PPHR

Panhandle-Plains Historical Review

XC
2019

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Panhandle-Plains Historical Society
Organized in 1921 for the purpose of collecting and preserving the history and culture of the region, the Society publishes books, catalogs, and other materials relating to the Texas Panhandle and the Southwest in general. Annual individual membership is $50; annual family membership is $75. The *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review,* published since 1928, is distributed as a benefit of Society membership. Institutional subscriptions are $20 per year. Additional current issues and selected back issues are available. Address inquiries to: Gift Shop, Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, WTAMU Box 60976, Canyon, TX 79016 or phone (806) 651-2244.

Cover image: A float as the Homecoming parade of 1968 with the queen and her court. Claudia Stewart represents the first African American Homecoming Queen candidate at West Texas State University.

Panhandle Plains Historical Review
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Books Reviews

Director's Comments

In 2018-19 the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum provided 47 programs – both old and new – to attract new visitors and strengthen our relationship with our members.

Christmas Open House, Dino Day and Night at PPHM are the perennial favorites. Christmas Open House, with 4,686 guests, brought together multiple generations to enjoy the traditions of the holiday season. More than 100 volunteers wore period dress in Pioneer Town, helped children decorate cookies and assisted with arts and crafts. It is the museum's annual gift to the community, but most visitors brought canned food or made cash donations to the High Plains Food Bank equaling 3,175 meals.

Dino Day drew primarily families and admission was $5 per person for ages 4 and up. Activities included digging for fossils, dinosaur-themed games, crafts and learning about a variety of live animals ranging from snakes to spiders in the private collections of Micah Hanbury and Seth Hanbury, who work in the museum's exhibit department.

Night at PPHM, which occurred for the 10th year, brought 890 visitors to experience all the museum has to offer by flashlight. Admission was $10 for adults, $5 for children and free for ages 4 and under.

Other programs were designed to attract specific audiences. Students and adults filled the Derrick Room to hear former *Life Magazine* photographer John Olsen tell of his experiences in the Viet Nam War. Crafts and Drafts attracted an audience of 175 young adults for beer tasting, painting and games showcasing PPHM in unique ways, such as using emojis to describe pieces in the art collection.

The loan of Theodore Roosevelt's shotgun by the estate of Jason Roselius resulted in a series of history programs enjoyed 186 Roosevelt and gun aficionados.

The week after Night at PPHM, the museum showed the movie *Twister* outside on an inflatable screen. The east lawn was filled with 220 movie goers sitting in lawn chairs and on blankets. There was no charge and drinks and popcorn were free. Candy and toys from the Museum Store were available for purchase. More than 200 adults and kids came for the fun.

In conjunction with *Cattle, Cowboys and Culture*, an exhibit based on the similarities of Amarillo and Kansas City occurring as a result of the cattle

industry, a Kansas City vs Texas BBQ cook-off took place on the museum lawn on a hot July afternoon. With 260 participants, some of whom came to cook and others came simply to eat, Kansas City-style ribs were chosen the taste favorite.

As a part of West Texas A&M University, PPHM strives to partner with various university departments. An annual Dia De Los Muertos partnership with the Department of Education brought close to 2,000 students and visitors to the museum to view ofrendas created by WTAMU students and community members. A partnership with the WTAMU Theatre brought 194 guests to the Murder Mystery Dinner and 765 to view the play *Peter and the Starcatcher*, which was staged in Hazlewood Lecture Hall.

Though it was not considered a program, by far the most successful event of the year was the museum's first black-tie gala, *UnVeiled: Rococo, An Evening of French Opulence.* When the list of attendees surpassed 400, the event was moved from being held completely within the museum to part of the evening taking place in a structured tent on the lawn. Following cocktails and viewing of the Lucille Nance Jones collection of rococo antiques, silver and china in Pioneer Hall, guests exited the back door and entered a world of French elegance within the tent. Under the leadership of Beverly Plank, a former member of the PPHM board, the evening included a seated dinner, live and silent auctions and dancing. Proceeds from the gala were more than $200,000 – with approximately $67,000 going to the Hattie Anderson Education Fund and the remaining donations designated for museum operations.

Not all programs and events in which PPHM participated took place at the museum in Canyon. Ten paintings from the PPHM collection were loaned to the Witte Museum in San Antonio for *The Art of Texas, 250 Years.* The May-though-August exhibit was a joint venture of the Witte Museum and the Center for Texas Studies at Texas Christian University (TCU) in Fort Worth and was the most extensive exhibition of Texas art in 30 years.

In much the same way this edition of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Review focuses on the university's response to changing times, the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society has remained a valued provider of education and entertainment since 1921 because it has, while featuring the past, responded to the interests and desires of current members and guests.

Carol Lovelady
Director
Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum

From the Editor

The *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* represents one of the longest running historical journals in Texas. The 90th edition continues the tradition of presenting important aspects of Panhandle, state, and southwest history while placing the essays in the context of the times.

This edition has a focus on civil rights, and the five articles cover various aspects of civil rights in the region. The first article looks at the contributions Claudia Stewart made to the struggle for civil rights at West Texas State University and the region. This article recognizes the important contributions of Stewart (Stuart). The second article by West Texas A&M University history student Katelyn Denney looks at aspects of the life of Mathew 'Bones' Hooks. Hooks was an early leader of the African American community in Amarillo. Hooks became the second black man to live in Amarillo and helped promote North Heights. The next article looks at desegregation in Texas colleges but focuses on desegregation of West Texas State College in 1960. Marty Kuhlman uses the backdrop of football being an aid to integration in the college. Tim Bowman adds an important article on Wayne Woodward, a teacher in the Hereford Independent School District. Woodward's civil rights were challenged when he was fired for joining the American Civil Liberties Union. Bowman analyzes the events leading up to the firing and the trial. The last article by Austin Miller looks at the introduction and ultimate decline of the all-black town in New Mexico, Blackdom. The author asks how this town fit in with other towns developed by African Americans. How were the African American residents of Blackdom viewed by the white population of New Mexico? This special civil rights edition promises to reveal an important aspect of regional history. The articles will open eyes to a part of regional history that does not receive a great deal of attention.

As always, there are a number of quality reviews of books our readers may find interesting. A letter from Carol Lovelady, the director of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, describes many of the activities and exhibits during the past year. A list of the many members of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society recognizes the value of those who support the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum. Supporters help the museum accomplish its mission of keeping the region's history alive.

I am always open to any suggestions on ways to improve the journal or

ready to consider possible submissions. I will strive to continue the high quality of historical writing that reflects the importance of the region and the state.

Marty Kuhlman

Claudia Stuart from the 1969 Le Mirage. Photo courtesy University Archives in Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

Living Out Loud: Claudia Dianne Stuart

Marty Kuhlman*

Living Out Loud is the title of one of Claudia Stuart's poetry books. The motto goes far in describing Stuart's life.

Claudia Dianne Stewart (she later married Harold Stuart) came to the Panhandle from Sierra Vista, Arizona in 1967 to attend West Texas State University (WTSU). She decided to attend WTSU because her brother had studied there. Stewart was born in San Antonio, Texas, but her father served in the military and the family had been stationed at various military bases. Before coming to WTSU, she had lived for many years in Europe, lastly in West Germany, and attended the Frankfurt American High School before transferring to Buena High School in Sierra Vista for the last three months of her senior year. Diversity and lack of segregation was common on military bases. Coming to Canyon, Texas, however, she noticed the lack of diversity and felt a bias. WTSU had only integrated a few years earlier in 1960, and Canyon still had the feeling of a 'sundown town.' Many citizens recall there being a sign on the edge of town which warned blacks not to be in the town after sundown. But Stewart became involved in the university, Canyon, and the Panhandle and saw an opportunity to advocate for change.

Coming to Canyon was a culture shock as Stewart navigated the landscape and attempted to connect with her fellow students. Her outgoing nature made gathering friends easy.[1] The small African American population on campus consisted of mainly football players. The mindset of many people on campus was that black co-eds would only attend WTSU because they were dating a player. Stewart assured people she was there for her education. She quickly became involved in activities at WTSU and blended into the student body. Her classmates remembered

* Marty Kuhlman has taught history at West Texas A&M University since 1994. He has written a number of articles on the African American Civil Rights Movement in Texas as well as articles on Panhandle history. He is currently editor of the *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review.*

1. Claudia Stuart, e-mail to Marty Kuhlman, June 3, 2019, Marty Kuhlman Collection, Cornette Library, West Texas A and M University, Canyon, Texas.

Claudia Sewart involved in WTSU Student Senate. Photo courtesy University Archives in Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

her as "cool, cute, and friendly."[2] Because of her popularity Stuart broke a race barrier as the first African-American elected to the WTSU Student Senate.

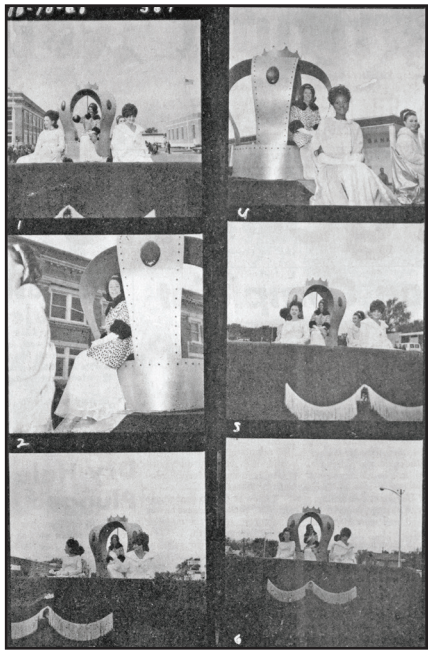
Stuart broke another major color line at WTSU when she became the first African American elected to the Homecoming Queen's Court in the fall of 1968. As an independent candidate (not backed by a sorority or fraternity) she received a large number of votes and came in as the second runner up. Since there was not a very large African American student body, Stewart obviously received a number of votes from white students. She rode in the Homecoming parade as part of the queen's court.[3] A photograph of the Homecoming Queen's Court had traditionally appeared in *The Canyon News*.

The morning the paper with the Homecoming photos came out, however, Stewart awoke to phone calls reporting that she was not shown on the float. Troy Martin, the editor and photographer for *The Canyon News*, had taken the picture at such an angle that Stewart was blocked from view. Martin claimed the outcome was an accident. There was a photo that had been taken of Stewart on the float, but Martin decided not to use the photo arguing that it did not show enough of the Homecoming Queen. People did confront Martin accusing him of racial bias when making his decision while

2. Sidnye Johnson, e-mail to Marty Kuhlman, June 6, 2019, Marty Kuhlman Collection, Cornette Library, West Texas A and M University, Canyon, Texas.

3. Claudia Stuart, interview by Marty Kuhlman, April 20, 2008, Marty Kuhlman Collection, Cornette Library, West Texas A and M University, Canyon, Texas.

others did not want their town to be seen as racist. In an editorial the following week, Martin defended himself writing he tried "especially hard" to get a photo of Stuart and took photos from "every feasible angle."[4] (The amateur photographer of the WTSU yearbook, *Le Mirage*, seemed to have no problem finding a "feasible angle"; see front cover) Martin argued there had been no racial bias in choosing the photo, but in later years when Stuart and Martin became friends, he admitted that a decision had been made to use a photo of the queen's court where Stewart was blocked. Martin did not believe Canyon would accept a front-page picture of an African American that was not an athlete. Canyon proved him wrong.[5]



Troy Martin shows the contact sheet of photos he took of the Homecoming Queen's Court. Photo courtesy University Archives in Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

Stewart became involved in a controversy on the campus involving the Kappa Alpha fraternity. On a national level the Kappa Alpha Order fraternity had been established after the Civil War to honor "Robert E. Lee's chivalry and gentlemanly conduct." Preservation of the heritage of the Old South became an important aspect of the order.[6] The fraternity came to West Texas State, and the charter stipulated that members had to be "Christian, white, male gentlemen."[7] The Kappa Alphas kept southern tradition alive as fraternity members dressed in Confederate uniforms, marched through campus, and seceded from the university for a weekend.[8] The Kappa Alphas bringing the trappings of the Old South onto campus led to a debate.

4. Troy Martin, "From the Canyon Rim," *The Canyon News,* November 14, 1968.
5. Claudia Stuart, interview by Marty Kuhlman.
6. Kappa Alpha Order, Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/KappaAlphaOrder)
7. Phil Duncan, "Race Bar Out for WT Clubs," *The Amarillo Daily News*, September 26, 1968.
8. "KA's 'Old South' Weekend Event Set," *The Prairie,* May 11, 1966.

The Kappa Alphas brought a large Confederate battle flag to the campus sporting events of the WTSU Buffaloes and waved it enthusiastically. The majority of Kappa Alphas undoubtedly saw the banner as representing Southern pride. Many people, however, viewed the flag as representing a one-time country based on slavery. The Ku Klux Klan also used the flag as a background to some of their terrorist activities. When the Kappa Alphas flew the flag, many African Americans viewed it as a representation of racism. Gary Puckerein, an African American student stated, "The rebel flag is a symbol of slavery and is offensive to our race."[9] At basketball games the flag hung near where African American students sat and by the end of the game, often dangled over their heads. In an example of tragic irony fraternity members waved the flag when celebrating touchdowns by the black football star, Eugene 'Mercury' Morris.[10] Flying of the flag led to heated debate both in and outside of class.

T. Paige Carruth, the dean of student life, saw that the situation needed to be calmed. He created the Committee to Reduce Interracial Tensions (CRIT) and appointed Stewart to one of the leading positions. African American students agreed that members had the right to fly the flag in private but not at campus supported events. Flying of the flag on campus gave the impression that a state supported institution approved of the flag and what it stood for. Stewart and the committee did convince the Kappa Alphas not to bring the flag to events on campus.[11]

Stewart also brought about change outside of WTSU. On one occasion she made the trip with her roommate to Amarillo, twenty miles north of Canyon, to shop for make-up at Woolworths. Make-up meant for white women was out on the counter, but Stewart was surprised to see that make-up for black women was locked up behind the counter. The management followed the stereotype that black women would be more likely to steal. When Stewart asked the clerk about the bias, the clerk studied Stewart and said, 'you must not be from around here. It's always been that way.' (Civil rights activists were often branded as 'outside agitators') Stewart kept rocking the boat and demanded to see the manager.[12]

The manager blamed the make-up company for the situation and told Stewart to talk to the company representative who visited the store on occasion. The manager promised to notify Stewart the next time the

9. Denny Mobrice, "Group Plan Demonstrations," *The Prairie*, May 8, 1968.

10. Claudia Stuart, interview by Marty Kuhlman.

11. Ibid.

12. Claudia Stuart Recalls Dealing with the Management at Woolworths in Amarillo, Youtube (https://youtube.com/claudia+stuart+amarillo)

representative was in Amarillo. But when she was not contacted for a number of months, Stewart knew she had to take matters into her own hands. Stewart went to the store and asked for the telephone number of the representative and called him. The representative denied that the company wanted the make-up locked up and because of Stewart's involvement, ordered the make-up to be put openly on the counter like make-up for whites.[13]

Stewart married Harold Stuart in June of 1969 and graduated from WTSU with a bachelor of science degree in sociology. After graduation, she joined the Women's Political Caucus and became involved in establishing a rape crisis center in Amarillo. Stuart became one of the first trained volunteers. She struggled to have the crime of rape treated seriously by the male establishment. She helped to spread information on the crime such as bringing information to the female dormitories at WTSU. She took her first paying position with Planned Parenthood.[14] Other aspects of her career included being the regional coordinator of the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program for the Panhandle Regional Planning Commission, regional director for Texans War on Drugs as well as a probation officer in Potter, Randall, and Armstrong counties.[15] But she continued her pursuit of education.

In 1985, she received a Master of Arts degree in social science and a Master certification in criminal justice administration from WTSU. In early 1990, Stuart served on the WTSU committee which decided to seek admittance to the Texas A&M System and returned to teach at the college, now known as West Texas A & M University (WTAMU), in 1996. She broke another racial barrier at WTAMU as she became the first full-time African American female instructor at the university.[16] Stuart taught sociology, criminal justice, and sports exercise science until her retirement in 2015. Stuart served as the first African American president of the WTAMU Faculty Senate. She later went on to serve as president of the Texas Council of Faculty Senates and vice president of Humanities Texas.[17]

Stuart has authored a number of books including a sociology textbook and a book on African Americans in Amarillo. But much of her literary

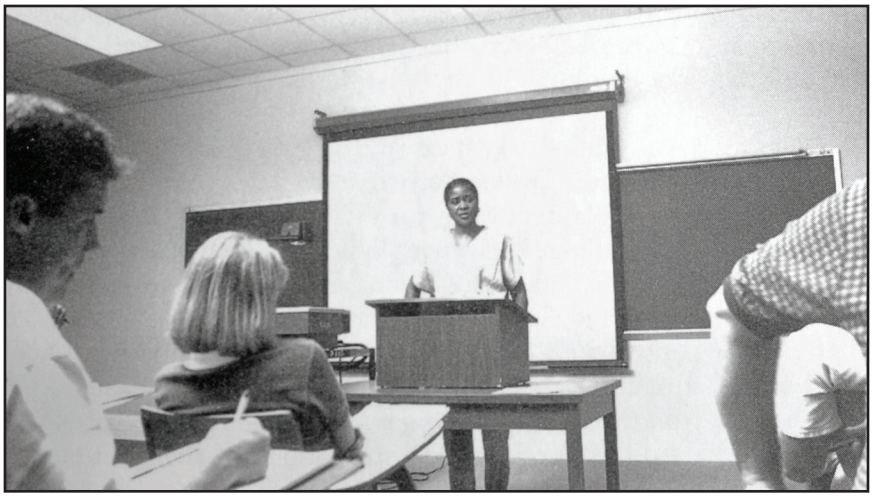
13. Ibid.

14. Claudia Stuart, interview by Marty Kuhlman.

15. 'Black History Month: Claudia Stuart,' *Amarillo Globe News*, February 25, 2014. (https://amarillo.com/neews/local-news/2014-02-25/black--history-month-claudia-stuart)

16. Ibid.

17. Claudia Stuart, e-mail to Marty Kuhlman, July 15, 2019, Marty Kuhlman Collection, Cornette Library, West Texas A and M University, Canyon, Texas.



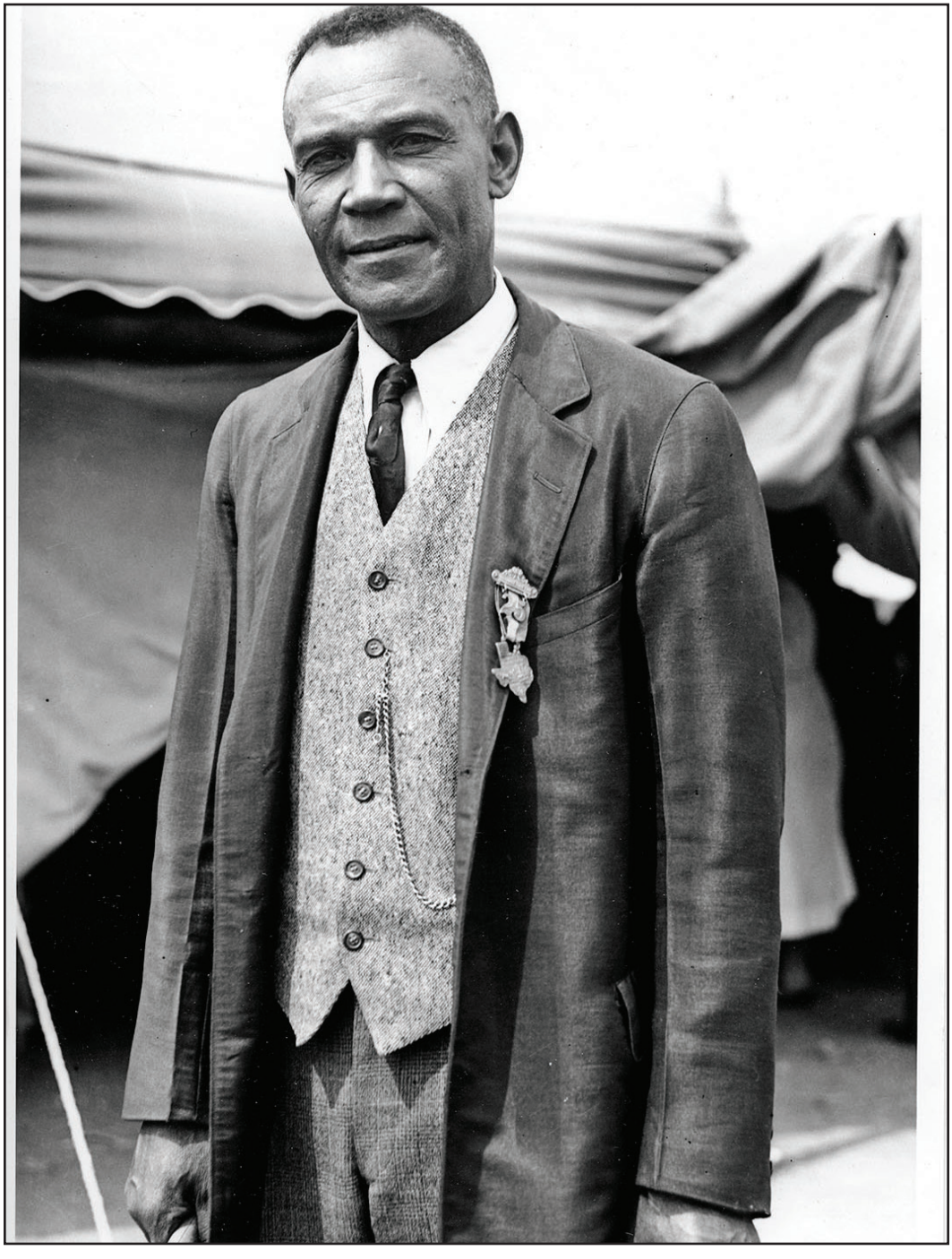
Claudia Stuart instructs her class in sociology. Photo courtesy University Archives in Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

expression can be found in her many poetry books. She is still an advocate through her pen such as in the poem, "Black Lives Matter: A Masterpiece." One of her books, *Poetry, Prose and Penguins,* was selected for the Humanities Texas Summer Readership Program. She has received recognition not only for her writing but also for her involvement in the community such as the 1999 President's Community Service Award and the 2003 Women of Distinction Award given by the Girl Scouts Texas Plains Council.[18] In 2013, she received the Social Justice Leadership Award from WTAMU for her commitment to social justice and change for school and community.

Stuart helped to spread information about civil rights and the movement. She chaired the Rosa Parks Freedom Tour committee for Amarillo and brought the famed civil rights activist to the campus of WTAMU in 1996.

Claudia Dianne Stuart came to the Texas Panhandle in 1967 ready to bring about change. She struggled for civil rights and broke down racial barriers. She continued to advocate to better the community. Stuart has truly lived life 'out loud.'

18. "Black History Month: Claudia Stuart," *Amarillo Globe News*, February 25, 2014.



Mathew "Bones" Hooks. Courtesy of the Amarillo Globe News.

Mathew "Bones" Hooks

Katelyn Denney*

In the early days of the American Western Frontier, cowboys and ranchers dominated the landscape and coexisted with the cattle they spent their lives herding. Many people believe the stereotype that the average cowboy is an Anglo male yet history suggests that more than half of all cowboys on the frontier were African American or Mexican.[1] "Many African Americans moved west after the Civil War ended in 1865…There they looked for jobs."[2] One of these African Americans who succeeded quite well in his pursuits and life out west was Mathew "Bones" Hooks.

Mathew Hooks was born at Orangeville, Robertson County, Texas on November 3, 1867. "Hooks grew up with the Panhandle, watching it change over a period of seventy-five years as he developed from wrangler and cook, to bronc buster and horse trainer, to hotel and railroad porter, and finally to town builder and civic leader for the black community of Amarillo."[3] His parents, Alex and Annie, were former slaves to Cullin (Carlin) Hooks[4]. It was from this man that they took their last name and bestowed it upon their children. By the time Mathew was around eight or nine years old, he embarked on his first trip away from home. Cullin Hooks sent Mathew to help a Mr. Steve Donald drive his wagon back to Denton, Colorado after he had purchased cattle in Robertson County. On this particular trip, Mathew impressed Donald and was asked to make the same trip every summer and continue helping him take the cattle back to Denton. On

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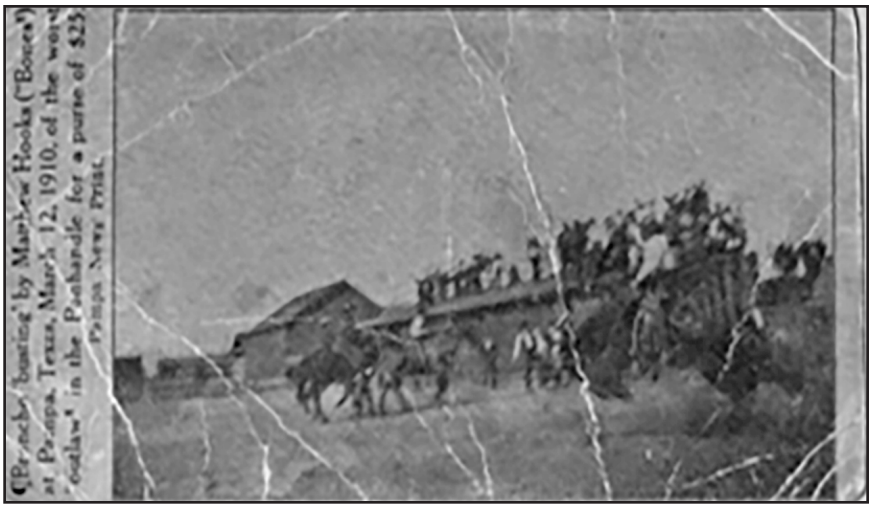
1. Brian LaFleur. "Forgotten COWBOYS." *National Geographic Explorer*, Jan. 2005, 19.
2. LaFleur. "Forgotten COWBOYS." 19.
3. Ana Carolina Castillo Crimm. "Mathew 'Bones' Hooks: A Pioneer of Honor." In *Black Cowboys in the American West: On the Range, on the Stage, beind the Badge*, edited by Bruce A. Glasrud and Michael N. Searles. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 32.
4. Bruce G. Todd. *Bones Hooks: Pioneer Negro Cowboy*. (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 2005), 22.



Broncho 'busting' by Matthew Hooks ("Bones") at Pampa, Texas, March 12, 1910, of the worst "outlaw" in the Panhandle for a purse of $25. Pampa News Print. Courtesy of Amarillo Public Library, Downtown location.

his second trip with Donald, Mathew was given a mule to ride and was old enough to be considered a hand.[5] "The demand for horses was great. Cowboys needed horses to work the cattle, and money was good in the cattle industry, which was booming during the late 1870s and early 1880s. Both cowboys and horses were needed to supply cattle to the ever-growing market – Mathew's skills were in demand. By the time he turned fourteen, he broke and trained horses as well as working as a horse wrangler."[6]

By the time he was sixteen, Hooks said he became a real cowboy and set his mule loose on the range and rode horses after he beat an Anglo cowboy in a horse race on a bet. After witnessing this surprising success, a man by the name of Norris asked Mathew to come and work for him at the JRE Ranch on the Pecos River. "I wrangled horses for this outfit for several years often spending the winter at Clarendon where I had become pretty well acquainted."[7] It was here that Mathew began to undertake the task of horse breaking for the ranch, a skill he became well known for throughout the Panhandle. "I soon got to be a pretty good rider and my job was breaking broncs."[8] Hooks struggled with wrangling at first but

5. Mathew Hooks. "Reflections of Early Day Texas." Interview by A. B. Hays. July 15, 1939, 1. Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum Research Center, Canyon, TX.

6. Crimm. *Black Cowboys*, 35.

7. Hooks. "Reflections", 2.

8. *Ibid.*

throughout this part of his interview with A. B. Hays in 1939, he describes his interest in the training process, noting that "Young horses were trained to be cow horses."[9] Eventually, Mathew Hooks became acquainted with a variety of ranchers and range owners or workers associated with well-known ranches. "I broke lots of horses for Mr. [Charles] Goodnight and the JA ranch with which he was connected."[10]

Bones worked for Charles Goodnight, who was around the age of fifty years or so, beginning in 1887. "Bones liked working for Goodnight because the man had one quality that Bones appreciated and admired. He (Goodnight) had no qualms about hiring black cowboys and treated them about the same as the others."[11] Once Bones was in the Panhandle, he began moving around the state of Texas to fit his needs at the time, taking on new jobs to see what suited him. Doing so did not come without experiencing racism, despite his good demeanor, reputation, and skill. Early on in his time in the Panhandle, Bones began working for an outfit that was, unbeknownst to him, rustling cattle. Shortly after he started working there, the camp was overtaken by vigilantes who captured them, rushed their trials, and began setting up executions. Two rustlers had been hanged and Bones was on his way to meet the same fate when his friend and Frying Pan Ranch rancher, "Skillety Bill" Johnson, convinced the vigilantes of his innocence which ultimately led to Bone's release.[12]

This was not the only incident where Hooks ran into trouble. "About 1886, while I was breaking horses for the PX outfit under Mr. Perry Autman, I decided I wanted to go back to East Texas where there were some of my folks. I had a few cows and horses, my brand was B, which I sold and landed in Bowie Co. [county] at Wamba. I opened a store there and run it about 18 months. One day I come in and found a sign on my door which read, 'We give you 36 hours to get out', signed by 'White Caps of Sand Gall Gizzard.' I give 'em 33 hours of that back."[13]

Bruce Todd notes in his biography on Hooks that when Hooks did visit his parents, prejudice was more apparent in East Texas than back West. "Klan-like groups existed all over the area. There was prejudice in the Panhandle, too, in towns like Mobeetie and Memphis. Other towns like Tascosa were just too wild for him."[14] Upon leaving Bowie County, Hooks

9. *Ibid.*

10. Hooks. "Reflections", 3.

11. Todd. *Bones Hooks*, 49.

12. Todd. *Bones Hooks*, 52-53.

13. Hooks. "Reflections", 3.

14. Todd. *Bones Hooks*, 77.

built the first African American church in West Texas at Clarendon, Texas. "I had to go to Ft. Worth to get a preacher and some church members, but we got the church."[15]

Hooks came to Clarendon in 1886. In 1933, a history class was able to interview Mathew about his life. The interview revolves somewhat more around his later life post-wrangling, though he does address some of his wrangling days. When questioned about his roles out west, he responded "I never worked as a cow hand on a ranch. I was just supposed to break horses."[16] When asked for some detail about going up cattle trails in Texas, Hooks responded "I will tell you of probably the last herd I came out with. We turned it over to Mr. [Bill] Curtis at Giles, Texas. We brought about 1700 or 1800 head of two year olds. That was in '96, if I am not mistaken. This was the last big herd to come over the trail. I came through there with several herds."[17] Hooks went on to explain to the students interviewing him that while working out on a range, it was easy to lose track of time and that all they did was work. The students questioned if he ever got Sundays off, and he simply said that there were no Sundays out on the range.[18]

After he married, Mathew and his wife, Anna, moved to the then small town of Amarillo, Texas with a mere population of 1600. "I think it was in 1900 when they put the new hotel up in Amarillo—the Elmhurst. My wife and I went from Clarendon to help care for the linens there. My home was originally there (Clarendon), and still is. I live in Amarillo, but claim Clarendon for my home."[19] Hooks and Anna experienced racism in Amarillo just as he had in Bowie County earlier on in his life, though this time around he had better luck. "The white people said that no negroes should live here. There are not even any in Canyon now. I imagine I am the only one. However, the people got used to having me around."[20]

As he grew older, Hooks wouldn't let racism stop him in achieving his goals. Todd writes, "As Bones became a man, according to age and maturity, he didn't have much trouble with prejudiced cowhands and when he did, he knew how to deal with it. He acted like a cowboy – not a black cowboy, but just a cowboy – and he took his place among them quite seriously. This is where Bones' life does not read like most of the black cowboy experiences

15. Hooks. "Reflections", 4.

16. Mathew Hooks. "Old Bones". Interview by class of History 413. April 16, 1933, 1. Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum Research Center, Canyon, TX.

17. Hooks. "Old Bones", 1.

18. Hooks. "Old Bones", 6.

19. Hooks. "Old Bones", 7.

20. Hooks. "Old Bones", 8.

that have recently been published. Neither was he at odds with the whites, except on rare occasions, and he used friendships to overcome prejudice."[21] Hooks took this same approach when fighting for his community as well. "Mathew Hooks refused to be cowed by a society grown increasingly racist in the years after the Civil War. The black communities he founded, first in Clarendon and later at North Heights in Amarillo, became havens where blacks could live in comfort and safety with their own businesses and their own homes."[22] African Americans were not allowed within the town of Clarendon. However, Hooks was able to make friends and gradually was accepted by the Anglo community in Clarendon and bought a plot of land and built his home.[23]

Mathew had a deep respect not only for pioneers, but also for women of the frontier, many of whom came to his defense over the years. One woman stopped a group of Anglo men from firing blank shots at his feet and another said that he would be able to eat at the table with everyone regardless of his race when other men present complained of having to share a table with an African American.[24] Over time, Hooks shifted from wrangling and ranching and other jobs to civic duties, including working

Old Cowboys Reunion. Panhandle of Texas. Bones Hooks is in the first row of standing men, eighth from the right. Courtesy of the Amarillo Public Library, Downtown location.

21. Todd. *Bones Hooks*, 78.
22. Crimm. *Black Cowboys*, 32.
23. Crimm. *Black Cowboys*, 39.
24. Crimm. *Black Cowboys*, 40.

as a porter for the Santa Fe Railroad[25], and helping the community at large. After retiring from the railroad in 1930, he used his railroad pension to build black communities since Anglo communities would not share their towns. He also started the Dogie Club to be a mentor for the young African American boys with no father figure, and this was a success in making these boys upstanding citizens of the community.[26]

There was another tradition Hooks is well-known for. Mathew started sending white flowers to those whom he felt displayed great honor and courage and held the pioneer spirit within them, a tradition he started after his friend Tommy Clayton died from being crushed by his own horse in an accident.[27] After a long battle with illness, Mathew Hooks passed away on February 2, 1951. His friend, John Trolinger, an old Anglo pioneer, left a white flower on Hooks' grave to commemorate their friendship and leave "a symbol of friendship between the races."[28]

In the grand scheme of things, the story of Mathew Hooks would be considered more of a success story in terms of settling the West. That being said, Hooks, like many others, still had to navigate racial issues, even if they were not as prevalent in the ranching and cattle herding industries out West as they were back East. Kenneth W. Porter writes on the intricacies of the lives of African American cowboys that reveals the racial breakdown

Bones Hooks at the Oldtimers Reunion. Left to right: Tom Jones, Mathew Hooks (behind), Rich Crump, Gene Ellison, Holy Plemons. Courtesy of the Amarillo Public Library, Downtown location.

25. Crimm, *Black Cowboys*, 50.
26. Crimm. *Black Cowboys*, 52.
27. Crimm. *Black Cowboys*, 47.
28. Crimm. *Black Cowboys*, 54.

of ranching outfits and covers the daily lives of these men who were merely trying to survive out West. "The racial breakdown of individual outfits, of course, varied widely. Some were nearly all of one race, such as the 1874 outfit which was all-Negro, except for a white boss, or the 1872 outfit which consisted of a white trail-boss, eight Mexicans, and a Negro; but more typical were the two 1877 outfits composed, respectively, of seven whites and two Negro cowboys, and a Negro cook; and seven white, two Negroes, and a Mexican hostler."[29] While African American cowboys were not in the majority of people that settled in the West, they were not a rare sight.

The makeup of a ranching outfit as mentioned above appears to have been fairly standard. As a result, African American cowboys had a range of available positions within their outfits, from wrangler to top hand or cook. Wranglers were regarded as the lowest job within the cattle industry, except for a young boy who may have been serving as a wrangler's assistant.[30] There were exceptions, however, which included the rare African American wrangler who would rise to second in command to the foreman. Porter writes, "Such wranglers were 'horse men' in the highest sense: capable of detecting and treating illness and injury, selecting the proper horse for each job, and taking the ginger out of unruly animals."[31] Much like back East, where an African American was seen as a disposable object rather than a human being, a similar sentiment was echoed out West. African American Cowboys were still utilized first when testing dangerous areas on the frontier. "According to a white ex-cowboy, 'it was the Negro hand who usually tried out the swimming water when a trailing herd came to a swollen stream' – either because of his superior ability or because he was regarded as expendable."[32]

Discrimination in terms of wages in regard to African American cowboys was not necessarily a widespread issue, though that does not go to say that it didn't happen. According to Porter, "wages were so much under the control of the individual employer that no doubt Negroes were sometimes discriminated against; but such discrimination seems not to have been characteristic…"[33] Sources of entertainment and sleeping arrangements were also a desegregated matter only when men were around. If an Anglo

29. Kenneth W. Porter. "The Labor of Negro Cowboys." In *Major Problems in the History of the American West: Documents and Essays*, by Clyde A. Milner II. (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1989), 344.

30. Porter. *Major Problems*, 345.

31. Porter. *Major Problems*, 345.

32. Porter. *Major Problems*, 346.

33. Porter. *Major Problems*, 354.

woman were to socially intermingle with cowboys, African Americans left the venue. The level of segregation between the races also hinged upon how well the men in the area knew one another.[34] Segregation in saloons was more informal, with each race being served at opposing ends of the bar. A man from each race could meet in the middle and interact with one another without so much as an eyebrow being raised. Yet, where restaurants were concerned, segregation was enforced more strictly, as the chance of a woman being in the room was greater. If there was not a separate establishment for African Americans, they would receive their food through a back door.[35]

After the end of the Civil War and Westward Expansion began, toppling the racial hierarchy in a place where there were no laws to begin with seemed an imposing task. And yet, it was managed. It was not without struggle, danger, or fear, but it was also not without its successes. In a lawless land, the African American community was able to make its mark on American society by conquering the west.

34. Porter. *Major Problems*, 355.

35. Porter. *Major Problems*, 356.

"Pistol Pete" Pedro, first African American running back for West Texas State University, 1962 Le Mirage. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

Desegregation of Colleges in Texas: West Texas State College as a Case Study

Marty Kuhlman*

Athletics has always been an important part of collegiate life. Sports, in this case football, became embroiled in social change. Football often came up against the 'color line.' In the first half of the twentieth century college football teams in Texas had the reputation of refusing to play teams with black players. The University of Texas system had an official policy excluding black players on the campuses of the system and racial restrictions were written into the contracts with visiting teams. West Texas State College (WTSC) in Canyon did not have the written restriction but still dealt with the issue of segregation as far as sports was concerned. Would they play teams with black players? WTSC could join a more 'liberal' spirit towards African Americans on the football field. Although the school did talk of a willingness to play against black athletes of other teams as early as 1951, the 'liberal' spirit did not carry over to welcoming black students to join the West Texas State student body. Football did, however, push WTSC towards a more liberal spirit and then eased the transition of integration after court ordered desegregation.

WTSC was a member of the Border Conference from 1941-1961. Other teams in the conference included the University of Arizona, Arizona State Teachers' College at Flagstaff, Arizona State Teachers College at Tempe, the University of New Mexico, and New Mexico A&M University. Three other Texas teams had also joined the conference including Texas Technological University at Lubbock, Texas Western College (TWC) at El Paso, and Hardin-Simmons University at Abilene. Since none of the teams in the conference had black players the issue of playing integrated teams did not come up. But when World War II veteran Fred Batiste became the first African American football player on the University of Arizona Wildcats in 1949, the issue did arise. The Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics of the University of Arizona contacted the Texas state schools in the Border Conference and had been told of the UT system rule that "a Negro athlete is not permitted to play on a Texas state school campus." All

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schools that were part of the UT system, such as TWC, were expected to follow the rule of not playing teams with black players. WTSC, Hardin-Simmons University, and Texas Technological College, however, were not members of the system and did not have to follow the rule. Batiste had played in a game for the Wildcats when they visited Hardin-Simmons in 1949, but Batiste was not allowed to play in the game at Lubbock with Texas Technological College.[1]

On November 9, 1950, Floyd E. Thomas, the chairman of the Committee on Intercollegiate Athletics for the University of Arizona, wrote WTSC President James Cornette to discuss the situation. Thomas hinted that because of pressure from students and other groups in Arizona there might be cancellation of games if African American players were not permitted.[2] For example, the University of Arizona received pressure "locally" after the announcement that Batiste could not play in the game in El Paso with TWC. A sentence in the contract between the teams which set up the game had been signed before Batiste started playing for the Wildcats restricted Batiste from playing. Arizona played the game without Batiste in 1950. An example of local pressure appeared when a Tucson paper urged the Wildcats to forfeit the game rather than exclude Batiste.[3]

TWC officials feared that refusing to play integrated teams would damage their relationship with Arizona and other teams and asked the UT Board of Regents to drop the exclusionary rule. The board of regents initially refused and even turned down a personal request from TWC's president, W. H. Elkins. Pressure from El Paso's community organizations, however, caused the board to allow integrated football at TWC. The board stressed that the change in rules only applied to TWC and no other campuses in the system. The first black players involved in a game with TWC at El Paso were Jim Bolton and Cleveland Olden of Arizona State in 1951.[4]

But would integrated football come to Canyon? W. Mitchell Jones, chairman of athletics at WTSC, took over the correspondence with the University of Arizona and expressed a 'liberal' position. Jones admitted that it would have been "unwise to have attempted Negro participation"

1. Floyd E. Thomas to Board of Regents, University of Texas, October 11, 1950, W. Mitchell Jones Collection, Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, Texas.
2. Floyd E. Thomas to James P. Cornette, November 9, 1950, W. Mitchell Jones Collection.
3. Charles H. Marti, *Benching of Jim Crow: The Rise and Fall of the Color Line in Southern College Sports, 1890-1960* (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 101.
4. Ibid., 101-102.

in a game a few years earlier. But he believed the climate had changed enough by 1950 to allow a black player on the field and added that WTSC did not need the approval of UT. He did regret, however, that special arrangements would have to be made with hotels in order to find the player a place to sleep in Canyon.[5] Exclusion of African Americans in Canyon represented an obstacle that kept black players from appearing in games at Buffalo Stadium. (According to *The Negro Motorist Green Book* of 1951 the closest lodgings for African Americans were two hotels in Amarillo, the Watley and the Tennessee, both on Van Buren Street) The Buffaloes always played games with Arizona and Arizona State, the two teams in the Border Conference with black players, in Arizona, and thus did not play an integrated team in Canyon. Of course, the small size of Buffalo Stadium may have also kept the Arizona teams from visiting Canyon.

Canyon was known as a 'sun down town.' When an all-black unit of the Civilian Conservation Corps was stationed in nearby Palo Duro Canyon, a sign went up at the edge of Canyon with the warning that blacks should not "let the sun set on your head" and still be in town.[6] Other Panhandle towns including Canadian and Perryton were known 'sundown towns,' and Big Springs, Dalhart, Dumas, Hereford, Shamrock, Spearman, Stinett, and White Deer probably were, although there is not as much evidence.[7] Nell Green Findley, a student during the early 1940s, remembered attending jazz concerts at West Texas State. Since some of the musicians were African American they had to go to Amarillo after the concert in order to find a bed.[8] The attitude, if not the sign, lasted well into the late fifties and became an obstacle the college had to overcome before integrating. WTSC had accepted at least theoretical integration on the football field. Integration in the classroom, however, would prove to be more difficult.

Limited movement in the desegregation of higher education in Texas appeared against fierce opposition from segregationists. When Heman Sweatt, an African American from Houston, attempted to enter the UT Law School, Attorney General Price Daniel declared "that separate schools are constitutionally within the police power of the State as long as they

5. W. Mitchell Jones to Floyd E. Thomas, November 13, 1950, W. Mitchell Jones Collection.

6. Jeff Roche, "Cowboy Conservatism: High Plains Politics, 1933-1972" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2001), 69-70.

7. http://sundown.tougaloo.edu/sundowntownsshow.php?state=TX.

Many other Panhandle towns such as Big Springs, Dalhart, Dumas, Hereford, Shamrock, Spearman, Stinett, and White Deer are listed as possible sundown towns.

8. Nell Green Findley, interview by Marty Kuhlman, January 30, 2009, Marty Kuhlman Collection, Cornette Library, Canyon, Texas.

are substantially equal."[9] To some extent the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with Daniels, but since there was not an equal law school in the state for African Americans, the court ordered that Sweatt be allowed into the UT Law School in 1950. The decision did not mandate total integration in the university.[10] Universities could remain segregated if Prairie View A&M or Texas State University for Negroes in Houston (which became Texas Southern University), the two state supported universities for blacks, offered the same classes. Thus, state universities remained segregated. Yet a slow progress towards desegregation did begin.

In 1951, a few junior colleges became the first in the state to admit black students into undergraduate programs. The move to integrate Texas Panhandle colleges began in 1948 when Reverend R. H. Hine, president of the Amarillo chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), petitioned Amarillo College to open its doors to black students. The NAACP cited the fact that African American residents paid taxes which supported Amarillo College and therefore had a right to attend. [11] W. G. Crawford, president of the Council of Community Organizations (CCO), also petitioned the college in 1951 asking that black students be allowed to attend. [12] The Amarillo School Board would make the decision on integration of Amarillo College. The school board authorized setting up a branch at George Washington Carver High School, the all-black high school in Amarillo. At a meeting of the school board on October 1 of 1951, CCO members Hine, Rev. F. N. Marabburn, David Hughes, and Clarice Austin spoke to the Amarillo School Board and denounced the plan as an example of separate but unequal. After a long debate, the school board allowed for desegregation.[13]

Amarillo College did accept four black students, Freddie Imogene Jackson, Celia Ann Bennett, Dorothy Reuse, and Willetta Jackson, in the fall of 1951.[14] Integration, however, was restricted to African Americans from Amarillo, thus ensuring that black students from elsewhere in the state could not attend the junior college.[15] *The Canyon News* reported that

9. Amilcar Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy: African Americans and the Struggle for Access and Equity in Higher Education in Texas*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 98.

10. Ibid., 102.

11. Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy*, 125.

12. "4 Negroes to Enter College Here Today," *Amarillo Daily News*, October 3, 1951.

13. "College Doors Opened to Negroes," *Amarillo Daily News*, October 2, 1951.

14. "4 Negroes to Enter College Here Today," *Amarillo Daily News*, October 3, 1951.

15. Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy*, 125.

there had been "considerable uproar" when Amarillo College integrated, but the uproar had subsided by 1954.[16] Wayland Baptist College in Plainview, a private school and not subject to the state's segregation rules, voted to integrate in the summer of 1951.[17]

The U.S. Supreme Court made a grand statement on segregation in May of 1954. "We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." These words, written by Chief Justice Earl Warren in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* case, ended the theory of segregated schools. Reality, however, lagged far behind theory. Southern states, including Texas, dragged their feet on implementing the decision. But Federal judges in the state, often influenced by civil rights activists such as members of the NAACP, upheld *Brown* and ordered desegregation.

A Texas college became the first publicly supported senior college of the former Confederate states to desegregate. Willie Faye Battle had graduated from Booker T. Washington High School in Wichita Falls as valedictorian in 1950 and applied to and was accepted to Midwestern University in the same city. She was, however, turned down when she arrived at the campus and her race became apparent.[18] The Wichita Falls chapter of the NAACP helped her and other African Americans bring a lawsuit against the university in 1951. Even though Judge William Atwell of the US District Court ordered Midwestern to drop racial bars, university officials appealed the decision. But a few days before the *Brown* decision went public the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal. Five black students entered Midwestern University in June of 1954.[19] Another state supported four year college desegregated in 1954 due to the diligence of the El Paso NAACP.

In early 1954, the El Paso chapter of the NAACP searched for a student to break the race barrier at TWC. They found a worthy candidate in Thelma White who had graduated valedictorian from Douglass School in 1954. When she was denied entrance to TWC, the NAACP filed a lawsuit against the UT system calling for the right to attend the college.[20] The UT Board of Regents controlled the segregation policies of schools in the system, including TWC. The board feared that a lawsuit could result

16. "Segregation Knocked in Head by Court," *The Canyon News*, May 26, 1954.

17. Ibid., 133.

18. Bridget Knight, "Historical Marker to recognize MSU's desegregation," *Times Record News*, February 20, 2017, https://www.timesrecordnews.com/story/news/local/2017/02/20/historical-marker-recognize-msus-desegregation

19. Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy*, 148-149.

20. Ibid., 159-161.

in a court order to desegregate the whole system, thus the UT Board of Regents dropped the racial barriers at TWC hoping that would stop the court case and any further desegregation. But Judge R. E. Thomason of the Western District Court of Texas understood that changes could not appear one college at a time. A few weeks later Judge Thomason ruled that state laws requiring segregation were invalid and all of the UT System must admit African Americans to their undergraduate programs.[21]

Canyon reacted to the desegregation by UT. An editorial in *The Canyon News* made clear the city's stance on desegregation. The editorial stated, "We are happy, indeed, that Canyon does not have a Negro population." According to the editorial a few African Americans had asked about enrolling at West Texas State, but they had been referred to the law creating the college which made the fact clear, 'For Whites Only.' The editorial lamented the fact that UT had "broken over" and "that [soon] the bars will be down in all colleges of Texas and Negroes will be admitted." The blame went to the state for not building up black colleges. If more had been done to strengthen black colleges, the editorial argued, there might not be a call for integration.[22]

A few other state-supported four year colleges desegregated before 1957 including North Texas State College in Denton when Irma Sephas entered in 1955.[23] Yet opposition from segregationists grew culminating in Texas temporarily outlawing the NAACP in 1956.[24] A number of state supported universities including Texas A&M University at College Station, Texas Tech College, and West Texas State College remained segregated. Even after some state supported institutions of higher education had integrated, Texas tried to utilize the Constitution, the *Brown* decision, and states' rights to keep as many segregated state supported colleges as possible.

Canyon and West Texas State had a long history of trying to keep out African Americans. When Canyon bid for the right to be the location of West Texas State Normal College in 1910, city delegates reported that

21. Maria Esquinca, "Fight for Equality Opens Door for African-American," *The Prospector,* September 9, 2014, (https://www.theprospectordaily.com/staff/?writer=Maria%20Esquinca)

22. "Editorial," *The Canyon News*, July 20, 1955.

23. "The 1957 North Texas/Texas Western Game and the Integration of Texas College Football." https://www.swcroundup.com/news/2018/10-03/the-1957-north-texastexas-western-game-and-the-integration-of-texas-football.

24. Michael Lowery Gillette, "The NAACP in Texas," (The University of Texas at Austin, 1984), 288-332.

the town having 'no negroes" as a reason their town should be selected.[25] The college opened its doors in 1910 and offered an education to "any white person of good moral standing." Of course, the vast majority of state supported colleges were labeled 'for whites only.'[26] Segregation was never questioned for years. Although the junior college in Amarillo had desegregated, the four-year college twenty miles to the south refused to budge.

Canyon did have a lot of opposition to any kind of desegregation. As mentioned earlier, Canyon had a long history of being a "sun-down town." Canyon resident J. Evetts Haley, Jr. also represented strong white supremacist feelings such as following 'massive resistance' to oppose the *Brown* decision.[27] He led a small group of Canyon residents who protested desegregation and many people believe he influenced college president James Cornette to drag his feet on integration. Haley predicted bad times for the school if it integrated.[28] *The Canyon News*, owned by Clyde Warwick, had made its pro-segregation opinion evident. Of course, Cornette's Mississippi background, growing up where segregation was a way of life, may have also influenced the speed of desegregation.

A black student did not officially attempt to enter WTSC until Guy Raleigh Tomlin. Tomlin, a fifty-seven year old instructor at the Amarillo Air Force Base, applied in 1956. He had a strong academic background as he had graduated from Wiley College with a Bachelor of Arts degree and later earned a Master of Arts from the University of Southern California. He taught school in Montgomery County, Texas before moving to Amarillo in the late 1920s. He served as principal of the cities all-black schools, Frederick Douglass Elementary for five years and Patten High School for fourteen years. After serving as principal in Paducah for five years, he became an instructor at the Amarillo Air Force Base in 1951. He also organized the first African American Boy Scout troop in Amarillo.[29]

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25. Report of the locating committee to Governor T. M. Campbell, Comptroller J.W. Stephens, Secretary of State J.W. Townsend, and the State Board of Education, September 4, 1909, Joseph A. Hill Collection, Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, Texas.
26. Marty Kuhlman, *Always WT: West Texas A&M University's Centennial History*, (Stillwater: New Forums,2010), 4.
27. John S. Huntington, "'The Voice of Many Hatreds': J. Evetts Haley and Texas Ultraconservatism," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 49 (Spring 2018): 65-89.
28. Jeff Roche, *Cowboy Conservatism: High Plains Politics, 1933-1972* (unpublished dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2001), 191.
29. "G.R. Tomlin Rites Pend," *Amarillo Globe-Times*, April 10, 1963.

Tomlin hoped to pursue the additional education necessary for obtaining a higher teaching position at the base. He made the application to West Texas State in September of 1956, over a week before the semester was to begin. President Cornette said the situation had been put under "study" since Tomlin was the first African American to apply.[30] Tomlin did not enter and the board of regents maintained segregation. Tomlin's attempt was undoubtedly hampered by the court case of *State of Texas v NAACP* taking place at that time. The case made the NAACP illegal for nine months from late 1956 into 1957. Thus, Tomlin would not have been able to use the association for representation in a court case fighting segregation.

WTSC students did become concerned about the issue of integration. In 1958, reporters from *The Prairie*, the student newspaper of WTSC, asked students their opinion of integration at their college with the question "Would you object to Negroes enrolling at West Texas State?" Most opinions reflected those of the region. Dale Small believed integration to be all right if "they stayed in their place." Laurie Smith and Gordell Brown agreed that mixed classes might be all right but wanted separate dormitories and a cafeteria. Linda Barbee claimed separate but truly equal facilities would be better for all concerned, but integration should take place if facilities were not equal. Wayne Zello defined integration as a states' rights issue and the state alone should decide on integration- a common segregationists' argument. One respondent viewed integration as the right thing to do. Marilyn Carruth stated, "No race should be discriminated [against] because of color; they should have the same privileges."[31]

Another African American attempted to enroll when 21-year old John Matthew Shipp, Jr., a 1957 graduate of George Washington Carver High School in Amarillo applied to WTSC in June of 1959. After high school, he had attended Amarillo College for two years and became an employee of the Amarillo Air Force Base. Shipp hoped to attend WTSC in order to continue his studies in medical technology. But Shipp was turned down solely because of his race. He applied again in the fall and was again rejected. The ruling outlawing the NAACP in the state of Texas had been overturned in 1957, and the association could come to the aid of Shipp. Thus, W. J. Durham, the lawyer for the Texas chapter of the NAACP, filed the petition for enrollment at WTSC on the behalf of Shipp. Thurgood Marshall, general counsel of the national NAACP, also signed the petition. (Interestingly, the article in *The Amarillo Daily News* listed

30. "West Texas State College Blocks Negro," *The Dallas Express*, September 8, 1956.

31. "Round Campus," *The Prairie,* October 24, 1958.

Shipp's Amarillo address. Although the newspaper often gave addresses for white individuals as well, addresses of civil rights activists left them open to intimidation)[32]

The petition filed in the district court stated that WTSC only allowed Caucasian students to enroll while utilizing public funds and had denied Shipp the right to "attend the college of his choice in violation of rights secured to him under the 14th Amendment." The association filed the lawsuit *John Matthew Shipp, Jr. v. Frank White, et al* with the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas on September 14, 1959 to be heard by Federal Judge Joe B. Dooley. The *et al* included the college's president, James Cornette and the ten members of the teachers colleges' board of regents. Durham acted as lead council for the plaintiff and argued that since the *Brown* decision a public institution of higher learning could not be operated for the exclusive benefit of one race. Thurgood Marshall worked on the case as well, though he did not appear in court.[33]

The state of Texas came to the aid of WTSC in its attempt to maintain segregation. The lawyers of record for WTSC included Attorney General of Texas Will Wilson and Assistant Attorney Generals Leonard Passmore and Henry G. Braswell, with only Braswell being present in the court. The defense team did not deny that the college had been operated "for the exclusive attendance of white students" and admitted that Shipp had been rejected solely because of his race. The legal team maintained that a three dimensional system existed for state-supported colleges and universities in Texas. The first level consisted of institutions that had been integrated, while schools in the other two levels could remain open only to "qualified members of one race." The defendants argued that this system did not violate the Constitution or the *Brown* decision since integrated opportunities did exist. This plan was even more "consistent" with the Constitution since the system gave every individual freedom of choice. The state argued that the truest reading of the Constitution would allow some segregation as long as there were options for integration.[34]

The three dimensional plan became known as the "salt-and-pepper plan" and had been introduced into the state three years before the court case. In 1956, Texas Attorney General John Ben Sheppard had explained that some people did not mind seasoning their food by mixing salt and pepper

32. ""Negro Seeks Court Order to Enter WT," *The Amarillo Daily News*, September 17, 1959.

33. *John Matthew Shipp, Jr., v Frank White, et. al.*, October 29, 1959, Marty Kuhlman Collection, Cornette Library, West Texas A&M University, Canyon, Texas.

34. Ibid.

– code for integration. Others wanted only salt –whites only- while still others wanted only pepper –blacks only. Segregationist hoped this recipe would allow them to hang onto at least some all-white institutions.[35] The WTSC case was the first time that argument had been used in court.[36]

The state had attempted to use the Constitution to maintain at least some segregation, and it also utilized the *Brown* decision. The defense argued that the ruling had outlawed only totally segregated educational systems. If desegregated colleges existed in a state, as was true of Texas, then the Court's decision had been obeyed, and an individual could not be stopped from choosing a segregated school. The state even argued that a system which allowed the choice of a segregated or desegregated school was being "responsive to the diverse needs of all its citizens regardless of race or color." The defense asserted, "The admission of the plaintiff and other qualified members of his race to West Texas State College by judicial decree will impair the constitutional power of the State to provide for the education of its citizens in the fair and equitable system." In order to maintain some segregation Texas admitted that integration was necessary but only in a few cases. Segregationists interpreted the *Brown* decision narrowly and argued that only some segregation in public education had been outlawed, although the decision plainly stated that 'separate but equal' had no place in education.

A judicial order to take away all segregated schools would limit an individual's rights. The Texas Attorney General argued that the Federal government took away freedoms by ordering full desegregation. A potential student should not be forced into an integrated university but should have the right to choose a segregated one. Texas argued that having some integrated institutions of higher education should allow others to remain segregated.[37] Texas attempted to use the Constitution, the *Brown* decision, and freedom of choice to defend segregation.

On February 11, 1960, Judge Dooley ruled that John Matthew Shipp should be allowed to attend West Texas State on a "racially non-discriminatory basis." He defended his judgment by proclaiming, "The three-dimensional system I do not think will pass muster under our present understanding of the law." The nearest integrated four year college was at Midwestern University in Wichita Falls. Dooley cited economics and convenience for allowing Shipp to go to school at WTSC. Texas had

35. Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy*, 196, 198.

36. "Judge Rules School Can't Bar Negroes," *Monroe News Star* (https:newspaperarchives.com/monroe-news-star-feb-12-1960-p.28/)

37. *John Matthew Shipp, Jr., v Frank White, et. al.*

tried to give the *Brown* decision a new interpretation but had been shot down. Dooley stated, "The volume of litigation which has come along in the train of that decision has settled for me the matter of barring admissions of students solely on grounds of color." The next question addressed was when Shipp would attend. The college argued that the last date for registration had been February 9, two days before the judgment, so Shipp should not be allowed in until the next semester. W. J. Durham, however, stated that since Shipp had been denied attendance in the previous summer and fall terms, he should be enrolled.[38]

Although Dooley specified that the ruling only applied to WTSC, *The Amarillo Daily News* realized that the decision "rattled the doors of all other Texas state supported schools."[39] In the wake of the decision, Texas Tech University integrated in the summer of 1961 (the removal of J. Evetts Haley from the Texas Tech board of regents greatly aided desegregation of the university), followed by Arlington State College, a branch of the Texas A&M system, and the University of Houston in 1962, and Texas A&M University in 1963.[40]

WTSC delayed long enough to keep Shipp out of the semester and, because of the delay, Shipp pursued his education in Dallas. He eventually received a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Houston at Clear Lake. Shipp also received a certificate in Medical Technology from the University of Texas Medical Branch in Galveston.[41] But other African-Americans would quickly integrate the school. The theory of segregation at the college had been broken but the reality of integration had yet to be seen.

Reporters for *The Prairie* interviewed students about the desegregation decision a few days after the ruling. Perhaps influenced by the finality of the decision, most of the respondents accepted desegregation. Jeanie Downs commented, "If they are going to be admitted, we might as well accept it." Others seemed more welcoming. Barbara Knox told the reporter, "I don't see why there should be any difference just because of color. If they want to learn, I sure don't mind going to school with them." Some students credited other experiences with integration for opening their minds. Don Sheffy answered that he had "slept by them in the Army and none of it rubbed off." Judy Haley found an acceptance because she had previously attended the integrated North Texas State College. A

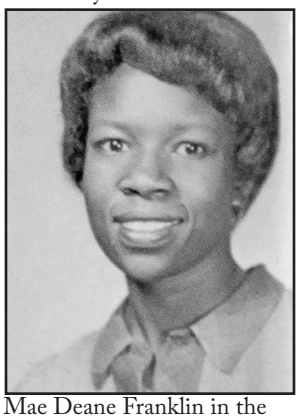
38. "Enrollment Next Summer," *The Amarillo Daily News,* February 12, 1960.

39. Ibid.

40. Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy,* 205-208.

41. John Mattheew Shipp, Jr. "Find A Grave."

Betty Jo Thomas from the 1961 Le Mirage. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.



Mae Deane Franklin in the 1962 Le Mirage. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

few students saw problems with the decision. Laurie Smith stated, "Personally I am against it," and Wayne Smith told the reporter, "I don't mind going to school with them, but I think it will prove a problem when it comes to social affairs and dances."[42]

But could a lawsuit make integration happen? Since Shipp chose to attend another college, Betty Jo Thomas, Mae Deane Franklin, and Roy Watson became the first African Americans to attend WTSC in the fall of 1960.

Thomas was born in Wichita Falls in 1931. After graduation from Booker T. Washington High School in 1949, she attended the all-black Texas College in Tyler in 1950 and 1951. Thomas attended Amarillo College for one semester before applying to WTSC in September of 1960. The only issue that appeared in her application harkened back to the Red Scare as the administration reminded her she had not signed a "loyalty oath." She attended WT off and on through 1964, although she did not graduate from West Texas State.[43]

Mae Deane Franklin was born in Amarillo in 1939 and graduated from George Washington Carver High School in 1958 where she earned valedictorian.[44] She attended Amarillo College from 1958 through 1959. She enrolled at WTSC in September of 1960 transferring 33 hours. She graduated with a degree in elementary education in May of 1963[45].

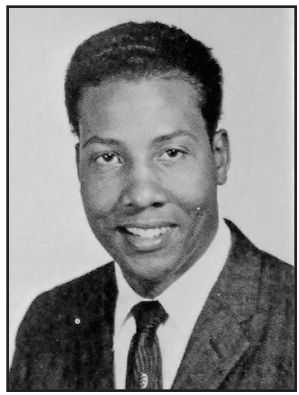
42. "West Texas Students Speak on Integration," *The Prairie* February 19, 1960.

43. Registration Files of Betty Jo Thomas. Registrar's Office. West Texas A&M University, Canyon, Texas.

44. "33 Members of AHS Graduating Class Chosen for Scholarships," *Amarillo Globe-Times*, May 29, 1958

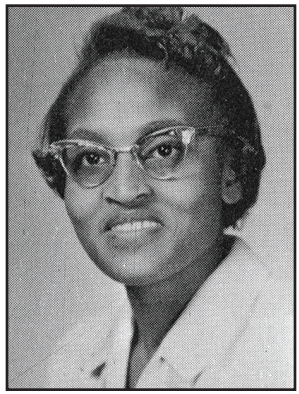
45. Registration Files of Mae Deane Franklin. Registrar's Office. West Texas A&M University.

Roy Watson was born in Lamar County in 1935 and went to George Washing Carver High School after moving to Amarillo. Watson left high school before graduating and joined the U.S. Air Force in 1953. But he earned his General Educational Development diploma in 1955 and returned to attend Amarillo College from 1957 through the spring of 1960. He came to WTSC in September of 1960 to pursue a degree in business but did not graduate.[46]



Roy Watson in the 1963 Le Mirage. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

Helen Neal enrolled in the spring of 1961 and became the first African American to graduate from West Texas State. She received her undergraduate diploma in secondary education in August of 1962. Neal had been involved in working on a degree in higher education before coming to Amarillo. She had attended Langston College, an all-black college in Oklahoma, for three years before leaving to raise her family. She was one year short of graduation. Her family moved to Missouri and then back to Oklahoma, but Neal could not finish her education since these states had a segregated educational system, and there were no all-black colleges near her. She moved to Amarillo with her husband, a public school teacher, in 1955. When she learned about the desegregation of WTSC in 1961, Neal was excited about the opportunity to finish her education. The NAACP approached her to test integration. Neal was not a stranger to integration as she had been involved in integrating a high school in Wichita, Kansas in 1943.[47] When attending WTSC, Neal remembered students accepted her but added that she had to "prove yourself." She did remember a less than friendly attitude from the residents of Canyon.[48] After graduation, Neal went on to a 20 year career



Helen Neal from the 1961 Le Mirage. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

46. Registration Files of Roy Watson. Registrar's Office, West Texas A&M University.

47. "Before there was diversity," *Amarillo Globe-News*, February 19, 2019.

48. Helen Neal, interview by Marty Kuhlman and Becky Livingston, July 25, 2007,

teaching public school at North Heights and then Highland elementary schools.[49] Since Neal was not on campus other than for classes, integration was not tested. Integration was tested, however, through the area of sports.

The WTSC football team had suffered through miserable seasons in 1958 and 1959 with the Buffaloes only winning two of 20 games. The success of a college's football team was and is often how a college is measured. In *The Prairie* poll that had asked if students would accept integration, Sandra Edmonds had answered, "If we get some Negroes on the team, we may win a few football games."[50] Black players helping to win football games would ease the transition of integration. The administration wanted to avoid a feared backlash by local citizens over integration and understood that change might be more acceptable if it helped bring victories on the gridiron.

In the fall of 1960, a new head coach appeared at WTSC to help bring these victories, Joe Kerbel. Kerbel made it clear that although many colleges and universities in the Southwest had refused to recruit black players such as Texas Tech, where Kerbel had been an offensive coordinator, the Buffaloes would recruit black players.[51] Some Texas colleges had already started black players. Ben Kelly played running back for the San Angelo College Rams in 1953.[52] The North Texas State Eagles had put two black players, Abner Haynes and Leon King, on the team in 1957, but most schools in Texas did not recruit black players: the Southwest Conference did not field a black scholarship player until 1966. This gave WTSC somewhat of an advantage. T. Paige Carruth, dean of student life, recalled that the university's football team had the pick of some good black players.[53]

The much larger new Buffalo Stadium built in 1959 made playing integrated teams more convenient as larger out-of-state teams with black players would make the trip to Canyon. The Arizona State Sun Devils came to Canyon in September of 1960. Nolan Jones and Jesse Bradford represent two of the earliest black players to play in a Buffalo home game.[54] Pervin

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Cornette Library, Canyon, Texas.

49. Claudia Stuart and Jean Stuntz, *African Americans in Amarillo* (Charleston, S. C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 21.

50. "West Texas Students Speak on Integration," *The Prairie*, February 19, 1960.

51. Jack Harris, *A Passion for Victory: The Coaching Life of Texas Legend Joe Kerbel,* (Dallas Taylor Publishing Company, 1990), 76.

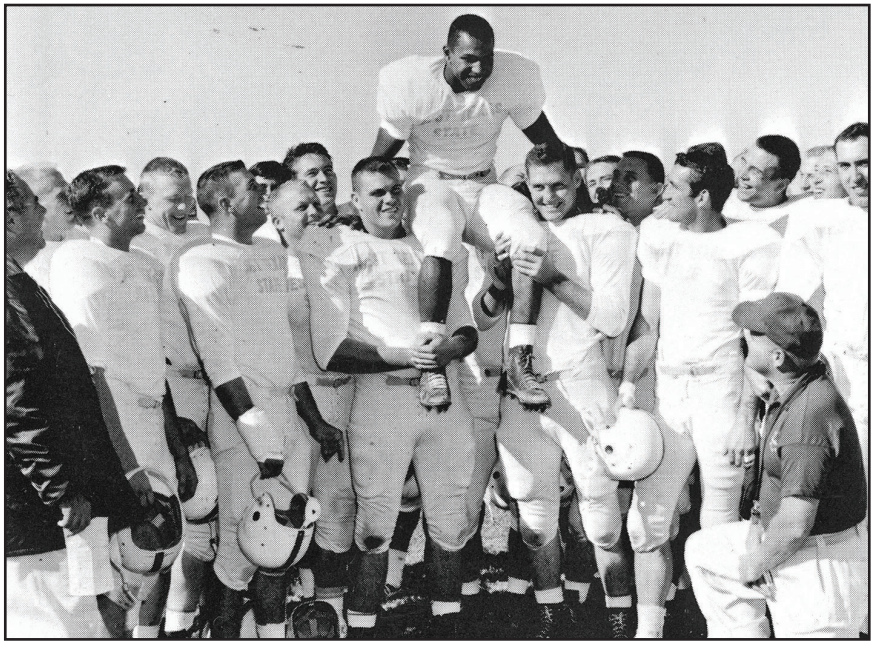
52. Robert D. Jacobs, *Black Man in the Huddle: Stories from the Integration of Texas Football,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2019), 4.

53. Roche, *Cowboy Conservatism*, 192.

54. "WT Here Saturday," *The Canyon News,* September 22, 1960.

Atkins, an All-American halfback for the New Mexico State Aggies, along with Bob Gaiters, also broke the color line in Buffalo Stadium during that year.[55]

Under the guidance of Kerbel, who did not want to keep losing to teams like the University of Arizona and New Mexico State that fielded black players, the Buffaloes started to recruit black players. Recruiters discovered Pete Pedro, a talented running back at Trinidad Junior College in Colorado. When told Pedro was black, head coach Kerbel replied that he did not care if Pedro was "from Mars if the kid can play football." Pedro was half black as his father had been African American and his mother Puerto Rican. But he was still subject to segregation. When Pedro's mother met the head coach and the recruiters, she expressed fear that her son would be forced to ride in the back of the bus if he went to Texas. Kerbel answered, "If your boy is as fast as they say he is, he can sit in my lap in the front of the bus."[56]



Pete Pedro hoisted on the shoulders of the Buffalo team after being named AP back of the week after scoring six touchdowns and rushing for 235 yards in a game with Texas Western College. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

55. "Buffs Fall to Mighty Aggies, 35-15," *The Prairie*, November 16, 1960.
56. Harris, *A Passion for Victory*, 78-79.

Pedro became one of the first black players for the Buffaloes in 1961. Since Pedro was staying in the dormitory and the town of Canyon held to the custom that all African Americans should be out of town by sundown, college officials referred to Pedro as a Puerto Rican.[57] Pedro broke the color barrier not only on the Buffalo football team but elsewhere as well. His biggest game was against Texas Tech College in 1962. At least through the fifties Texas Tech refused to play teams with an African American player. Pedro ran for two touchdowns and passed for another as the small WTSC defeated the larger team, 30 to 27. Pedro helped the Buffaloes win the Sun Bowl over Ohio University, 15 to 14.[58] In 1961 the Buffaloes also fielded black players Dan Anderson at halfback and Ollie Ross at wide receiver. Bobby Drake was the other black player to make the team that year, but he was unfortunately killed in an automobile accident the spring before the season starte.[59]

Pedro had gone through Canyon when he was at Trinidad Junior College. He remembered being forced to eat at the back of a restaurant. After being segregated, he told himself, "I can't wait to get the heck out of here."[60] When he returned to play for the Buffs, he recalled that there were some "cowboys" in Canyon that yelled racial epithets at him.[61]

Coach Kerbel won with black players and by 1965 had ten black players on the team. Years before most integrated schools or even the National Football League, he started an African American, Spencer "Hank" Washington, at quarterback in 1965. While the coach had no problem with African American players, Jim Crow still ruled the South. After a home game in 1961, the Buffaloes went to a restaurant in Canyon for chicken fried steaks. The manager of the restaurant told the black players, Pedro and Ross, that they had to eat in the kitchen. Kerbel told the manager what he could do with the chicken fried steaks, and the whole team left to buy hamburgers and ate them in the dorm.[62] When the Buffaloes went to El Paso for a game against the Miners of TWC, Kerbel wanted to take the team to an inspirational movie. Told that blacks had to sit in the balcony,

57. Warren Hasse, interview by Marty Kuhlman, July 18, 2006, Cornette Library, Canyon, Texas.

58. Harris, *A Passion for Victory*, 87-88.

59. Jacobs, *Black Man in the Huddle,* 145.

60. Ibid., 143.

61. Ibid., 144.

62. Jon Mark Bellue, "'Pistol Pete': His Legacy Was Who He Was," April 24, 2018, (https:Amarillo.com/news/20180424/pistol-pete-his-legacy-was-who-he-was) accessed April 25, 2019.

Spencer "Hank" Washington runs against the Arlington State Rebels. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

Kerbel ordered the balcony to be reserved and all players and coaches would sit there.[63] On one occasion the team went to a club in Amarillo as a team, and white players were allowed in the club while black players had to wait in frustration. When told of the incident Kerbel intervened and phoned the owner of the club saying that his players would no longer frequent the bar unless all were allowed in. He also stepped in to stop discrimination in housing or employment for black players or their spouses.[64] Not all in Canyon were happy about the make-up of the team, however, and Jack Harris writes of the "whispered criticism" of the head coach for recruiting so many black players[65] and some believe that had something to do with the firing of the successful Kerbel.

But not everyone had a Coach Kerbel to enforce integration. In 1969, two African American coeds went to rent an apartment but were told by the landlord there was no vacancy. When they told their friends at the dormitory, a number of whites went to the same rental property and were told a number of vacancies existed. The black women brought a lawsuit against the landlords and to avoid the decision of the suit Canyon landlords agreed to open their doors to all renters.[66]

63. Ibid., 178.

64. Claudia Stuart, interview by Marty Kuhlman, April 25, 2008, Cornette Library, Canyon, Texas.

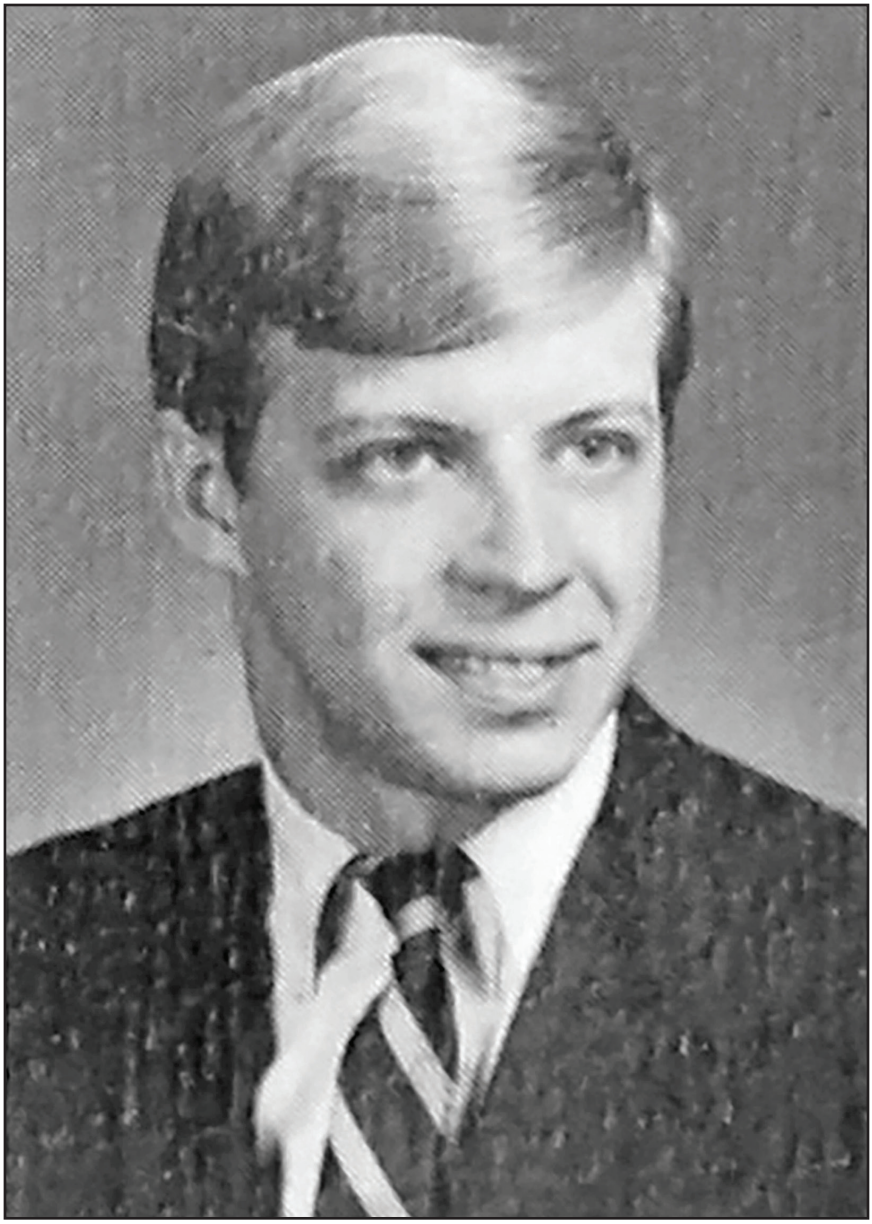
65. Harris, *A Passion for Victory*, 118-119.

66. Roche, *Cowboy Conservatism*, 198.

Kerbel knew of the opposition and told one of the talented black Buffalo players, Duane Thomas, "I recruit black players because you guys will make us a winner, and as long as I keep winning those SOBs [the administration] can't say anything to me." Although he had a winnin record, including two bowl games, WTSU fired him in 1970. Kerbel's decision to recruit black players over white players in the Panhandle had at least something to do with his firing.[67]

The *Brown* decision set out the theory of desegregation in education, but the reality proved to be different. Texas only integrated its universities when forced to by judicial orders. Even after some desegregation had begun, the state attorney general fought to limit integration and utilized arguments such as freedom of choice and the Constitution. Although law paved the way for integration, factors such as athletics eased the transition. Even though African American athletes continued to face discrimination, white residents would be more likely to accept blacks who helped the team win. Athletics in this case helped integration.

67. Jacobs, *Black Man in the Huddle,* 148.



Senior photo of Wayne Woodward from the 1967 West Texas State University Le Mirage. Courtesy University Archives Collection in the Cornette Library at West Texas A&M University.

"An English Teacher, the Culture Wars, and the Origins of Conservative Populism in a Southern Plains Town"

Tim Bowman*

Sometimes strangers come into town and change everything. Wayne Woodward was one such person.

Woodward walked into Pat Hughes' office on a seemingly nondescript day in Hereford, Texas, in the early 1970s, having had enough. The young English teacher at La Plata Middle School had endured sarcastic commentary and sidelong glances since he had rolled into Hereford from California on a warm August day in the late 1960s. Perhaps his problems had started when he arrived in this isolated Texas ranching town with California license plates and long hair. Woodward *looked* like a hippie, even though he didn't really self-identify as one. But now, he was going to set Hughes—his swaggering principal with slicked-back hair and a thick West Texas drawl—straight. Maybe Hughes would finally leave him alone.

The principal had a problem with the young teacher's hairstyle. Hughes had been badgering Woodward about it for months; according to him, Woodward needed a haircut because his hair hanged below his ears. Woodward, once he got to the office, pointed out that Hughes's hair—which, again, he wore slicked back—was in fact probably even longer than his own. The two men subsequently got huffy with one another, as had happened before in the school's hallways and classrooms. Hughes responded to Woodward's charge by daring him to grab his hair to see whose was actually longer. One can imagine the shock on Hughes's face when Woodward *actually* reached across the desk and did just that, although he did find that Hughes's hair was shorter than his. The tension in the room was palpable as Hughes dismissed Woodward, who went back to his room to continue teaching his seventh-grade students.[1]

Such a seemingly innocuous incident—a schoolteacher and her or his principal being at odds—typically merits little attention. Woodward's

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1. Wayne Woodward, interview with the author, July 22, 2016.

run-in with his principal, however, represented in microcosm a larger phenomenon that would soon rock this dusty little town in the middle of the Texas Panhandle: the long-dreaded arrival of the so-called "cultural wars" that had swept through urban America and college campuses since the 1950s. For locals, Woodward would serve as a stand-in for the larger left-leaning shift in U.S. culture that had, to them, finally invaded their town. The resulting drama surrounding Woodward's employment, in turn, ignited a response that set the path for the conservative populism that swept through the Southern Plains and Texas during the late-twentieth century. As will be seen, Woodward brought the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)—a left-leaning organization that threated to completely upend Hereford economically and socially. Woodward may not have fully understood the magnitude of what he was doing, but one thing is clear—he *was* itching for a fight. As this essay will show, he got one.

Isolation and Changing National Politics

Regional boosters during the twentieth century have long characterized the Texas Panhandle as a sort of "last frontier," or better yet, one that was filled with a sense of promise. Perhaps, at least from a Euroamerican perspective, there is some truth to this label. Indeed, although countless Native-American groups traversed the Great Plains for millennia, Euroamerican peoples only entered the region in large numbers after the military defeat of the powerful Comanches in 1874. Soon thereafter, cattle ranchers backed by northern, eastern and British capital entered the region, dotting this sparsely settled landscape with towns and large ranches.[2]

Distant from the seats of government in Washington, D.C., and even the state capital of Austin (some 500 miles from the Panhandle's largest city, Amarillo), Panhandle Texans were long left to their own devices. Relative isolation as well as a general lack of regional interconnectedness with nearby cities in Oklahoma and New Mexico contributed to an acute ethic of community in the region. The Panhandle would remain a wide-open space dotted with small towns and rural inhabitants for some time. Additionally, it was these original settlers during the late-nineteenth

2. For more on the rise and fall of the Comanches, see, Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). For more on boosterism and colonization in the Panhandle during this period, see, Jan Blodgett, *Land of Bright Promise: Advertising the Texas Panhandle and the South Plains, 1870-1917* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).

century who would define the region's general culture. Cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky argues with his "doctrine of first effective settlement" that a nation or region's dominant general culture is defined by the first actual settlers who come into an area. Additionally, noting that the majority of the region's population stemmed from an influx of farmers, particularly from East Texas, the U.S. South and Appalachia during the early twentieth century, anthropologist Benjamin Lee Gorman notes a cluster of values that grew to dominate Panhandle society during the first half of the twentieth century: religious fundamentalism, a puritanical outlook on social decorum, a belief in frontier-style individualism, an entrepreneurial spirit, and a conservative politics that sought to maintain the economic and political status quo. As this essay will demonstrate, the Civil Rights era represented the first major outside challenge to these "cluster values" that the region's dominant Anglo-Protestant majority held in common since the early part of the twentieth century.[3]

Panhandle Texans' frontier-based regionalism and beliefs in individualism became reinforced during the early years of the Great Depression. People had some objectively legitimate grievances against the Franklin Roosevelt administration. Historian and local far-right political firebrand J. Evetts Haley published several essays during the depression that contained measured and careful arguments against the New Deal. First among these was an article titled "Cow Business and Monkey Business," which appeared in the December 8, 1934 edition of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Haley began his attack by proudly describing Panhandle Texans—and by implication, really, any cattle-raising Texans—as being left in the dust while "the world has advanced...[meaning] that the homely virtues that we cherished are but outworn dogmas of a selfish age."[4] Haley's own ranch was large, lying in the southwestern portion of the state near the Pecos River and consisting of over 24,000 acres. Government subsidies for cattle ranchers, intended to ease the depression's effects, led to depressed

3. For more, see, Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966); Benjamin Lee Gorman, "Fundamentalism and the Frontier: Value Clusters in the Texas Panhandle" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1965), 65-69; and, Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States: A Revised Edition* (London: Pearson, 1992).

4. Facsimile, J. Evetts Haley, "Cow Business and Monkey Business," December 8, 1934, *The Saturday Evening Post*; and, clipping, J. Evetts Haley, "Cows in the Cotton Patch," October 13, 1935, *San Antonio Express*, no other information, in binder, "The Dust Bowl of 1934-35 and the Cattle Slaughter of 1935, Including the Diary and Notes of JEH, 1933-1935," Nita Stewart Haley Memorial Library, Midland, Texas.

prices. A government statistician noted that there were in excess of seven million too many head of cattle, which Haley, as well as others, had held onto in the hopes that prices would someday rebound. Problematically, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) of 1933 paid Texas farmers to harvest less of their cotton and corn crops, which not only, to Haley, devalued the dollar, but made it nearly impossible for ranchmen to afford the necessary feed in order to keep up their cattle stock. The ultimate solution was for the New Deal government to buy millions of head of cattle, large numbers of which were shot in the head by government agents and buried in mass graves. Fifty-three head were killed on Haley's own ranch. This smacked of government wastefulness and abject cruelty.[5]

Other grievances, however, were quite vicious. Issues related to race and government intrusion became a dangerous admixture in the minds of many Panhandle Texas. In 1934, during the same period, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) suddenly replaced a group of war veterans working in Palo Duro Canyon—a large canyon not far from Hereford—with a group of African-American workers from East Texas. The local response was quick, and nasty. Officials from the nearby city of Canyon placed a sign at the city limits that read, "nigger, don't let the sun set on your head," warning African Americans to stay out of the town after sunset. Such an act by the CCC contested locals' notions of race and belonging, demonstrating that the federal government could, if it so chose, completely remake the white racial demographics of the area at will and without local consent. Similarly, the FDR administration's accusations that farmers were responsible for the Dust Bowl (and, consequently, that government was the solution to farmers' woes on the Southern Plains) smacked of a coastal arrogance and elitism.[6]

Panhandle Texans thus began to react negatively to both New Deal and racial liberalism as well as the Democratic Party during the 1940s and 50s. One need look no further than the instant popularity of the John Birch Society (JBS) during the 1950s and 60s to measure the growing frustrations that many Panhandle Texans felt with state and national politics. Robert Welch Jr. founded the society in Indiana in 1958, naming it after a Baptist missionary killed by Chinese communists in 1945. The group maintained its headquarters in Indianapolis, but its membership included a loose network of business leaders, a number of whom—like multimillionaire oilman H.L. Hunt—hailed from Texas. Another

5. Haley, "Cow Business and Monkey Business."

6. Jeff Roche, "Cowboy Conservatism: High Plains Politics, 1933-1972" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 2001), 69, 70.

influential Texas member was Fred Koch, a Rice University educated oilman who had worked in Russia during the 1930s and thus witnessed the horrors of Soviet communism firsthand.[7] Many critics pegged the JBS as a radical right wing, ultraconservative organization; however, its strong anticommunist bent along with its commitment to American national pride explains the relatively easy popularity that the group later enjoyed among people living in the Texas Panhandle.

Many conservative Texans associated the turbulence of the Civil Rights era, which largely bypassed small cities and towns on the Southern Plains, with the national Democratic Party. Indeed, conservative Texas Democrats' abandonment of their party began slowly during the 1950s. State Attorney General John Ben Sheppard articulated the emerging outlook at a speech to the Civitan Clubs of Austin in February of 1956. According to Sheppard, Texans opposed the movement not because of white supremacy but because of civil rights decisions such as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* which seemed to chip away at the power of local government. Said Sheppard:

> This nation is at the crossroads in federal-state relations. We have come to the time for deciding whether all power will emanate from the National Government, or whether we shall continue with our constitutional system under which the states retain all authority not ceded to the Federal domain. If the question were submitted to the states and the people, I have no doubt what the answer would be. But that is what the centralists would like to avoid.

A pair of issues thus seemed to be shaping the new conservative agenda: "getting back the powers and rights lost to the states, and preventing further infringement by federal authority." For many in the Panhandle, the famous 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* case—much like the establishment of the New Deal state—represented the larger country's leftward turn crashing in on the region. The coalescence of conservatism as a political movement thus continued apace with these developments in national politics. The "immediate objective," Shepperd concluded, was "to regain the powers and rights lost by the states through dozens of U.S. Supreme Court decisions that have had the effect of planting the federal foot inside our doors."[8]

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7. Robert Wuthnow, *Rough Country: How Texas Became America's Most Powerful Bible-Belt State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 287.

8. Clipping, "Excerpts from Remarks of Attorney General John Ben Shepperd to a

Schools thus became battlegrounds for conservatives and liberals in the wake of the *Brown* decision. Some school administrators sought to keep politics largely off campuses; in this way, West Texas schools were little different from major universities prior to the 1950s. Under Dean of Students T. Paige Carruth and President James P. Cornette, West Texas State University in Canyon (near Hereford) passed new rules in the fall of 1964 that, to quote historian Jeff Roche, "forbade campus organizations from endorsing political candidates…they were not allowed to distribute campaign literature or 'deal with political personalities.' The first group to come under fire for breaking the rules," perhaps surprisingly, "was the campus Young Republicans." But, the stifling of political voices on campus still remained largely bipartisan. Four years later, a group of students under a young history professor named Edgar Sneed tried to organize a chapter of the nationally known Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), an organization that had its roots in the politics of the New Left during the 1950s. The group faced a lot of hostility from local police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the local press—naturally, more than any of their conservative or Republican counterparts—all of whom lambasted the organization. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Wayne Woodward himself experienced a political awakening of sorts due to his exposure to this very same group of people at West Texas State University (WTSU).[9]

The Panhandle had grown overwhelmingly conservative in its outlook as early as 1964, when its voters supported Republican conservative Barry Goldwater in the election against the incumbent president, it being the only region in Texas to "go red" that year.[10] The Texas Panhandle had thus clearly led the way in the rise of conservative Republicanism in the state. Hereford, in many respects, was at the Panhandle's center.

A Brief History of Hereford Schools

Much like the rest of the Panhandle, Hereford was settled and

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Meeting of the Civitan Clubs of Texas, Austin, February 25, 1956," Louise Evans Bruce Collection, Research Center, Panhandle Plains Historical Museum, West Texas A&M University, Canyon, Texas; also, Marty Kuhlman, interview with the author, February 10, 2017.

9. Roche, "Cowboy Conservatism," 241, 242, 243-246; also, Wayne Woodward, interview with the author, July 22, 2016.

10. For example, see, "…Of Texas Historians," *Amarillo Sunday News-Globe*, October 22, 1995, Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum #24 (1993 -), Cornette Library Archives, West Texas A&M University, Canyon, Texas.

incorporated rather late, in keeping with the local sense of the region being part of the "last frontier" of the United States. Hereford's first school, for example, was founded in 1900. By 1913, enrollment included 445 students and 13 teachers in two school buildings. Hereford schools grew steadily from that point forward until the middle of the twentieth century.[11]

The aforementioned *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case, which began the process of school desegregation throughout the country, initially garnered little public reaction in Hereford. This is unsurprising, given that Hereford's African-American population was relatively small and thus posed no threat to the town's white racial hegemony.[12] The first mention of desegregation at the board meetings does not appear in its minutes until May 15, 1956, exactly two years after the *Brown* case. At the meeting, "a delegation from the Negro population met with the Board" requested that segregation be *continued* for children in the 1st-6th grades.[13] Although it is not recorded why the parents made this request, one can assume that they sought to protect their young children from racist treatment or backlash that might come because of integration. Otherwise, the town's black population was so small that, assumedly, the presence of African Americans in the middle school or high school among the large majority of Anglo students in the town meant that desegregation intimidated few local whites.[14] The protests and clashes seen throughout the U.S. South over integration stood as no threat to the isolated and then-almost entirely Anglo population in Hereford.

The fact that Hereford remained deeply conservative in its racial and social outlooks during the 1950s and 60s still does little to explain the overwhelming backlash that Woodward faced roughly two decades later when he founded an ACLU chapter in the town. Woodward, himself, had ideas that did not fit with Hereford's political culture; nonetheless, even though people looked askance at him, a certain level of tolerance existed for the idealistic young teacher during the early 1970s. Maybe the Hereford school district simply needed to hang onto any talented teacher that it could find. Nonetheless, understanding the perception of cultural liberalism as a threat only goes so far—what, instead, caused locals to

11. Pamphlet, "Better Schools Make Better Communities," Hereford Public Schools, Hereford, Texas, 1959, Joe Rogers Personal Collection of Hereford ISD Desegregation Documents (hereafter JRPC).

12. Joe Whitley, interview with the author, July 3, 2017.

13. "Minutes of the Hereford Rural High School District Board of Trustees," May 15, 1956, JRPC.

14. Joe Whitley, interview with the author, July 3, 2017.

believe that the ACLU's presence in the town crossed the line into the realm of an *actual* threat?

Local Authority and the Politics of Teaching in Hereford, Texas

Wayne Woodward was born in Freeport, Texas, in 1944, but he moved to Amarillo, the region's largest city, when he was four years old. Woodward's childhood was a relatively normal one for a boy born in Texas at that time. Woodward's father was a conservative whose speech was peppered with racial epithets. Woodward's mother, however, was a liberal from the Texas Hill Country. Woodward's father passed away in a car accident when he was young, so he spent the rest of his adolescence being raised by his mother. Even before his father's passing, though, Woodward grew up in an essentially apolitical household. When politics did come up, it was usually within the context of a presidential election: Woodward's father was shocked, for example, when his mother supported Adlai Stevenson over Dwight Eisenhower in the 1956 election. Nonetheless,as Woodward himself would later admit, he didn't grow up "liberal" in any traditional sense of the word. His political awakening would be some time in coming; it started in college at WTSU, when Woodward finally began speaking out against the anti-black racism endemic to the Texas Panhandle. He also further developed his natural tendency to question authority, which certainly did not serve him well in Hereford after embarking on his career as a teacher.[15]

All of these cascading political currents collided when young Woodward took his teaching job in Hereford. Woodward had numerous run-ins with authority figures in the school not long after his arrival, even prior to the aforementioned incident over his hair. For example, in the fall of 1973, seventh-grade life science teacher John Murdock sent a telegram to Texas Congressional Representative George Mahon stating that Richard M. Nixon's continued inhabitance of the White House was a national disgrace in the wake of the then-ongoing Watergate scandal. Several other teachers signed the note, including Woodward, which the latter then sent to Washington, D.C. A few days later, Hughes interrupted Woodward's class to take him into the library for a private discussion; someone at an administrative staff meeting had complained to Hughes that Murdock and Woodward had circulated a

15. Wayne Woodward, interview with the author, July 22, 2016.

petition calling for Nixon's resignation.[16] Such telegrams were not to be sent without Hughes's consent.

Around that same time, Hughes called Woodward into his office for a meeting with the school district's superintendent, a man named Roy Hartman. One of the school board members had somehow deduced that Woodward was an atheist, which upset him, especially given the fact that said board member's daughter happened to be one of Woodward's students. Church attendance and belief in God were unquestioned tenets of local society that dated back to the early twentieth century; perhaps it didn't help things that Woodward had recently extolled the virtues of a shocking new horror movie about demonic possession that had just swept through the theaters, titled "The Exorcist."[17] Hartman flatly told Woodward "not to tell students I don't go to church.'" The teacher later realized that when the administration had built up a case to terminate him that their instructions to him to keep his lack of church attendance a secret—especially given Woodward's later contention that a multiplicity of actions led to his firing in the spring of 1975—could in fact be legally defined as religious discrimination. His religious views were clearly a problem.[18]

Despite the potential for drama stemming from such incidents, Woodward never felt as if he received wholly unfair treatment from Hughes and Hartman before his sixth year of teaching had dawned in the fall of 1974. In fact, the school board had renewed Woodward's teaching contract on an annual basis with no interference.[19] The years thus passed with hardly any incidents of note, until Woodward made a fateful decision in January of 1975—he decided to start a local chapter of the ACLU.

In order to fully appreciate the severe shift that this represented to Panhandle conservatives during the 1970s, a word on the ACLU is in order. The ACLU was founded in 1915 by a number of prominent Progressive Era activists, perhaps most notably Jane Addams, founder

16. Ibid.; John Murdock, sworn statement in front of notary public in and of Deaf Smith County, Texas, May 1975, Wayne Woodward Personal Collection (hereafter WWPC).

17. Untitled handwritten notes, Wayne Woodward, no date, WWPC.

18. Wayne Woodward to Burt, March 1975, WWPC. Woodward was a Unitarian, not an atheist, but he believed that the students would fail to understand that Unitarianism was not an un-Christian spiritual philosophy.

19. Wayne Woodward, interview with the author, July 22, 2016; "Wayne Woodward vs Hereford ISD, Request for Admissions," n.d., United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Amarillo Division, WWPC.

and proprietor of Hull House, as well as Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement House, both in Chicago. Such antecedents would be enough to make any Panhandle conservative cringe: Wald and Addams—and thus, the ACLU—could be perceived through the lens of radicalism due to their dedication to social justice for the poor, mostly immigrant working classes in Chicago.[20] More importantly, though, Hereford, by the middle of the 1970s, was a majority-minority town whose economy relied upon a segregated ethnic-Mexican working class to pick its crops. Moreover, César Chávez as well as the larger farmworkers' movement had rocked agricultural America since 1965, auguring the threat of labor organizing among ethnic Mexicans everywhere in rural parts of the U.S. Southwest.

None of the ACLU's potential to bring trouble to Hereford, then, existed within the realm of the abstract. In fact, the ACLU first entered Texas in 1938 to protect workers in San Antonio's pecan-shelling industry who had gone on strike under the leadership of a young communist firebrand and Mexican American named Emma Tenayuca. Protecting jailed Mexican-American workers who organized under the banner of communism—during the high tide of the labor movement under a liberal and pro-labor president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, no less—meant that conservative Texans engaged in commercial agriculture had good reason to fear the ACLU's arrival anywhere in the state, even more so when it showed up on their own doorsteps. Conservative Herefordites stood to potentially lose everything due to the well-intentioned actions of a young, "troublemaking" English teacher.[21]

Woodward was naïve; so naïve, in fact, that he thought nothing in January of 1975 of contacting the local radio station in Hereford to announce the founding of the new ACLU chapter to the entire town. Moreover, around that same time, Woodward mentioned the ACLU in class to some of his students. After class was over, one student, Pam Whitley, asked Woodward if he had any literature on the organization. The next day, Woodward brought Whitley a membership pamphlet. Whitley's friend Cindy Ford was sitting next to her and also asked for a pamphlet. When Ford's father discovered what had happened, he lodged a complaint with school board member Roy Martin. Parental complaints

20. Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 34.

21. Joe Whitley, interview with the author, July 3, 2017; "May Day: Labor Lessons in a Historic Texas Tale, *Houston Chronicle*, April 28, 2017, https://www.houstonchronicle.com/opinion/editorials/article/May-Day-11107959.php (accessed May 12, 2019).

to board members about teachers were relatively common in Hereford at the time—notably, though, this was the only complaint ever lodged about Woodward during his six-year tenure at the school.[22]

Clearly, school administrators had tolerated Woodward's personal politics up until this point. Starting an ACLU chapter, though, was a different matter. On February 4th, Hughes called Woodward into his office. Hughes wanted to know what a recent ACLU meeting was about. Woodward told him that he was free to attend. Hughes responded, "No I better not do that, I would have more people mad at me than I do now." Woodward later recalled that "he asked me to name the members of the A.C.L.U. (here) and I did."[23] Three days later, Hughes met with Hartman about Woodward. Hughes had had enough of Woodward's seemingly rebellious ways. During the conversation, Hughes told Hartman that Woodward was "determined to express a hostile attitude to efforts of the school administration to carry out board policy." Furthermore, according to Hughes, Woodward had "apparently used material in the classroom which has not been cleared for use through normal school channels prior to their actual use." Hughes thus made recommendations to Hartman regarding Woodward's appointment at the school, which would be delivered to the teacher five days later in the form of a typed letter.[24] The timing—just weeks after the revelation of Woodward's involvement in establishing a local ACLU presence—was telling. Five days later, Hughes sent Woodard a note to meet him in his office. Hughes simply handed the letter to Woodward, which informed him that he would be entering into a probationary period during the rest of the spring semester, at the end of which the administration would decide on his contract renewal for the next school year. Hughes asked him if he had anything to say on the matter, to which Woodward replied, "I'll hand this over to my lawyer," and he got up and walked out of the room.[25]

Woodward wasn't entirely surprised. Sometime during the preceding weeks, Hughes had called Woodward and his colleague Bruce Logan, a history teacher, into his office, ostensibly to discuss issues pertaining to hairstyles as well as the school's dress code. The conversation turned quickly to whether or not either of the teachers had solicited student membership in the ACLU, which both denied. Logan, in fact, had already

22. "Wayne Woodward vs Hereford ISD, Request for Admissions," 7, n.d., United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Amarillo Division, WWPC.

23. "Untitled Handwritten Notes," n.d., Wayne Woodward, WWPC.

24. Pat Hughes to Roy Hartman, February 12, 1975 (1), WWPC.

25. Ibid.

denied his membership in the ACLU to Hughes, but he felt that by being re-questioned Hughes was perhaps trying to trap him. Woodward was also frightened. In another meeting with Hughes, the school's vice principal, also in attendance, informed Woodward that he would "hunt for anything he could find to get me out and would be watching me every day." Woodward quickly reported to his lawyer that he "may be paranoid but I don't like the idea of me meeting with both of them at the same time, I feel that they will distort the truth in our meetings."[26] He had reason to be afraid.

Hughes, as an agent of the local populace, clearly had a problem with an ACLU presence not only in the school but also in the larger town. Naturally, though, as far as Woodward knew, he had not done anything wrong. Woodward may have had a few minor issues with Hughes, but the principal had never given him any reason to suspect that the administration was dissatisfied with his job performance. Hughes had, in fact, visited Woodward's classroom before; he had previously noted with apparent surprise (probably given the nature of their working relationship) that not only was Woodward extraordinarily professional in front of his students, but he also had a good rapport with them. Every time that Hughes visited Woodward's classroom, Hughes noted that Woodward presented the material well, and that in general terms Woodward was "doing a fairly good job."[27]

Corroborating evidence suggests that Hughes's letter was, in fact, motivated by Woodward's ACLU participation. Around the time that Woodward received his letter, Hughes called one of Woodward's students, Kathy Wilson, into the principal's office for a discussion. Mary Duvall, the school's counselor, was also present. Hughes asked Wilson if Woodward had ever said anything to upset the students, to which she replied in the negative and offered that she believed Woodward was a good teacher. The duo then asked specifically if Woodward had ever shown the students any literature from the ACLU, to which Wilson once again replied that he had not. Wilson went on to offer that he had never talked about the organization in class; if he had said anything to a student at all it was because, in her view, that the student (Whitley or Ford) had specifically asked him about the group. Finally, they also asked if

26. "Telephone conversation on May 11, 1975 between Bruce Logan, Robin Green, and Wayne Woodward," Taped Conversations/Teacher Handbook, Woodward A-012; Woodward to Green, February 24, 1975, both in WWPC.

27. "Wayne Woodward vs Hereford ISD, Request for Admissions," n.d., United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Amarillo Division, 3-4, 4, WWPC.

Woodward had ever said anything demeaning about God in class, to which Wilson, once again, replied in the negative. Wilson ended the discussion by informing the principal and counselor that she was aware of Woodward's situation of potentially not being rehired and that she believed it was a mistake.[28]

Wilson's testimony made no difference. On May 1st, Woodward received the following letter from Hughes:

Dear Mr. Woodward,

It will be my recommendation to the Board of Trustees that you not be offered a contract for the 1975-1976 school year.

This recommendation is based upon facts and circumstances which we have discussed on many occasions and of which you are aware.

Generally, the principals' recommendations are discussed and determined by the Board of Trustees, and it is expected that this recommendation will be discussed at the meeting on Tuesday, May 13, 1975.

In accordance with established school board policy, you have the right to a hearing before the Board of Trustees who eventually make the final decision. Should you wish to exercise this prerogative and participate in the discussion, and present any evidence or show cause that you believe will assist the board in arriving at a proper conclusion, please notify the superintendent's office in order to be placed on the agenda.

Sincerely,
Pat Hughes[29]

Woodward, a young man who had never really belonged in a world filled with insiders, was finally out on his own.

It was time to go to war.

Righting Wrongs and Wronging Rights

And go to war he did.

On the afternoon of June 2, 1975, the school board held a public hearing in the school's cafeteria that Woodward requested, during which his lawyer, a civil rights attorney from nearby Amarillo named Robin

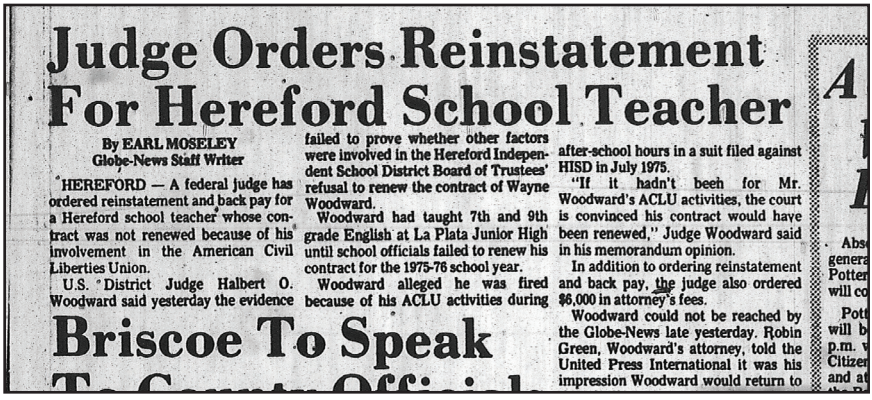
28. "Taped Conversation with Kathy Wilson," Taped Conversations/Teacher Handbook, Woodward A-012, WWPC.

29. Pat Hughes to Wayne Woodward, May 1, 1975, WWPC.

Green, spoke. About 100 locals, including students and parents, attended. Green's questioning of the school board that day made it clear that none of the board members saw fit to question Hughes's non-renewal of Woodward's contract. In fact, no member of the board even fielded questions. Two things became clear: first, the hearing was a mere formality that the board members had allowed in order give the appearance of having done its ready best for Woodward as an employee; and, second, the board acted as a rubber-stamp for the school's administration, allowing Hughes to have unquestioned authority at La Plata.[30]

Clearly evident is that Woodward did not take well to what could be interpreted as the arbitrary exercise of authority. In short, Woodward was an outspoken person who plainly did not fit in with the local community. The list of conflicts, compiled by Woodward himself, is substantial:

> I was told not to say, "I don't go to church," when asked by students – by Principal and Supt.
>
> I was told by Principal and Supt. not to wear my hair over my ears even on the weekends.
>
> I was told that I would stand up for all decisions of the school board, whether I believed them or not. This was on the weekends.



Judge Orders Reinstatement For Hereford School Teacher

By EARL MOSELEY
Globe-News Staff Writer

HEREFORD — A federal judge has ordered reinstatement and back pay for a Hereford school teacher whose contract was not renewed because of his involvement in the American Civil Liberties Union.

U.S. District Judge Halbert O. Woodward said yesterday the evidence failed to prove whether other factors were involved in the Hereford Independent School District Board of Trustees' refusal to renew the contract of Wayne Woodward.

Woodward had taught 7th and 9th grade English at La Plata Junior High until school officials failed to renew his contract for the 1975-76 school year.

Woodward alleged he was fired because of his ACLU activities during after-school hours in a suit filed against HISD in July 1975.

"If it hadn't been for Mr. Woodward's ACLU activities, the court is convinced his contract would have been renewed," Judge Woodward said in his memorandum opinion.

In addition to ordering reinstatement and back pay, the judge also ordered $6,000 in attorney's fees.

Woodward could not be reached by the Globe-News late yesterday. Robin Green, Woodward's attorney, told the United Press International it was his impression Woodward would return to

Briscoe To Speak

Newspaper article regarding Woodward's case. Courtesy of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum archives.

30. For more on the hearing, see, "Proceedings of Meeting of Hereford Independent School District, Hereford, Texas, June 2, 1975," Ron Mason, Certified Court Reporter, WWPC.

I was told that when students asked me if I liked the dress code I should lie and say I liked it.

I was told that I shouldn't stand up for students (sic) rights because students had no rights, because they had not earned them.

I was called in to the office because I conducted a student poll on the dress code.

I was told that I was in the "Bible Belt" and I should realize that. [Hughes] hinted that I should join a church and "become part of the community."

I was called in because he said he was worried that I was an atheist.

I was told that I was never to have an opinion on anything in the classroom, I was to always stay neutral.

He wrote my evaluation last year without ever being in my room.

Standing outside my room and peeking in.

I was kept waiting from 2:30 (when I was told to see him) till 3:45 to receive my letter, and then I missed my ride home, all this without an apology.

Once while taking up for Mexican-Americans and the length of their hair, I was told, 'Mexicans can't have long hair because they won't keep it clean.'

Used students to spy on me.

He told me that I didn't need to be in Hereford, I needed to be in N.Y. or Calif.[31]

Clearly, Woodward's problems did not consist of any violations of school policy; rather, his superiors deemed Woodward a problem because he was in a position of authority yet at the same time bucked the school's

31. Ibid. Woodward believed that the majority of the students were opposed to the school's dress code.

chain-of-command. Not going to church was threatening; wearing his hair over his ears was threatening; challenging the school board's authority was intolerable; and, supporting the dress code as well as the school board was required. These issues aside, perhaps most telling were the comments that Woodward needed to understand that he was in the Bible Belt and that joining a church would make him "part of the community," as well as the statement that he would be better served teaching in California or New York. To the community members, then, Woodward was a threat—an outsider not only because he did not fit in, but also because as a teacher he stood to shape the minds of the young in a way that would cause them to fall out from the local sociopolitical order.

Earnest Langley, attorney for the school district, argued that teachers had no right to continued employment and that the school district could terminate anyone without any cause. One board member, in backing Hughes, believed that if a teacher did not work to a certain standard set by the administration that that was enough for the nonrenewal of any annual employment contract. Neither of them, however, gave any specific reasoning for Woodward's termination—they believed they didn't have to. Hartman believed that loyalty was the most desirable characteristic of any school district employee, essentially arguing that Woodward was anything but. Hartman, however, did enumerate specific instances of Woodward's allegedly unsatisfactory performance as a school employee:

> 1. He was supposed to teach English, but he went in to other areas.
>
> 2. He was not supportive of school policies, and programs.
>
> 3. He used poor judgement in responses to student questions.
>
> 4. He ha[d] received innumerable parental complaints.
>
> 5. One of those complaints was that a child had inquired, "What do you think about God?" to which Woodward replied, "Well, I think he would make a good second baseman."
>
> 6. Some of the discussions are believed to have permitted disparagement of the school's dress code.
>
> 7. Three different sets of parents visited the Superintendent and reported their children were so disturbed by discussions in

> Woodward's classes that they could not eat or sleep; that their children were torn "inside out" concerning school administration policies and what is "right" according to parental instruction.
>
> 8. Although the repeated writing of sentences as punishment has been prohibited, Woodward required that of one student.

The line in which he stated that "Jesus would be a good second baseman" (because his arm was too weak to play centerfield) was Woodward wanting to say something so shocking because he was tired of the students badgering him about whether or not he went to church.[32] Obviously, such a statement, when it came out, was a complete shock to many in the school as well as the larger community. Hartman concluded by saying that Woodward was highly qualified and that his students performed well, but he attributed that more to their attending an economically advantaged school than any characteristic of Woodward's performance as a teacher. In other words, his not fitting in was their pretext for firing him. The *real* reason, the ACLU presence he brought to Hereford, was something that school district wanted to avoid in its justification.[33]

Indeed, Hartman as well as Hughes both denied that the ACLU literature was even part of the problem. In fact, both men went to great lengths to explain their own personal positions as being *supportive* of the ACLU. Hughes went on to relate that his chief concern was that Woodward had strayed into the realm of politics in his classroom as opposed to just teaching English. Hughes also claimed that Woodward had violated school policy by not gaining permission before disseminating controversial material to students related to a handbook of student rights. "I knew this was wrong," Hughes claimed Woodward had said to him at one point, and "I asked the student not to tell anybody." Finally, Woodward's so-called "hostile attitude" came at his failure to heed Hughes's warning not to stray from English into the realms of religion and politics in his classroom.[34]

Thomas Jefferson Griffith, a co-consul for Woodward and Green, believed that Woodward's firing constituted a violation of protected freedom of speech under the U.S. Constitution. Previous court cases also

32. Ibid.; Wayne Woodward, interview with the author, July 22, 2016.

33. Thomas J. Griffith to Martha Ware, Teacher's Rights National Education Association, June 27, 1975, WWPC.

34. Ibid.

set a precedent that made clear Woodward's case would have legal standing in court. Griffith further "noted that the persons interviewed were unwilling to identify the persons making the complaint. They seemed almost unanimously to be parents whose information could be barred as hearsay." Finally, Griffith arrived at the heart of the whole matter:

> Of course, it is reasonable to anticipate that some students and citizens may testify to some violent departure from normal standards of classroom conduct. This may be done through some misapprehension of the actual facts, or even through desire to curry favor with the school administration or with the prevailing political and social climate in Hereford, Texas. *I do not think it an exaggeration to say that Hereford is a tightly structured community with an extremely limited view of permissible expressions and opinions.*[35] (italics mine)

The nature of Hereford and life on the Southern Plains during the middle of the twentieth century mattered more than anything else. The town's political culture did not allow for anything that stood as a threat to the perceived sanctity of society. Woodward simply was not one of them, despite being a native, himself. As such, the knee-jerk reactions to Woodward's natural tendency toward dissent from the social order as well as his clear aversion to abject authority marked him as someone who could potentially bring the whole project of protecting the town from outside influences crashing down. The real threat, though, again, was the ACLU, which might organize migrant workers as well as stir up students to protect their own constitutional rights. Authority could be bucked. The reactions against Woodward made little sense on the surface; when peeling them back, though, we begin to see the underlying factors at play in targeting Woodward for dismissal.

Although no one from the board spoke publically on June 2nd, they defended themselves later. Hughes, who would be deposed during the upcoming court case, displayed the board's general attitude to Woodward. Hughes later claimed under oath that he had numerous conversations with Woodward during his six years at the school, but he could not recall what any single one of those specific conversations was about.[36] This might seem

35. Ibid.

36. "Wayne Woodward vs. The Hereford Independent School District, No. CA-2-75-111, In the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Amarillo Division, deposition of Robert Patterson Hughes," September 12, 1975, 15-16, WWPC.

strange, given that Woodward stood out as the only teacher whose contract Hughes didn't renew. Hughes's memory lapses continued on the subject of the ACLU literature:

> Let's see, I believe, sir, that I asked him if he was a member of the American Civil Liberties Union and at that time his answer, I think, was yes, I am. I said, have you ever been passing out materials to students in your classes and he said yes, sir, I have… to continue with our conversation, he said yes, I have. He said, I gave it to one girl and I didn't ask him her name. What he said, he said I gave it to one girl and I knew I was wrong when I did it and I asked her not to tell…He said, I won't do it again. I said, thank you, Mr. Woodward, please don't and I left.[37]

As such, Hughes, by his own account, seemed to leave on good terms with Woodward regarding the ACLU pamphlet.

Hughes also claimed that he had talked with Woodward "about [his] action in class with his students," but that he could not remember any specifics. Green later asked Hughes about an alleged parental complaint regarding Woodward not going to church, but Hughes stated that he could not remember such an incident.[38] Thus, neither the ACLU pamphlet, nor any specifics about Woodward's job performance, seemed to strike Hughes as having been relatively meaningful.

Hughes, in fact, again had positive remarks about Woodward's teaching, telling Green that he was surprised at how professional Woodward was as well as the seemingly "good rapport" he had with his students.[39] Nonetheless, Hughes persisted in his claim—in a seemingly contradictory way—that Woodward was not always professional in the classroom:

> Q. Can you think of an example?
>
> A. No, I can't right now, sir, but he would say, well, these kids stand up and they ask me a question point blank and he said, what do you want me to do, lie to them about my ideas or about anything and I would tell him, no, I certainly don't want you to lie about that situation, but you as the educational leader in that room, I expect you to guide their conversation to a more enhancing—to a

37. Ibid., 16-17, 17, 18.

38. Ibid., 20.

39. Ibid., 31-32.

situation where it would meet the needs of the children better that he had in his room.

Q. Can you think of one of the subjects that you and he talked about?

A. Sure, religion, is that one?

Q. And what was the nature of that conversation?

A. I don't know that conversation. I would never ask him what he was—he and I wouldn't talk about what he and his students talked about necessarily and neither would he say, look, these are my views and I stand for them. I never did ask Wayne that.

Q. You found through talking to him that some students would ask him about his religion?

A. No, sir, that may not be so. No, but religion might come up in the class, nor necessarily, say, look what is your religion? What are your beliefs?

Q. In other words, they ask him something like that, what are your beliefs about a particular subject?

A. I don't know, sir, what they did ask him specifically.

Q. Anyway, a part, a large part of your dissatisfaction with Mr. Woodward's performance in the classroom, then, came from conversations that you had with him wherein it was related to you by him that subject matter was being discussed in the classroom that you did not feel was appropriate?

A. You said in large part. I don't feel that is it, no, sir. I feel like that is a part of it, yes, sir. And I told him you should never just come out, I would think—Wayne said, what if they ask me my views, do you want me to stand up and lie to them and I said, no, sir, don't ever want you to do that, but I think Wayne should have been mature enough and had more education than those that he taught so that he could guide that conversation in his classroom, which would be more beneficial to his students than giving them a wealth

of information on the subject that might arise. My contention was that these students were maybe too young…Not to deal with certain subjects but to go into them intricately.

Q. Do you recall whether or not you received any complaints from parents regarding his conduct in the classroom?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you remember the nature of any of those complaints?

A. Basically just what you and I have been talking about now.

Q. Somebody complained that Wayne had made a statement in the classroom concerning religion or God or Christ, anti-Christ or something like that?

A. No, that wasn't it.

Q. Okay, can you tell me what the complaint was?

A. Mostly the complaints, again, were not that he expressed himself in class, but it was the length at which he expressed himself, the time covered on a certain subject.[40]

The confusing back-and-forth exchange continued, as Hughes seemed unable to recall any specific instances that were a direct cause for concern.[41]

What Hughes did seem concerned with was Woodward's alleged level of maturity in the classroom. Hughes again repeated that Woodward had the tendency to stray from topics other than English. Again, however, Hughes stammered and was unable to communicate anything more directly about Woodward's alleged poor behavior. The information that Hughes had surmised regarding Woodward's performance stemmed not just principally, but solely from the conversations that he and Hughes had shared.[42] Interestingly, as the questioning progressed, one thing became clear—part of Hughes's problem with Woodward was his seeming aversion to the principal's authority. In one issue relating to Woodward

40. Ibid., 34-35, 36-37, 39-40, 40-41.

41. Ibid., 41-43.

42. Ibid., 32-33, 33-34, 47.

allowing retests for a specific student and his eventual relenting to one student's parents applying pressure to allow a retest for their daughter, which Woodward had initially refused, Hughes said that "I thought Mr. Woodward acted very fair, was professional in his action with the parent and the student." He continued, though, that "after the parent left and he confronts me again and he says, look, you didn't do right by me. You didn't stand behind me and I expected you to and the tone of voice which he used and the atmosphere of his conversations seemed to me, he was not a professional person."[43] Woodward was a problem for Hughes because he did not seem to show much deference to the principal or the school's chain of command, if he showed any at all.

Green seemed to have Hughes where he wanted him. The critical matter, for Green, was simply whether or not Hughes wanted a man like Woodward around at La Plata, or even in Hereford, at all:

> Q. Did you ever tell Mr. Woodward that he should go to California or New York or some place like that where his attitude would be more compatible?
>
> A. Yes, sir…[his] attitude was not compatible with Hereford, Texas, I don't know that I said those exact words, but Mr. Woodward and I did talk about that and if I am not mistaken, I said, Mr.—Hereford, Texas, is—I am trying to think of what I said, sir. I don't know the exact terms but I said that Hereford, Texas, the people in Hereford are concerned about the welfare of their children and if you are not compatible with those persons here, if you don't think that you can get along here with their criticisms, then why don't you move to a place that you can do a better job and if I remember right, Mr. Woodward said, I don't care to move. I want to stay here and change this place and Mr. Woodward, to my knowledge, never did—if he was, you know, disgruntled about the situation there at La Plata or his working conditions, Mr. Woodward never came to me to speak about a transfer, going to some other school or even staying in Hereford.[44]

Once again, evidence suggested—this time on court record—that the administrators did not believe that Woodward belonged in Hereford. Hughes, naturally, expressed as much in polite terms, but the meaning

43. Ibid., 48-49.

44. Ibid., 111-112.

behind his words was clear—Woodward was a threat because he had the power to change the children in the school. Circumstantial evidence, at this point, suggested that there was a connection between this belief on the part of Hughes and the potential that Woodward's ACLU involvement was the catalyst to finally get rid of him.

Hughes clearly didn't like Woodward; whether he had good reason to fire him, though, was questionable at best. The board felt that it had no reason to compromise with the recalcitrant young teacher. After the June 2nd meeting, things would drag on.

Legacies

Woodward didn't get his job back after the drama at the public hearing. He and Green went on to sue the school district in late 1975. The plaintiffs won the case in district court, where they argued that the school district had violated Woodward's constitutional rights under the first and fourteenth amendments. The school district appealed the district judge's decision; school district lawyers eventually settled out of court with Woodward before the appellate court could make a ruling. By 1977, the drama surrounding Woodward, the ACLU, and Hereford's powerbrokers had come to a close.[45]

Woodward's case is of deep historical significance. The case ultimately shows that a tightly knit community ethic became nurtured in Hereford because of the region's relative geographic isolation from the rest of the United States. Theirs, in other words, was a place set apart. The exceptionalist nature of local identity fostered a perception during the twentieth century that the people of the region knew what was in their own best interests as opposed to outsiders, or, even, the leadership of the U.S. government. As such, a sense of community or even cultural guardianism became woven into Hereford's social fabric. A combination of relative wealth and an exceptionalist identity accounts for many locals' views of the larger country over the course of the twentieth century; this explains why community leaders could justify by 1975 expelling a perceived "troublemaker" from their town while trampling on his constitutional rights as a U.S. citizen—they did it in order to preserve or protect the

45. Thomas Jefferson Griffith to Robin Green, January 20, 1977; Robin M. Green to Earnest Langley, February 19, 1977; Earnest Langley to Robin Green, April 21, 1977; "Appellant's Motion to Dismiss Appeal," Hereford vs. Woodward, In the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, no. 77-1117; Robin M. Green to John E. Hill, May 27, 1977, all in WWPC.

status quo in Hereford from the very real threat the ACLU embodied, both socially and economically. Civil rights politics, not to mention migrant-labor unionism, had to be kept at bay. By the 1970s, then, an aggressive conservatism based on a sense of place grounded in a notion that the region stood as an exception to the winds of national politics expressed itself in a community and moral guardianism against allegedly threatening ideas and people. To the people of Hereford, liberalism as well as the ACLU were threatening. Wayne Woodward's 1975 case against the powerbrokers of Hereford, Texas, is a testament to this larger sociopolitical phenomenon in a small, isolated town on the Southern Plains.

Blackdom work crew and agricultural machinery, date unknown. Courtesy of the Historical Society for Southeast New Mexico, Roswell, NM.

Blackdom: Revisiting Race in New Mexico's Black Town

Austin J. Miller*

At the turn of the twentieth century, New Mexico became a homeland for a wave of African American migrants who flocked to a blossoming settlement called Blackdom. Aside from the uniqueness of the community itself, which comprised the only all-black settlement in New Mexico's history, the name chosen for the community also strikes a distinctive chord. Most black towns founded during this period were named after inspirational figures in African American history or to honor individuals who played instrumental roles in each town's establishment. Instead, the name "Blackdom" invoked an aura of power, wealth, and independence, concepts that were largely unfamiliar—yet deeply attractive—to a population that found itself technically free, but often confined within repressive systems of labor and political disfranchisement. White and black pioneers were drawn to the West by the promise of prosperity, but African Americans also made the journey with the hope of escaping Jim Crow.

Blackdom existed as a physical place, but initially materialized as a fervent idea in the minds of the African American settlers who made southeastern New Mexico their home. The community developed in fits and starts, with its population peaking at around three hundred in 1916. The Blackdom Townsite Company was founded and incorporated in 1903, but the first black homestead claim in the general vicinity of what would become Blackdom was filed an entire year earlier.[1] Frank and Ella Boyer, widely recognized as the driving force behind the settlement, did not move to Blackdom until 1912, and it was another eight years before they officially filed the townsite plat in 1920.[2] Despite intermittent periods of

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1. "Articles of Incorporation" *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, September 12, 1903; Mack Taylor, Homestead Application, September 8, 1902, Roswell Land Office, A/C 971024, Box 41, Blackdom Homestead Papers, Historical Society for Southeast New Mexico, Roswell (hereafter HSSNM).

2. Blackdom Townsite Plat, May 28, 1920, Chaves County Clerk's Office, Rodney Bowe

prosperity and growth, the individuals and families who settled around Blackdom—whose intertwined lives formed the Blackdom community—suffered recurring bouts of economic, racial, and environmental adversity. These circumstances gradually forced settlers to leave Blackdom until only one family remained in 1930.[3]

Compared to the scholarly and popular attention that other black towns in the West garner, Blackdom has been largely neglected in both the historical record and the public consciousness. Although regrettable, this reality is not entirely surprising given the community's physical absence and the challenges of documenting such a remote place. Aside from a handful of works based on original research, much of what has been written about Blackdom is recycled from the same set of oral histories and early secondary accounts. Due to the relative dearth of primary archival sources, this history has become partially hidden from view, disguised beneath layers of historical and journalistic regurgitation.[4]

Further complicating the history of Blackdom is the somewhat ambiguous distinction between the Blackdom Townsite Company and the actual community of Blackdom. Historical accounts often conflate the two, but they were separate entities.[5] The Blackdom Townsite Company, incorporated in 1903, and the townsite plat, filed in 1920, existed only on paper, whereas the community of Blackdom consisted of scattered families and homesteads within a radius of several miles. Although the Blackdom Townsite Company was formed with the expressed intent of purchasing and reselling land exclusively to African American settlers, the business venture became embroiled in a series of land-fraud scandals soon after its establishment and never reached fruition.[6] The actual community of

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Personal Collection.

3. "Tales of Homesteading: Hazel Parker Lives Life Independently," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, November 8, 1999.

4. See Baton and Walt, *History of Blackdom;* Elvis E. Fleming and Minor S. Huffman, eds., *Roundup on the Pecos* (Roswell, NM: Chaves County Historical Society, 1978), 174-78; Daniel Gibson, "Blackdom," *New Mexico Magazine*, February 1986: 46-51; Jeff Berg, "Quest for Freedom," 111-15. Some authors have claimed that Boyer's flight from Georgia to New Mexico was in response to encounters with the Ku Klux Klan. Although racial conflict was certainly a component of his decision to leave, my research has produced no verifiable evidence to support these assertions. Despite their narrative value, such links between Boyer and the Klan in Georgia are most likely apocryphal.

5. I would like to thank Elvis Fleming for pointing me toward this crucial detail during a conversation on September 12, 2017.

6. This "Tallmadge Affair," as it came to be known, was a land-fraud case similar to countless

Blackdom, on the other hand, was dependent on the private homesteading efforts of individual settlers and their families. The vast majority of Blackdom settlers acquired their land within the parameters of the 1862 Homestead Act, which allowed an individual to file a claim to 160 acres of public land. If the claimant then occupied the selected tract for five years and completed the required improvements (which typically included the construction of a permanent residence and continuous agricultural development) the homestead was then eligible to be "proved up," meaning that the deed was officially transferred into private ownership. Thus, Blackdom straddled the boundary between physical and symbolic community. Access to advertising space in local and regional newspapers created an "imagined community" that primarily inhabited the printed page.[7] Conversely, homesteading endeavors and the frontier institutions of school and church connected the families of the Blackdom area. Day-to-day interactions in the general store and post office anchored people to the land and sustained the physical community of Blackdom for the better part of three decades.

Ultimately, in promoting the nebulous idea of Blackdom, its founders drew upon an established motif of the black town as a self-sustaining, prosperous refuge from the social and political maelstrom of Jim Crow America. Although this vision never fully came to fruition, it nevertheless connected Blackdom to tendrils of African American thought and movement across time and space. During the three distinct periods of Blackdom's history—establishment, growth, and failure—the venture corresponded with goals, strategies, and experiences of previous black communities.

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others that proliferated wherever western lands were distributed, bought, and sold. Monopolizing business factions—particularly railroad companies and extractive industries—bought up large tracts of real estate at depressed rates after settlers failed to "prove up" their homesteads in the allotted period of time. Purchasing land in such a fashion was not illegal, but corporations often colluded with individuals to stake fraudulent claims with resale as the primary intention, the practice directly violating the premises of the Homestead Act. The difficulty of proving intent in a courtroom, combined with the incompetence and corruption that permeated the Department of the Interior, permitted many such rackets to proceed with relative impunity. For further examples of land schemes, corruption, and fraud in the West, see Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 137-54; for specific instances of land fraud and graft in the New Mexico Territory, see George W. Julian, "Land-Stealing in New Mexico," *The North American Review* 145, no. 368 (1887): 17-31.

7. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983).

The concept of the black town is deeply ingrained throughout histories of the Exoduster movement. This pattern of migration to both the North and the West echoed the biblical march out of bondage toward a distant promised land, thus earning the moniker for its participants. Enclaves of black settlement that sprouted across the West after the failure of Reconstruction represented a variety of appealing possibilities for an African American population accustomed to constant subjugation by white society. Although black towns contained a specific ethnic component, they were otherwise quite similar to many other diverse, embryonic communities that proliferated across the West in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Among the first historians to investigate the black town movement was Mozell Hill, whose work on black communities in Oklahoma in the 1940s influenced multiple studies that emerged after 1970. Hill proposed that black towns shared "distinguishing features," which could be found in most settlement experiments on the western frontier. These early communities typically fit into one of three categories:

> (1) "Utopian" communities, established by various religious and socio-political sects in search of freedom, and attempting to escape the social restrictions of the larger society; (2) "Boom Towns," established as a result of the spontaneous rushes for gold, land, oil, and other natural wealth offered on the frontier; and (3) "Promoters' Enterprises," usually established through the promotional and enterprising efforts of individuals and groups who deliberately encouraged restless persons to migrate into the new area. In this connection . . . all-Negro communities had elements of these three patterns of community organization.[8]

Building on Hill's foundational studies three decades later, Norman Crockett described a unique blend of economic and racial advancement as a set of interconnected tenets: "The black-town ideology, in large part formulated and expounded by promoters, sought to combine economic self-help and moral uplift with an intense pride in race, while at the

8. Mozell C. Hill, "The All-Negro Communities of Oklahoma: The Natural History of a Social Movement" *The Journal of Negro History* 31, no. 3 (1946): 256-57. See also, Kendra T. Field, "'Turn our Faces to the West': Refugees, Pioneers and the Roots of 'All-Black' Oklahoma," in *Freedom's Racial Frontier: African Americans in the Twentieth-Century West,* ed. Herbert G. Ruffin and Dwayne A. Mack (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018).

same time encouraging an active role in county and state politics."[9] Thus, Crockett combined Hill's initial list of utopia, boom town, and promotion scheme with his own added characteristics of racial pride and political engagement. Years later, in *Black Towns and Profit,* Kenneth Hamilton focused on the speculative nature of western black towns and the role of promotional marketing in the formation of Exoduster communities:

> Economic motives, rather than racism, led to the inception of western black towns . . . The publicity given by newspapers . . . alerted speculators to the profit potential, but very few would risk tapping the black-settler market until increasing terrorist attacks, widening disfranchisement, and emerging Jim Crow laws inspired thousands of southern blacks to seek homes away from white persecution.[10]

Hamilton depicted the Exoduster movement as a high-risk system of venture capitalism which offered blacks an escape from the racial oppression that riddled the post-Reconstruction South. According to Hamilton, in order to be successful, western towns—both black and white—depended on advantageous variables, including return on investment, accessibility of the town site to transportation and migration routes, and the availability of natural resources.[11]

Although none of these authors dealt directly with Blackdom in their studies, New Mexico's sole black town largely conformed to their proposed characteristics. At various points during its brief existence, Blackdom represented each of the following: a utopian refuge providing racial insulation in conjunction with moral, educational, and social advancement; a "booming" population seeking to capitalize on the natural resources of artesian irrigation and reclaimed agricultural land; a profit-making venture based on land sales and investment in the proposed colony; and an "imagined community" fueled by widespread promotional tracts and widespread advertising in newspapers around the nation. Only Crockett's particular characterization of black towns as hotbeds of political activism appears incompatible with Blackdom's history and circumstances. As in most other black towns, economics, technology,

9. Norman L. Crockett, *The Black Towns* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), xiii-xiv.

10. Kenneth Marvin Hamilton, *Black Towns and Profit: Promotion and Development in the Trans-Appalachian West, 1877-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 1.

11. Ibid., 3-4.

race, and the environment were intimately connected throughout the Blackdom experiment.

Blackdom's principal figure, Francis Marion Boyer, was born around 1870 in Hancock County, Georgia. He was the fifth of seven children raised by former slaves Henry and Hester Boyer.[12] Like his father, who had served as a wagoneer with Alexander Doniphan's Missouri Volunteers during the U.S.-Mexican War, Frank Boyer enlisted in the Army as a young man.[13] During his stint as a member of the 24th Infantry, he saw combat in the Indian Territories and helped erect parts of Fort Huachuca in Arizona Territory. When he returned to Georgia, Boyer graduated from Morehouse College in Atlanta with a bachelor's degree in education and pursued graduate studies at Fisk University in Nashville. He met Ella McGruder during his time in Atlanta, and they married in 1894.[14] The couple settled

Fig. 1 Blackdom work crew and agricultural machinery, date unknown. Courtesy of the Historical Society for Southeast New Mexico, Roswell, NM.

12. 1880 U.S. Census, Hancock County, Georgia, District 118, population schedule, p. 51, dwelling 431, family 500, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed February 6, 2018, https://ancestry.com.

13. Jeff Berg, "Quest for Freedom: Early Black Settlements Made a Dream Come True," in *African American History in New Mexico: Portraits from Five Hundred Years*, ed. Bruce A. Glasrud (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 111-12. Berg utilizes Boyer family histories and interviews to connect Boyer's attraction to New Mexico to his father's military service.

14. "Vado Negro Claims to be Head of Largest Family in State," *Las Cruces (NM) Sun*

in Pelham, Georgia and welcomed several children into their growing family. Six years later, when life in the Jim Crow South finally became unbearable, Boyer uprooted his family in search of self-determination on New Mexico's distant frontier.[15]

From January to October of 1900, Boyer and his friend, Daniel Keys, trekked nearly two thousand miles from Georgia to New Mexico Territory. The two men frequently stopped to work odd jobs during their ten-month journey, sending most of their earnings home and saving what little they could toward a modest piece of land capable of supporting a free and prosperous community. Boyer's wife and children joined him in New Mexico in 1901.[16] After nearly three years of toil and setbacks, Boyer's nebulous vision slowly began to materialize in the Pecos Valley after he and twelve partners incorporated the Blackdom Townsite Company in 1903.[17] This marked the first stage of Blackdom's existence, in which its founders imagined a community that would offer African Americans shelter from the oppression of Jim Crow society, improve the lives of its residents through religious and educational uplift, and ultimately become a profit-making enterprise.

After an initial period of struggle, during which the Blackdom Townsite Company became entangled in a series of land-fraud scandals, the community of Blackdom eventually grew to nearly 300 residents. Several basic institutions sprouted, including a Baptist church, general store, schoolhouse, and post office. These buildings, and the various services they provided, connected remote homesteads, transforming Blackdom from a nebulous concept to an actual community. The families who homesteaded in the Blackdom area pursued a variety of agricultural strategies, including dry farming, importing water, and artesian irrigation. During years of plentiful rainfall, Blackdom farmers produced an assortment of subsistence crops. Ultimately, however, each of these tactics proved futile. When the rains dwindled, Blackdom was located too far from the Pecos River to rely on surface water, and the depleted water table and geological formation of the Pecos Valley eventually rendered shallow artesian wells impracticable.

News, March 30, 1947.

15. 1900 U.S. Census, Mitchell County, Georgia, Pelham, District 62, population schedule, p. 275, dwelling 99, family 105, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed February 8, 2018, https://ancestry.com.

16. Maisha Baton and Henry Walt, *A History of Blackdom, N.M., in the Context of the African-American Post-Civil War Colonization Movement*. (Santa Fe: Office of Cultural Affairs, Historic Preservation District, 1996), 5.

17. "Articles of Incorporation," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, September 12, 1903.

The community's demise first began around 1916, when drought conditions, crop blight, and accumulating financial woes slowly forced the departure of many families. Despite these challenges, Frank and Ella Boyer successfully filed the Blackdom Townsite Plat in 1920. By the late 1920s, however, Blackdom had been largely reduced and abandoned. A diaspora followed the town's gradual dissolution. Some founding families, including the Boyers, moved to the Mesilla Valley, where they helped to establish the town of Vado, New Mexico. Many were absorbed into the nearby communities of Roswell, Dexter, Hagerman, and Artesia. Others scattered across the western United States. Today, only wind-blown refuse and a lonely highway marker memorialize the unfulfilled aspirations of the town's former inhabitants.

As a short-lived refuge from the oppression of Jim Crow legal and social conventions, Blackdom succeeded largely through insulation and self-sufficiency. Racial tensions were certainly present throughout the town's lifespan, and the wave of hostility that Blackdom initially experienced eventually subsided and was replaced by widespread indifference and occasional amity. In the town's waning years, the rise of a local Ku Klux Klan chapter and resurgent emphasis on racial segregation confronted former Blackdom settlers who had been forced to abandon their homesteads and enter surrounding communities in search of employment and social services. Newspaper accounts and oral histories provide an overview of the ways that Blackdom settlers viewed themselves—as well as how they were perceived and treated by their overwhelmingly white neighbors.

Visions of wealth and profit served as a powerful lure, enticing settlers to the sun-scorched prairies of southeastern New Mexico. Whether by word of mouth or through the distance-defying systems of print capitalism, Blackdom's founders created the image of an agrarian utopia that intertwined cooperation, social uplift, and economic prosperity for the welfare of African-American people. Blackdom also promised some measure of refuge from the racism that spurred Exodusters out of the South, but racism often materialized yet again when they reached their destinations. This acrimony conjured a familiar aura of racial difference that haunted African-Americans' repeated attempts to build new homes and lives. Blackdom was imagined as a place where racial harmony could be achieved through isolation and self-sufficiency, but hostility and intolerance routinely permeated the interactions between the community and neighboring populations.

On December 14, 1912, a prominent advertisement in the *Indianapolis Freeman* declared: "Wanted! 500 Negro families (farmers preferred) to settle on Free Government Land in Chaves County, New Mexico.

Fertil [*sic*] soil, ideal climate. No 'Jim Crow' laws. For information write Jas. Harold Coleman. Blackdom, New Mexico."[18] This outpouring of optimism echoed the hyperbolic character of similar Exoduster projects and exemplified the promotional efforts intended to attract settlers to Blackdom.

The *Freeman* advertisement's claim regarding the absence of Jim Crow statutes neatly sidestepped the reality of the racial landscape that confronted black migrants in New Mexico. A comparable letter published in the *Chicago Defender* pronounced that in Blackdom, "There is no 'Jim Crowism'…Here the black man has an equal chance with the white man."[19] Once again, the hopeful tone of the printed word paled in comparison to the overarching racial climate surrounding Blackdom. The letter's author, Lucy Henderson, whose family occupied a homestead on the periphery of Blackdom near the village of Lake Arthur,[20] touted the availability of land and opportunity for black people in southeastern New Mexico:

> There is plenty of good farm land which the government is willing to give you for a very small entrance fee and three years' residence . . . I have nothing to gain financially by getting settlers here, for where I am the land belongs to the government and is free under the stipulations I have named . . . I feel that I owe it to my people to tell them of this free land . . . Your future is in your own hands . . . Some twenty families compose the colony of Blackdom . . . Surrounding Blackdom are many beautiful farms owned exclusively by members of the race . . . [so] anyone coming to Blackdom and deciding to throw in their lot with us will never have cause to regret it.[21]

18. "Wanted!" *Indianapolis Freeman*, December 14, 1912.

19. Lucy H. Henderson, "Free Land for the Race in Mexico," *Chicago Defender,* December 21, 1912. Note the confusion of Mexico and New Mexico in the article's headline. This mistake is most likely attributed to the editor's familiarity with concurrent attempts to establish black colonies south of the border in Mexico. See Karl Jacoby, *The Strange Career of William Ellis: The Texas Slave Who Became a Mexican Millionaire* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2016).

20. 1910 U.S. Census, New Mexico, Chaves County, Lake Arthur, District 27, population schedule, p. 140, dwelling nos. 136-37, family nos. 138-39, digital image, Ancestry.com, accessed March 7, 2018, http://ancestry.com.

21. Lucy Henderson, "Free Land for the Race in [New] Mexico," *Chicago Defender,* December 21, 1912.

Newspapers, along with expanding communication and transportation networks, allowed black town experiments of all sorts—especially the Blackdom venture—to reach distant audiences while they created promising visions of racial utopia, market demand, and economic prosperity.

Although more commonly enforced through social convention than legal ordinances, segregation remained prevalent in southeastern New Mexico until the middle of the twentieth century. Contemporaneous newspaper articles and reflective oral histories highlight instances of racial tension surrounding the Blackdom community at different moments in its brief existence. Racial animosity appears to have peaked soon after the town's establishment, then stabilized until the early 1920s, when the nationwide reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan took root in Roswell. African American pioneers in New Mexico largely avoided the waves of violence, intimidation, and lynching that surged across the southern United States in the early decades of the twentieth century, but Blackdom was seldom wholly insulated from discrimination and racial conflict, despite the isolationist and utopian aspirations professed in promotional literature and testimonials.

Elliott West has argued that, following the abolition of slavery, mass migrations of African Americans out of the South were a watershed moment for a nation struggling to consolidate both its national territory and racial identity:

> In the years after the Civil War, all America was a kind of borderland where racial edges and meanings were shifty and blurred . . . The war dismantled the nation's most elaborate racial institution and brought western questions to a boil. Never had America's sense been so uncertain of how its racial parts fit together, or even what those parts were. Small wonder, then, that many Americans looked hard for unconfused racial boundaries . . .[22]

The sudden influx of African Americans to the West introduced a black-white racial divide that had previously existed with the intermixing and shared kinship between Indians and Hispanos.[23]

22. Elliott West, "Reconstructing Race" *Western Historical Quarterly* 34 (Spring 2003): 15.

23. For a more nuanced discussion of the evolving racial landscape of New Mexico at the close of the territorial period, see Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago

The upheaval of the Civil War and Reconstruction triggered significant demographic friction as the Exoduster movement generated newfound mobility for a formerly sedentary black population. Along with other ethnic and religious groups, African Americans found themselves simultaneously pulled toward and pushed into the West. Property ownership, civil rights, and economic opportunity beckoned from this promised land. But the forces that impelled African Americans out of the South were equally powerful. The Compromise of 1877 effectively ended federal Reconstruction in the South, handing the reins of political dominion to Democratic "Redeemers" who sought to roll back the protections and rights won on the battlefield and with the ballot. Black Codes and vigilante terrorism ensured that freedmen remained relegated to the lowest rungs of the social ladder. With few opportunities to acquire either property or education, they were still slaves in all but name.[24]

Upon arrival in the West, Exodusters were confronted by a somewhat confusing racial landscape, which initially struggled to incorporate their blackness. After the onset of the U.S.-Mexican War in 1846, the rapidly multiplying numbers of Euro-Americans in the western territories annexed from Mexico set the stage for the racial divide that would dominate the United States through the middle of the twentieth century.[25] Blackdom's history serves as a productive illustration of the complexities of racial attitudes and interaction as the southwest borderlands were incorporated into the rapidly expanding and modernizing American nation. During its abbreviated existence, the Blackdom Townsite Company pledged that the community would strive for utopian levels of cooperation beyond the reach of Jim Crow animus. Despite such assurances of racial insulation, published accounts, residents' memories, and the specter of the resurgent Ku Klux Klan provide glimpses into the racial tensions that seeped into daily life in Blackdom and neighboring towns.

The most startling remnants from this period can be found in the archives of the *Artesia Advocate*. On September 19, 1903, the *Advocate* announced that Blackdom had filed its Articles of Incorporation and warned against ignoring the implications of the impending settlement. In a sober tone,

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Press, 2005).

24. See W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*, (1935; repr., New York: The Free Press, 1998); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014); Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1998).

25. Mitchell, *Coyote Nation,* 1-25.

the paper indicated the seriousness of the situation: "Those citizens of the valley who supposed the idea of an exclusive Negro town in Chaves County was a huge joke are badly mistaken." The notice closed with a threatening pronouncement: "If the colonists work hard, behave themselves and do exactly what their white neighbors want them to do, all will be well. Otherwise, otherwise." In no uncertain terms, the *Advocate* declared the superior position of the area's white citizens and threatened dire consequences should the newcomers exceed the parameters of their inferior racial station.[26]

Two weeks later, the *Advocate* published an editorial diatribe authored by W.R. Cummins, "a well-known citizen of Roswell." The piece bore the headline "A White Man's Country," in large, bold print, and extended the entire length of the front page.[27] Cummins emphatically declared:

> This is a white man's government, and ever since Roswell's been on the map, white people have paid the taxes and managed the town. It is true that . . . there has [*sic*] been one or two good old-fashioned negroes here, and they have had the respect and confidence of all the people. But now Roswell is threatened with an overflow of worthless negroes. . . [28]

Cummins's statements conjured two racist stereotypes of African Americans that were all too familiar in the Jim Crow era. For him, black people were either lazy, ungrateful social parasites, or "good old-fashioned negroes," who understood and accepted their place in the white man's racial hierarchy. His stereotypes and claims ignored or dismissed the list of community intentions set forth in Blackdom's Articles of Incorporation. Section 6 of the company charter specifically dictated that the Blackdom Corporation "maintain a colony of negroes by means of the cultivation of crops . . . and the general improvement of the inhabitants of such colony."[29] From its inception, the community sustained a steadfast commitment to self-sufficiency and hard work. In the face of constant economic and environmental hardship, Blackdom residents remained industrious, resourceful, and resilient.

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26. "Notice," *Artesia (NM) Advocate*, September 19, 1903.
27. W.R. Cummins, "A White Man's Country," *Artesia (NM) Advocate*, October 3, 1903.
28. Ibid.
29. "Certificate: Articles of Incorporation of Blackdom Townsite Company (No. 3519)," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record,* September 14, 1903.

The *Advocate* editorial continued: "The people have been wondering what to do to protect our families and homes from the encroachments of these worthless blacks. Today they are threatening to invade our public schools, they are saucy and impudent in the streets and in the stores and have seen for some time that we are up against a tough propositian [*sic*]."[30] Once again invoking the supposed inferiority of African Americans, Cummins accused Blackdom residents of "invading" public institutions and transgressing the appropriate bounds of deferential racial etiquette. Blackdom's charter, however, guaranteed provisions for "school houses, colleges, churches, and . . . institutions for the improvement and upbuilding [*sic*] of the moral and mental condition of the colony." These ideals indicated the community's emphasis on principled values.[31]

Blackdom's general store, school house, and Baptist church represent the town's dedication to social, economic, and religious development. When the United States entered the Great War in April of 1917, church members from Blackdom made a small but meaningful contribution to the war effort. The *Roswell Daily Record* commended the Red Cross unit of Blackdom for its "fine work," noting that, "the colored women of Blackdom banded themselves together" to knit scrub cloths for the Red Cross hospitals where sick and injured soldiers convalesced.[32] Three weeks later, the *Daily Record* once again praised the women for "doing a beautiful work of service in their humble way for God and humanity."[33] Cummins may have accused his black neighbors of indolence, but others recognized Blackdom settlers' modest acts of service to their community and nation.

Cummins concluded his remarks with a sarcasm-laden attack on local businesses that openly offered their services to blacks. "Isn't this refreshing to the people who regard a negro as a 'nigger' and demand that he keep his place at the foot of the table instead of at the head? . . . I claim that Booker Washington is just as good as any negro, but when it comes to making any negro as good as a respectable white, I draw the line."[34] Not all white community members espoused such racist vitriol,

30. W.R. Cummins, "A White Man's Country," *Artesia (NM) Advocate* (Artesia, NM), October 3, 1903.

31. "Certificate: Articles of Incorporation of Blackdom Townsite Company (No. 3519)," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, September 14, 1903.

32. "Red Cross Scrub Cloths," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, August 9, 1917.

33. "Red Cross Calls You!" *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, August 31, 1917.

34. W.R. Cummins, "A White Man's Country," *Artesia (NM) Advocate*, October 3, 1903.

Fig. 2 Sunday school class at Blackdom Baptist Church, circa 1909. Courtesy of the Historical Society for Southeast New Mexico, Roswell, NM.

but its unabashed presence in a public forum nevertheless revealed the extent to which these sentiments were viewed as defensible, if not wholly popular.

A mere five days later, the *Daily Record* published a column entitled "The Roswell Negro."[35] The article described an unpleasant encounter suffered by W.F. Pafford. While attending a church festival, Pafford "ran up against a sable son of Africa eating with the whites. This was more than Pafford could stand and he left. . ." At first glance, this announcement seems little more than a minor complaint about racial mixing in public venues. The article continued, however, to elaborate on the "gross injustice" of Pafford's comments, which were "going the rounds of the press." The paper's outrage was not directed at his segregationist views, but rather at what his assertions implied about the city itself:

> In the first place there are but very few negroes in Roswell, and those who are here keep their places. There is just as little so called "negro equality" in Roswell as you can find in any town of the south. Mr. Pafford in the above incident may have mistaken some weary Caucasian fair visitor covered with Pecos Valley Dust for a son of Ham. . . . At any rate there is no mixing of races here.[36]

35. "The Roswell Negro," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, October 8, 1903.

36. Ibid.

The column scolded Pafford for suggesting that Roswell's population was tainted by a significant black presence and then proceeded to emphasize the inferior racial and social status of the few African Americans who made Roswell and the surrounding area their home. The *Daily Record* alluded to the interpretation of the biblical "Curse of Ham," which has been used by various groups to justify the oppression and enslavement of dark-skinned peoples around the world.[37] By suggesting that Pafford had simply been deceived, the column sought to explain away the unsettling racial nature of the confrontation. Replacing the perceived menace of blackness with the dusty visage of a fellow "Caucasian" rendered Pafford's protest moot and rhetorically erased the threat of interracial contact.

Half a century later, this earlier era of widespread segregation still reverberated through published accounts. In 1965, the *Albuquerque Journal* printed a short column with headlines and stories from 1915, titled "Fifty Years Ago." The first paragraph recounted an unusual event that had occurred that year in Artesia. A "Negro preacher" from Blackdom visited Artesia to "solicit funds for a new church." After receiving a "liberal response to his pleas for donations," the parson "went home well pleased." Despite the reportedly warm welcome, the closing sentences of the column make clear that this was an infrequent circumstance: "Artesia is the only town of any size in New Mexico where the colored race is absolutely barred out."[38] Blackness may have been a relatively new addition to the racial milieu of New Mexico, but representatives of the "colored race" quickly discovered sentiments that echoed their treatment in the South.

Oral histories and remembered experiences offer varying individual perspectives on race relations in Roswell and Blackdom. Francis Boyer's son, Roosevelt Boyer Sr. spent much of his childhood in Blackdom until the family moved to Vado, New Mexico after the town's collapse. In a 1996 interview, Boyer responded to a question about the racial climate and segregationist policies in the neighboring communities:

> At first whites didn't mind. They were all from the North and they soon all moved out and left the place to the Southerners. They didn't like nobody [*sic*]. They was [*sic*] hard on us as they could be . . . Dad [Francis Boyer] wasn't used to negroes going

37. See David M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

38. "Fifty Years Ago," *Albuquerque (NM) Journal*, February 14, 1965.

> to school with the whites so he didn't fight it. Better for black children to be in their own school.[39]

These comments reveal Francis Boyer's relative comfort with segregation. Section 5 of the Blackdom Articles of Incorporation provided for "a system of education among the inhabitants of the town of Blackdom and the surrounding country . . . to improve the health, welfare, and prosperity of such inhabitants."[40] As a disciple of Booker T. Washington, Boyer would have been intimately familiar with the debates surrounding Washington's controversial 1895 "Atlanta Compromise" speech, in which he proposed that African Americans abandon civil rights agitation and instead pursue educational and economic advancement within the strictures of segregation.[41] It would appear that for the Boyers and many of their neighbors in Blackdom, segregation was an acceptable—perhaps even preferred—racial status quo.

A collection of pioneer family histories compiled by the Dexter Historical Society in 1970 also contains a rather jarring (and possibly apocryphal) reminiscence of interracial contact with Blackdom residents. H.R. "Dick" Lathrop recalled joining the local white doctor on a late-night excursion to visit a sick woman in Blackdom around 1910. It was winter, and the windblown snow collected in heavy drifts across the plains. When the men arrived at the patient's home, Lathrop remembered the doctor admonishing the woman's husband about the lack of firewood in the house.

> Dr. Stallard was quick to notice this and roared at the man: "Jube, you black rascal, why haven't you got a better fire in here?
>
> "Mistah Doctah," Jube whined, "I'ze been sorta puny lately, and I ain't got no wood."
>
> "Then tomorrow morning you hitch up your team and go grub a load of mesquite, and then you get back here and you keep this

39. Maisha Baton and Henry Walt, *A History of Blackdom, N.M., in the Context of the African-American Post-Civil War Colonization Movement*. (Santa Fe: Office of Cultural Affairs, Historic Preservation District, 1996), 7-9.

40. "Certificate: Articles of Incorporation of Blackdom Townsite Company (No. 3519)," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, September 14, 1903.

41. See Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

> house warm or I'll skin you alive. You're a trifling lazy nigger," he stormed.
>
> Old Jube said, "Yassuh Doctah, Yassuh," and was soon back with an armload of wood he had somehow managed to find.[42]

This exchange is remarkable not only for its racially charged language, but also because it was memorialized in the pages of a celebratory local-history collection nearly six decades later. Lathrop obviously felt that the story primarily reflected his own selflessness and the generosity of the doctor. Their benevolent intentions aside, his reporting of the incident highlights the manner in which African Americans were viewed by a segment of the area's white residents. The account suggests that recycled stereotypical characteristics of laziness, poor hygiene and living conditions, illiteracy, and linguistic caricatures informed Lathrop's perceptions of and interactions with his black neighbors.

Despite the condescending tone of Lathrop's anecdote, relations between Blackdom community members and their white neighbors remained mostly tranquil throughout the decade from 1910 to 1920. A scene narrated in the *Daily Record* encapsulates this period of apparent racial harmony. Residents from the surrounding area gathered in Roswell to celebrate New Mexico's impending statehood and "Juneteenth," which commemorated the anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in Confederate Texas: "On Sunday a baseball game was played between the colored nines of Roswell and of Carlsbad. . . . The locals won by a score of 21 to 2 . . . Tonight [there] will be given a dance, supper, and boxing contest."[43] For a short span of time, fellowship outweighed discord and shared humanity prevailed over racial boundaries.

Born in 1921, Hazel Parker experienced the waning years of the Blackdom settlement. Her parents, Caleb and Mary Taylor, arrived from Austin, Texas around 1910, drawn by the promise of land ownership in the then-thriving community of Blackdom. By 1920, the receding water table of the Pecos Valley made farming in Blackdom virtually impossible, and the Taylors were forced to seek employment in nearby towns. Her

42. H.R. "Dick" Lathrop, "A 'Call' with Dr. Stallard," in *As We Remembered It* by Dexter Old Timers (Roswell, NM: Hall-Poorbaugh Press, 1970), 212-13. I have been unable to corroborate this account in my research. The reported names of the black homesteaders do not appear in any of the newspaper articles or census records for Chaves County.

43. "Negroes Celebrate Emancipation Day," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, June 20, 1910.

mother worked as a maid for a white family while her father pursued a wide variety of trades, including mason, carpenter, and butcher. Caleb also worked as a chef in multiple restaurants in both Roswell and Dexter. By 1926, when Hazel was five years old, many of Blackdom's residents had abandoned the community for better prospects.[44]

The Taylors clawed out a life in Blackdom until 1929, when they finally left their homestead behind and moved into Roswell. Although environmental distress and employment logistics likely informed the decision to uproot the family once again, the choice was not theirs alone. While Caleb and Mary worked extended hours to provide for their family, Hazel and her younger siblings were often left unattended. The Roswell sheriff, likely out of concern for the unsupervised children, ordered Caleb Taylor to bring his family to Roswell within forty-eight hours. The Taylors reluctantly complied. The actions of the sheriff, whether benevolent or otherwise, reveal the tangible power dynamics between a black family and a white representative of state-sponsored civil authority. On command, without mention of extended legal proceedings, the Taylors were forced to relinquish their relative autonomy in Blackdom and submit to the harsh realities of segregated life in nearby Roswell.[45]

In their new home, "segregation was complete, not by law, but by social custom."[46] The Taylor family joined several of their former Blackdom neighbors, and moved into a house just beyond the section of the city dubbed "Ragtown."[47] Another African American family operated a ten-bedroom boarding house where black "travelers and newcomers" could find refuge "for weeks at a time while they got settled."[48] Black children attended school three miles away in Roswell's "red light district," where "prostitution and violent incidents" were commonplace. Before the segregated school was renamed for George Washington Carver, it had simply been referred to as the "Negro School." It consisted of "a two-room building" for elementary and junior high students, while high school classes were taught in "a dilapidated shack that had been towed in as an addition." Parker recalled: "It would not even have been decent for a man

44. Julien Gorbach, "Tales of Homesteading: Hazel Parker Lives Life Independently," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, November 8, 1999.

45. Ibid.

46. Carole Larson, "Roswellite Remembers Blackdom," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record,* May 6, 1984.

47. Julien Gorbach, "Tales of Homesteading: Hazel Parker Lives Life Independently," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, November 8, 1999.

48. Ibid.

and a woman to live in. If you had seen the ragged thing, you would have said that [it] is ridiculous." Whenever it rained, the buildings flooded and became unusable. Poor facilities were accompanied by worn-out and mismatched books, desks, and other various supplies cast off by Roswell's white schools. This exposure to the ludicrous "separate but equal" mantra of segregationist education policy weighed heavily on Parker. After graduating from George Washington Carver in 1941, she began working as the secretary of the newly formed local NAACP chapter. A decade later in 1952, with a young family of her own, she played an active role in the campaign to desegregate Roswell's schools.[49]

Hazel Parker's experiences highlight the tragic reversals of fortune that faced many Blackdom residents after the failure of their ambitious community. Blackdom families enjoyed a brief period of prosperity and insulation from constant reminders of their subordinate social standing, only to be forced back into Jim Crow society by economic hardship or—in the case of the Taylors—the seemingly arbitrary decision of an imperious officer of the law.

In 2007, Robert Anderson, a Roswell native and admirer of the settlers and descendants of Blackdom, conducted a series of interviews with Helena Wagoner Collins. Like Hazel Parker, Collins was one of the last children to be raised in Blackdom. She also spent the later years of her childhood in Roswell and attended school at George Washington Carver. When the interview eventually turned to the subject of race relations and segregation, Collins was significantly more restrained and circumspect than either Roosevelt Boyer or Hazel Parker. After continually deflecting his queries regarding racial conflict, Collins hesitantly acknowledged that Roswell did experience its fair share of racist sentiment but quickly interjected, "Oh, but not like Mississippi."[50] In response to a question about how she remembered being treated by the white citizens of Roswell, Collins replied with resigned ambivalence:

> You make the best you can with what you have . . . Not being able to go in and buy something didn't bother me . . . We weren't welcome in their eateries . . . I couldn't sit at the [drugstore] counter. So I accepted it . . . He [her father] always told us if you respect yourself and if someone is mean to you or disrespects you,

49. Ibid.; "Claims Segregation Still Exists in Carlsbad," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, July 8, 1954; "Negro Parents to File Petition," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, July 9, 1954.

50. Helena Wagoner Collins, interview by Robert Anderson, March 18, 2007, transcript, Robert Anderson Personal Collection.

> all you have to do is walk away. Turn and walk away. Not that he always did that.[51]

Although the African American experience in New Mexico and, indeed, in many places outside the South may have been a significant improvement over the pervasive racial enmity so common in places "like Mississippi," racial tension remained a tangible, if sometimes encoded, aspect of daily life.[52]

Race relations in the Blackdom community can also be extrapolated from debates surrounding the controversial Ku Klux Klan. Infamous for its visually striking processions in hooded white robes and shadowy vigils illuminated by blazing crosses, the ritualistic order first rose from the ashes of the South in reaction to the perceived injustices of federal Reconstruction. Although disconnected from one another by subtle shifts in ideology and membership demographics, the Ku Klux Klan enjoyed three distinct periods of proliferation and influence. In its initial phase from 1865-71, the Klan added elements of vigilante enforcement to legal ordinances designed to terrorize and disenfranchise the newly freed black population in the southern states. A concerted effort by agencies of federal power forced the conspicuous Klan to disband at the apex of Reconstruction. Nevertheless, open hostility toward religious and ethnic minorities remained potent. It was this lingering presence of Klan intimidation and violence that created much of the impetus for the Great Migration out of the South and eventually led to the founding of Blackdom on the distant New Mexico prairie.[53] While visions of social uplift and economic progress lured freedmen westward, a burgeoning climate of white supremacy, political oppression, and racial violence propelled black emigration at an unprecedented rate.[54]

The archives of the *Roswell Daily Record* depict a triangular relationship between the newspaper, the local community, and the nebulous Ku Klux Klan. Throughout the 1920s, the *Daily Record* printed regular Associated Press updates on the Klan's activities, scandals, and outrages from around the country. These brief announcements included election results, legal proceedings, and miscellaneous Klan-related incidents across Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and fifteen other states from New York to Oregon. During the turbulent summer of 1924, the *Daily Record* offered weekly

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Nancy McLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 4-22.

54. Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, 134-63.

reports from the political front lines, echoing the national debates surrounding the growing influence of the Klan. Although there are no reports of direct contact or strife between local Klansmen and members of the Blackdom community, the very existence of such an organization highlighted the fraught racial environment that surrounded Blackdom in its later years. The people who made their homes in Blackdom navigated this social environment on a regular basis. Racial difference and hierarchy were not a question, but a ubiquitous reality. Blackdom's residents proved themselves industrious, educated, self-sufficient, and morally upstanding, but ultimately, they remained implicitly tainted by the social stigma of racial inferiority.

Despite the *Daily Record*'s extensive commentary on the Klan's national activities, the newspaper failed to announce the formation of Roswell's own chapter of the organization. Pioneer Chapter No. 15 was founded in 1924, following the resurgence of the national Ku Klux Klan during its "Second Empire" stage. The Roswell Pioneer Klan trumpeted the slogan, "One Country, One Flag, One Language," which had become a something of a rallying cry for the swelling ranks of anti-immigration groups around the nation. The official "Qualifications for Membership" included stipulations that potential Klansmen be "Native born American, White, Gentile," and possess "Good moral character."[55]

Local historian Elvis Fleming offers a glimpse into the inner sanctum of Roswell's Ku Klux Klan chapter.[56] According to Fleming, the first official act of the Klan occurred on February 2, 1924, when a "flaming red cross was burned on South Hill."[57] In April, the Pioneer Klan published a sizeable ad on the front page of the *Record*, stating that the purpose of the order was to "pledge our support to the President of the United States, the Constitution thereof, and all amendments thereto."[58]

55. "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: A Fraternal, Patriotic, Benevolent Organization," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, December 1, 1928.

56. Elvis Fleming, "Pioneer Klan No. 15: The Ku Klux Klan in Roswell, 1924-1934," *Southern New Mexico Historical Review* 20 (January 2013): 14-24. Fleming's study draws on records from the private collection owned by a descendant of a Roswell Klan member. At his point in time, Fleming is the only historian to have been granted access to the collection. His article also redacts the names of all members, with the exception of a select few, whose association with the Klan was common knowledge. These circumstances, unfortunately, limit opportunities for further commentary and corroboration.

57. Fleming, "Pioneer Klan No. 15," 15.

58. "Roswell K.K.K. Says Stands for Enforcing Law," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, April 9,

No reports of the Klan targeting members of the Blackdom community appear in the archives of the *Daily Record*. However, an ad placed by the Pioneer Klan offered a reward for information about persons making "unauthorized threats" in the Klan's name. This sort of refutation signified the presence of racial and religious harassment, whether Klan-sponsored or otherwise.[59] Around the nation, the practice of publicly denying reported offenses was a common method of Klan deception. Deniability and impunity were staples of the Klan's potent strategy.[60] The relative absence of reported crimes in a locale occupied by the Klan often corresponded with successful railroading tactics throughout such communities.[61] This apparent vacuum of direct racial conflict was also possibly due to the fact that Blackdom had been partially abandoned by the time the Klan chapter was officially organized, rather than racial goodwill or indifference on the part of local Klansmen. The outward signs of acute prejudice, however, were not always pervasive where contact between hostile groups was highest. In fact, limited exposure to "others" often bred deeper animosity and instances of confrontation.[62]

The dearth of reported racial violence by the Ku Klux Klan in Roswell, however, did little to alter the white supremacist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic attitudes expressed by the Klan. The most extreme incident reported by the *Daily Record* occurred on the day of a local primary election. In the predawn hours of March 20, 1928, Roswell citizens awoke to the disturbing sight of three blazing crosses. The crosses were placed near conspicuous locations, including the armory, the local Elk's club, and most prominently, on the front lawn of the Catholic Church. Despite a "strenuous denial" from the Klan, the *Daily Record* claimed, "A number of votes would change because of the cross burning," and that the city responded with "rank outrage" at this "attempt to inject religious prejudice in the city primary."[63] As this report demonstrates, the Roswell Pioneer Klan was primarily defined by political and religious intimidation rather than racial violence. However, given the greater Klan's propensity for silencing or distorting public disclosures

1924.

59. "Notice to the Public," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, November 19, 1927.

60. MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, 166.

61. Ibid., 169.

62. Ibid., xvi-xvii.

63. "Klan Denies Connection with Burning Three Crosses," *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, March 20, 1928.

of their extralegal activities, it remains likely that racially motivated confrontations did indeed occur beyond the scope of the historical record.

According to Fleming, Roswell Pioneer Chapter No. 15 officially relinquished its Ku Klux Klan charter in June of 1927 and adopted the moniker of the Roswell Benevolent Association.[64] Although the official recognition of the Pioneer Chapter within the national organization may have ended, there is no doubt that Klan activities continued largely unabated. Weekly advertisements in the community events section of the *Daily Record* declared, "Regular Klonklave of Pioneer Klan No. 15 Thursday evening . . . at 8 o'clock, sharp. Be there!"[65] These announcements were printed regularly until 1932.

Despite the slow decline of the Klan in Roswell, the legacy of racial tension within the community remained formidable. When Blackdom failed, families—such as the Taylors—who abandoned their homesteads and moved into Roswell in search of new beginnings found an atmosphere in which the Klan was widely supported and celebrated. Even after the Klan's eventual dissolution, physical and economic chasms stratified access to social services and daily interactions. Like much of the nation, Roswell's schools (and many public institutions) remained segregated until activism from locals like Hazel Parker resulted in policy changes as the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision began to sweep across the country.[66]

In the minds of its founders, Blackdom was intended to offer escape from the Jim Crow oppression that permeated the South. Frank Boyer and his partners hoped to establish a community beyond the reach of racial animosity, where social uplift, moral character, and economic development were valued and promoted. Despite such lofty aspirations, the shadow of racial difference remained a potent, unavoidable force. Occasionally, cooperation and goodwill supplanted fear and hatred. Sadly, these instances appear as the exception rather than the rule. The archives of local newspapers and the memories of homesteaders and their descendants depict the spectrum of race relations that defined

64. Ibid.

65. "Klansmen Attention!" *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, July 10, 1930.

66. George M. Cooper, "The Modern Civil Rights Movement in New Mexico, 1955-1975," in *African American History in New Mexico: Portraits from Five Hundred Years*, ed. Bruce A. Glasrud (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 205; Julien Gorbach, "Tales of Homesteading: Hazel Parker Lives Life Independently" *Roswell (NM) Daily Record*, November 8, 1999.

life for African Americans in Blackdom and surrounding communities. This hidden history offers unique insights into the complexities of racial identity in the New Mexico borderlands and the sometimes implicit—yet omnipresent—nature of racial tension throughout the Jim Crow era.

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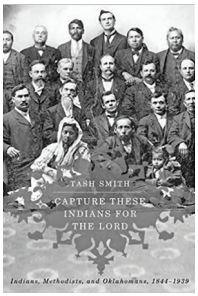
Book Reviews



Tash Smith. ***Capture These Indians for the Lord: Indians, Methodists, and Oklahomans, 1844-1939.*** (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014), 246 pages. Paperback, $29.95.

Delving into a subject too often misconstrued, Tash Smith's monograph, *Capture These Indians for the Lord,* seeks to offer a fresh and altogether balanced perspective of the complicated relationship between missionaries and the American Indians. With a narrow focus and the stated objective of avoiding the pitfalls of anachronistic analysis, Smith's narrative deftly intertwines the missionaries' theological and cultural objectives with the traditional customs and perceptions of the missionized tribes. The result is a uniquely intriguing story of give and take between dissimilar parties, neither of whom remained wholly unaffected by each other or the world in which they lived.

Concentrating on the Southern Methodist missionary movement in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, Smith picks up the story in the mid-nineteenth century when the Indian Mission Conference (IMC) was established with the dedicated purpose of evangelizing American Indian tribes out West. Following along in the footsteps of the well-meaning, if at times misguided missionaries, the narrative underscores the many adjustments they made – good and bad – in response to frequent political and demographic changes. Running parallel to this storyline is that of the tribes themselves who, urged to join white society via the church, were reluctant to completely disavow their own culture, preferring instead to take what the church offered in one hand while holding tight to their traditions in the other. Putting the two perspectives together, Smith argues that though both parties failed to fully understand one another, neither missed an opportunity to take advantage of the other for the sake of their own interests.

All told, what at first glance may appear to be a predictable, one-dimensional story of conqueror and conquered, quickly shows itself to be far more intricate. By weaving together the larger historical and cultural transformations of the period with the variable agendas and sensibilities of both concerned parties, Tash Smith does indeed expose the complexities

of the topic. Though Smith's decidedly narrow focus does limit the appeal of his research somewhat, it nonetheless proffers rational and productive analysis. Such was the stated purpose of the book, and such was the end result.

Courtney A. Crowley
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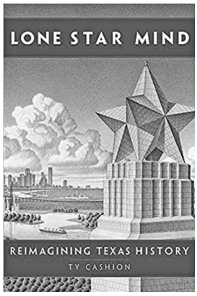


Ty Cashion. ***Lone Star Mind: Reimagining Texas History***. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.), 269 pages. Hardcover, $34.95.

Texas is a richly diverse state that lacks a proper sense of collective identity, or so historian Ty Cashion argues in *Lone Star Mind*. Texas's widespread sense of exceptionalism—which oftentimes rests on the existence of the Texas Republic from 1836-1845—requires careful reassessment in order to make the state's past more usable to Texans in the twenty-first century. The classic Anglo frontier experience has long remained at the forefront of the Texas literary canon, as Cashion notes, despite veritable libraries of volumes produced by academics that reflect a richer (and oftentimes sadder) diversity of figures. Understanding this disjuncture's effects on the "Lone Star Mind" are Cashion's central concerns.

"Recasting the study of Texas history as a contest of metanarratives" offers the way forward to a more inclusive Texas identity (19). The persistent influence of T.R. Fehrenbach's *Lone Star*, first published in 1968 and long discredited by professional scholars, has played an outsized role in keeping the state's traditional male-, Anglo-, and frontier-centered identity alive to the present day. As Cashion notes in Chapter Two, social historians have done little to challenge the factual record of Texas history; instead, writing against the emergence of the traditional Texas mythology during the twentieth century and into the early twenty-first has only served to help extend the latter while stoking the flames of anti-intellectualism in such a deeply conservative state. Cashion later discusses whether Texas belongs in the U.S. West or the U.S. South. Although a "Texan West" certainly exists in literature as well as from the formative influences of Tejanos and Mexicans, Texas exceptionalism seems to stem more from the state's violent Anglo heroism, easily traceable since the fall of the Alamo in 1836. In Chapter Four, Cashion finds hope in professional history's "cultural turn," arguing that "the broadly encompassing nature

of cultural history has empowered it to absorb and assimilate rather than overtake social history," thus potentially accounting for a badly needed academic metanarrative of the state's entire history (135).

Cashion concludes *Lone Star Mind* by arguing that "the field's ultimate fate rests with the way academicians resolve their perceptive differences" over Texas's real past, or, whether professional historians can write useful metanarratives and the conservative public can join them, "rather than continue defending an obsolete narrative that is indefensible" (161,177). Cashion thus points toward a hopeful way forward for Texas history. *Lone Star Mind* is clearly a book for professional historians: although the writing is oftentimes dense, Cashion's message will be well received by scholars, due both to its optimism as well as its rich accounting for what "Texas" has meant across time. Whether the gap between popular Texas history and academic Texas history can ever be bridged, though—especially given the deep divisions in the state that Cashion accounts for, not to mention the larger political fracturing of the early twenty-first century United States—remains to be seen. Nonetheless, *Lone Star Mind* is a deeply thoughtful book that all Texas historians should read.

Tim Bowman
West Texas A&M University

Dan O'Brien. ***Great Plains Bison*.** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 144 pages. Paperback, $14.95.

As a symbol of the American West, the buffalo has served a range of impulses, from the spiritual to the commercial, representing both loss and endurance. In *Great Plains Bison* author Dan O'Brien uses that symbolic resonance to tackle broader environmental issues that confront the region today.

O'Brien provides a brief sketch of the bison's origins in Eurasia and its migration to North America over the Bering land bridge, and its subsequent relationship to the first human inhabitants of the continent. The evolution of that relationship brought about by the acquisition of the horse by native peoples, is likewise covered in a few, broad strokes. The author then turns to his greater concern, the grim story of the near-extermination of the bison and the changes wrought on a fragile landscape.

The story is familiar, but O'Brien's retelling makes fresh the shock: an estimated thirty-five million animals reduced to around one thousand by the end of the nineteenth century, spurred by misguided military and

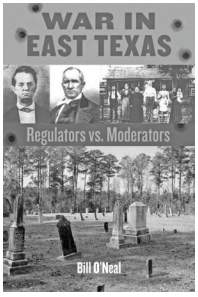
government policy, dubious scientific rationales, and commercial chicanery. As tragic as the near loss was, O'Brien identifies the removal of the bison from the Great Plains as a critical loss to the plains ecosystem, and the first of an ongoing series of environmental blunders.

The bison becomes the backdrop for much of the remainder of the book, as O'Brien chronicles the parallel suppression of Native American cultures and the subsequent settlement and exploitation of plains resources. The abuse of the plains environment, as he sees it, was initiated by government and commercial interests imposing settlement patterns unsuited to an arid land. He finds the short-sighted destruction continuing into the present, pointing to barbed wire fencing, application of pesticides and chemical fertilizers, the overuse of limited water supplies, and genetically modified crops as devastating disruptions to a delicate balance of which the bison had been a part.

There are few heroes in O'Brien's story, though some enlightened individuals acted in time to avert the extinction of the bison. Interest in the bison as symbol and as commercial product has resulted in a boom in numbers, but O'Brien finds this a mixed blessing, as, in his view, most of the survivors are little more than curiosities or commodities.

A writer who maintains a herd of bison on his South Dakota ranch, O'Brien clearly holds these animals in high regard. While this brief work tells only a part of the story, its warnings, if heeded, might become the buffalo's greatest legacy.

Warren Stricker
Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum



Bill O'Neal. ***War in East Texas: Regulators vs. Moderators*****.** (Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2006), 206 pages. Paperback, $18.95.

Bill O'Neal's *War in East Texas: Regulator's vs. Moderators* is the story of feuding and vendettas in the early days of the Republic of Texas. A conflict neglected by past historians, O'Neal argues that it was a template for future extralegal activities in Texas. He presents four factors that contributed to the viciousness and longevity of the Regulator-Moderator conflict: its historic roots in the colonial south, the political conflict between Spain and the U.S. after the Louisiana Purchase, newly developed weapons, and the lack of law-enforcement in the region.

O'Neal examined personal papers, newspaper accounts, unpublished

manuscripts, and legal documents to uncover the details of this conflict. He notes that some important accounts have been lost, including Watt Moorman's. Though this is a serious gap in the record of the Regulator viewpoint, O'Neal uses accounts provided by Moorman's compatriots to fill this void.

In tracing the tradition of vigilante justice in Texas to earlier colonial experience, specifically the "Regulator" and "Lynching" activities of colonial South Carolina and Virginia, O'Neal reveals a connection to the colonial era that is seldom highlighted; the origins of extralegal violence on the frontier. It was a direct path, O'Neal argues, to this Regulator movement and the violence that erupted in Shelby and Harrison County during the 1830s and 1840s. Such violence was a direct descendant of colonial experience, but also a child of westward expansion and the political unrest it engendered.

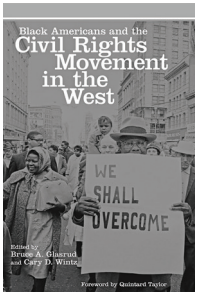
A final theme is that Regulators and Moderators who fought each other to establish justice were themselves criminals, and some were notorious. The nature of their crimes factored in which groups they joined. Regulators might be guilty of murder, but not guilty of fraud and despised Moderators who were. O'Neal follows the trail of bloodshed and shows that increasingly heavy-handed tactics of the Regulators and the ambitions of their leader, Watt Moorman, helped change the make-up of the Moderator faction. New settlers would rise in self-defense as Moderators, but would be willing to accept the rule of law if it became available. As the violence spilled beyond county borders and threatened the peace of the Republic, Sam Houston stepped in to provide it.

In the final chapters, O'Neal argues that this early conflict established a tradition of extralegal violence in Texas. While the connection between the Regulator- Moderator War and later Texas feuds and vendettas is not well developed, their connection to colonial developments is. Certainly, the rapid expansion of the American West explains some elements of continued feuding and violence in Texas; the population outran the legal supports available in more settled areas. Implicit in the unfolding story is that, regardless of personal position, violence was necessary and acceptable even if a person was not in immediate danger. If the threat existed, few expected a potential victim to wait for an ambush. Self-defense was a vigorous, preemptive, and accepted policy even as the state matured.

As a final question of this story, O'Neal discusses the lack of public interest concerning it when so many other, less deadly feuds have captured the public imagination. Its lack of appeal in comparison to other feuds arises, he surmises, from the fact that the Regulator-Moderator war did not share elements popular in the American imagination of the West:

cowboys, cattle rustling, and other indelible features of life in the "wild west." Still, the men and women revealed in these pages are colorful indeed, and O'Neal's straightforward, unflinching narrative is enjoyable for history enthusiasts and scholars alike.

Hillary Easley-McPherson
West Texas A&M University



Bruce A. Glasrud and Cary D. Wintz, ed. ***Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West*****.** (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 296 pages. Paperback, $29.95.

In the 2019 book *Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West,* Bruce A. Glasrud and Cary D. Wintz have brought together a number of articles covering the history of the African American struggle for civil rights in western states. Every article deals with a different western state- from California to Texas. The collection is an important contribution to the historical interpretation of the civil rights movement. The focus of study has often been in the South and North, but the West deserves a place at the table.

Although the black population was never as large in the West as elsewhere in the United States, there is a historical narrative that cannot be ignored. The West might not have had de jure or legal segregation but still had de facto or customary segregation. As white Americans moved to the West, they brought white supremacy with them. One major theme that touched almost every state was World War II as the African American population in every western state increased dramatically with the influx of workers in the defense industry. They faced issues with the color line and challenged racial barriers. These challenges might have been motivated by what was happening in the civil rights movement in the East, but often times they originated in western concerns. For example, students from California worked in the Freedom Summer in Mississippi but also dealt with California civil rights issues such as police brutality.

Glasrud and Wintz have chosen prominent scholars to contribute articles about a specific western state or states. In the article about California written by Herbert G. Ruffin II he discusses "James Crow, Esquire (racial discrimination not by law but by deliberate custom)." (39) In the reprint of an article by Elmer R. Rusco the reader discovers why Nevada was once called "The Mississippi of the West." (85) The reader can

often be surprised. For example, the heartland of America has often been overlooked by the traditional historical narrative, but the article by Donald H. Strasser and Melodie Andrews on Iowa and Minnesota show that the Black Panther Party had a strong presence in Des Moines, Iowa between 1968 and 1971. Protest against segregation in some cases began before the better known examples in the South. A sit-in occurred in Wichita, Kansas in 1958, two years before the sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina.

This book should garner a great deal of interest. The focus on a region that has been ignored in the literature of the movement is an important addition to the historiography. People with an interest in the American West, the civil rights movement, or American history should look into this book.

Marty Kuhlman
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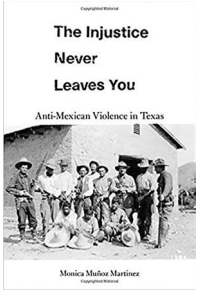


Monica Muñóz Martínez. *The Injustice Never Leaves You: Anti-Mexican Violence in Texas*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 400 pages. Hardcover, $35.00.

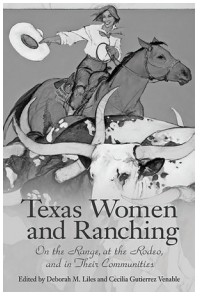
In *The Injustice Never Leaves You* by Monica Muñoz Martinez, the author discusses racial violence toward Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Texas. The author shows how the injustices of the past are not forgotten by victims and focuses heavily on the "politics of memory" in modern Texas history (33). For many, this book may be the first time that one reads about the lynching at Rocksprings, Texas or the injustices of the Texas Rangers when dealing with Mexican residents. This book shows how through oral history and buried documents, many previously accepted stories of the Texas Rangers and law enforcement are being turned over to reveal the atrocities beneath.

The introduction lays a suitable foundation for the type of book the reader should expect, a particularly powerful look at a culture of apathy, violence and mistreatment. In 1918, a man named Miguel Garcia had heard that his son, Florencio, was supposedly killed by Texas Rangers. Garcia had to retrieve the body of his own son from the desert, yet still struggled to get the government to acknowledge his son's death at the hands of the Rangers. Florencio's cause of death was left blank on his death certificate, even though the clothes on the corpse had visible bullet holes. Martinez uses examples such as this to highlight the inhumane treatment of Mexican Americans by Texas law enforcement.

The books chapters focus on different aspects of issues surrounding the violence and results of that violence. Much of the first few chapters covers specific cases of injustices that deserve a stronger spotlight, as many of them have been buried by the authority figures surrounding them. One such instance is covered in great detail: the murder of two men by a Captain in the Texas Rangers and the violent background of that Ranger. Captain Henry Ransom murdered Jesus Bazán and Antonio Longoria after they reported that bandits had raided them recently. Normally, Bazán and Longoria would have avoided the Rangers, but they feared being accused of supporting the bandits. Captain Ransom was notorious for blindly, randomly murdering Mexicans he accused of crimes. In his eyes, every Mexican was guilty of something. His reports did not mention the murder of the two men, only that the Captain was posted nearby.

It is these types of stories that *The Injustice Never Leaves You* covers in gruesome detail. Using oral histories and available primary sources, Martinez has created a compelling case for further research into the past relations between various groups in Texas. As the title suggests, just because the injustices are in the past, does not mean that the pain or impact of these events is gone.

Patrick Diepen
West Texas A&M University



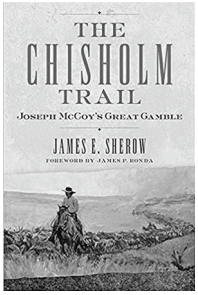
Deborah M. Liles and Cecilia Gutierrez Venable, ed. *Texas Women and Ranching: On the Range, at the Rodeo, and in Their Communities.* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2019), 173 pages. Cloth, $32.00.

This edited volume is a collection of tightly written essays that make a remarkable contribution to the history of women's participation in Texas ranching. The introduction provides useful framing for the historiography of women's ranching activities in Texas. Although great strides have been made to correct the historical record on women's activities, the field of ranch history will be greatly enhanced by this volume's documentation of many women's diverse contributions. The essays that follow place women's involvement in ranching within the larger frame of Texas history, women's rights, and regional differences in laws and social mores during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Under Spanish rule in early 19th century Texas, women owned their own ranches, participated in the development of the livestock industry, and thrived despite the violence that sometimes engulfed them during the Texas War for Independence. In the late 19th century, independent and resourceful women defended their ranches from violent attack during the Texas Fence-Cutting Wars. Less extreme, but perhaps no less challenging were the everyday obstacles women faced as they worked to combine what we think of as traditional gendered activities with the labor and management demands placed upon them as ranching women. However, the essays in this volume challenge the idea that being a woman during this period set absolutely rigid limitations on women's activities. As many scholars have noted, women frequently defined the sphere of the domestic in the 19th and early 20th centuries to include caring for the larger community as well as the family. In fact, many women were trained by their parents to take an active role in the development of family businesses including ranch bookkeeping, stock breeding, stock development and management, and riding. Many women even rode competitively without suffering reprobation for overstepping gendered boundaries.

It has nonetheless been difficult for contemporary scholars to recognize women's active involvement in ranching life. Several authors address the historiographic issues here, noting that economic, political, and social records of the time were affected by the biases of gendered frameworks even if women were not as restricted by them as previously thought. From tax rolls to the census, women's activities were mistakenly recorded as their husband's, making women's ranching history quite challenging methodologically. The contributors to this volume have taken on that challenge and consequently helped to transform how we think about gendered relationships and social roles in the ranching industry of Texas.

Donna Murdock
Sewanee University of the South



James E. Sherow. *The Chisholm Trail: Joseph McCoy's Great Gamble.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 360 pages. Hardcover, $29.95.

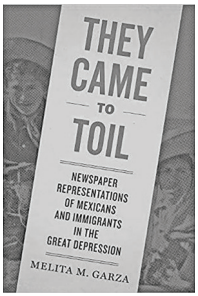
In *The Chisholm Trail: Joseph McCoy's Great Gamble,* historian James Sherow portrays the famous cattle trail less as an Old West legend and more as part of a risky system wherein humans exploited animals, plants,

and water to (hopefully) make money—and in the process reshaped the natural environment. Sherow's focal point is Illinois cattleman Joseph McCoy, who built Abilene, Kansas, and later Wichita into commercial hubs. After the Civil War, flows of capital facilitated movement of cattle from the rangelands of the West, especially Texas, to the stockyards and slaughterhouses that transformed the animals into commodities for consumers in New York, London, and other distant markets.

This is an exhaustively researched and exquisitely written book. Sherow clearly explains how *Rhipicephalus annulatus* ticks carried the tiny protozoan *Babesia bigemina* that caused Texas fever, which wiped out Illinois herds in 1868 and disrupted the interstate cattle trade. Overwintering bovines on cold northern plains minimized the disease's impact, but it was not until 1888 that scientists understood its cause. Although McCoy's writings are among the book's many primary sources, Sherow takes the concerns of agriculturalists and legislators in states like Illinois more seriously than did McCoy. A particularly illuminating section is chapter four, which focuses on climate, water, grass, geography, and technology. Railroads, especially the Union Pacific Railway, Eastern Division (UPED), had the "power to shape an ecosystem" (105). Rails and laws helped turn solar energy stored in Great Plains grasslands into dollars. Stockmen could make fortunes because grass and water were held in the public domain and thus considered free, even though Native Americans rightfully saw these resources as belonging to them. Chapter eight shows how Indians tried, often unsuccessfully, to regulate drovers passing through their lands. Ultimately, after years of cattle drives, tallgrass prairie yielded to invasive plants or, with the arrival of farmers, to domesticated crops. "The story of Joseph McCoy and the Chisholm Trail," argues Sherow, "can be viewed as ecological exploitation" (282).

Sherow, a history professor at Kansas State University, began work on this volume in the 1990s, and his approach is reminiscent of William Cronon's 1991 masterpiece, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. In another recent book, *The Old Chisholm Trail: From Cow Path to Tourist Stop* (2018), Wayne Ludwig outlines the trail's exact location and debunks some twentieth-century myths associated with it. Yet Sherow's book, centered on the consumer demand and financial webs that facilitated the cattle trade and its subsequent environmental impact, will likely stand as the definitive work on the subject. It is highly recommended.

Brian M. Ingrassia
West Texas A&M University



Melita M. Garza. *They Came to Toil: Newspaper Representations of Mexicans and Immigrants in the Great Depression*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 242 pages. Paperback, $29.95.

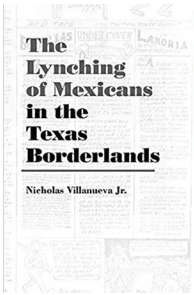
Melita M. Garza's *They Came To Toil* examines media coverage of Great Depression era repatriation of Mexican and Mexican-American laborers. At the heart of the book lie many of the same issues that animate modern political debate regarding immigration to the United States from Mexico: issues surrounding questions of who qualifies as American and who is allowed to stay.

They Came To Toil examines three San Antonio daily newspapers to analyze the ways in which Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were depicted in contemporary media. Garza's focus on San Antonio is crucial to the efficacy of the book. San Antonio was the intellectual and cultural center of the Mexican-American community and thus the focal point of a burgeoning Mexican-American identity. The three daily newspapers examined were tailored to distinct audiences and thereby show multiple viewpoints on the subject of Mexican immigration. *La Prensa*, a locally-owned, Spanish-language paper was largely focused on the Mexican-American community and Mexican laborers living abroad. Not only did *La Prensa* provide a transnational perspective, it was the only selected newspaper to provide a human-interest angle regarding repatriates and their communities. The *San Antonio Express*, also locally-owned, catered to the interests of the white working and business classes. Finally, the *San Antonio Light*, part of the Hearst media empire, portrayed a distinctly xenophobic and national perspective. By comparing the three newspapers Garza is able to illustrate the different perspectives within contemporary media regarding Mexican-Americans and Mexican labor.

Organized chronologically, the work analyzes the ways in which each paper covered issues of immigration and repatriation efforts from 1929 through 1933. Garza's analysis focuses largely on the various 'news frames' employed by the papers. For example, the Good Citizen frame "actively framed repatriation as… a patriotic act." (30) Repatriates were thus portrayed through this news frame as patriots whose U.S.-acquired agricultural skills would improve the overall health of the Mexican economy- whether or not these individuals were actually victims of indiscriminate and racially-motivated deportation. At the crux of Garza's work is her portrayal of the roles played by newspapers in both the creation and promotion of public perceptions of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and the repatriation efforts directed against them.

The most significant drawback to Garza's work is its limited scope, with the analysis ending after 1933. This leaves the reader curious about subsequent developments in the portrayal of Mexican-origin labor, especially at the close of the 1930s and the run-up to the Second World War. There is no doubt *They Came To Toil* is an important work of media history, but will also prove valuable to social, labor, and borderlands historians.

Tyler Willard
West Texas A&M University



Nicholas Villanueva, Jr. ***The Lynching of Mexicans in the Texas Borderlands.*** (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017), 232 pages. Paperback, $29.95.

Nicholas Villanueva Jr. examines the violent history of lynching in the Texas borderlands during the Mexican revolutionary period, 1910-1920. Expanding on Linda Gordon's *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (1999), Villanueva states three significant factors that led Anglo Texans towards discrimination and violence: Anglo Texas defined Mexicans as nonwhite, national identity favored white citizens, and struggles over loyalty and sovereign rights classified *ethnic* Mexicans as an "enemy of the state" during the Mexican Revolution.

Prior to the Mexican Revolution, the border was an "open door of exchange." Americans went to Mexico for missionary purposes, business opportunity, tourism, and border entertainment. Mexicans in Texas were diverse with upper-class Mexicans choosing assimilation and gaining acceptance. Working-class Mexicans and darker-skinned immigrants found acceptance difficult.

With the outbreak of violence in the Mexican Revolution, Americans in Mexico fled back to the US and Mexican refugees fled Mexico, doubling the immigrant population in Texas to 251,827 by 1920. Anglo Texans defined the new immigrants as the "Mexican problem." As border towns surged with immigrants, the behavior of males was denounced in nativist language: "The lower class of Mexicans have no more control over their passions than an angry beast…." Anti-Mexican prejudice among Anglo Texans surfaced in letters to the governor and letters to editors of newspapers—Mexicans were "unhealthy, unsanitary, susceptible to communicable diseases."

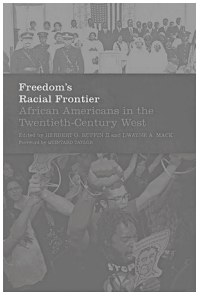
Villanueva focuses on three lynchings: twenty-year-old Antonio Rodríguez in Rocksprings, Texas, in 1910; fourteen-year-old Antonio Gómez in Thorndale, Texas in 1911; and the "legal lynching" of Leon Martínez

in 1914. Each lynching illustrated Anglo Texan prejudice, and Mexicans on both sides of the border lived in "fear and confusion." Revolutionary activity in Mexico intensified Anglo resentment and the border destabilized. In 1918, suspected Mexican bandits of the Luke Brite Ranch raid were traced to El Porvenir, and Texas Rangers attacked the settlement, killing fifteen American-born men of Mexican descent. Pancho Villa's raid on Columbus in 1916 set off Anglo mobs in El Paso.

America's involvement in World War I lessened lynchings. Two occurred in 1916 after Villa's raid and one in 1919. Villanueva states that the borderline enemy became Germany, stability in Mexico lessened fear of revolutionary violence, and a growing Mexican American civil rights movement grew out of an investigation of Texas Ranger behavior at El Porvenir. "Anglo paranoia shifted from Mexican 'bandits' to 'German agents.'"

Villanueva's work is an exemplar to fine historical scholarship. Archives, oral interviews, newspapers, and government publications were deeply gleaned. Any future scholarship of borderland studies must include this book.

Jack Matthews
Fort Worth, Texas



Herbert C. Ruffin II and Dwayne A. Mack, ed.
Freedom's Racial Frontier: African Americans in the Twentieth Century West. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 424 pages. Paperback, $34.95.

By compiling various essays in *Freedom's Racial Frontier* the editors Herbert G. Ruffin II and Dwayne A. Mack explore "the rich and heretofore mostly ignored cultural heritage of the black West." (xiv) The essays focus on the black community in the West but also look at the interaction of African Americans and other ethnic groups such as Native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Asian Americans. Many of the essays are based in the early twentieth but a number also investigate race in the West in the twenty-first century.

Many themes are touched on. One theme is the growth of the African American communities in the West. The first article by Bernadette Pruitt deals with the formation of the black community in Houston, Texas between 1900 and 1941. Another article by Kendra T. Field discusses the movement of African Americans to Oklahoma and the hope the West

would be a place they could escape Jim Crow, although this hope was often shattered. Articles also appear discussing the growth of black communities in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Spokane, Washington. The growth of black populations in the West during the twenty-first century is studied in short articles on Seattle, Washington; Denver, Colorado; and Fargo, North Dakota.

The interaction between African Americans and other minorities is looked at. Holly Roose writes about the multicultural nature of the Marcus Garvey movement in the 1920s. For example, the Universal Negro Improvement Association received contributions from Japanese-Americans in places like San Francisco, California and Honolulu, Hawaii. Jeanelle Hope analyzes how African American women and Asian American women of the San Francisco area used poetry in the late 1960s and early 1970s to speak out and "escape from the gross sexism they encountered." (144) Julian Kunnie contributes an article titled "Apartheid in Arizona" looking at recent legislation in Arizona taking rights from people of color.

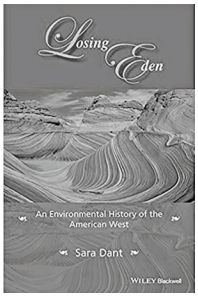
Articles about African American influence on entertainment and culture appear. The writers Jean Toomer and Wallace Thurman were influenced by being in the West. Gabriela Jimenez contributes an article showing the influence of the African American created electro-hop music scene in Los Angeles, California during the 1980s.

The civil rights era in the West is studied in various articles. An interview with an activist from Las Vegas, Nevada, Lubertha Johnson, describes how supporters desegregated the hotels on the strip. Another article portrays how in 1969 black football players at the University of Wyoming protested against playing Brigham Young University since the Mormon Church would not allow African Americans to be priests.

In one of the last articles, Tracy Owens Patton challenges, as all the essays in *Freedom's Racial Frontier* do, the myth of the white West. The media plays a major role in historical interpretation, but films and television give African Americans only a limited role in the West. This gives a false narrative. *Freedom's Racial Frontier* leaves no doubt about the importance of African Americans and other minorities in the settlement of the West.

This collection of essays is an important source to anyone interested in the total story of the American West and American history.

Marty Kuhlman
West Texas A&M University



Sara Dent. ***Losing Eden: An Environmental History of the American West*****.** (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016,) 240 pages. Paperback, $29.95.

In *Losing Eden*, Sara Dant takes on the ambitious task of writing a short environmental history of the American West for a general audience. The unavoidable result is a book that all-too-briefly touches upon many of the complex events and people who have shaped the Western environment. The book reflects the tone of the sources upon which the author relies; it quickly becomes a dreary Marxist declension narrative laden with phrases such as "bullish capitalists" (67), capitalistic "plunder" (73), and even "modes of production" (41).

Dant asks her readers to move beyond the question "who's at fault?" in favor of considering the environmental costs of ideas and projects. However, she herself repeatedly faults people, agencies, etc., for failing to anticipate sustainability even though this concept did not exist when most of the exploitation she criticizes occurred, an unfortunate exercise in presentism.

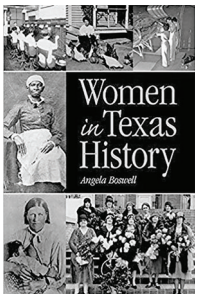
In her chapter about modern environmental politics, Dant focuses so exclusively upon Idaho Senator Frank Church's environmental advocacy that stalwarts such as Stewart and Morris Udall are barely mentioned. Washington Senator Henry Jackson, the author of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), is completely absent. NEPA, the most important environmental legislation in US history is referenced only *once*, and that in passing. A general audience should at least be apprised of these and other important political figures and their legislative legacies.

The book also contains factual errors. During the fight over the Grand Canyon dams, the Sierra Club's "Sistine Chapel" ad did not run in the *New York Times*, and it was published two months *after* the IRS revoked the club's tax *deductible* status (164). Are there seven states in the Colorado River Basin (127, 194) or eight (140)? Molybdenum is not a "metal alloy" (120); it is an element. Finally, she argues that as a result of climate change, Phoenix now experiences "haboobs" (200). Any long-time resident of the valley of the sun will tell you that the massive dust storms that roll through the city during the summer monsoon season have become far *less* frequent during the past 30 years.

With her hopeful calls for sustainability and her admonitions to "live differently," Dant had the chance to draw realistic conclusions about the future of the West. "Conservation," she argues, is the "real solution to the West's water woes" (196). No it is not. Beyond the 100th meridian, where

eighty percent of the water is used for agriculture in some places (195), the only way the West can support its growing urban population is if the courts apply the existing law of prior appropriation and rule that urban consumption is a higher, more beneficial use of water than maintaining an artificial agricultural economy in a desert.

Byron E. Pearson
West Texas A&M University



Angela Boswell. *Women in Texas History.* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018), 366 pages. Hardcover, $24.80.

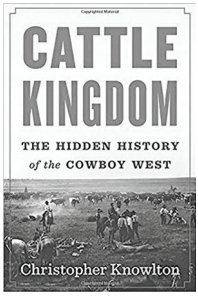
Angela Boswell's *Women in Texas History* is a thought-provoking examination which focuses on the lives of women who assisted in shaping the diverse history of Texas. Women in Texas History is an expansive study which follows the lives of Texas women from prehistoric Texas up through the early 1990s. *Women in Texas History* is the first of its kind to incorporate such a sprawling time period as a way of representing how the concept of womanhood changed over time. By inching away from the history of only influential women, Boswell has been able to focus on "how unremarkable women coped with daily life, acted as agents in their own lives, and participated in the historical changes that shaped women's future opportunities" (xii). *Women in Texas History* sets out to recapture the voices of women who have long been left out of the history books.

Women in Texas History is organized into eight chapters which follows the changes in Texas from a chronological perspective which allows Boswell to examine how the changing times affected the lives of the women in Texas. *Women in Texas History* attempts to be "as inclusive as possible" by not only focusing on one race or culture of women, but rather including all the women who occupied the territory within the Texas boarders (xii). Due to the lack of many written records, Boswell uses archaeological research to gain an understanding of what the lives of Native American women would have looked like during prehistoric Texas.

Boswell has produced a well written expansive history which demonstrates not only the changes in Texas but also the changes in the women who lived and assisted in shaping Texas. Boswell's *Women in Texas History* contributes to the growing historiography of Texas

history by providing a new perspective through the lives of the women rather than the men who lived there and how they assisted in shaping their world through their own agency. *Women in Texas History* is also "the first narrative synthesis of Texas history from precontact to the late twentieth century written from the perspective of women's experiences" (vii). This demonstrates the important role the *Women in Texas History* plays in understanding the history of Texas. Boswell has set a foundation which encourages farther research to be done in regard to the role women play in historic societies. *Women in Texas History* is a must read for anyone who wants a better understanding of the expansive history of Texas.

Alexis Cunningham
West Texas A&M University



Christopher Knowlton. ***Cattle Kingdom: The Hidden History of the Cowboy West***. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017), 425 pages. Paperback, $16.99.

Following the current template for Internet news stories and the 24-hour news cycle, wherein titillation rules, the titles of many of the recent spate of publications on the American West written by ex-journalists and wannabe historians promise to reveal something "hidden" or "wicked" or some great "gamble." This yellow journalistic approach often leaves the reader baffled by misleading book jacket covers and 300+-page tomes with largely regurgitated or poorly-researched content. In other words, to quote Gertrude Stein, "there is no there there" in these books.

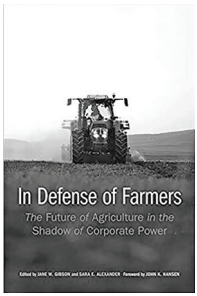
Sadly, such is the case with yet another book on the cattle driving and ranching industry in the American West which promises to reveal "the hidden history of the cowboy west." Suggesting to be a kind of business history of this nation-changing industry that literally built America, the reader is hopeful given the *bona fides* of the author. Nevertheless, the first major (and vital) map of major cattle trails on the frontispiece has major errors, not the least of which is the omission of the Atchison, Topeka & the Santa Fe Railway! By page four Mr. Knowlton has the bison already extinct by 1875, George Catlin paddling a canoe up the Missouri River!

(5), and bison as remarkably docile and not easily provoked" (8).[1] This does not bode well for the rest of the book.

Mr. Knowlton's statement, for example, that there were "fewer ranch jobs in Colorado because so much of the territory had been allocated to Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Reservation," indicates poor minimal research at best as it is nearly common knowledge that the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation after the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 was in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma)! It gets worse: he writes, "Kansas and Nebraska had been overrun with settlers by the 1870s; Oklahoma remained Indian Territory (what?!); much of Arizona and New Mexico was too hot and arid to provide suitable forage for cattle; and Utah and Idaho were … cut off from the trail drives by the Rocky Mountains" thus resulting in a "paucity of ranch jobs north of Texas." Good grief! This is sloppy or no research at best. Candidly, the book is rife with factual errors, old saws and exaggerations about cowboys, and downright broad-brush misstatements about the cattle industry in the U.S.

Three far better sources on the trail driving and early ranching business in the United States are Jimmy Skaggs's 1973 book titled *The Cattle-Trailing Industry: Between Supply and Demand, 1866-1890,* (University Press of Kansas) and W. G. Kerr, *Scottish Capital on the American Credit Frontier* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1976), and Margaret and Gary Kraisinger's 2004 study *The Western: The Greatest Texas Cattle Trail, 1874-1886* (Newton: Mennonite Press).

Michael R. Grauer,
National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum.



Jane W. Gibson and Sara E. Alexander, ed. ***In Defense of Farmers: The Future of Agriculture in the Shadow of Corporate Power.*** (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2019.) 409 pages. Hardcover, $60.00

Growing populations, food insecurity, and climate change are perpetual challenges facing humanity and its means of food production. The anthology, *In Defense of Farmers*, explores the historical and current state of

1. The bison nearly became extinct in North America by about 1890. Catlin rode a steamboat up the Missouri. American Bison are notoriously ill-tempered and very easily provoked. See the plethora of signs warning against trying to pet the buffalo at Yellowstone Park and elsewhere.

farming, the consequences of vertical integration and industrialization, and the government policies (or lack thereof) that perpetuate the food system as it is today.

The first chapter, by Mary K. Hendrickson, Philip H. Howard, and Douglas H. Constance, exhibits the overarching themes that are pervasive throughout the rest of the essays. The steady reorganization of the American agrifood structure by consolidating farms and merging major agricultural corporations, like seed and chemical suppliers, has created a capitalist institution dominated by a few powerful companies. Farmers are deprived of the choice of seed, fertilizer, and technology from the few dominating firms of each industry. Food producers can choose from a plethora of growers, usually those selling at the lowest price, but farmers are limited to a few major producers that they can sell their products to. The commodification of food and its means of production by increasingly integrated and capitalized forces sacrifices the sovereignty of farmers and consumers.

Chapter two by Donald D. Stull relates the industrialization of chicken production to America's entire food system. Production of chicken has changed from that of independent producers to contracted growers. Large companies like Tyson provide growers with birds and food, while growers own the facilities and labor needed to raise them. Sarah Kollnig also discusses chicken farming, though she focuses on Bolivia and the principle of *Vivir Bien*, a recent addition to Bolivia's 2009 constitution that promotes environmentally sound food security. The very nature of industrial chicken farming, Kollnig argues, is directly opposed to the concept of *Vivir Bien*.

The rise of technology in agriculture, from the earliest combines to "agbots," is among the greatest factors of transforming the agricultural world. In chapter four, Jane W. Gibson argues that technology made the "intensification of production" possible, but it also costs farmers true control of production. Farmers are paying millions for equipment that they cannot truly own because they are dependent on numerous outside variables in order to make their appliances function.

Additionally, Casey Walsh discusses the "wrath of grapes" and groundwater usage in California, where vineyards are plenty and groundwater legislation is lax. Sara E. Alexander investigates the perceptions of climate change by wheat farmers in West Texas. Katherine Strand discusses the growing role of corporations in the relationship between agricultural researchers and farmers in Canada. Andrew Ofstehage outlines the benefits and hazards of the "Brazil Model" of soybean production. Jane W. Gibson and Benjamin J. Gray examine population decline in Kansas as a result of land consolidation.

The creation of "food sovereignty" as a worldwide reality often serves as a justification for industrial food and its negative impacts. However, despite drastic increases in food production and decreases in food prices, industrial agriculture has yet to alleviate the crisis of "food insecurity." Drastic population growth, soil depletion, and climate change all present mounting obstacles to farmers, but increased dependence on the capitalist system of food production leaves farmers with few options for change. Though broad, this anthropological study of industrial farming is cohesive in its themes of corporate domination and the loss of sovereignty among farmers.

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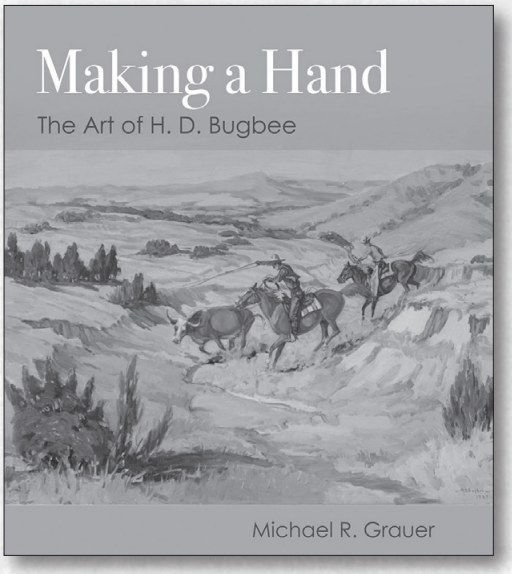

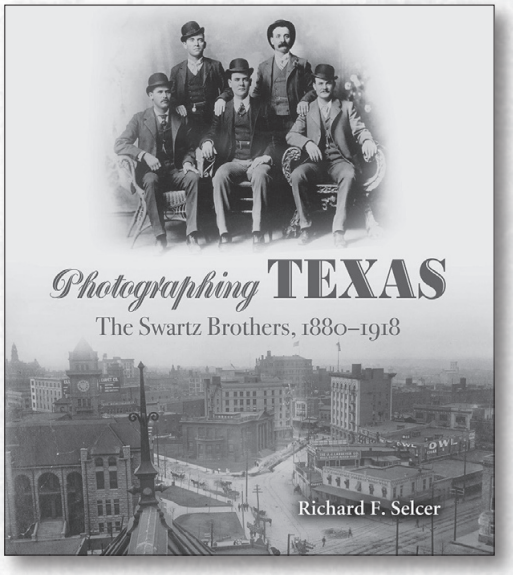

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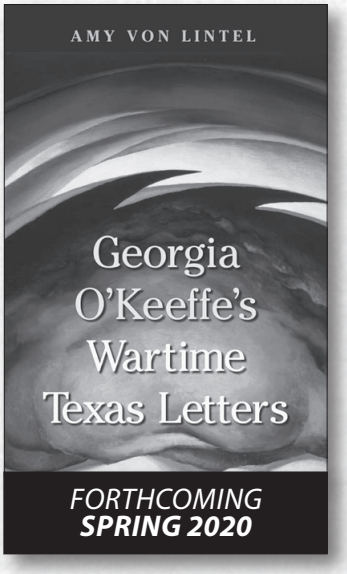

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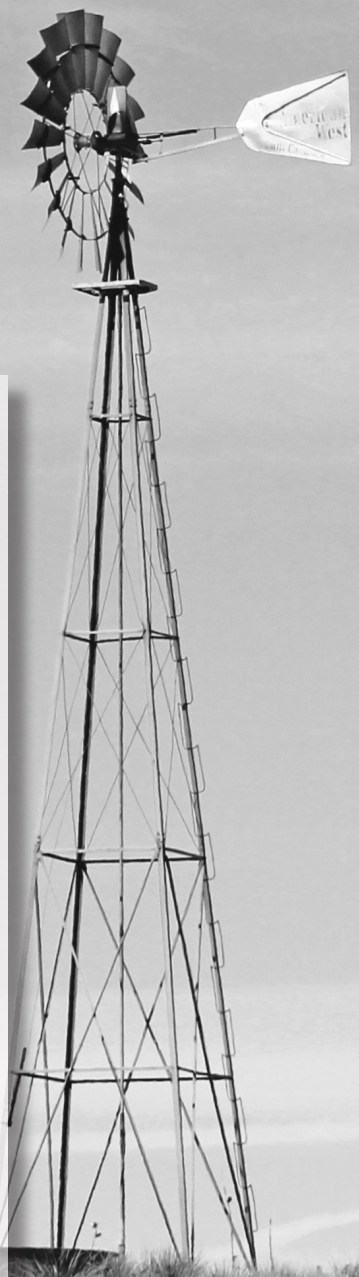

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