, seeing the sights in England, France, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. In some cities they lingered, spending a month in Rome and a month in Paris.¹

After touring sixteen months, Louisa and Charles Kuhn settled in Florence, where they lived for six months as members of the Anglo-Florentine community. Louisa wrote about these experiences to her parents in the United States. Between November 4, 1859, and May 25, 1860, she sent home twenty-six letters describing their lives in the ancient Tuscan capital. These reports are valuable primary sources, providing specific and relevant information about Americans on the grand tour, Americans in mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-Florentine society, and elite American women of the Victorian era.²

1. Louisa Catherine Adams Kuhn (1831-1870) was the eldest child of Charles Francis Adams and Abigail Brooks Adams. Louisa's siblings were John Quincy (1833- 1894), Charles Francis (1835-1915), Henry (1838-1918), Arthur (1841-1846), Mary (1846-1928), and Brooks (1848-1927) as outlined by Paul C. Nagel, *Descent from Glory: Four Generations of the John Adams Family* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1983), 182-185. Nagle further writes a brief account of Louisa's marriage to Charles Kuhn, the loss of their infant daughter, and their departure for Europe (205-209). Louisa's letters home, which number more than one hundred, reveal a list of the cities that the Kuhns visited on their grand tour. All correspondence cited in this article are located the Adams Family Papers, 1639-1889, microfilm edition (608 reels; Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1954- 1959).

2. These twenty-six letters written by Louisa to her family between November 4, 1859, and May 25, 1860, were transcribed for the author in 2004 by Katherine H. Griffin.

Louisa's brother Henry Adams, writing as a professional historian, lamented the relative shortage of primary sources about women and decried the lack of attention devoted to their history:

The study of history is useful to the historian by teaching him his ignorance of women; and the mass of this ignorance crushes one who is familiar with what are called historical sources to realize how few women have ever been known. The woman who is known only through a man is known wrong . . . The American woman of the nineteenth century will live only as the man saw her . . . None of the female descendants of Abigail Adams can ever be so nearly so familiar as her letters have made her, and all this is pure loss to history, for the American woman of the nineteenth century was much better company than the American man.³

Drafting these words long after his sister's death, Henry either ignored or forgot the more than one hundred letters Louisa wrote during her European travels. This essay aims to awaken a new interest in Louisa Adams Kuhn and her letters by taking a closer look at this bright and spirited woman and her adventures in Europe.

The grand tour, which brought Louisa and Charles to Florence, was a phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Upper-class English and Americans traveled across Europe, acquainting themselves with the art and culture of the Old World, learning foreign languages, and by these experiences gaining knowledge, pleasure, and prestige. For many travelers, Italy was a favored destination, as indicated by the availability of guidebooks, such as Karl Baedeker's *Italy: Handbook for Travelers* (1869) and John Murray's *A Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* (1861), and the publication of columns from correspondents in Italy in the *New York Times*. Some of the Anglo-Americans came to Italy for specific reasons, such as religion or health, while others—artists and writers in particular—came for study and intellectual stimulation. For many, Italy was an escape, offering freedom from problems and obligations at home; for some, especially women, the country provided a chance to live freely and be truly alive, to loosen the social restraints of the Victorian era. Louisa and Charles fit nicely into these patterns. They were eager travelers on the grand tour and ardent admirers of Italy. They were stimulated by the rich Italian culture, studying the Italian and French languages; enjoying the music at balls, operas, and parades; and circulating in Anglo-Florentine society. Moreover, Louisa, like many other female travelers, rejoiced in the personal and social freedoms of her life in Italy.⁴

3. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918 rept.; New York, The Modern Library, 1931), 353.

4. For the grand tour, see Giuliana Artom Treves, *The Golden Ring: the Anglo-Florentines, 1847-1862* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), 1-3; Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800-1860* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 11-13. For the popularity of Italy, see Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims*, 1-8, 21-28, 43-45, 198-203. For guide-books, see *Karl Baedeker, Italy: Handbook for Travellers* (Coblenz, Germany: Baedeker, 1869-1870), and John Murray, *A Handbook for*

In Florence, Louisa and Charles became active members of Anglo-Florentine society, a group of British, Americans, and others who visited and sometimes resided in the city, which was famous for its churches, galleries, theaters, gardens, and public buildings. During the nineteenth century, the British and Americans included artists and writers as well as business, political, religious, and society figures. First and foremost among the English were the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her husband and fellow poet Robert Browning, who were the quintessential Anglo-Florentines; other English Florentines included Walter Savage Landor, Charles Lever, and Theodosia Trollope. Those from the United States included James Lorimar Graham, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry James, Charles Eliot Norton, Theodore Parker, Hiram Powers, William Wetmore Storey, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Charles Sumner. The experiences of these and other Anglo-Florentines have been described by various historians in accounts that provide a useful context for evaluating the adventures of Louisa and Charles Kuhn. As Louisa's letters show, the Kuhns were notable for their friendly social relations with upper-class Italians and their open endorsement of Italian nationalism. Her letters are also remarkable for their repeated expressions of admiration for the Italian people.⁵

Louisa's letters, sent weekly to her parents, revealed much about her personal life: her infatuations with fashion and society, her love for family, her connections with American friends, her concern for her father's political career in the US Congress, and her position as the wife of a domineering and well-to-do American businessman. With her husband's wealth, Louisa qualified as a member of the American upper class; as an Adams, she ranked as a member of the Boston elite. She was proud of her lofty social status and measured herself confidently against Americans, British, and others in Florentine society. Additionally, the letters show that Louisa was a quintessential Victorian wife, enjoying status and privilege yet suffering profound and sometimes harsh subordination to her husband.⁶

Travellers in Central Italy: Including Lucca, Tuscany, Florence, the Marches, Umbria, Part of the Patrimony of St. Peter, and the Island of Sardinia (London: J. Murray, 1861); *New York Times*, February. 7, 14, March 1, 13, and 24, 1860.

5. For the nineteenth-century Anglo-Florentines, see Treves, *Golden Ring*. Baker describes the abundance of relevant literature, including surveys, travel writings, biographies, and collections of letters in a bibliographic essay. *Fortunate Pilgrims*, 227-231. For more about the Anglo-Florentines, see Marcello Fantoni, editor, *The Anglo-Americans in Florence: Idea and Construction of the Renaissance* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2000); Bruno P. F. Wanrooij, editor, *Otherness: Anglo-American Women in 19th and 20th Century Florence* (Fiesole: Cadmo, 2001). For the diversity of Anglo-Florentine society, with its English, Russians, Germans, French, Poles, Americans, and Italians, see Treves, *Golden Ring*, 16.

6. Ronald Story identifies the Adams family among the Boston elite and cites the writings of John Quincy, Charles Francis, Henry, and Charles Francis II as valuable though "also eccentric and occasionally misleading" sources about the Boston elite and their role in development of Harvard University. *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1870* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1980), 185-186. On the other hand, Betty Farrell describes Boston elite families, including Peter



Louisa Catherine Adams Kuhn. Carte de visite by Laisn (?) & Cie (detail, 1865). Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

As befitted a member of the highly literate Adams family, Louisa wrote interesting and amusing letters. She dashed off long paragraphs, cramming them with details about people, places, and events, and often spicing them with humor and irony. Some of her prose was very fine, almost lyrical; on one occasion she described the sounds and sights of a royal parade, with band music, cheering crowds, fluttering flags, flashing sunlight, and a king on horseback. In her letters home, she covered various aspects of her life and adventures with her husband in Florence: their perilous travel to the city; their grand apartment with servants and carriages; parties and dinners with American, English, Russian, and Italian friends; attendance at operas; revels during Carnival; and celebrations of the Risorgimento, the political unification of Italy.

“A Frightful Storm”

Louisa and Charles came to Florence from Paris, traveling overland to Marseilles, by sea to Leghorn (Livorno), and again overland to their final destination. The sea voyage proved perilous and exhausting. “After leaving Marseilles,” Louisa reported, “we came into a frightful storm ... [The] wind blew a perfect hurricane, the sea broke over the deck furiously, there was not even a star.” The captain “was very much frightened and lost his head completely, refusing to try to reach Leghorn, and anchoring near an island.” While anchored there, they were “tossed about by ... a terrific wind and sea wave swept over us and rushed down the cabin stairs.” Louisa became dreadfully sea sick, a condition that she said prevented her from being overcome with fear and misery. The next day they resumed the voyage. “Always in that awful wind and sea,” they “pitched and rolled and tilted on towards Leghorn.” Finally, she said, “we ran into port, perfectly used up as you may imagine, having been out 29 hours instead of 12.” It was after dark on Monday, October 31, 1859, when they made it to Florence and checked into a hotel where Louisa found great relief: “I assure you my warm bath, clean nightgown, and hot supper were the most delicious things I ever experienced.”⁷

Chardon Brooks, father of Abigail Brooks Adams, but for some reason does not mention the Adams family itself. *Elite Families: Class and Power in Nineteenth-Century Boston* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993). Louisa herself has received little attention from professional historians. In *Descent from Glory*, Nagel devotes about two dozen pages to her, depicting her as a bright yet troubled woman (183, 204-219, 256-259, 266-267), and suggests that her difficulties may have arisen from gender restrictions of the Victorian era (208-210). For brief mentions of Louisa, see Paul C. Nagel, *The Adams Women: Abigail and Louisa Adams, Their Sisters and Daughters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 264, 267; Martin B. Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams, 1807-1886* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), 41, 214-215, 339; Francis Russell, *Adams: An American Dynasty* (New York: American Heritage, 1976), 256-257, 274, 302-304, 310; Jack Shepherd, *The Adams Chronicles: Four Generations of Greatness* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1975), 346, 372-373; Elizabeth Stevenson, *Henry Adams, A Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1956), 29-32, 85; and William Dusinger, *Henry Adams, the Myth of Failure* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1980), 13, 194, 212, 217-218.

7. Louisa Catherine Adams Kuhn (LCAK) to Abigail Brooks Adams (ABA), November 4, 1859.

The next day the Kuhns made connections with Annie Jessie Smith, an English woman who helped acquaint them with Florence. She picked them up at their hotel and took them to her villa on the outskirts of the town, where they stayed for a few days. "The house is vast & has been magnificent," Louisa explained, and it was "once the property of the Medici family. It is on a hill, about 2 miles outside the wall, in a great Italian lemon garden. The view is exquisite over this loveliest of countries, almost to the sea on one side, and to the mountains on the other." Louisa was delighted with the mild November weather, having just left "frost and winter in Paris." She remarked, "We are yet in summer weather. The grass is splendid as in May, and the smell of orange & lemon blossoms, roses & geraniums floats in at my open window."⁸

"A large and elegant apartment"

Soon, the Kuhns rented "a large & elegant apartment" in Casa Giacomelli, an old palace situated in the Piazza Santa Maria Maggiore, just two blocks west of the duomo, Santa Maria del Fiore. She found much to recommend about her new home; the apartment's location was "central & very gay;" its orientation brought sunlight into a number of the rooms all day long; and its price, only eighty dollars per month, was much less than that for a smaller apartment in Paris. They had twelve rooms, including a large living room, two dining salons, Louisa's dressing room and bedroom with "a little passage with water conveniences," "two beautiful great rooms & bath which Mr. Kuhn has all to himself," a guest room, two servant rooms, and a large kitchen that was "down a little flight of stairs." The living room was grand with ceilings "high & handsomely frescoed" and tall windows covered with "long white curtains & red hangings at the top." Crimson paper finished the walls, and "carpet ... three ply & rather shabby" covered the "really beautiful" marble floors. The furnishings amused Louisa; she described the "Venetian furniture ... no two chairs alike, one sofa is yellow, one blue, an easy chair green, another red, and another pink ... and one or two elegant gilt pier tables." The large scale and ornate decor of the room, combined with the worn and eclectic furnishings, were typical, Louisa noted wryly, as "Italians ... ask for nothing more."⁹

Rental of the apartment included three servants: Titus, the cook; wife—her name Louisa did not record—who served as Louisa's chambermaid; and Giovanni, the footman and indoor man. Louisa also had Henriette, a personal maid and dressmaker who traveled with her. Louisa claimed she and Charles enjoyed special relationships with their Italian domestic workers, relationships that were better than those other Anglo-Florentines experienced: "No one thinks of listening here to servants complaints as we do," Louisa reported, "and consequently we are much better served here, and the servants think we are great people." She praised Giovanni, saying "our valet du

8. LCAK to ABA, November 4, 1859.

9. LCAK to ABA, November 11 and 18, 1859. Later, the Kuhns moved to another apartment in "an old convent" that boasted a "lovely garden." LCAK to ABA, March, 23, 1860.

chambre is perfection” and explaining, “He knows every shop, every address & every name in all Florence, and moreover is acquainted with the best boxes at every theatre, so we rely blindly on him for everything.”¹⁰

“My housekeeping goes on charmingly,” Louisa wrote happily, detailing her supervisory role and admitting, “I never even see my cook or my kitchen.” Nevertheless, she raved about her dinners, calling them “capital.” She praised local food sources, saying, “The market is perfect” and enumerated its offerings: “breasts or wings ... of chickens & turkeys,” “the best beef,” “all kinds of vegetables,” “splendid pears 8 grapes & great chestnuts,” and “wines of the country ... good & cheap.” She bragged, too, about the high quality and “amazingly cheap” cost of their transportation arrangements. “We have a nice carriage, or rather two,” she explained, “a barouche or coupe as you wish ... both new & elegant, lined with brocade, two nice horses, handsome harnesses, black coats & hats, white cravats & gloves for the footman & coachman, for \$60 per month.”¹¹

Overall, Louisa concluded, “Our whole housekeeping ... won’t cost us as much as living in Paris ... and will be about ten times more elegant & comfortable.” Her opinions about the relatively low living expenses in Florence were common among the Anglo-Florentines, including some of the most famous. Elizabeth Barrett Browning remarked about the “conveniences and luxuries of life” that were “of incredible cheapness,” as did Henry James, the American novelist, who recalled “the celestial cheapness” of his days in the city. In Louisa’s remarks about their living expenses in Florence, she alluded to precepts of thrift and economy. But at the same time, she described a lifestyle that was anything but thrifty and economical. With funds the Adams family bestowed on them and money Charles earned, the Kuhns lived a life of apparent luxury in Florence. They had an apartment, two large carriages, and four servants—the employment of whom was a mark of status among the upper classes during Victorian times, when more servants meant more prestige.¹²

10. LCAK to ABA, November 11, 1859, and January 2, 1860. Henriette is mentioned in LCAK to ABA, March 15 and May 25, 1860. According to Wanrooij, the employment of a domestic worker who would travel with a family was a common practice among the Anglo-Florentines. *Otherness*, 6.

11. LCAK to ABA, November 18, 1859.

12. LCAK to ABA, November 4 and 11, 1859; Treves, *Golden Ring*, 8; Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims*, 35. For information about Charles Kuhn’s family connections in Philadelphia, his mercantile business interests in New York, and about monies “settled on” the Kuhns by Louisa’s family, see Nagel, *Descent from Glory*, 209. For servants as status symbols, see Pamela Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975), 17-23; Frank E. Huggett, *Life below Stairs: Domestic Servants in England from Victorian Times* (London: J. Murray, 1977), 7-9, 54-72; Theresa M. McBride, *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France, 1820-1920* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976), 9-15; Daniel E. Sutherland, *Americans and Their Servants: Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 1-8, 128-129.

Annie Jessie Smith, whose husband Christopher was a retired civil service officer, smoothed their way in Florence. She “has been perfectly devoted to us, helping us do everything, giving us the addresses of all her trades people and ... getting us established as easily as possible.” Louisa made fun of Smith’s clothes, saying, “She dresses badly like all Englishwomen that I ever saw.” But she praised the woman’s many admirable qualities and kindnesses:

She is very clever, speaks Italian & French perfectly, paints beautifully & is an admirable musician ... She has seen a great deal of the world, and is extremely funny & amusing ... [and has] the kindest most generous heart I ever saw ... She spoils me—sends me preserves and pickles and minced meat ... and introduces me as I were her own child.

Later Louisa reciprocated Smith’s many acts of friendship, visiting her frequently when she was ill at home with rheumatism.¹³

“Mr. Kuhn”

In her letters home, Louisa almost always referred to Charles as “Mr. Kuhn,” a formality of the Victorian era but perhaps also indicative of their individual personalities and private relationship. Charles was a member of a prominent Philadelphia family, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, and a businessman with substantial interests in New York City. In 1859, he was thirty-eight, while Louisa was ten years younger. He had a strong personality and a short temper. He held legal authority over her by virtue of coverture, a collection of laws and customs that prescribed the legal relationship of a man and woman in marriage: the husband had all financial authority, the wife’s property became her husband’s property, and the husband was financially responsible for his wife. Even though Louisa’s wealthy parents gave money to the couple and she had investments of her own, she was dependent on Charles for paying their bills and making most financial decisions. But Louisa was not helpless or silent in financial matters, reporting on one occasion that she and Charles would have “a great deal of discussion and consultation” about how to spend a New Year’s gift of money sent by her parents. She noted ruefully that the couple had received no such gifts from Charles’s parents, “as they don’t think of me in Philadelphia.”¹⁴

13. LCAK to ABA, November 11 and 25, 1859. Annie Jessie Smith and her husband, Christopher Webb Smith, were identified by Anthony Webb, a London-based researcher who specializes in the history of nineteenth-century Anglo-Florentines. Email to the author, March 28, 2004. For Louisa’s visitations to Smith, see LCAK to ABA, March 3, 1860.

14. For Charles Kuhn and his wedding to Louisa, see Nagel, *Descent from Glory*, 207. For discussion of coverture and other restraints on nineteenth-century women, see Jane H. Pease, *Ladies, Women, and Wenches: Choice and Constraint in Antebellum Charleston and Boston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 2-3, 90-91. See Russell, *Adams*, 237, where Peter Chardon Brooks, Louisa’s grandfather, is described as a millionaire and “the richest man in eastern Massachusetts.” LCAK to ABA, January 10, 1860.



Charles Kuhn. Carte de visite by Gutekunst (detail, 1861). Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Apparently, Louisa and Charles got along well together in Florence. They attended operas, went to parties, and hosted dinners for Americans and others. At the same time, they pursued individual activities. Charles went to gentlemen's parties, studied Italian, and practiced singing. He was "more daring" than Louisa with the Italian language, talking freely without fear of making mistakes. He loved music and often sang boisterously with the Russian count Paul Bobrinskoi, who had "a magnificent bass voice," and on one occasion made "such a row" that Louisa could barely write her letters.¹⁵

Louisa was very interested in languages and fashions. She studied Italian, declaring, "It is such a lovely language," and noted with pride that her teacher thought she was "wonderfully brilliant." She also practiced French, having a French girl "who comes in twice a week just to talk to me." The Anglo-Florentine society in which they circulated was multilingual, she explained: "We are forced to speak French quite as much as English, and Italian is necessary too." She strove to look attractive and thought much about clothes and fashions. For an important ball, she wore a blue gown "richly trimmed with white and black lace" and "a funny headdress ... from Felix, the famous coiffeur in Paris." The results were most satisfactory, she thought: "I was very stylish and people were kind enough to say they admired me very much." She boasted about her French wardrobe, saying, "I am thought very French, & the other night Mr. Kuhn overheard some English women saying that of course I was French."¹⁶

She reported about her health, much improved since two years earlier, when she was a "thin pale wretched female" recovering from the death of her infant daughter. Now she was putting on weight, even getting fat. "Since I came to Florence ... I have been gaining slowly," she said. "I have good color, & Mr. Kuhn thinks I never looked as nice. I am taken constantly for a girl, & at first no one will believe I am six years married splendidly." Alluding to the rich cultural life in Florence, she reported efforts to improve herself, saying, "I study & read more than I ever did."¹⁷

While Louisa and Charles enjoyed their lives in Florence, they sometimes drew veiled criticism from her parents, who thought they were staying away from home too long and spending too much money. Louisa defended her husband; speaking woman-to-woman to her mother, she alluded to the deference wives were expected to show their husbands: "No one knows better than you that one's husband is the person and if he is satisfied, no one has a right not to be." She went on heatedly, saying she was vexed "at the way in which everyone seems to think Mr. Kuhn is not capable of judging his own movements & plans" and that she thought he "was quite able to know where he wishes to pass a winter or summer or in what manner he chooses to spend his money."¹⁸

15. LCAK to ABA, November 18, 1859, January 26, 1860.

16. LCAK to ABA, November 18, December 3, 25, 1859, and January 2, 1860.

17. LCAK to ABA, December 3, 1859, and January 3, 1860.

18. LCAK to ABA, April 7, 1860.

Louisa defended herself again, this time after her father sent a long letter criticizing the whole idea of living in Europe. “He ought to be ashamed to beg us not to become Europeanized Americans,” she said to her mother, here alluding to the fact that, as a youth, Charles Francis had spent considerable time in Europe when his father, John Quincy Adams, served as minister to Russia and Great Britain.

No one ought to know better than he how many things there are in Europe which we who live in a New World can enjoy & prize only here. I am and always shall be as thoroughly American as I ever was in my life. I thought Papa had a better opinion of me, than to fancy that a few years passed away from home would destroy my character.¹⁹

The negative opinions of Charles Francis Adams about Europe and its adverse influence on American travelers were well known among his children. Henry, who also traveled much on the Continent, remarked that his father “felt no love for Europe, which ... unfitted Americans for America ... [and] that Mr. and Mrs. Adams would have been content to see their children remain forever in Mt. Vernon Street, unexposed to the temptations of Europe.”²⁰

While Louisa sparred with her mother and father, she remained loyal to them and insisted on maintaining close family relations. She opened and closed her weekly letters to her parents with expressions of love and affection, addressing her mother as “Dearest Mama” and signing herself as “Loo.” As the eldest sibling, Louisa paid attention to her sister and brothers. She sent assorted gifts to Mary and Brooks, traded letters and photographs with John and Charles, and corresponded with Henry, who was touring Europe. Henry came to Florence during April 1860 and stayed a week with Louisa and Charles. She found Henry was “looking rather thin” but otherwise he was the same: “quiet and amiable and good—the dearest boy that ever was.”²¹

Louisa was seven years older than Henry and sometimes served as his mentor, especially with regard to the pleasures and benefits of European travel. Writing years later, Henry recalled traveling with Louisa and Charles and in their company seeing Italy for the first time. “Luckily,” Henry said about himself:

he had a sister much brighter than he ever was ... quick, sensitive, willful, or full of will, energetic, sympathetic and intelligent enough to supply a score of men with ideas—and he was delighted to give her the reins—to let her drive him where she would. It was his first experiment in giving the reins to

19. LCAK to ABA, January 20, 1860.

20. Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 70.

21. For letter openings and closings, see for example, LCAK to ABA, November 4, 1859. For her worry about no mail, see January 20, April 21, and 26, 1860. For gifts to Brooks and Mary, see November 4 and 11, 1859. For letters to and from John and Charles, see for example, April 7, 1860. For correspondence with Henry, see December 17, 1859, and February 15, 1860. For description of Henry, see April 21, 1860.

a woman, and he was so pleased with the results that he never wanted to take them back.

Louisa adored Italy, Henry remembered; she was “hotly Italian.”²²

After spending the week in Florence with Louisa and Charles, Henry went on to Rome, where he met the American sculptor William Wetmore Story, the British poet Robert Browning, and other notables. Originally, Louisa and Charles had planned to move south to Rome, but they changed their minds. As she had noted earlier, “I am very fond of Florence. The galleries, churches, theatres & Opera are extremely admirable, and the climate is soft & lovely. The people too are too charming.”²³

Louisa loved their situation in Florence and took pleasure in watching her husband’s progress in the local society. Baron de Lonenberg, an Italian friend of Annie Jessie Smith, took him to an exclusive gentlemen’s party at the house of Marquis de Sobra. He also arranged for Charles to join the Jockey Club, a prestigious gentlemen’s club founded and controlled by Italians. With its reading rooms, foreign newspapers, and dining facilities, the club had a diverse membership: Italians, English, Americans, French, Germans, Russians, and others. “I am so glad,” Louisa said, “for Mr. Kuhn is too modest to do anything and needs someone to be eternally pushing him on.” She reported happily about his enjoyment of parties and balls, implying that life in Italy was different, somehow better: “Mr. Kuhn, who bores himself to death at parties at home, dances & amuses himself amazingly here. He is ten years younger than he was two years ago.”²⁴

While Louisa defended and helped Charles, she sometimes suffered outbursts of his foul temper. One Friday morning when he “came over to breakfast,” he “was cross because he had to wait ten minutes ... Then the tea had been forgotten and the fire would not go—so he scolded me till I cried, & then was furious because I cried.” There were other occasions when “he has such fits of unreasoning irritability that he mortifies me before strangers.” When they arrived at one ball, he blasted her because she kept him waiting five minutes and misunderstood his instructions about where to leave her cloak: “He gave me such a furious scolding before a dozen people that the tears dropped off my cheeks on my dress.” Louisa tried to be philosophical, confessing, “I am not a saint,” but at the same time wondering, “how can a man be so hard & cross when a little kindness would make everything so easy and pleasant.”²⁵

22. Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 85.

23. LCAK to ABA, November 4, 1859. For Henry’s visit to Florence and Rome, see Henry Adams, *The Letters of Henry Adams*, edited J.C. Levenson, et al. (6 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 2:127-157.

24. LCAK to ABA, November 25, 1859, and January 2, 1860. The Jockey Club was founded and controlled by “Fondatori,” that is “Italian noblemen and gentlemen.” Murray, *Handbook for Travellers*, 77-78.

25. LCAK to ABA, March 15, 1860.

“My beaux jours”

In Florentine society, the Kuhns followed a busy schedule and mixed frequently with upper-class citizens from various countries. Their social activities included paying and receiving visits, as well as attending and hosting dinners, dances, and balls. Soon after they arrived in Florence, Louisa and Charles called upon the Frothinghams, an American family staying at the Grande Bretagne hotel. The Frothingham group included Anne Brooks Frothingham, Louisa’s aunt; her husband, Rev. Nathaniel Frothingham; and their daughter Ellen, Louisa’s cousin. Louisa visited the Frothinghams at their hotel, attended the opera with Aunt Anne and Ellen, and hosted the whole group for dinner at her apartment. Everyone was very busy, Louisa explained: “I don’t see as much of them as I should like to, because they are a large group . . . and greatly taken up with sight-seeing, & we are occupied with our lessons and constant visiting—somehow, there are a great many people to go and see.”²⁶

Louisa and Charles made their way in Florentine society in part with the sponsorship of prominent Italian residents. They met Count Carlo Alessandri, a Tuscan nobleman, by way of a letter of introduction from an American businessman, Charles Morgan. As Louisa explained, Alessandri provided her husband with introductions “to several good houses, &, as is their fashion, they have sent their cards & invited us to their receptions.” Baron de Lonenberg, “an elderly Italian of German extraction,” was “extremely kind” to Charles and “charming to me,” Louisa said. “He is just the kind of old gentleman one reads of, but in our country, never sees—grand seigneur in fortune & manners, a thorough man of the world, but perfect gentleman, easy, gracious & delightful, full of fun,” she explained. “He is about 55 I should think, old enough to be perfectly at his ease with young women, & very pleasantly protecting.”²⁷

The close relationships that Louisa and Charles shared with Count Alessandri, Baron de Lonenberg, and other Italians were noteworthy. Various historians who have written about the nineteenth-century Anglo-Florentines found that many of the British and Americans loved Italy and admired its art and culture but had a very low opinion of its inhabitants and cared little about having close contacts with Italian citizens. Historians have even pointed to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, famous for her support of Italian causes, as someone who loved Florence but rarely socialized with Italians.²⁸ But such was certainly not the case for Louisa and Charles. In addition to Charles’s

26. LCAK to ABA, November 4, 11, and 18, 1859. At various times, Louisa mentioned socializing with other Americans, such as “Mr. & Mrs. Chadwick,” December 3, 1859; Sidney and Francis Dehon Brooks, May 13, 1860; and “the Turner Sargents,” May 13, 1860.

27. LCAK to ABA, November 18, 25, and December 17, 1859.

28. See Wanrooij, “Exchanging Glances: Florentines and the Anglo-American Community in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century,” in Wanrooij, *Otherness*, 70-72. For the frequently negative attitudes of Americans travelers towards Italian citizens, and for the relatively sparse social relations between Americans and Italians, see Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims*, 80-83, 90-91, 103.

membership in the Jockey Club, they socialized frequently with Alessandri and other upper-class Italians, and they visited in Italian homes. In her letters, Louisa expressed admiration for Alessandri and other Italians; she also wrote of her affection for the Italian people and her sympathy for their nationalistic aspirations.

In the weeks leading up to Christmas, the Kuhns were exceptionally busy. “We are very gay,” she reported. “There are two or three American parties a week, the pleasantest I ever saw, for they are easy & informal & there are enough foreigners to make it very free of monotony—there are always English, a good many Italians, a few French and occasional Russians or Greeks.” Both she and Charles were pleased with their socializing. “I enjoy it extremely and go everywhere,” she said. After attending parties in various houses, American, British, Italian, and others, Louisa expressed strong opinions about the styles and fashions of the women she encountered. She praised American women, noting, “We are easier, gayer, better bred, & more hospitable than any others.” She poked fun at British women who wore “great toques on their heads, their hair all tumbling down in those great rolls which are passé by three years elsewhere—very old ladies with very low dresses, a most unpleasant sight, and more glass beads, dangling wax pearls & rubbish than would stock a warehouse.”²⁹

At an American party, Louisa saw Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), the famous antislavery novel that was fueling fires of sectionalism in the United States. Louisa made no comment about Stowe's novel or the controversial slavery question, although these topics were of great interest to herself and her family, especially her father, who was a leader in the Free-Soil Party before becoming an ardent Republican. Instead, Louisa made fun of the manners of Stowe and her two daughters as they made the rounds in Anglo-Florentine society. “I only wish you could see them,” Louisa wrote. “Mrs. Stowe is by no means ugly, and not as upcountry looking as I imagined her, but pretentious and unpleasant to a high degree among the Americans I mean, and always look as cross as if they had swallowed a meat axe.”³⁰

Louisa loved to dance: “I ... dance all night at all the parties, enjoy this divine climate and charming city, am having my beaux jours ... Everyone dances, tout bien que mal—I prance about hanging on to Italian epaulettes whose names I don't know.” In one instance, a dancing partner stepped on her foot, causing a painful and dangerous injury. The next day her foot was black and blue, and a few days later both her foot and her leg were swollen and drawn up. Her husband called in a doctor who warned against a possible attack of erysipelas, a dreaded infection, and ordered that she elevate

29. LCAK to ABA, December 3 and 25, 1859.

30. LCAK to ABA, December 17, 1859. For Harriet Beecher Stowe and the impact of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, see J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Divided Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1961), 123-124, and see (23) for mention of Charles Francis Adams's activities in the Free-Soil Party. For brief information about Stowe and her visit to Florence, see Charles Edward Stowe, *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1889), 348-352.

and immobilize the foot. Louisa kept it raised for eight days, and the cure was a success. “I was very dull & very patient & am rewarded by being perfectly well again,” she reported happily, noting, “I danced last evening until 3 ½ o’clock.”³¹

Louisa’s social schedule was hectic. On a Tuesday night, she and Charles went to the Marquis Sabra’s house for a private presentation of plays in which all the actors were “grandees” themselves—“princess Strozzi, princess Belmonte, Marquise Tolomei, her husband, Marquis Nicolini and more.” Louisa thought the plays “were very well done,” but she complained about having to sit still for four hours and being sent home without supper. Wednesday she dined at “the Countess Bobrinsky’s (what a name, but what do you expect from Russians) & afterwards went to hear a new opera.” Thursday she watched a parade while standing in the broiling sun, an experience that produced a terrible headache. For this, an English physician found a “curious” but effective remedy—“a wineglass of iced champagne.”³²

“The most interesting people in the world”

Like many Anglo-Florentines, Louisa loved the opera. She and Charles rented a box at La Pergola opera house and attended performances frequently. Florence boasted ten theaters for music, opera, drama, and comedies, but La Pergola, called the “Grand Opera of Florence,” was considered the best. During the nineteenth century, when opera flourished in Italy, the works of Donizetti, Rossini, Verdi, and others were staged in the great theaters of Florence, Milan, Naples, and Venice. Opera was an important part of urban Italian culture, providing a democratic venue where upper-class Italians shared the theater space with general audiences. Here Louisa and Charles, in company with mixed audiences, enjoyed operatic presentations that often featured veiled strains of revolution, nationalism, and patriotism—themes of growing popularity during the Risorgimento.³³

One evening the Kuhns went to a small theater “to see a famous tragic actress in *Medea*,” an opera by Luigi Cherubini. “The actress is fine & a great favorite, being constantly called out with great applause,” Louisa wrote. But the audience was well educated and critical, one or two times hissing the actress for what they thought were mistakes on her part. The orchestra, “about 40 pieces & very good,” received the same treatment. When audience members cried out “*La Guerra*,” the orchestra “had to play a march called ‘*Viva la Guerra*’ which is the national air this winter;” with this song, the audience joined in, clapping and laughing and singing. Louisa went on to explain that Italian opera fans “are very naifs and get furiously excited about the tyrants etc.

31. LCAK to ABA, December 3 and 17, 1859.

32. LCAK to ABA, March 31, 1860.

33. LCAK to ABA, February 18, 1860; Murray, *Handbook for Travellers*, 179; Jonathan Keates, “Nineteenth-Century Italian Culture,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Italy*, ed. George Holmes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 214-216, 221-222; Harry Header, *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento, 1790-1870* (New York: Longman, 1983), 267-270.

hissing the character, not the actor, at every bad sentiment.” As an example, she cited her recent attendance at a performance of *Robert le Diable*, an opera by Giacomo Meyerbeer, during which the villainous character Bertrand “was hardly allowed to open his mouth” because of the crowd’s boisterous condemnations of his evil deeds. Louisa confessed to being “more amused by the audience than with the actors,” and she concluded that the Italians “are the most interesting people in the world.”³⁴

“Bal Masque”

“Florence is fairly entered upon the gayeties of the Carnival,” reported a correspondent for the *New York Times*. “The going and coming from balls, theatres, parties, and pleasure-drives and rides, have kept the town . . . in a perpetual rattle,” said another. Beginning in early January and lasting until Ash Wednesday in February or early March, Florentines of all nationalities celebrated Carnival, a festival of merrymaking and indulgence leading up to the penitence and fasting of Lent. Louisa and Charles plunged into the festivities, attending a seemingly endless round of parties, promenades, parades, and masquerade balls.³⁵

Louisa described the delights of an afternoon parade at the Cascine, the wooded city park alongside the Arno River. “The ladies all sit in their carriages in the piazzone or square among the trees & gentlemen wander about from carriage to carriage. It is a kind of reception, very easy and pleasant. Sometimes one has only one or two, & sometimes 7, 8, 9, 10 gentlemen.” She reveled in the attentions and flirtations she received from various men. “I have a very handsome Captain of the Cavalry named Rodriguez who always comes in full uniform & sets off my carriage immensely. Count Alessandri is always on horseback too, and makes a very splendid effect.” Louisa reported another occasion:

Our Sicilian, the duke of Villarosa (isn’t that a lovely name)—I should like to have you see, he is about 40, but I never saw such a perfect face & expression in my life—he is gentlemanly & charming beside. These men are nice—not very brilliant but what they call sympathetic—what we call genial & easy, or perhaps a little more. I mean they seem to be thinking of no one but the person they are with, which as you know is the secret of all fascination.³⁶

Clearly Louisa enjoyed the attention from Count Alessandri and the others, and apparently she returned the favor. Flirtations, as contrasted with love affairs, were common among unmarried American and British women in the Florentine community, and perhaps among married women such as Louisa. These flirtations were manifestations of the larger and emerging issues of feminism; for many women of the Victorian era, the act of traveling amounted to an act of emancipation. While Louisa’s letters

34. LCAK to ABA, January 10, 1860.

35. *New York Times*, March 1 and 13, 1860.

36. LCAK to ABA, January 26, 1860.

provide few details about her flirtations, she alluded repeatedly to the new freedoms and pleasures she enjoyed while traveling and living in Italy.³⁷

During Carnival, the Kuhns joined in several parades through the streets of Florence. There were many carriages, all in a line, as Louisa described one of the parades: “They drive round & round through certain streets, which are crowded with people and soldiers.” Among the other participants were “the young Prince and Princess Belmonte, a boy and girl of sixteen and nineteen who have been married a year.” This aristocratic Sicilian couple was “in a beautiful open phaeton drawn by white horses with harness of blue velvet & silver, a postillion in blue velvet & silver & two little footmen . . . in the same livery.” Many participants wore masks and costumes and threw flowers and bonbons into the crowd. In one instance, a man wearing a black costume with a wolf’s head ran alongside their carriage shouting, “Bonjour Madame Kuhn.” Louisa claimed she did not know who the man was, but apparently she enjoyed the attention. Moreover, she relished the whole parade scene and described it with enthusiasm and ironic humor: “There were two great bands of music and soldiers enough to fight the church.”³⁸

“We are just in the midst of Carnival, and night after night we are out,” Louisa reported one day. “I keep perfectly well, indeed I don’t think I was ever so strong or bore fatigue so well splendid spirits that everyone tells me I am the gayest person in Florence.” On the previous evening, she and Charles attended a Bal Masque—a masquerade ball—at the Borghese, a grand palace with luxurious rooms. “There is a gallery a hundred & eighty feet long and 60 feet high, all lighted with wax, thousands & thousands of candles. The walls & ceilings are lined with mirrors and frescos, and the entrance is forty feet wide opening on a hall with marble columns,” she wrote. “It was like enchantment.” All the women were in masks and fancy dresses, while most of the men wore ordinary evening clothes. When Louisa and Charles arrived at the ball, they split up, as was their custom. “Of course Mr. Kuhn left me at the door,” she explained, “and I went off with a young lady who went with us.” Wearing their masks, she and the young woman wandered through the crowd, hiding their own identities and at the same time trying to identify other masqueraders: “She & I spoke French together and trolled round alone, amusing ourselves immensely.” In one instance, she

37. For flirtations, see Wanrooij, “Exchanging Glances,” 85-87. For European travel as an expression of emancipation, see Wanrooij, introduction to *Otherness*, 1-3. Louisa asserted her freedom by describing the enjoyment she derived from driving her own carriage while in Italy. Nagel, *Descent from Glory*, 257. Henry Adams described Louisa’s leadership in traveling. In the War of 1859, Austria troops moved against Piedmont-Sardinia, who repelled the attack with support from France, In July just after the armistice, Louisa insisted on visiting “the seat of war” and used her womanly powers to influence young officers of the opposing armies and thereby obtain permission to cross the battle lines. *Education of Henry Adams*, 85-87; Norman Rich, *The Age of Nationalism and Reform, 1850-1890* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1970), 73-75.

38. LCAK to ABA, February 5, 1860.

helped Count Poninski, “a very nice Polish Colonel of the Cavalry,” discover the true identity of a woman who wore a Pierrot costume and pretended to be a man. About three o’clock in the morning, they began to dance, and about five o’clock Louisa and Charles went home. As she explained, “No one goes anywhere here before midnight so of course all the hours are late.”³⁹

They attended another great party, this one hosted by the Jockey Club. “It was a most magnificent ball,” Louisa remarked, going on to praise the floral decorations and explaining the political implications of their colors. “The stairs were lined with plants and the red & white flowers on the green leaves made the National combination of colors.” There were many dancing couples, ninety in one hall, thirty in another, and “only two people were drunk—one was an American & and one a Frenchmen.” In this regard, she noted, “An Italian never . . . dreams of taking more than one glass of wine.” They partied all night long and got home at eight thirty the next morning. Looking back, she felt good about her night of dancing, saying, “I think I enjoyed it more than any ball I ever went to in my life.” Her only regret was that the lace on her dress was “badly torn by the spurs of the officers.”⁴⁰

“We are liberal”

While living in Florence, the capital of Tuscany, the Kuhns witnessed major events of the Risorgimento (1821-1870), the political unification of Italy, a long and complicated process in which Italian nationalists expelled Austrian and French rulers and orchestrated the consolidation of the various Italian states into a modern Italian nation. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany had been for many years ruled by members of the Austrian imperial family. In April 1859, Italian nationalists ousted Grand Duke Leopold II, thus ending Austrian control and establishing an independent Italian state. During late 1859 and early 1860, Louisa and Charles were present for the unification of Tuscany with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, then ruled by the Italian king Victor Emanuel II and his minister Count Camillo Cavour. The Kuhns, who socialized with Tuscan noblemen, favored the cause of Italian nationalism and opposed restoration of the former Austrian rulers.⁴¹

At the same time that Louisa sent reports about unification in Italy, she followed her father’s freshman term in the US House of Representatives, where controversies over slavery and sectionalism threatened the very union of the United States. In letters from home and American newspapers available in Florence, she learned about the

39. LCAK to ABA, February 5, 1860. Louisa and Charles attended other masquerade balls as reported in her letters of February 12 and 18, 1860.

40. LCAK to ABA, February 18, 1860.

41. John A. Davis, “Italy 1796-1870: The Age of the Risorgimento,” in *Oxford Illustrated History of Italy*, 177-209; Denis Mack Smith, *Victor Emanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1-37; Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 117-142, 299-300.

contest for Speaker of the House, a political battle that lasted for weeks and in which southerners threatened secession and many members wore side arms in the House. Louisa expressed strong opinions about the growing controversies between the North and South, denouncing “those hateful Southerners” and supporting her father and the Republicans. She wryly referred to Congress as a “national menagerie” and hoped “Papa” would “escape being knocked on the head, or pried open some evening” as he went home for dinner. Her apprehension about her father being physically attacked in Congress was no casual matter. Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner, a close friend of the Adams family, had been assaulted and badly injured three years earlier in the Senate by South Carolina congressman Preston Brooks. Sumner recuperated slowly from his injuries, traveling extensively in Europe and staying for a while in Paris, where Louisa and Charles visited with him not long before they came to Florence.⁴²

Louisa believed in the political skills of her father; thought he was destined for high political position, “probably ... some kind of Cabinet officer;” and urged her mother to give him plenty of encouragement, in one instance saying, “Papa wants lots of pushing,” and in another, “Remember, this is his chance.” She counseled her father directly about the growing radicalism of the South, urging him and his fellow Republicans to take the high road. “The North is doing better now in quiet, persistent opposition than it ever could in violent or abusive speeches,” she said. “We who are civilized in the North should leave barbarism to them.” Alarmed by the growing tensions between North and South, she even speculated about civil war: “If things go on much longer as they are, or rather go on getting worse ... it must end I should think in the complete destruction of all society.” Here Louisa’s words were prophetic. Within less than two years, the Civil War began, and her father was in London serving as US minister to Great Britain.⁴³

In Italian politics, Louisa and Charles were mere spectators, but they had good seats and cheered openly for Italian nationalism. At parades and balls, in opera houses and city streets, they joined with Italians of all classes to support independence and oppose restoration of Austrian authority. From their Italian friend Count Alessandri, they

42. For Charles Francis Adams’s freshman term in Congress, see Nagel, *Descent from Glory*, 224-225; Duberman, *Charles Francis Adams*, 214-219; Shepherd, *Adams Chronicles*, 350-352; Russell, *Adams: An American Dynasty*, 256-257. For sectional controversies surrounding the Speaker of the House election in 1859, including a failed attempt by Republicans to elect John Sherman of Ohio, see James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 200-201; Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Lincoln: Prologue to Civil War* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1950), 120-123. For Louisa Kuhn’s denunciation of “hateful Southerners,” see LCAK to ABA, January 26, 1860; for her other remarks about Congress and fears for her father’s safety, see LCAK to ABA, December 17, 1859. For the assault of Brooks on Sumner, and for Sumner’s subsequent travels in Europe, see David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 1960), 288-308, 327-329, 342-347.

43. LCAK to ABA, March 3, 1860, December 3, 17, 1859, February 18, and January 26, 1860. For Charles Francis Adams and his ministerial responsibilities in London, see Randall and Donald, *Divided Union*, 358-359.

learned about political affairs in Tuscany and through him they received invitations to major events. Alessandri provided tickets for a parade at the Cascine Park of the new National Guard, an army organized to assert the independence of Tuscany and to resist any attempts by Austrian forces to restore their power in Florence. Ceremonies at the Cascine parade included a blessing of the Guard's banners and a commendatory speech by Baron Bettino Ricasoli, the Florentine political leader who headed the interim Tuscan government and worked for unification with the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia.⁴⁴

A few days later, Louisa and Charles attended a grand ball for officers of the National Guard at the Poggio Imperiale, a former Medici palace that Louisa described as "extremely splendid ... There were thirty-two rooms open—one whole floor ... The rooms are large and thirty feet high, lighted entirely with wax candles," she reported. "There were masses of flowers, and ... the most magnificent music I ever heard." There was a huge crowd, three thousand people, she estimated, including their friend Count Alessandri. Louisa praised Alessandri, describing him as "a handsome and extremely gentlemanly young man [who] was extremely polite. He was in full uniform and gorgeous indeed." Earlier, Alessandri had fought in the ranks against the Austrians, she explained, and now he was among the leaders of "the liberal party," the party that favored the unification of Tuscany with Piedmont-Sardinia. The climax of the evening came about one o'clock in the morning, when Baron Ricasoli made his appearance and an orchestra of three hundred pieces struck up the new national hymn, "The Cross of Savoy."⁴⁵

"We are liberal," Louisa declared proudly, explaining that Tuscan society was divided into two camps: the Liberals who favored Italian nationalism and opposed restoration of Austrian authority, and the Codini ("the pig's tail" of wigs worn in the royal court) who wanted to bring back the Austrian Grand Duke Leopold II. According to Louisa, the Codini faction was composed generally of persons associated formerly with the Austrian court. Many of the Codini were British, she said, noting regretfully that "very nearly all the English are in favor of the return of the Duke." Annie Jessie Smith, the Englishwoman who sponsored Louisa in Florentine society, was "on the wrong side of politics, and in favor of restoration." But contrary to Louisa's remarks, some British citizens living in Florence favored Italian nationalism. Elizabeth Barrett Browning used her poetry to support the Italian cause, and Theodosia Trollope favored the cause with letters published in *The Athenaeum* magazine. Louisa never mentioned Trollope or Browning and perhaps never saw the famous English poet, as the Brownings resided in Rome during the same six months that Louisa and Charles lived in Florence. She

44. LCAK to ABA, November 18, 1859.

45. LCAK to ABA, November 25, 1859. For the National Guard ball and parade at Cascine Park, see Theodosia Trollope, *Social Aspects of the Italian Revolution* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1861), 167-173. During this time, the Poggio Imperiale, a former Medici palace, served as a boarding school for upper-class young women. Bruno Wanrooij email to the author, July 25, 2005.

poked fun sometimes at her English neighbors and confessed she did not hold “any great fund of affection for the British.”⁴⁶

Louisa’s unfriendly remarks about the English were symptomatic of ongoing feuds within Anglo-Florentine society; Americans and British sniped at one another about politics as well as manners, fashion, and culture. But quarrels about politics and other issues sometimes produced hard feelings and divisions within the British and American communities as well. Generally, public opinion among Americans, both at home and abroad, opposed the restoration of the Austrian grand duke, but such opinions were not unanimous; J.A. Binda, the US consul at nearby Leghorn, spoke out in favor of the restoration of the Austrians.⁴⁷

Tensions between the Liberal and Codini factions led to several bombings in Florence, two of which Louisa discussed in her letters. On January 1, 1860, she and Charles attended a New Year’s ball hosted by the ambassador from the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia as guests of Count Bonci, a banker “whose nephew is one of the chiefs of government.” When they arrived at the party, they “found the whole assembly in a great state [as result of] two bombshells having been thrown at the ballroom windows.” Louisa assured, “No one was hurt,” because the bombs were thrown at ten o’clock and most “people didn’t come until eleven.” The bomb throwers were rounded up and confessed to being paid by unidentified men, who she said were “probably agents of the Grand Duke’s party.” About three weeks later, Louisa reported another bomb attack, this time against the residence of Baron Ricasoli, the Tuscan governmental leader. “Two tremendous shells were exploded” at the Palazzo Ricasoli. There

46. LCAK to ABA, January 2, 1860. The Florentine political battles between the Liberals and the Codini are covered in Edgar Holt, *Risorgimento, the Making of Italy, 1815-1870* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 209-210, 220-224. For the political sympathies of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, see Treves, *Golden Ring*, 81. For the political sentiments of Theodosia Trollope, see her *Social Aspects of the Italian Revolution*, 1-10. For Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Robert Browning, and their residence in Rome, see Gardner B. Taplin, *The Life of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1957), 370-390.

47. LCAK to ABA, January 2, 1860. For feuds between Americans and British, see Baker, *Fortunate Pilgrims*, 205-207. In an e-mail to the author dated April 11, 2005, Anthony Webb explains that the Anglo-Florentine community was not monolithic, that it was diverse and disparate, and that it was marked by divisions between and within the British and American communities. Webb also noted that during 1859 and 1860, when Louisa and Charles Kuhn lived in Florence, the political future was not clear and the restoration of the Austrian duke remained a real possibility. In a letter to the author dated August 8, 2005, Dr. Samuel F. Stych, a British scholar and Boccaccio bibliographer who resides in Italy, explains that Italians were not unanimous in their approval of the removal of the Austrian duke and knew of written accounts of “country folk standing by the roadside in tears as they watched” the Austrian duke “drive away into exile to avoid bloodshed.” American sympathies for Italian nationalism are summarized in Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861* (New York, 1969), 305-313. For actions of J.A. Binda and his support of restoration, see Howard R. Marraro, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 150-153.

was little damage to the building, but Ricasoli himself, “brave and full of presence of mind, appeared at once at his window” to reassure people gathered outside in the streets. Soon, a large force of National Guardsmen appeared, along with thousands of citizens, many shouting “Viva Ricasoli.” “He is a really able man, equal to the circumstance, and he has carried Tuscany through a narrow pass,” Louisa observed. “The people adore him and every one admires him.”⁴⁸

“We are annexed to Piedmont,” Louisa reported happily on March 15, 1860, announcing the results of a plebiscite whereby Tuscan voters gave overwhelming approval for annexation to the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia. Soon after, she witnessed state visits by members of the Piedmont royal family, first by the king’s uncle Prince Carignano and later by Victor Emanuel II himself. She attended a reception for Carignano at the opera. It “was some- thing to see,” she declared. “The house was illuminated with wax candles, and every box was filled with ladies all in full dress. Every great Florentine name was represented,” she said, listing off Alessandri, Gherardi, Nicolini, Strozzi, and others, “and the Sicilians who are all emigres,” including Belmonte, Butera, San Giuseppe, Trabia, and others. “All were in great force & full toilette wearing all their orders in honor of the occasion.” Many of the ladies had “bouquets of scarlet camellias with the white cross of Savoy in white ones in the center.” Louisa wore the same bouquet, thus endorsing the cause of Italian nationalism. At the end of the first act, Prince Carignano, Baron Ricasoli, and others entered the hall, at which time the whole house rose with much cheering, clapping, and waving of handkerchiefs. “The actors came forward all with the white crosses on their shoulders . . . and they sang the beautiful and solemn national hymn to the accompaniment of an orchestra of ninety pieces.” Louisa was enthralled, finding the occasion “lovely and simple and just like these charming affectionate people.” She confessed feelings of sympathy, even patriotism, for the country. “Who could help adoring it?” she asked rhetorically—“Lovely Italy”—“the land of poetry & art & beauty.”⁴⁹

For the citizens of Florence, the symbolic climax of the Risorgimento came Monday, April 16, when their new king, Victor Emanuel II, paid his first official visit. “For a week beforehand, the whole town was crazy with preparations,” Louisa reported. “On Sunday afternoon, everyone was out & driving about to see the city.” It was “too lovely,” she said, “with fifteen triumphal arches . . . really beautiful with statues and inscriptions, and the white cross on top . . . Whole streets were hung with enormous green wreaths . . . stuck full of white and red camellias.” The front of the duomo, where the king would dismount, was hung with flags and equipped with a covered dais that “was one mass of flowers.” She marveled at the flowers, saying “millions give no idea

48. LCAK to ABA, January 2 and 20, 1860. The multiple bombing episodes were reported in the *New York Times*, February 14, 1860, wherein the writer names the Codini as “the supposed authors of the crime.”

49. LCAK to ABA, March 15 and 31, 1860. The Tuscan plebiscite is covered in Holt, *Risorgimento*, 224-225.

of the quantity,” and explained with much admiration how “the peasants for twenty miles around sent all the contents of their gardens as a present to the city.”⁵⁰

“Monday morning was warm and pleasant, though cloudy,” Louisa wrote. At eleven o’clock in the morning, she and Charles climbed into their carriage and headed for the Hotel Victoria, where friends had rooms with windows overlooking the street where the king would arrive. Their carriage, now decorated with ribbons of the Italian tricolors, red, white, and green, made slow progress through the crowded streets. Along the way, as they shared the moment with Italians of all classes, they feasted their eyes on elaborate decorations. “Every window, no matter how poor, had a rug or shawl or colored table cloth hanging out. And all the great palaces were splendid, with their magnificent velvet hangings embroidered in gold ... Add to this,” she wrote breathlessly, “thousands & thousands of flags, all the colored lanterns of the evening’s illumination, and innumerable busts & pictures of the king.” It was a “splendid, brilliant scene ... The streets were one moving mass, all the peasants in grand gala dress ... There was never such an amiable crowd.” Louisa embraced the nationalistic aspirations of the Italian people, declaring, “I am fiercely patriotic.”

The king and his entourage traveled to Florence in stages, first by ship to Leghorn, then by train to the outskirts of the city, and finally by horseback and carriage into the city center. Louisa and her party waited expectantly at the hotel windows; below they saw the milling crowds, above, the cloudy skies. First, they heard cannon fire announcing the departure of the king’s train from the station at Leghorn. Later, they heard more cannon shots announcing his arrival at the Florence railroad station; this news produced great excitement in the streets outside the hotel. “Such a shout went up from the streets & houses,” Louisa reported. “Every window was lined, four or five deep with faces. The street was one mass of color & motion and just as the guns fired, the sun came out and a little breeze fluttered all the banners showing the white cross.”

Louisa artfully described the crowded street where members of the National Guard formed two lines for the passage of the royal procession. “The music was splendid—one band being stationed in the balcony under us,” she recounted. “Our windows faced up the street, and the shouts & cries of Viva il Re ... told us how far he was.” It was forbidden to throw bouquets, Louisa explained, for fear of scaring the horses in the royal parade. “But flowers literally rained down from the windows” as the king came into view. “People screamed & clapped their hands & waved thousands of handkerchiefs and finally cried, as I did just because there was nothing else left to do.” She saw King Victor Emanuel II clearly. “He was in full uniform with all his orders on—not bowing but saluting in military fashion & jamming his hat over his eyes ... so overcome at the nature of his welcome that he cried too & did not like to show his face. He is very ugly,” she reported, “but military & manly, and really kingly in

50. LCAK to ABA, April 21, 1860. For more about the king’s arrival, see Trollope, *Social Aspects of the Italian Revolution*, 257-267; and *La Nazione* (Florence, Italy), April 16, 1860.

his carriage.” Prince Carignano, Baron Ricasoli, and Count Cavour were with him, as were “all the Florentine noblemen in their grand turn outs.” It was “a splendid pageant,” Louisa wrote, “so brilliant in color & movement & sunshine, and music that it seemed like a dream.”⁵¹

“I am sorry to go”

Louisa sent the news reluctantly. “I have something unpleasant to tell you,” she wrote to her mother on April 26: “Mr. Kuhn . . . is going home with-ut me.” The reasons for this unhappy development were threefold: Charles needed to go to New York City for business reasons; he insisted on returning quickly to Europe in order for them both to visit Egypt, a place he longed to see; and he refused to take Louisa with him on the business trip to the United States. She was very unhappy. “I have begged him to take me even if necessary to come back—but he says no, and when he refuses, I know there is no appeal.” Arrangements were already complete. Charles would travel to Paris and then Le Havre, where he would take the ship *Adriatic* to the United States, while Louisa and her maid Henriette would travel to Switzerland, where they would stay with Charles and Heloise Morgan, who had a house on Lake Geneva near Glion and Montreux. Morgan, who earlier had provided valuable introductions in Florence, was the brother of the shipping tycoon S. Griffiths Morgan of New Bedford, Massachusetts.⁵²

“The Morgans are very nice people,” Louisa explained. “She is a charming woman three or four years older than I am, perfectly ladylike and well bred and very glad to be able to do something for me to show her gratitude for our care of her last summer [when] her husband went home for three months.” She was satisfied with the prospect of staying with the Morgans: “I shall be perfectly at home & comfortable with them.” But she was very upset by the whole affair, telling how she cried as she wrote the letter, expressing her love for “the dearest and most tender-hearted Mama in the world,” and joking about the cause of her unhappiness. “And all for Egypt,” she noted ruefully, “where I may get eaten up by fleas or crocodiles.”

Even the thought of returning to America provoked mixed reactions in Louisa. “I don’t care a straw for New York,” she said, referring to the times when she and Charles resided there. “I never was more than reconciled to it as a place & in such a huge place, I have had more homesick hours & felt more friendless than I ever have in Europe.” But she longed to see her parents in Washington and to help her father with the social aspects of his congressional career. I want “to be with you and Papa,” she said, “and see all the people you describe and help you with your dinners & be important to you.”

51. Foregoing in LCAK to ABA, April 21, 1860.

52. LCAK to ABA, April 26, 1860. Nagel reports that Louisa intentionally misled her parents about certain aspects of her husband’s business trip to the United States; that really it was hers and not Charles’s decision for her to remain in Europe. *Descent from Glory*, 210. Writing to her mother from Switzerland, Louisa identifies the Morgans as Charles and Heloise Morgan, June 9, 8, July 22, 1860.

As she prepared to leave Florence, Louisa took care of final details. She listed her itinerary: she would travel overland to Leghorn, by sea to Genoa, then overland to Turin and Geneva. For her mother she purchased almost two yards of a very fine antique lace, “point de Venise,” that could be used to adorn a dress or headdress. She was pleased with her purchase, saying the old rich laces were “unrivalled, making all modern ones look like rags.” She packed her personal belongings and reflected about her good times in Florence. “I am sorry to go,” she said, “for I have passed the most charming time here, & love the very stones of the picturesque old city.”

As the time of her departure came closer, Louisa was emotionally torn. She worried about being separated from Charles: “I do not know what I shall do without him—particularly after two whole years passed together so entirely.” Nevertheless, she was glad for him “for his own sake” and fretted for his safety. “Till I know he is safe, I will be in perfect tortures. He sails at the very best time of the year, in a splendid ship, and I know I have no right to worry, but I shall, and indeed have already begun.” At the same time she complained about his insensitivity: “He has no sympathy for me, and never did understand my disposition—he seems to think ‘it can’t be helped’ settles every feeling.” Lastly, she pleaded with her parents for love and understanding: “Oh dearest Mama—when you are all together, do think of me in Switzerland so far away from all I love, and talk about me kindly.”⁵³

Afterword

Later Louisa would return to her beloved Florence. Indeed, she would spend eternity there. During the US Civil War, she and Charles lived in the United States, but later they went back to Europe and from 1869 to 1870 resided again in the Tuscan capital. In 1870, while they holidayed at nearby Bagni di Lucca, Louisa had a carriage accident that caused injuries to her foot resulting in a deadly tetanus infection. As she sickened with the disease, she took to her bed in the Hotel d’Amerique, where she was attended by friends and treated by a doctor who came from Florence. Henry Adams, in London when he received the news by telegraph, rushed to his sister’s bedside in Bagni di Lucca. There he joined Charles and a dozen of their friends—American, English, and Italian—in a deathwatch, taking turns standing by her day and night, waiting on her, and providing moral support. For almost two weeks, they watched the development of the ever-worsening symptoms: headaches, fever, sweating, spasms, contractions, and the horrific locking of the jaw. “She faced death, as women mostly do,” Henry remembered, “bravely and even gaily, racked slowly to unconsciousness, but yielding only to violence, as a soldier sabred in battle.” Louisa succumbed to the terrible disease on July 13, 1870, leaving instructions that she be buried in Florence.⁵⁴

53. Foregoing in LCAK to ABA, April 26, May 5, 13, 18, and 25, 1860.

54. For an eloquent account of Louisa’s illness and death, see Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 287–289. Nagel discusses the profound impact of Louisa’s death on her brother Henry, saying “The ordeal of his sister’s final illness always remained with Henry Adams ... [and] that the courage his sister showed

In accordance with Louisa's wishes, Charles arranged her burial in the Protestant Cemetery in the Piazzale Donatello not far from the city's center. The now famous and beautiful cemetery is also the final resting place of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the preacher Theodore Parker, the sculptor Hiram Powers, and numerous other Anglo-Florentines, such as Louisa's good friends Annie Jessie Smith and her husband, Christopher Webb Smith. Charles survived Louisa by almost thirty years. He died on October 28, 1899, in Paris and was buried in the English Cemetery at Caucade, near Nice, France.⁵⁵

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amid her convulsions helped him grow out of his own cowardice." *Descent from Glory*, 257-258. Paul R. Baker, retired New York University professor who taught graduate seminars on "Henry Adams and His World," assigns even greater importance to Louisa and her death as an influence on Henry. Baker remarks that Henry's account of his sister's death "is the emotional center" of his *Education of Henry Adams*, which Baker suggests is "the most important book relating to nineteenth-century America." Louisa's "terrible death provides an objective correlative to the major thesis of the *Education*, that is the breakup of the 18th-century world" in which Henry "had been raised" and its evolution into a very different nineteenth-century world for which he was not educated or prepared. Further, Baker observes, "Louisa was very important to him emotionally," and that "she and her death serve, to some degree as substitutes for his wife (Marian, who died by suicide), whom he could not discuss." Baker email to the author, September 18, 2006.

55. For Louisa's burial in Florence, see Nagel, *Descent from Glory*, 259. In 2002, the author and his wife, June P. Robertson, visited the Protestant Cemetery and obtained documentation of Louisa's burial there. They learned that her gravesite has been lost and that the cemetery is in need of repairs and restorations. The author and his wife are now participating in an international campaign to restore the cemetery and provide markers for the gravesites of Louisa and others. The will and probate records of Charles Kuhn are held at the City of Philadelphia, Register of Wills, Record Number W-1968-1899.

Congressman Jack Brooks

“Taking Care of Business”

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On the afternoon of August 21, 1970, Congressman Jack Brooks and his wife Charlotte traveled to Port Arthur, Texas, to participate in the grand opening of the new \$8.8 million Gulfgate Bridge over the Sabine-Neches ship channel. Completion of the bridge marked the culmination of a large maritime transportation project sponsored by Brooks in 1962, when he won a \$20.8 million Federal appropriation for various improvements for the Sabine-Neches Waterway that ran from the Gulf of Mexico up to Beaumont. The waterway improvements and new bridge were critical for the industrial development of the Beaumont-Port Arthur region, where Brooks resided and which formed the heart of his congressional district.¹

Staged near the west entrance of the towering new bridge, the dedication ceremonies began at 5:30 PM with posting of the colors by the US Coast Guard from Sabine Pass and a concert by the US Army band from Fort Polk, Louisiana. Before a crowd of six to seven hundred people, Reverend James R. Wright of the Port Arthur Ministerial Alliance offered an invocation, after which Dow Wynn, Director of the Port of Port Arthur, opened the program and introduced various public officials, including Bemis Sadler, Mayor of Port Arthur, Lamar Lawson, Jefferson County Commissioner, John Stevens, President of Groves Chamber of Commerce, and Lloyd Hayes, former Port Arthur mayor who introduced various state officials and labor union leaders.²

1. *The Beaumont Enterprise*, August 22, 1970 (hereafter BE); *Port Arthur News*, August 22, 1970 (hereafter PAN). See also, Gulfgate Bridge File, Jack Brooks Papers, Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin (hereafter JBP).

2. The bridge dedication was also attended by two groups of demonstrators: one, a group of well-dressed white parents from Beaumont waving signs and demanding protection of a “Freedom of Choice” plan in local schools; and the other, a group of Black students, beating drums, chanting, and complaining about traffic noise that disturbed their classes at nearby Carver Elementary School. Police monitored the demonstrators and newspaper photographers took their pictures, but apparently their presence did

Lee Moore, president of the Port Arthur Chamber of Commerce, introduced Brooks, the forty-seven year-old Congressman, the honored guest and principal speaker.

Displaying good rhetorical skills, Brooks celebrated the completion of the new bridge that would speed the navigation of new supertankers on the Sabine-Neches Waterway, and also allow further development of Pleasure Island as a recreational and tourist center. Brooks praised County Commissioner T.B. Ellison, who had died recently, and congratulated city and county officials, the US Army Corps of Engineers, the contractors, and many public-spirited citizens, all working together for economic development of the region.”

Brooks discussed other projects for which he had obtained Federal funds—“a modern port facility, a comprehensive hurricane protection system, [and] a massive urban renewal project to revitalize downtown Port Arthur.” He presented the big picture, saying, “What we have achieved is simply a prologue to an even more successful future. We must continue to work together, to plan carefully, to exploit all opportunities, to broaden the industrial base and commercial base of the Port Arthur area. We must devote our energies and talents to improving the environment and protecting the resources which God has so abundantly given us. We must work for better education, more adequate health services, and a better and fuller life for all our citizens.”³

After completing his remarks, Brooks and the crowd proceeded to the top of the bridge for the ribbon-cutting ceremonies. There, assisted by his wife Charlotte Brooks and Brig. Gen. Harold R. Parfitt of the US Army Corps of Engineers, the congressman wielded a pair of giant scissors to cut the ribbon and complete the dedication. Then they got into automobiles, crossed the bridge, and took a brief tour of Pleasure Island, viewing the yacht club, golf course, and vacation homes. While driving along the island road and then crossing back over the high bridge, they had excellent views of the Sabine-Neches ship channel, the waterway that was so important to Jefferson County. Later, Jack and Charlotte Brooks attended a reception for dignitaries at the Driftwood Motor Hotel in Port Arthur.⁴

The events of August 21, 1970, offer a snapshot of Congressman Jack Brooks, the liberal, pro-labor Democrat who represented the people of Southeast Texas for forty-two years. In 1970, he was completing his eighteenth year of service, first winning election

not seriously interfere with the ceremonies. BE, August 22, 1970; PAN, August 22, 1970. In November 1984, the Port Arthur City Council voted to rename the structure as the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Bridge. BE, November 15, 1984.

3. Foregoing in BE, August 22, 1970; PAN, August 22, 1970.

4. BE, August 22, 1970; PAN, August 22, 1970. As of June 30, 1970, the Sabine-Neches project was seventy-seven percent complete with total expenditures of \$87.3 million. The project completed in 1972. US Army Corps of Engineers, *1970 Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers on Civil Works Activities, Volume II* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1970). For completion of the project, see US Army Corps of Engineers, *Report of the Secretary of the Army on Civil Works Activities for FY 2008* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2009), 40-12.

in 1952, representing the Second Congressional District, and later, after redistricting, the Ninth District. As envisioned by James Madison in *The Federalist Papers* (Nos. 56-57), Brooks became the quintessential representative. He knew and represented the "interests" of his district, winning repeated re-elections, earning seniority and power in Congress and the Democratic party, and using that power to benefit his constituents. In the most basic terms, Jack Brooks won power and used power. In his district, he won power, teaming with labor unions and working class citizens, white and black. He used power, advancing the interests of unions and working class citizens, improving civil rights for African-American citizens, supporting the Democratic administrations of presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, and promoting the economic and industrial development of his district, winning Federal appropriations for various development projects including improvements for the Sabine-Neches Waterway.⁵

Brooks first represented the Second Congressional District, an eleven county region anchored by Jefferson County on the Gulf of Mexico and extending northward along the Louisiana border into "Deep East Texas," a region long associated with the Old South, slavery, and Jim Crow segregation. In 1962, when he won the Federal funds for the Sabine-Neches project, the Second District counted a population of approximately 480,000, including 103,000 African-Americans. It was a largely rural, agricultural area, except for Jefferson and Orange counties that were heavily industrialized and where over sixty-two percent of the population resided. The largest cities were Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange, often called "the Golden Triangle."⁶

Congressman Brooks resided in Beaumont, county seat of Jefferson County. In 1960, the county had a population of 245,659 with 57,171 African-Americans. His con-

5. Jack Brooks was born December 18, 1922, in Crowley, Louisiana, and reared in Beaumont, Texas. He attended Lamar Junior College and later earned a B.A. in journalism at the University of Texas. During World War II, he served in the Marine Corps in the South Pacific. After the war, he returned to Beaumont, where he won election to the Texas House of Representatives, serving from 1946 to 1950, and while in Austin he earned a law degree from the University of Texas. In 1952 running as a Democrat, he won election to the US Congress, commencing forty-two years of service to the people of Southeast Texas, representing the Second Congressional District from 1953 to 1967 and the Ninth Congressional District from 1967 through 1995. He held important leadership roles including chair of the House Committee on Government Operations from 1975 through 1988 and chair of the House Committee on the Judiciary between 1989 and 1995. He served as dean of the Texas Congressional delegation from 1979 until he left office in 1995, after being defeated for re-election in 1994. He and his wife Charlotte live in Beaumont, where he is active in the Democratic Party. See Collections, Congressional & Political, Jack Brooks Biography, JBP. For the role and responsibilities of a congress members, especially about their basic responsibility to know and represent the "interests" of their district, as envisioned by James Madison in *The Federalist*, see Jacob E. Cooke, editor, *The Federalist, Numbers 56-57* (Middleton CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 378-390.

6. In addition to Jefferson and Orange counties, the Second Congressional District included Angelina, Hardin, Jasper, Liberty, Newton, Sabine, San Augustine, Shelby, and Tyler counties. *Texas Almanac 1961-1962* (Dallas: Belo Corporation, 1961), 374-378, 193-222.

stituents were a diverse group with varied interests—black and white, Protestant and Catholic, upper class and working class, corporate managers and union workers, and with various ethnicities including English, Irish, Italian, Greek, Jewish, Mexican, and Cajun French. Likewise, the economy of the Beaumont-Port Arthur region was diverse with rice farming, ranching, lumbering, shipping, railroading, banking, electrical generation, shipbuilding, and most importantly, oil refining and petrochemical manufacturing, with huge refineries including Mobil, Texaco, and Gulf. Also noteworthy in Jefferson County were Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers (OCAW) unions that thrived in the oil refineries and had large memberships and substantial political power.⁷

In 1967, Texas legislators carried out congressional redistricting, and removed Jefferson County from the Second District, and moved it to the new Ninth District that included Jefferson, Chambers, and Galveston counties. Brooks, thus, lost his representation of Orange County and the other East Texas counties, and wound up with three counties that bordered on the Gulf of Mexico. The new Ninth District counted a population of approximately 401,000, including about 89,000 African-Americans. Chambers County was a largely rural county with a population of only 10,379, while Galveston County, with a population of 140,364, was heavily urbanized and industrialized. The city of Galveston counted a total of 67,175 persons, and the next largest city, Texas City, had a population of 32,065.⁸

Like Jefferson County, Galveston County boasted a varied population with diverse interests. In addition to African-Americans, the population included significant numbers of citizens reflecting earlier immigrations from England, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Mexico. Galveston County was much influenced by organized labor, having unions representing painters, carpenters, electrical workers, pipefitters, sheet metal workers, and longshoremen. Galveston, an island long famous as an international seaport and beach resort, thrived with a rich and diverse economy that included tourism, fishing, higher education, insurance, and medical care, as well as shipping, shipbuilding, and grain elevators. Nearby on the mainland portion, Texas City was the site of major oil refineries, including American Oil Company, Plymouth Oil Company, and Texas City Refining, Inc., plants in which the OCAW union had significant memberships and substantial power and influence.⁹

7. US Censuses of Population and Housing, 1960, Census Tracts, Table P-1 (www.census.gov); Alan Ehrenhalt, editor, *Politics in America: Members of Congress in Washington and at Home* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1981), 1169-1171; Ruth A. Allen, George N. Green, James V. Reese, "Labor Organizations," in Ron C. Tyler, editor, *The New Handbook of Texas* (6 vols., Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 3: 1181-1185 (hereafter NHT).

8. BE, June 1, 1965, and January 6, 1966; US Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (I).

9. *Galveston (Galveston County, Texas) City Directory, 1965* (Dallas: R. L. Polk & Co, 1965), i-xx; *Texas City-La Marque City Directory, 1974* (Dallas: R. L. Polk & Co., 1974), i-x. David G. McComb, *Galves-*

Both Galveston and Texas City bordered on Galveston Bay and were connected by shipping lanes to the Intracoastal Canal, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Houston Ship Channel, a waterway that provided easy access to the large Houston refinery complex located in adjacent Harris County. With its oil refineries and maritime shipping, Harris County was associated closely with Galveston and Jefferson counties, thus comprising an area described by business historian Joseph A. Pratt as "the upper Texas Gulf Coast" and an important "refining region." Oil refineries in Beaumont, Port Arthur, Port Neches, Nederland, Texas City, Pasadena, Baytown, Deer Park, and Houston had capacities of more than two million barrels per day and produced twenty percent of the nation's supply of refined products.¹⁰

Jack Brooks first entered congressional politics in 1952, when Jesse M. Combs retired as representative of the Second District. Brooks filed for the Democratic primary, finished second in a nine-man race, and won the runoff, edging out Joe Tonahill of Jasper by a mere 440 votes out of a total of 57,594. In the general election, Brooks defeated Beaumont Republican Randolph Reed, winning by a large margin, about sixty-eight thousand to twenty-two thousand. In Jefferson County, which counted more than fifty thousand votes, Brooks won all but seven precincts, winning by wide margins in many working-class and African-American precincts where residents tended to favor liberal Democrats and oppose conservative Republicans. Brooks lost only four boxes in Beaumont and one in Port Arthur. The four in Beaumont—Beaumont High, St. Anne, Longfellow and Averill—were described by *The Beaumont Enterprise* as "west end" boxes, neighborhoods occupied by "white collar" persons such as doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and plant managers who tending to favor conservative Republicans and oppose liberal Democrats. Likewise in Port Arthur, he lost the Griffing Park box, a suburban precinct occupied by similar business, professional, and managerial "white collar," pro-Republican voters.¹¹

Congressman Brooks won re-election repeatedly in the Second District until 1968 when, after the 1967 redistricting, he won election in the newly configured Ninth District. All election victories were important, of course, as they meant continuation of service and increase of seniority and power. But two elections, 1960 and 1968, were especially significant in this phase of his career. They marked the beginning and end of the Kennedy-Johnson era, when for eight years the Democrat Brooks had special access to the White House, when he helped advance various programs of Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's Great Society, and when he used his power to sponsor programs for the economic and industrial development of his district.

ton: A History and Guide (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2000), 111-114; Ehrenhalt *Politics in America*, 1169-1171.

10. Joseph A. Pratt, *The Growth of a Refining Region* (Greenwich, CT: AI Press, 1980), 3-11; David G. McComb, *Houston, the Bayou City* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 110-117. Secretary of the Army, "Sabine-Neches Waterway, Texas," (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1962), 84.

11. BE, November 5, 1952; *Beaumont Journal*, November 5, 1952.



On October 8, 1973, Jack Brooks addressed guests at a fund raiser that *The Enterprise* described as a “\$100-a-plate appreciation dinner” at the Red Carpet Inn, Beaumont, Texas. In the style of a themed quilt, the banner celebrates Brooks’s career achievements and local issues. Rolfe and Gary Christopher Negative Collection, Special Collections and Lamar University Archives, Mary and John Gray Library, Lamar University.

In the 1960 election, Democrats John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson won the presidency and vice-presidency, and in the 1968 contest, Republicans Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew won the White House. In both these elections, Jack Brooks himself won re-election easily, enjoying broad support all across his district, and winning victory in most boxes except a handful of "white collar" precincts. Thus, beginning with his first election in 1952 and up to and including his re-election in 1968, Congressman Brooks received strong support from working class citizens, both white and black, and was often opposed by "white collar" persons commonly associated with the Chamber of Commerce and the Republican Party. These patterns of support and opposition were confirmed by rankings assigned by various interest groups during the 1960s, when Brooks received high ratings from COPE, the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO, and low ratings from the national Chamber of Commerce. But low ratings from the national Chamber do not tell the whole story. In Beaumont, Joe Broussard II (Beaumont Rice Mills), John Green (Beaumont Lumber Company), Walter Crawford (oil properties), D. Pat Wheat (Transit Mix Concrete Company), and other prominent businessmen shared friendships with Brooks, supported him politically, and applauded his efforts for economic development of the Beaumont-Port Arthur region.¹²

As Jack Brooks teamed with the labor unions, he became a participant in the age-old struggles between capital and labor, struggles about money and power, when corporations wanted to make more money and control their workers, and when unions wanted higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions for their members. During the early and mid-twentieth century, these struggles often resulted in strikes, and sometimes bitter disputes and even violence. Such confrontations were widespread, occurring in many states including Texas. In Baytown, a bitter labor dispute occurred during 1934-1936, when the Oil Workers Union Local No. 333 (CIO) tried to organize the workers in the Humble Oil refinery. Humble Oil officials refused to recognize the CIO as the bargaining agent for the workers, and when the union threatened to strike, company officials denounced the union officers. They accused the union leaders of class warfare, racial radicalism, and communism, charges that were repeated locally by anti-union businessmen, their trade associations, and newspaper editors. In the face of growing controversy in the Baytown community and within the refinery itself, the workers voted not to strike, thus ending that unionization campaign by the CIO.¹³

12. J. Michael Sharp, *Directory of Congressional Voting Scores and Interest Group Ratings, Volume I* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2000), 161-162. See also, Michael Barone, et al, *The Almanac of American Politics, 1972* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 795-797. Support of Brooks by Beaumont businessmen was confirmed by interviews with Lettie Wheat Goehring, daughter of D. Pat Wheat, December 20, 2011, and with Joe Broussard II, December 22, 2011.

13. James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 39-55. Robert H. Zieger, *American Workers, American Unions, 1920-1985* (Baltimore:

Before Brooks began his service, Congress intervened from time to time in the struggles between the corporations and the labor unions. In 1935, during the Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Congress passed the Wagner Act that gave government sanction to collective bargaining and greatly enhanced labor union power. But later, in 1947, a Republican-controlled Congress reversed course and passed the Taft-Hartley Act that outlawed the closed shop, secondary boycotts, and significantly reduced union power. In 1959, Brooks himself became a player in the legislative battles over corporate power versus union power, when Congress passed the Landrum-Griffin Act, a law that reinforced the intentions of the Taft-Hartley Act, authorized government intervention into union affairs and tightened restrictions on secondary boycotts and picketing. Sponsored by the Republican administration of President Dwight Eisenhower, this bill passed the House by a vote of 352-52. All twenty-two Texas congressmen voted in favor of the measure, except four—Albert Thomas, Clark W. Thompson, Wright Patman, and Jack Brooks. For Brooks, probably the decision was easy. As an avid Democrat he voted against the Republican bill, and as representative from the Second District, he voted to support the labor unions and their leaders who supported him.¹⁴

During the 1950s and 1960s, when Brooks was winning re-elections and building his seniority and power, the struggles between the oil and petrochemical companies and the labor unions were ongoing in the Beaumont-Port Arthur region. The OCAW was a powerful group in Jefferson County with locals in Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Port Neches, and more than thirteen thousand workers in the local refineries and petrochemical plants. The Port Neches union, Local 4-228, had 2,200 members and was, according to historian Donna Sue Beasley Dixon, “one of OCAW’s more militant and efficient unions.” The union carried out strikes and other campaigns in refineries and plants to improve wages, benefits, and rights for employees who worked in the plants, offices, and cafeterias. For example in January 1969, union members walked off their jobs and to participate in a large OCAW strike against plants in Jefferson and Orange counties, an action that was not completely resolved until March. Local 4-228 championed various liberal causes, supporting corporate profit taxes, pay and tenure for teachers, national health insurance, and civil rights for all Americans. Working through COPE, Committee on Political Education, Local 4-228 exerted considerable influence in regional, state, and national elections, often campaigning for liberal Democratic candidates, including Jack Brooks. In 1954, when the union dedicated a

Johns Hopkins Press, 1986), 187; Allen, Green, and Reese, “Labor Organizations;” Michael Botson, “Revisiting the Battle of Baytown: Unions, Reds, and Mayhem in a Company Town,” *East Texas Historical Journal*, 49 (Fall 2011): 9-23.

14. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 320-326; *Congress and the Nation* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Service), 30: 44-47, 82a-83a.

new meeting hall in Port Neches, they invited Congressman Brooks to be one of the guest speakers.¹⁵

In Jefferson County, sometimes labor disputes spread to other parts of the community. During late 1964, sanitation workers went on strike against the City of Port Arthur in a dispute about wages and other issues. City Manager George Dibrell, acting with the approval of Mayor Lloyd Hayes, fired the workers, declaring that a strike by city employees against the municipality violated the law. The workers were members of the AFL-CIO City Employees Union, Local 934, which set up pickets at city facilities and ordered a boycott against the Driftwood Motor Hotel, which was owned by Mayor Hayes. The dispute, which spread hard feelings in the community, lasted fourteen months until January 1966, when city officials and union leaders resolved their differences. The city offered to rehire the workers who had been dismissed and the union called off its boycott against the Driftwood Motel.¹⁶

Jack Brooks was a Democrat. Beginning service in January 1953, he became a protégée of Democrat Sam Rayburn, the longtime Speaker of the House, attending Wednesday luncheons for Texas congressmen and enjoying drinks at the "Board of Education" gatherings, both hosted by the Speaker. With Rayburn's assistance, he was appointed to the Government Operations and Judiciary committees, where over the years he gained seniority and power. Brooks also became friends with Senator Lyndon Johnson, the powerful Texas Democrat who served as Senate Majority leader during the Eisenhower administration. These were days of great opportunity for Brooks and other Texas Democrats when, according to historian Michael Collins, Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson "reigned like lords on Capitol Hill during the presidency of Dwight Eisenhower."¹⁷

During the early 1960s, Brooks became closer to Johnson when he served as Vice President under John Kennedy. In November 1963, Brooks made the trip to Dallas with President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson, was in the motorcade when President

15. Pratt, *Growth of a Refining Region*, 177-178; Marcus Robbins, "Our Inalienable Right: A Brief History of the Locals 229 and 243, Oil Workers International Union, Magnolia Refinery, 1937-1945," *The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*, 29 (1993): 55-68; Harvey O'Connor, *History of Oil Workers Intl. Union (CIO)* (Denver: Oil Workers Intl. Union, 1950), 117-122, 305-307, 313-320. With respect to Civil Rights, Donna Sue Beasley Dixon points out that OCAW Local 4-228 supported "civil rights for all Americans" but did not endorse public school desegregation. "A History of the OCAW Local 4-228, Port Neches, Texas," (MA thesis, Lamar University, 1970).

16. BE, January 5, 1966. Interview July 5, 2011 with Jeff Hayes, brother of the late Lloyd Hayes who served as Port Arthur mayor during 1963-1969; telephone interview with Carl Parker, Port Arthur lawyer, January 10, 2012.

17. Nancy Beck Young, "Democratic Party," and Carl H. Moneyhon, "Republican Party," NHT, 2: 586-590, 5: 533-535; Barone, *Almanac of American Politics 1972*, 775-822; Kenneth E. Hendrickson Jr., et al., *Profiles in Power: Twentieth-Century Texans in Washington*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), viii.

Kennedy was assassinated, and was on Air Force One when Johnson took the oath of office as president. Later his relationship with Johnson became even stronger, both politically and socially. He supported many of Johnson's Great Society programs, and he and Charlotte often dined with the president and Claudia "Lady Bird" Johnson at the White House.¹⁸

As a member of the Judiciary Committee and friend of Lyndon Johnson, Brooks became an important player in the civil rights legislation of the 1960s. This was especially significant because of the culture and demographics of his Southeast Texas district, where Jim Crow segregation ruled the lives of his 480,000 constituents, 377,000 white and 103,000 black. Earlier Brooks, the highly partisan Democrat, had voted against the civil rights acts of 1957 and 1960, two voting rights bills which were proposed and passed under the Republican administration of Dwight Eisenhower. But when the Democrats Kennedy and Johnson won the White House, Brooks reversed course, became an advocate and voted for the civil rights acts of 1964, 1965, and 1968, laws which transformed race relations in his district and all across the South.¹⁹

The first Civil Rights Act of 1964 was proposed by President Kennedy in June 1963 and sent to the House Judiciary Committee, where Brooks served on Subcommittee Number Five and worked with Chairman Emanuel Celler to win approval for the bill. After Kennedy's assassination and Johnson's elevation to the presidency, Brooks voted for the measure in the House and celebrated victory when the bill passed the Senate and President Johnson signed it on July 2, 1964. A broad law which prohibited racial discrimination in voting, public education, and employment, it also outlawed segregation in public accommodations and facilities, thus effectively ending Jim Crow practices in hotels, restaurants, movie theatres, libraries, hospitals, and public parks.²⁰

With respect to this law, Brooks voted with President Johnson and the Democratic Party and apparently against the wishes of most of his white constituents as evidenced by a flood of constituent mail that ran seventeen to one against the proposition. Of course, all or most of his African-American constituents favored the bill, approved his affirmative vote, and benefitted greatly by the end of Jim Crow segregation. In the end, Jack Brooks and fellow Texans Albert Thomas, Henry Gonzales, and Jake Pickle

18. Robert J. Robertson, "Congressman Jack Brooks, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Desegregation of Public Accommodations and Facilities in Southeast Texas: A Preliminary Inquiry," *The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*, 35 (1999): 18-31 [reprinted in this volume—Editor]. See also Congressional & Political, Biography, 2009, JBP.

19. Robertson, "Jack Brooks," 18-31.

20. Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 542-547; Bernard Grofman, *Legacies of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 1-5; Robertson, "Jack Brooks," 18-31; *Congressional Record*, 88th Congress, Second Session, 15897, 89th Congress, First Session, 19201, 90th Congress, Second Session, 9621.



Jack and Charlotte Brooks greet a guest at a dinner at the Ridgewood Motor Hotel, Beaumont, Texas, March 1, 1968. Rolfe and Gary Christopher Negative Collection, Special Collections and Lamar University Archives, Mary and John Gray Library, Lamar University.

were among only eleven Southern Democrats who voted “yes” for this landmark legislation.²¹

Brooks voted in favor of other Great Society programs sponsored by President Johnson, thus embracing a liberal, activist government as personified by the President. Johnson favored the use of federal power, expertise, and money to solve the nation’s problems—economic, health, racial, and social. The President won passage of dozens of federal programs, and Jack Brooks voted for many of them, including the Econom-

21. Robertson, “Jack Brooks,” 18-31.

ic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Social Security Act of 1965 that implemented Medicare and Medicaid.²²

When Brooks worked for the 1962 Sabine-Neches project, he embraced an old American tradition for Federal development of “internal improvements”—roads and canals—to promote economic and industrial development. During the early nineteenth century, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and other leaders of the Whig Party favored an “American system” which included protective tariffs to favor American industry, a national bank to facilitate commerce, and Federal development of “internal improvements,” a network of roads and canals to improve transportation, promote commerce, and unify the nation. Often funded jointly by the Federal government with local and state authorities, the “internal improvements” sometimes included the clearing of rivers and improvement of harbor facilities. As early as 1824, such river and harbor projects were carried out by the US Army Corps of Engineers, the same organization that directed the Sabine-Neches project promoted by Congressman Brooks.²³

In Beaumont, support for internal improvements enjoyed a long history. As early as 1860, A.N. Vaughn, publisher of *The Beaumont Banner*, praised the town and its transportation facilities, citing its location “at the junction of the Texas & New Orleans Rail Road and the Eastern Texas Railroad, and at the head of the permanent navigation of the Neches River.” Here, before the Civil War, Beaumont enjoyed the benefits of “year round” navigation on the Neches, when steamboats from Galveston and Sabine Pass provided regular service for passengers and freight to and from Beaumont, and when this marine transportation connected with two railroads, one going east and west, and one going north and south. Later, this transportation network of “internal improvements” was expanded and transformed. Highways were built, railroads expanded, the Port of Beaumont constructed, and the Sabine-Neches Waterway improved multiple times. In three projects between 1922 and 1945, the Corps of Engineers deepened the ship channel to thirty-six feet.²⁴

In 1962, Cyrus Vance, US Secretary of the Army, issued an official report outlining and recommending plans for “The Sabine-Neches Waterway, Texas.” Endorsed by various Federal and state officials, the plan provided for widening, deepening, and other

22. Bruce J. Schulman, *Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995), 1-3,81-124; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 524-561; *Congressional Record*, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 18634, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 6152, 89th Congress, 1st Session, 18424.

23. Maurice G. Baxter, *Henry Clay and the American System* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1995), 16-33, 108-120; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought, The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 211-222; George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Holt Rinehart, 1964),67-69, 367; *Congress and the Nation, 1945-1964* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1964), 778.

24. *The Beaumont Banner*, September 11, 1860; Robert J. Robertson, “Beaumont on the Eve of the Civil War,” *The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*, 30 (1994): 9-26 [reprinted in this volume—Editor]; *Civil Works Activities for FY 2008*, Table 40B, 44-46.

improvements in the waterway, which began at Sabine Pass on the Gulf of Mexico and extended northward up the Sabine ship channel, past Port Arthur and up the Neches River to Beaumont, a distance of about forty-two miles. The plan included improvements in the Sabine River channel up to the town of Echo in Orange County, and replacement of an "obstructive bridge" in Port Arthur, an old bascule bridge that crossed the ship channel and provided access to Pleasure Island. But the most important provision was that the main waterway would be deepened from 36 to 40 feet from the Gulf of Mexico up to Beaumont. This additional depth would allow new oil tankers to provide more efficient service to the ports and to business and industry along the Sabine-Neches Waterway.²⁵

As outlined in the report of the Corps of Engineers, the Beaumont Port Arthur-Orange area was rich in business and industry, and its need for improved maritime transportation was great. Business activity included rice mills, shipbuilding, repair yards, steel fabricators, brass and iron foundries, and most importantly, petroleum, chemical, and petrochemical industries. Five major oil refineries—Atlantic, Gulf Oil, Texaco, Pure Oil, and Mobil—had a daily refining capacity of over 950,000 barrels, which represented ten percent of the total capacity of the nation. In addition, Sun Oil Company operated a large tank farm and marine terminal at Smith's Bluff on the Neches River. In 1960, transportation of seagoing vessels on the waterway amounted to about sixty-eight million tons, of which about forty-one million tons were petroleum and petroleum products. In the Beaumont-Port Arthur region, the relationships between the waterway, the refineries, and the local economy were profound. Two Spindletop oil booms at Beaumont in 1901 and 1925 produced huge quantities of petroleum, but it was the close proximity of the ship channel that determined where the oil refineries would be located. As noted by historian John Lewis Bean, there is no doubt that the Sabine-Neches waterway played a major role in the industrial development of Beaumont and Port Arthur.²⁶

With estimated construction costs of \$20.8 million, and annual maintenance costs of \$620,000, the Sabine-Neches project would be carried out under the direction of the US Army Corps of Engineers. The plan required local entities to make various

25. Secretary of the Army, "Sabine-Neches Waterway," v-xiv, 1-147; Robert Wooster, "Sabine-Neches Waterway and Sabine Pass Ship Channel," NHT, 5:744-745.

26. Secretary of the Army, "Sabine-Neches Waterway," 3-16, 84, 97; John Lewis Bean, "The Role of the Sabine-Neches Waterway in the Economic Development of the Golden Triangle" (MA thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1962), 156. For more about the Spindletop oil boom and related developments, see Judith Walker Linsley, Ellen Walker Rienstra, and Jo Ann Stiles, *Giant Under the Hill: A History of the Spindletop Oil Discovery in Beaumont, Texas in 1901* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2002), 211-233; John W. Storey, "Port Arthur, TX," and Robert Wooster and Christine Moor Sanders, "Spindletop Oilfield," NHT, 5: 271-272, 6: 29-30. In 2011, according to data published by the Sabine-Neches Navigation District, transportation on seagoing vessels on the waterway amounts to more than one hundred million tons per year.

contributions including land and money. Port authorities, other governmental entities, and private corporations would furnish land for easements and rights-of-way, pay for relocation of pipelines and power lines, and contribute cash for replacement of the old, obstructive bridge at Port Arthur. These non-Federal construction costs of approximately \$1.3 million were readily accepted by appropriate local entities, as the whole project was enthusiastically endorsed by local groups in Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange, including oil companies, chambers of commerce, city governments, as well as the Port of Beaumont, Port of Port Arthur, and the Jefferson County Navigation District.²⁷

To support the proposed project, local civic leaders formed the Southeast Texas Citizens Committee for Sabine-Neches Waterways Improvements, a group of one hundred business and political people from Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange. Organized in 1961, the group was headed by Beaumont banker John Gray and included L.E. Cranston (Mobil Oil), John Newton (Beaumont Navigation District), D.B. Campbell (E.I. DuPont), Howard Peterson (Orange National Bank), Munger T. Ball (Sabine Towing Company), A.W. Kusch (Atlantic Refining), and Harvie Parker (mayor of Port Arthur). Gray, Beaumont's most prominent civic leader, wrote in a 1962 issue of *American Banker* magazine about the ongoing industrial and maritime development in the region, pointing to new petrochemical plants such Koppers, Jefferson Chemical, Goodrich-Gulf, E.I. Dupont de Nemours, Texas Gulf Sulfur, Houston Chemical, and Mobil Chemical. He described recent improvements in the ports of Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange, and explained the importance of maritime shipping on the Sabine-Neches Waterway, noting that in terms of tonnage volume the local waterway ranked ahead of the Houston Waterway and second only to the port of New York in the nation.²⁸

John Gray and the other business and industrial leaders wanted Federal funds for the Sabine-Neches project. To obtain these funds they needed the cooperation of Congressman Brooks, the man that "chamber of commerce" people often criticized and voted against because of his "liberal" politics and his affiliation with the labor unions. This may have presented a dilemma for some, but not Jack Brooks. He had no problem using power derived from the votes of working class citizens to promote the development of business and industry. As suggested by James Madison in the Federalist papers, Brooks was taking care of the "interests" of his district. The Sabine-Neches project and others he sponsored would support the expansion of industry, which in turn would create more business, more jobs, and more tax revenue for local govern-

27. Secretary of the Army, "Sabine-Neches Waterway," 10-11, 22. In 2011, the Sabine-Neches Navigation District (formerly Jefferson County Navigation District), the ports of Beaumont and Port Arthur, the US Army Corps of Engineers, and other entities proposed a new project to deepen the ship channel from forty feet to forty-eight feet.

28. BE, October 13, 1961; *American Banker*, June 1, 1962.

ments. As President John Kennedy often said about other matters, the Sabine-Neches project was "a rising tide that lifts all boats."²⁹

On August 23, 1962, Congressman Brooks introduced House Resolution 12955, a bill requesting a \$20.8 million appropriation for the Sabine-Neches waterway project. In the same session, he also introduced House Resolution 12669, a bill requesting \$23.3 million for construction of a levee to protect the city of Port Arthur from hurricane flooding. The two proposals, which totaled \$44.1 million, were referred to the Committee on Public Works and became a part of a River, Harbor, and Flood Control bill which was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Kennedy on October 24, 1962. Bills of this type were common, as eight such laws had been enacted previously during the administrations of Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower.³⁰

The new law signed by President Kennedy provided Federal appropriations of \$2.2 billion for two hundred projects spread all across the United States. This included \$378 million for seventy-nine "navigation projects." Among these projects, the Sabine-Neches waterway with its \$20.8 million budget ranked fourth behind \$58.2 million for the Kaskaskia River in Illinois, \$40 million for the Illinois Waterway, and \$39 million for the James River in Virginia. No doubt the relatively large size of the Sabine-Neches appropriation reflected the scale and the national importance of the project, but perhaps also reflected credit on Congressman Brooks, his political power, and his good relations with Vice President Johnson.³¹

As Congressman Brooks won the \$44.1 million appropriation for the Sabine-Neches project and for Port Arthur hurricane flood protection, some might refer to the Federal dollars as "pork," or "ear marks," money that he won playing the game of "pork barrel politics," leveraging his seniority and power in the Democratic Party. Others might refer to the appropriations as "development" funds or "Federal outlays." But in any case, the Federal dollars would be spent in his district and serve the interests of his constituents.³²

But the \$20.8 million Sabine-Neches project was more than "pork" and more important than a "development" project for his district. With this project, Congressman Brooks also served national interests. The primary beneficiaries were the six major oil companies—Mobil, Texaco, Gulf, Atlantic-Richfield, Pure-Union, and Sun Oil—that had refining and shipping operations in Jefferson County. These were large national

29. Ted Sorensen, *Counselor: A Life at the Edge of History* (New York: Harper Press, 2008), 227.

30. HR 12955, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, August 23, 1962; HR 112669, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, July 24, 1962; *Beaumont Journal*, October 24, 1962; *Congress and the Nation*, 1945-1964, (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1964), 785-786.

31. *Congress and the Nation*, 1945-1964, Water, Power, 880-881; *Congressional Record*, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, Public Law 87-874, October 23, 1962.

32. John A. Ferejohn, *Pork Barrel Politics, Rivers and Harbors Legislation, 1947-1968* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), i-ii.

corporations that were headquartered in other states, such as Mobil in Virginia, Texaco in New York, and Gulf Oil in Pennsylvania, and did business throughout the United States and around the world. For their Jefferson County refineries, these national companies imported crude oil and other raw materials from Mexico and other foreign countries, and sold most of their products—gasoline, lubricants, and other petroleum derivatives—on the East Coast. Clearly, the Sabine-Neches project promoted economic and industrial development for the nation, creating more profits, more jobs, more tax revenues, and more economic power for America.³³

For Jack Brooks and other congressmen, winning “Federal outlays” was a means to evaluate their own performance and to estimate the political and economic power of their state. According to *The Almanac of American Politics, 1972*, for the year 1970, the State of Texas received Federal outlays of about \$11.1 billion, the third highest in the United States. Also for Texas, *The Almanac* reported a “Federal tax burden” of \$9.3 billion, the seventh largest in the nation, thus providing a comparison of Federal funds received and Federal taxes paid. The numbers also demonstrate that when compared to other states, that Texas was a large and powerful player, and that its congressional delegation rendered good service to the state. In Texas, the Federal outlays were distributed among more than a dozen governmental entities, including the Defense, Transportation, Health, Education, and Welfare, Agriculture, and Post Office departments, Veterans Administration, and the Civil Service Commission. The largest recipient in Texas was the Defense Department, which received more than five billion dollars for various military bases and large companies that carried out defense contracts.

For 1970, *The Almanac* also divided the \$11.1 billion in Federal outlays for Texas among the state’s twenty-three congressional districts, thus demonstrating how much each congressman “won” for his district. However, this division of Federal funds among the districts sometimes only amounted to rough estimations, because district lines often cut through multiple recipients such as military bases and post office districts, and because in some cases such funding may have been largely independent of the efforts of the local congressman. Jim Wright of Fort Worth and the Twelfth District ranked first with \$1.6 billion in outlays, while Olin Teague of College Station and the Sixth District was in twenty-third place with \$197 million. Others were Jim Collins, Irving, Third District, \$648 million; Bill Archer, Houston, Seventh District, \$394 million, and Jack Brooks, Beaumont, Ninth District, \$327 million. Thus, for 1970, Congressman Brooks ranked near “the middle of the pack” in terms of “winning” Federal outlays for his district. Major recipients in the Ninth District (Jefferson, Chambers, and Galveston counties) included the Defense, Agriculture, Transportation, and Health, Education, and Welfare departments. *The Almanac* did not list the names of specific

33. Pratt, *Growth of a Refining Region*, 3-11.

recipients or projects, except for the Mobil Oil refinery in Beaumont, which received a Defense Department outlay of \$82.9 million for production of petroleum products.³⁴

Earlier before 1970, Congressman Brooks obtained Federal outlays for numerous other development projects in his district. These included Galveston Harbor and Channel, Port of Galveston, Jefferson County Day Care Center, Houston-Galveston Area Council, City of Groves Water and Sewers, Intracoastal Waterway Navigation, High Island Bridge, Hitchcock-Highland Flood Control, Orange Armory, Rockland Dam, Galveston Oceanographic Center, Salt Water Barrier, Lamar State College, and as discussed above, the 1962 Sabine-Neches Waterway project, the completion of which was celebrated on Friday, August 21, 1970.³⁵

That Friday evening, after the bridge-opening ceremonies in Port Arthur, Congressman and Charlotte Brooks attended a reception at the Driftwood, a motor hotel owned by Lloyd Hayes, former mayor of the city. There Jack and Charlotte enjoyed the food and drink, and the company of friends and supporters. As shown in the newspaper photographs from that day, they were a handsome, well-dressed couple; they had been married ten years and had two children, Jeb and Kate, and before long would have a third, Kim. Brooks probably felt especially good that evening, reflecting on the day's events and a job well done. The new bridge was open and the Sabine-Neches Waterway project would be completed before long. Soon the new supertankers would have clear sailing, serving the ports of Beaumont and Port Arthur as well as the oil companies, including Sun Oil, Texaco, Gulf, and Mobil.³⁶

So, as they said in a 1974 rock song, Brooks was "taking care of business"—helping the big oil companies make more profits and build their business, nationally and internationally. But also, he was "taking care of business" in a congressional sense, representing the "interests" of his district, winning re-elections, earning and using power in the Democratic Party, supporting the cause of union workers and their families, improving the lives of African-American citizens, and promoting broad economic development in his district, development that would lead to more business, more jobs, and more tax revenues for governmental entities.³⁷

Postscript

After serving his district for forty-two years, Congressman Brooks retired from office in 1995. He lost his position in the historic elections of 1994, when the Republican Party won control of the House, and when Brooks and thirty-three other Democrats were turned out of office. Among senior Democrats losing their positions were Tom

34. Foregoing in Barone, et al., *Almanac of American Politics*, xxi-xxii, 775-821.

35. Inventory, Jack Brooks Collection, Special Collections, Mary and John Gray Library, Lamar University, Beaumont, TX.

36. BE, August 22, 1970; PAN, August 22, 1970.

37. In 1974, rock group Bachman Turner Overdrive recorded the song "Taking Care of Business," which used the phrase ironically.

Foley, Speaker of the House, Dan Rostenkowski, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and Jack Brooks, Chairman of the Judicial Committee. Jack and Charlotte Brooks moved back to Beaumont, where they enjoyed family and friends and began assisting journalist Timothy J. McNulty with the compilation of an official biography of the congressman. But in December 2012, a sudden illness struck the former congressman and he passed away on the fourth of that month. He was just shy of his ninetieth birthday.³⁸

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38. James T. Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 344-345.

US Judge Joe Fisher and the *Borel* Asbestos Case

With ROBERT Q. KEITH

The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record, 49 (2013): 23-38

For forty years, between 1959 and 2000, Joseph J. Fisher served as US District Judge for the Eastern District of Texas. During his tenure, he presided over *Clarence Borel v. Fibreboard Paper Products Corporation, et al.* (1973), a historic case which established important precedents for asbestos litigation throughout the United States. The decision opened the door for thousands of products liability cases for personal injury claims—when asbestos workers, their families, and their lawyers sued asbestos companies for financial awards for disease and death—and later for property damage claims—when school districts, other public entities, and their lawyers sued for the costs of removal of asbestos products from public buildings.¹

Joseph Jefferson Fisher was born in 1910 in San Augustine County, Texas. He attended public schools, Stephen F. Austin State University, and in 1936 earned the LLB degree from the University of Texas School of Law. As a member of the Democratic Party, Fisher served as San Augustine County Attorney (1937-1939) and as District Attorney for First Judicial District of Texas (1939-1946). He entered private practice in Jasper, Texas, joining Joe H. Tonahill and Thomas M. Reavely in the firm of Fisher, Tonahill, & Reavely. The partners were members of the Texas Trial Lawyers Association, an organization founded by plaintiff's attorneys in 1949, and where in 1952, Tonahill served as president. In 1957, Fisher won election as District Judge, First Judicial District of Texas, which included Jasper, Newton, Sabine, and San Augustine

1. In an October 14, 2011 email, attorney and co-author Robert Q. Keith (1934-2011) praised Judge Joe Fisher for his role in the *Borel* case and derived precedents, in which “product manufacturers have been held financially responsible for product defects, new judicial procedures have been conceived to deal with the mass tort phenomenon, insurance policies and practices have been amended, and comprehensive health and safety regulations have undergone substantial revision.” All these improvements, Keith said, “stem from the acumen of United States District Judge Joe J. Fisher and his courage to apply the law equally to all parties coming before him.”

counties. In 1959, Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower, a Republican, appointed Fisher US District Judge in the Beaumont Division for the Eastern District of Texas.²

During his career, Fisher served in a variety of professional and community organizations. He was a member of the State Bar of Texas, American Bar Association, American Judicature Society, and University of Texas law school Order of the Coif. Fisher published judicial and historical articles in the *Texas State Bar Journal*, *State Bar Education Program*, *St. Mary's Law Journal*, and *The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*. He belonged to the Texas Historical Commission, Sons of the Republic of Texas, Knights of the Order of San Jacinto, Philosophical Society of Texas, and Texas Gulf Historical Society. For the last, he served as president (1974-1976). In his honor, the University of Texas established the Joe J. Fisher Emeritus Endowed Presidential Scholarship in Law. Lamar University awarded him an Honorary Doctor of Laws Degree and inaugurated the "Joe J. Fisher Distinguished Lecture Series."³

After Joe Fisher's nomination as federal judge by President Eisenhower in 1959, the Senate Judiciary Committee quickly approved his appointment with the support of Democratic senators Lyndon Johnson and Ralph Yarborough who testified on his behalf. Five months earlier, Beaumont attorney John G. Tucker had been nominated for this judgeship, but he withdrew his name from consideration when he failed to receive the judiciary committee's approval. Judge Fisher was inducted into his new position on October 23, 1959, in a majestic court room in the massive, neo-classical federal courthouse in downtown Beaumont. This was the same courtroom in which the late Judge Lamar Cecil had served four years (1954-1958) and issued important desegregation rulings for Beaumont's municipal golf course (1955) and for Lamar State College of Technology (1956). For Fisher's induction, Joe W. Sheehy of Tyler, senior judge in the Eastern District of Texas, administered the oath of office in front of more than three hundred persons who came to celebrate the event, including Sen. Lyndon Johnson, Sen. Ralph Yarborough, Austin attorney Ed Clark who was Fisher's brother-in-law, Beaumont attorney Gilbert Adams, Beaumont banker John Gray, Port Arthur state Sen. Jep Fuller, Jasper Methodist minister Rev. Lamar Clark, Los Angeles attorney Walter Ely, and Jasper attorney Joe Tonahill who was Fisher's former law partner. During the ceremony, senators Johnson and Yarborough sat on the bench with judges Sheehy and Fisher.⁴

At a post-induction reception held at the Sky Room in Hotel Beaumont, Senator Johnson, a New Deal Democrat and the powerful Senate majority leader, made com-

2. Mildred Campbell Yates, "In Memoriam: Joseph Jefferson Fisher," *The Texas Gulf Historical and Biographical Record*, 36 (2000): 65-76; *Texas Legal Directory* (Dallas: Legal Directories Publ. Co., 1968), 144; Texas Trial Lawyers Association website (www.ttla.com)

3. *Beaumont Enterprise*, June 20, 2000 (hereafter BE).

4. BE, October 23 and 24, 1959; *Washington Bureau of the News*, September 9, 1959; Robert J. Robertson, *Fair Ways: How Six Black Golfers Won Civil Rights in Beaumont, Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

plimentary remarks toward Fisher. He discussed the great responsibility of senators to participate in the selection of federal judges. This was especially important and required the greatest care, he explained, when selecting judges for one's own state. "This is a happy and proud occasion for me," Johnson declared. "Joe Fisher is a big man in vision and spirit...As a presiding judge in our state courts, he has shown that he knows not only the letter of the law, but the spirit of the law. In his hands the law is what it is supposed to be—an instrument of justice for all men."⁵

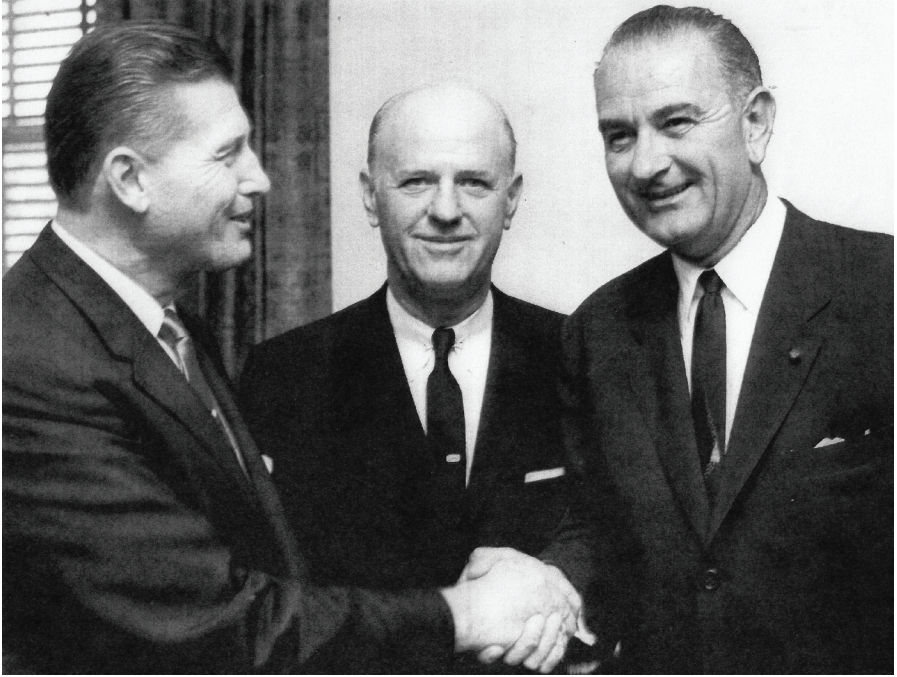
Johnson's praise of Fisher as a judge who would provide "justice for all men" is noteworthy, especially in view of age-old conflicts in the United States between labor and capital, between the interests of workers and the interests of corporations. Soon Judge Fisher would amend the jury selection process in his court to increase participation by working class citizens, and later, in 1969-1971, he would preside over the *Borel* case in which the jury would apply new legal doctrines and render a verdict in favor of the worker plaintiff and against the corporate defendants. This verdict established new precedents that would greatly increase the interests of workers and greatly reduce the interests of corporations.

For the Eastern District of Texas, Fisher served as US District Judge (1959-1966), Chief Judge (1967-1980), and later holding Senior Status from 1984 until his death in 2000. In the federal court, Fisher developed new procedures for selection of juries and for the expeditious handling of cases. Sometime during 1963-1964, he discarded the system of "blue ribbon juries" in which handpicked business-class persons might be conservative and favor defendants. He adopted instead a "jury wheel" system where a randomly-selected group that included working-class persons who might be liberal and favor plaintiffs. Later, Congress would pass the US Jury Selection and Service Act (1968) that required nationwide adoption of the "jury wheel" system. While presiding over his courtroom in Beaumont, he handled a wide variety of civil and criminal cases. Between 1959 and 1980, Fisher disposed of more than eight thousand civil cases, and between 1967 and 1979, he handled more than 1,700 criminal cases. Of special interest from judicial and historical perspectives was Judge Fisher's handling of *Clarence Borel v. Fibreboard Paper Products Corporation, et al.* (1973), a case that established important precedents with respect to asbestos litigation.⁶

In the *Borel* case, Ward Stephenson, a lawyer from Orange, Texas, represented Clarence Borel, a union worker from the nearby town of Groves. He worked for more than thirty years as an insulator in local refineries and shipyards and became fatally ill with pulmonary asbestosis and mesothelioma, forms of lung disease. Stephenson,

5. BE, October 24, 1959.

6. BE, June 20, 2000; Dewey J. Gonsoulin, "Historical Note Book," *Jefferson County Bar Journal* (Winter, 2009); William Wayne Justice, "Presentation of Portrait of The Honorable Joe J. Fisher," May 15, 1980; *Borel v. Fibreboard Paper Products Corporation*, 493 F. 2d. 1076 (5th Cir. 1973), *cert. denied*, 419 US 869 (1974).



At his induction ceremony in 1959, Joseph J. Fisher (left) receives congratulations from Judge Joe W. Sheehy (center), who swore him in, and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (right), who testified on his behalf before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Associated Press.

an experienced plaintiff's lawyer, handled numerous claims for other union workers suffering from occupational injuries or diseases. In most cases, he collected monetary awards from employers and their insurance companies for medical expenses and loss of income under state worker's compensation laws. But in at least one instance in 1966, on behalf of Claude Tomplait, a refinery worker suffering from asbestosis, he had tried and lost a products liability, personal injury suit against various asbestos products manufacturing companies.⁷

For Clarence Borel, Stephenson pursued a similar strategy. He initiated a personal injury suit against companies that manufactured asbestos products which Borel had used while working as an insulator. This material likely caused Borel's lung disease. Asbestos products were often friable, releasing tiny, invisible fibers which, when inhaled by humans, caused asbestosis, mesothelioma, and other dangerous diseases. The symptoms often remained latent for long periods, as long as twenty to forty years between exposure to asbestos and the onset of the disease. On October 20, 1969, Stephenson filed suit papers on behalf of Borel in Judge Joe Fisher's court in the Eastern District of Texas, seeking one million dollars in damages against Fibreboard Paper Products Corporation, Johns-Manville Products Corporation, and nine other asbestos insulation manufacturers.⁸

In the *Borel* case, Stephenson made customary charges against the asbestos manufacturers, accusing them of negligence and breach of warranty. But he broadened his attack, arguing that the manufacturers should also be subject to the doctrine of strict liability. Four years before, the American Law Institute—consisting of scholars, jurists, and lawyers—published the *Restatement of the Law of Torts (Second)* (1965), which set forth the revised standard in Section 402A. In 1967, the Texas Supreme Court officially adopted the new strict liability doctrine. Citing Section 402A, Stephenson charged that the asbestos manufacturers were subject to the doctrine of strict liability, arguing that their products were unreasonably dangerous because they did not carry adequate warnings of foreseeable dangers associated with them. As presented by Stephenson, the *Borel* case became the first litigation in the United States to test the application of Section 402A to asbestos materials.⁹

Judge Fisher opened the jury trial in his Beaumont courtroom September 21, 1971. Earlier, June 3, 1970, Clarence Borel had died from diffuse malignant mesothelioma

7. Paul Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct: The Asbestos Industry on Trial* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 3-36.

8. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 39-70; Jock McCulloch and Geoffrey Tweedale, *Defending the Indefensible: The Global Asbestos Industry and its Fight for Survival* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2-11.

9. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 39-70; American Law Institute, *Restatement of the Law of Torts* (Second Edition, St. Paul: American Law Institute Publishers, 1965), 347-358. The revised doctrine of strict liability was officially adopted by the Texas Supreme Court in the case, *McKisson v. Sales Affiliates, Inc.*, 416 SW 2nd 787 (Tex.1967).

of the lung, and his widow, Thelma Borel, was substituted as the plaintiff. In the trial, Stephenson attacked the asbestos manufacturers, accusing them of negligence and breach of warranty, and charging the companies with violations of the newly revised doctrine, arguing that they were strictly liable for the disease and death of Borel. George Weller, John Tucker, George Duncan, Gordon Pate, and other Beaumont lawyers defended Fibreboard, Johns-Manville, and the other asbestos manufacturers. The team countered that scientific knowledge about the dangers of asbestos exposure was incomplete at the time and that the plaintiff had assumed the risk and was guilty of contributory negligence. Disputing these arguments, Stephenson produced documentation showing that years earlier Dr. Irving J. Selikoff, Mount Sinai School of Medicine, New York, and other medical specialists had published abundant scientific information about the dangers of asbestos materials. Stephenson charged that the manufacturers knew or should have known about the dangers of their products, and had not warned Borel of their harmful effects.¹⁰

On the last day of the trial, after Stephenson and the opposing lawyers made their closing statements, Judge Fisher read his charge to the jury, discussing negligence and contributory negligence as well as the revised doctrine of strict liability. Fisher reviewed the new strict liability doctrine carefully, explaining to the jury that a product manufacturer is held to the skill of an expert in that business and to an expert's knowledge of the product and that the manufacturer is bound to keep abreast of scientific knowledge about the product and to issue warnings about possible harm that might come to people who use the product. Fisher also discussed the issues of negligence—issues that were separate and distinct from the question of strict liability. He explained that the jury could not find the asbestos companies guilty of negligence if they found contributory negligence on the part of Borel. He then issued various interrogatories, instructing the jurors to answer specific questions about the negligence of the manufacturers, the contributory negligence of Borel, the strict liability of the manufacturers, and lastly, the amount of money, if any, owed to Thelma Borel.¹¹

The next day, September 29, 1971, in documents signed by the jury foreman Roy L. Jenkins, the jury issued its verdict, finding that Borel was guilty of contributory negligence, but more importantly, finding that the asbestos manufacturers were strictly liable for his injuries and death. Here was a critical decision: the finding of contributory negligence by Borel, the worker, was made irrelevant by the verdict of strict liability against the asbestos companies. For Ms. Borel, the jury found total damages of \$79,436, an amount that was reduced to \$32,222 by previous settlements and by legal fees owed to attorney Stephenson. A few days later, Stephenson filed a motion with Judge Fisher for a written judgment, a resolution of all matters in favor of Ms. Borel, while the defense attorneys filed motions for judgment on behalf of the asbestos

10. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 45-52.

11. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 61-63; *McKisson v. Sales Affiliates, Inc.*

companies, notwithstanding the adverse verdict, and also requesting a new trial. Fisher issued the judgment in favor of the plaintiff and denied all motions by the defense, thus confirming victory for Stephenson and Ms. Borel in the District Court.¹²

Lawyers for the defendant manufacturers appealed the *Borel* judgment to the US Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in New Orleans, filing their papers on April 29, 1972. Oral arguments were heard on November 14, before judges John Minor Wisdom, Elbert Tuttle, and John Milton Bryan Simpson. Ward Stephenson, who was himself ill with cancer, was there to represent the appellee, Ms. Borel, while Fibreboard and the other appellant manufacturers were represented by W. Page Keeton, Dean of the University of Texas School of Law. An eminent scholar and member of the American Law Institute, Keeton had served as an adviser in the recent publication of the *Restatement of the Law of Torts (Second)*. In oral arguments before the Fifth Circuit, Stephenson and Keeton battled over various issues, including availability of scientific information about the dangers of asbestos materials, and about theories of negligence, contributory negligence, and strict liability. In the end, the Fifth Circuit issued a ruling in favor of Thelma Borel, affirming the judgment based on the verdict of strict liability against the asbestos manufacturers. Lawyer Stephenson, who reportedly received the good news of his victory by telephone, passed away September 7, just three days before the official publication of the *Borel* ruling on September 10, 1973.¹³

In an opinion authored by Judge Wisdom, the Fifth Circuit issued a landmark decision in the *Borel* case, pointing to Section 402A of the new *Restatement of the Law of Torts (Second)* which required a manufacturer to disclose the existence and the extent of reasonably foreseeable risk involved in the use of its products, saying that an insulation worker, no less than any other product user, has a right to decide whether to expose himself to the risk. The Fifth Circuit's ruling was appealed by the asbestos companies to the US Supreme Court, which declined to hear the case, thus leaving intact the finding in Judge Fisher's court that the asbestos companies were strictly liable for the death of Clarence Borel. The actions of attorney Stephenson, Judge Fisher, and the judges of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had enormous implications. The affirmation of the strict liability doctrine against the asbestos companies advanced the interests of working-class Americans and diminished the interests of the asbestos corporations. Thousands of asbestos workers, their families, and their lawyers filed personal injury claims against dozens of asbestos companies and their insurers. According to Paul Brodeur, author of *Outrageous Misconduct: The Asbestos Industry on*

12. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 63-65. The name of the jury foreman, Roy L. Jenkins, was reported by Fort Worth attorney Gene Dozier, who reviewed the *Borel v. Fibreboard* case files in the National Archives in Fort Worth, January 14, 2013.

13. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 65-70; Joel William Friedman, *Champion of Civil Rights, Judge John Minor Wisdom* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009), 144-146; BE, September 9, 1973; State Bar of Texas, *Texas Bar Journal*, 36 (November 22, 1973): 1097-1099; "In Memoriam W. Page Keeton," Office of the General Faculty & Faculty Council, University of Texas.

Trial (1985), the *Borel* decision “triggered the greatest avalanche of toxic-tort litigation in the history of American jurisprudence. Some twenty-five thousand lawsuits were brought over the next decade as word spread that asbestos manufacturers could be held strictly liable under the law.”¹⁴

During the next three decades, the implications of the *Borel* case continued to grow dramatically, with the filing of increasing numbers of personal injury claims based on asbestos exposure. Filed in federal and state courts, the large numbers of claims often evolved into multiparty or mass tort litigation, where plaintiff’s lawyers represented multiple workers and initiated personal injury suits against multiple asbestos companies. According to data published in 2002 and updated in 2005 by the Rand Institute of Civil Justice, “asbestos litigation is the longest running mass tort in the United States.” More than 730,000 plaintiffs had filed personal injury claims, often against multiple defendants for asbestos-related injuries and a total of seventy billion dollars had been paid by defendants and insurers. At least 8,400 companies had been named as defendants and at least seventy-three companies, including Johns-Manville Corporation, had filed bankruptcies. The Rand Institute provided additional data in 2011, reporting that fifty-six asbestos personal injury trusts had been set up by asbestos companies which had filed for bankruptcy and that as of 2008, the twenty-six largest trusts had paid out \$10.9 billion on 2.4 million claims.¹⁵

Dozens of books and hundreds of articles have been published about the story of personal injury asbestos litigation.¹⁶ Some publications provide special information about mass tort litigation, where multiple plaintiffs were represented by a relatively small number of law firms that specialized in asbestos litigation. In “Understanding Mass Personal Injury Litigation: A Socio-Legal Analysis,” *Brooklyn Law Review* (1993-1994), Deborah R. Hensler and Mark A. Peterson report that this mass tort litigation was concentrated during the 1980s in a few jurisdictions—Texas, Virginia, Mississippi, West Virginia, and Maryland—where plaintiffs had worked with asbestos products in coastal facilities such as shipyards, maritime industries, and petrochemical factories, and where lawyers who specialized in asbestos litigation represented the plaintiffs. In

14. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 73-77.

15. Stephen J. Carroll, et al., *Asbestos Litigation Costs and Compensation: An Interim Report* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002); Carroll, et al., *Asbestos Litigation Costs, Compensation, and Alternatives* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005); Lloyd Dixon and Geoffrey McGovern, *Asbestos Bankruptcy Trusts and Tort Compensation* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2011).

16. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*; Carroll, et al., *Asbestos Litigation Costs, Compensation, and Alternatives*; Barry Castleman, *Asbestos: Medical and Legal Aspects* (Cliffs, NJ: Aspen Law & Business, 1996); Deborah H. Hensler, et al., “Asbestos in the Courts: The Challenge of Mass Toxic Torts” (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1985); Rachel Maines, *Asbestos and Fire: Technological Trade-offs and Body at Risk* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005); Jack Weinstein, *Individual Justice in Mass Tort Litigation: The Effect of Class Actions, Consolidations and other Multiparty Devices* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1995); Michelle J. White, “Explaining the Flood of Asbestos Litigation: Consolidation, Bifurcation, and Bouquet Trials” (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2002).

Defending the Indefensible: the Global Asbestos Industry and its Fight for Survival (2008), Jock McCulloch and Geoffrey Tweedale describe how during the 1990s plaintiff's lawyers won large awards for their clients and handsome fees for themselves. Numbering about 150, these attorneys were members of the Asbestos Litigation Group of the American Trial Lawyers Association. The authors noted about twenty lawyers who enjoyed large earnings, which included six from Texas: Fred Baron (Dallas), Shepard Hoffman (Dallas), Mark Lanier (Houston), Larry Madeksho (Houston), Mike Moore (Amarillo), and Walter Umphrey (Beaumont). Another Texas member of Asbestos Litigation Group was Wayne Reaud of Beaumont. In 1996, Reaud and Umphrey, along with other Texas lawyers, filed product liability suits related to tobacco, representing the State of Texas, claiming damages for illnesses and medical expenses suffered by Texas citizens, winning large financial awards from American tobacco companies.¹⁷

During the early 1980s, asbestos litigation broadened to include property damage claims, in which school districts and other public entities all across the nation sued companies for the costs of removing insulation and fire prevention products from public buildings. The issue was especially critical in districts where asbestos materials had been installed in school buildings between 1946 and 1972. In 1980, Congress passed the Asbestos School Hazard Detection and Control Act that established a federal task force to ascertain the extent of danger to school children and employees, required states to establish inspection programs, provided technical and scientific assistance to states and school districts, and authorized the United States to sue asbestos manufacturers on behalf of school districts to recover for costs of mitigation.¹⁸

In 1980, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) issued warnings about asbestos in the public schools, estimating that 8,500 schools contained friable asbestos which threatened the health of three million students along with teachers and staff. In 1985, the EPA estimated that more than seven hundred thousand public buildings, including thirty-one thousand schools, were contaminated by asbestos. In the school buildings, the EPA estimated that fifteen million students and 1.4 million teachers were exposed to the dangers of asbestos. The exposure of students and teachers was a potent issue, because of the *Borel* decision which documented the health danger of asbestos materials and made the manufacturers strictly liable for the death of Clarence Borel.¹⁹

In response to the Asbestos School Hazard Detection and Control Act, US Attorney General William French Smith issued "The Asbestos Liability Report to the Congress" on September 21, 1981. Here, Smith reviewed the problem of asbestos materials in

17. Deborah R. Hensler and Mark A. Peterson, "Understanding Mass Personal Injury Litigation: A Socio-Legal Analysis," *Brooklyn Law Review*, 59 (1993-1994): 961, 1003-1006, 1025-1030; McCulloch and Tweedale, *Defending the Indefensible*, 161-165; *The State of Texas v. American Tobacco Co., et al* (96-CV-91).

18. Asbestos School Hazard Detection and Control Act of 1980 (Pub. L. 96-270, June 14, 1980).

19. McCulloch and Tweedale, *Defending the Indefensible*, 202-209; Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 307-354.

public schools, pointing to health hazards for students and teachers, citing the legal precedents established in the *Borel* case, and concluding that “failure to warn” and other charges enunciated in *Borel* could reasonably be extended to asbestos problems in schools. Because the new asbestos law did not include any funds for federal litigation, the Attorney General recommended that school districts consult with qualified lawyers about the possibility of filing property damage claims against the manufacturers to recover the costs of removing the dangerous materials from school buildings.²⁰

The Attorney General’s report provided information about two school district cases already filed in the United States—*Cinnaminson Township Board of Education, Burlington, New Jersey v. National Gypsum, et al.* filed May 19, 1980, and *Dayton Independent School District, et al., v. W.R. Grace and Co., et al.*, filed April 22, 1981. The Dayton ISD case was filed by attorney Martin Dies III, a member of Stephenson, Thompson and Dies, the same law firm in Orange, Texas, where Ward Stephenson had represented Clarence Borel. Attorney Dies filed the suit papers in the US District Court of Judge Joe Fisher in Beaumont, the same court in which *Borel* had been decided in 1971.²¹

The Dayton ISD case, the first asbestos property damage suit in Texas, was a multi-party dispute in which multiple plaintiffs claimed financial damages against multiple defendants. In this litigation, which lasted six years, Dies represented Dayton ISD and eighty-two other Texas school districts that made property damage claims against W.R. Grace and Company, US Gypsum, and other asbestos manufacturers. Plaintiff school districts included Beaumont, Port Arthur, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Midland, Lubbock, Waco, and Corpus Christi.²²

While the Dayton ISD case was being litigated in Beaumont, other property damage lawsuits were underway in courts elsewhere in the nation. On April 9, 1984, in the nation’s first school asbestos lawsuit to go to trial, School District Five of Lexington County, South Carolina, reached an out-of-court settlement of \$675,000 from US Gypsum. In *City of Greenville v. W.R. Grace and Co.*, the first case in America resulting in a verdict on behalf of a building owner, the city won actual and punitive damages of \$8.4 million from the Grace company for removal of asbestos fireproofing materials from the city hall. Decided in 1986 and affirmed August 28, 1987, by the US Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, the *City of Greenville* decision related closely to the *Borel* decision, ruling that the asbestos fire proofing materials posed a health risk, that the

20. William French Smith, “The Attorney General’s Asbestos Liability Report to the Congress, Pursuant to Section 8(b) of the Asbestos School Hazard Detection and Control Act of 1980,” September 21, 1981, v-xiii.

21. Smith, “Attorney General’s Asbestos Liability Report,” 61-70.

22. Dies and Hile, LLP, Notes, “Asbestos Property Litigation in Texas (2012);” *Dayton ISD vs. United States Gypsum, et al.*, Civil Action B-81-277-CA /B-81-293-CA, case papers (Boxes 17-24) and docket sheets ARC 573246 and ARC 581150, US National Archives Branch, Fort Worth.

manufacturers knew of the dangers posed by the asbestos products, that they had acted willfully, wantonly, or recklessly, and that they were liable for actual and punitive damages.²³

In the Dayton ISD case, Dies worked with his partner Richard Hile and co-counsel Kelly Frels of Bracewell & Patterson of Houston, taking more than one thousand depositions and collecting abundant evidence on behalf of his clients, the eighty-three Texas school districts. In May 1987, when a jury had been selected and the trial was about to begin, Dies negotiated a financial settlement with W.R. Grace Company and other asbestos manufacturers on behalf of the school districts. The amounts of the financial settlement remain confidential, but critical issues in this property damage suit are obvious. As ruled in Judge Fisher's court, and as affirmed in the Fifth Circuit, the legal precedents in the *Borel* personal injury case established that asbestos companies knew of the dangers of their products, had failed to issue warnings, and were strictly liable injuries and death. As further affirmed by the Fourth Circuit in the *City of Greenville v. W.R. Grace and Co.* property damage case, the asbestos manufacturers knew of the dangers of their products, had failed to issue warnings, and were liable to the city of Greenville for the costs of asbestos abatement.²⁴

The Dayton ISD litigation was just one of many asbestos cases that were handled in the Beaumont Division, Eastern District of Texas where Fisher shared the docket with Judge Robert M. Parker who had been appointed to the bench in 1979 by Pres. Jimmy Carter. Confronted with large numbers of personal injury and property damage suits, Fisher and Parker developed new procedures, including consolidation for expeditious handling of the many asbestos cases.²⁵

Judge Fisher handled at least two other property damage suits filed by the attorneys Dies and Hile. In 1991, they initiated a suit *Dayton Independent School District, et al. v. U.S. Mineral Products, et al.*, known as "Dayton II," in which they negotiated financial settlements from asbestos companies and their insurers on behalf of sixty-two school districts, cities, counties, and other Texas public entities. In 1994, Dies & Hile initiated a multiple party, class action suit, *Kirbyville Independent School District, et al., Individually, and on Behalf of All Texas Public Entities v. Asbestospray Corporation, W.R. Grace and Co., Conn., and United States Gypsum Company*. In this case, Dies and Hile represented the State of Texas and more than 950 other public entities. They negotiated financial settlements with asbestos companies and their insurers where the public

23. Brodeur, *Outrageous Misconduct*, 307-354; US Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, *City of Greenville v. W. R. Grace Co.*, 640 F.Supp. 559 (D.S.C. 1986), aff'd 827 F2d 975 (4th Cir. 1987).

24. Dies and Hile, "Asbestos Property Litigation in Texas."

25. Carroll, et al., *Asbestos Litigation Costs and Compensation: An Interim Report*, 34-35.

entities received about ninety percent of the costs of asbestos abatement in public buildings. In the Kirbyville ISD case, payments from the asbestos companies to the public entities were ongoing when Judge Fisher passed away.²⁶

Judge Joe Fisher died June 19, 2000, after serving more than forty years as District Judge for the Eastern District of Texas. His long and distinguished judicial career is especially noteworthy with respect to asbestos litigation, having presided over *Borel v. Fibreboard et al.* (1973), the landmark case which established precedents for thousands of personal injury and property damage suits. Especially important were precedents related to the doctrine of strict liability, which in personal injury suits greatly increased the power of asbestos workers and their lawyers and greatly reduced the power of asbestos corporations and their insurance companies.

Robert Q. Keith was a Port Arthur native and UT School of Law alumnus. He practiced law for more than fifty years, first in Beaumont with Mehaffy, Weber, Keith, and Gonsoulin, and later in Johnson City with the firm Keith and Weber. He handled cases in the courts of Texas, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Washington, DC, where he argued three cases before the US Supreme Court. He died November 24, 2011.

26. Dies and Hile, "Asbestos Property Litigation in Texas."

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