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RICE UNIVERSITY

WORDS OF ENTICEMENT:
THE EFFORT TO ATTRACT IMMIGRANTS TO TEXAS, 1865-1914

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

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by

Barbara Jane Rozek

Texans, native and adopted, have continually broadcast the advantages of moving to their state. Over the years they believed an investment of time and energy meant they could influence this flow of migration. A prodigious outpouring of such enticement literature, as identified in this research, documents the enthusiasm such endeavors possessed. Newspapers around the state, almanacs, business pamphlets, railroad brochures, both personal and published letters, as well as government documents, all contributed to this outgoing flood of information. The multiple campaigns of boosterism were fueled in some sense from the heavy migration into the state--this migration justifying by its presence the perception that the written words did in fact move people.

The desire to entice immigrants (a term defining people not by their ethnicity but by their mobility) to Texas found voice immediately after the Civil War. The chaos resulting from war and the freeing of the slaves seemed overwhelming to landowners and they called for cooperative efforts to encourage immigrants to "Come to Texas." As the early turmoil settled out into the rhythm of agricultural seasons, urgent pleas for immigrants became a more steadied ongoing effort at advertising the values in moving to Texas. The Texas Bureau of Immigration, born through the 1869 constitution, served as an official state agency facilitating immigration. When the 1876 "redeemer" constitution became law, it included a
prohibition against using tax money "for any purpose of bringing immigrants to the State." Research indicates that such an interdiction was not evidence of anti-immigrant feeling, but rather a desire for fiscal retrenchment.

Private initiative stepped into the vacuum thus created, as the flow of written material continued. Immigration societies published material, individuals wrote letters, businesses produced pamphlets, newspapers generated columns of information, and books of many shapes and sizes joined in the effort to entice newcomers. Yet, another part of the story was the determined work of Galveston's citizens to promote their bay as the premier port for the state and the ideal entryway for the immigrant. The value placed on words by Texans was substantial and the resulting migration into Texas sustained that work.
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Chapter One -- Words to Move People

Post-Civil War white Texans believed in using words to move people, both figuratively and literally. These publicists saw geographic mobility as an assumed part of the "American dream." Thomas Schlereth in his 1991 work, Victorian America, Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915, addresses the importance of "migration and movement, mobility and motion" to the American of the era. He notes that "In focusing only upon national statistics and ethnic diversity, historians often lose sight of emigrating and immigrating as personal historical acts." Schlereth then proceeds to ask, "Why did individuals or families decide to go or to stay? How did they journey? Did they feel uprooted or transplanted? How did their everyday lives change?"1 Schlereth's challenge to historians is an appropriate one: Look at the process of emigrating and immigrating. Go beyond population statistics and totals. Move past discussions of single attributes supposedly associated with one ethnic or sectional immigrant group versus another. Observe and analyze the dimensions behind the process of moving.

This dissertation seeks to do just that, as it studies in depth a fifty-year period in Texas history. It aims to view one small part of that process: efforts by native-born and adopted Texans to encourage or persuade "others" to move to Texas. Texans believed that if they gave time and energy to the development of written enticement literature, they could influence the flow of migration to their state. In the late-nineteenth century, words carried a weight that in late twentieth century is more often borne by the visual image of movies and television. To think "pre-moving pictures era" is to step back into this late-nineteenth-century Texas and attempt to feel the weight and importance of the words upon the written page.
Texans grabbed at the power they believed rested in the written word to influence those outside Texas to move to their state.

Texans' success or failure of persuasion is not the direct purview of this study, although connections appear obvious. Their perception about the motivation for moving is the object of this analysis. Their mindset simply assumed spatial mobility in the American society. Their faith in their own ability to shape that motion into a Texas current energized their endeavors. Their presumption that if you merely tell people about Texas they will come, lay behind the onslaught of efforts to attract newcomers to Texas.

Texans, native and adopted, wrote volumes encouraging others to come join them in what they described as a land of opportunity. Those already settled within Texas literally opened their arms to newcomers, continually producing a stream of literature meant to invite "all industrious and law-abiding people" to come cast their lot where they would be cordially welcomed. "Come to Texas" reads the title of a poem published in 1888. "Come to Texas" heads an advertisement for the International and Great Northern Railroad in 1904. "Come to Texas--come quickly" encourages the final line of an 1869 article in the Houston Telegraph. Repeatedly Texans, amidst the hustle and bustle of their own life-sustaining activities, spent time and energy in a personal effort at encouraging others to move to Texas.

Private letters also carried this message of encouragement, often in simple expressions of care and concern. One Galvestonian tea merchant, himself a recent arrival from England, wrote home to his sister in March 1878, "I am glad Willie has not given up the idea of coming out here, we can always find a store for a good man and at a good salary." Fred Bergman wrote to his sisters back home in Sweden, "Texas is a place for the poor to work their way up by means of work and thrift. Poor Swedes come here practically all the time, and in a few years they are
independent." Another European wrote home in 1879, "The men of Texas are gentlemen in every sense of the word. One is as safe from Indians here as in Wales. There are few snakes." A woman recently from Mississippi but now living in East Texas wrote back home, "You will be pleased with Texas. I know you will. It is certainly a glorious country, destined to take the lead among the Southern States, certainly the best adapted for the recuperation of our worn energies and wasted fortunes." Each of these letters contains a kernel of hope held out to entice others to consider migrating to Texas.4

Letters often sparked people to journey to Texas. But many others also heard the call put forth in the newspapers, almanacs, and various pamphlets published by Texans that exclaimed the virtues of the state. Under the title, "A Cordial Welcome," Bryant's Texas Almanac of 1882 exclaimed, "And, now, to the immigrant, we say, come and see this goodly land, midway between temperate and torrid heats, where brave men fought and died, and whose descendants will offer all men coming with honest intents a ready and cordial welcome."5 This welcome reflects and repeats an earlier call made by Governor Richard B. Hubbard in 1876 when he addressed the Philadelphia Exposition.

Come among us, to our churches, to our homes, to our firesides, in the busy fields, on our exposed frontiers--anywhere, everywhere, from the palace to the cabin--and you will return to your own gallant people, telling them that we have a civilization, a hospitality, and a respect for law, alike the pride and the glory of a commonwealth.6

Hubbard's plea, quickly published, was his way of encouraging everyone to see Texas for themselves and in the process observe a place with doors open for all newcomers--a desirable place to live.

Hubbard's speech aimed to overcome negative publicity that had been circulating about Texas. Similar efforts to reassure readers can be found in many
examples of enticement literature, and they reflect an interest in drawing in a wide
diversity of people. One almanac contained the following material.

Another encouragement to immigration, and a powerful one, too, will
be found in low taxes, a faithful administration of the laws, the
suppression of crime, and the protection of individual rights,
regardless of race, creed, color or nationality. To that end the best
talent of the State is now directed, and the immigrant from Denmark
or Sweden, as much as one from Virginia or Massachusetts, will be
protected alike with the native.

Texas extends the right hand of fellowship to all the States and
invites within her borders the good and true from earth's remotest
bounds.\textsuperscript{7}

The \textit{Houston Telegraph} in 1869 made a similar statement and then added, "We
have plenty of room and large hearts to welcome you." A couple years later the
same paper included copy that read, "Come to Texas....This is a new country and an
improving country. Are you thinking of changing your location? We say again come
to our beautiful prairie State and you shall have a cordial welcome." The same
message continued in enticement literature throughout the late nineteenth and
early twentieth century. A 1908 brochure for Smith County, Texas, and the city of
Tyler put it this way: "\textbf{WHETHER} You are a farmer, artisan, laborer, professional
man, merchant, manufacturer, homeseeker or investor, \textbf{YOU ARE WELCOME
HERE}.\textsuperscript{8}

In documenting this varied enticement effort three unrelated yet very
significant themes surface repeatedly. First, there existed a strongly held belief in
the value of the printed word and its influence on people far and near. Whether it
was a pamphlet published in German by the Texas State Bureau of Immigration in
1872 or a chamber of commerce booster brochure in 1907, Texans (and Americans
nation-wide for that matter) thought words would move people. A second critical
force in the peopling of the state was the recognition that the transportation
network was critical. A complex transportation system evolved to facilitate the
movement of people and their goods. People obviously tend to move more quickly to and through places where adequate means of transportation exist. They settle in places convenient to commerce and less readily move to remote locations. This truism influenced to a tremendous extent the settlement of Texas' vast land areas. Transportation systems developed to bring people and commerce to the state, and these settlers and their prosperity helped attract still more migrants. The examples of early successful migrants were used to attract others. A third significant theme in examining immigration to Texas is hope. Exerting a strong current of power in this people movement was the spark of hope to which individuals tenaciously clung. No matter what the ethnic background, class, gender, or race, most people held to a hope that a better place and a better time awaited them just around the corner or at the beginning of a new year. Most difficult to dissect or explain, this intangible hope propelled many to make at least one move, often to make several moves. While this hope may be impossible to delineate, Texas business leaders, politicians, and common folk knew intimately that sense of hope and played to it in their efforts to bring new people, new faces, and new money to Texas. These three themes--belief in the written word, the recognized importance of transportation facilities, and hope in the future--undergirds most of the story that follows. That narrative covers the efforts by the people in Texas to attract more people to their state in the later years of the nineteenth century and the very early years of the twentieth.

In focusing upon the written materials produced to entice people to Texas, the emphasis in this dissertation is solely upon the pull factor of such endeavors. The decision to migrate from one place to another is a complex mix of multiple push/pull factors. These elements differ over time and they influence people in a variety of ways. Immigration is not a simple, monolithic movement, nor one carried out by a indistinguishable mass of people. Hundreds, then thousands, and
eventually hundreds of thousands of human beings made the decision to move to Texas. Each person's move is a unique story in its own right. As more and more of these single stories are told, the wider picture of migration and mobility will be enriched.\textsuperscript{10} For this study, one portion of that overall picture is to be analyzed: the efforts by Texans to attract new people to the state.

This enticement effort evolved to meet the changing needs of the state. While diverse groups of Texans advocated migration and multiple programs emerged over the years, the basic goal of encouraging the multitudes to move to Texas remained. This account of the effort to attract people begins immediately after the close of the Civil War. Many whites in Texas, as in all the other southern states, experienced a postwar panic over the loss of their slaves as controlled workers. The existence of freed men and women meant a new free labor system would need to develop—a system acceptable to both blacks and whites. While this system did not provide economically a great opportunity for the newly freed black, it did evolve gradually and did allow for blacks to have some control over their work environment. Many whites believed that blacks would not work without coercion, and without their labor crops would fail. White land owners, as their fears of economic disaster ballooned, began to call for immigration to fill their perceived need for substitute workers. This period of immediate panic gave way in time to a more seasoned acceptance of the change in the labor system and a slightly more relaxed approach to population movement efforts.

During the decade from 1865 to 1876 efforts to attract immigration to Texas involved a loosely woven network of private and public programs aiming to portray Texas as the best destination for those ready to move. Analysis of letters, newspapers, almanacs, business pamphlets, and railroad brochures demonstrates the number and variety of approaches used during those ten years. Among the
strategies utilized at least three pivotal and extremely common tactics can be identified: 1) Enticement literature labored to reassure the potential migrant that Texas was really a great place to live. Reassurance frequently took the form of dispelling negative rumors or misinformation about the state. 2) Written material produced to attract immigrants spoke to the family as the main unit of migration. Family-centered needs and concerns were addressed routinely by these booster publications. 3) The mix of present realities with future potential also permeated enticement literature. Those writing the material and those reading it both accepted a certain overlap between the present and the future. In looking to the possibilities, writers and readers alike dwelt in a world that subtly blended "will be" with "is." These messages of reassurance, the centrality of family to the population movement, and the awareness that immigrants were future-oriented were fundamental themes in the enticement literature of the decade 1865 to 1876.

The written material of this ten year period developed within a certain milieu that included a great deal of political turmoil. Constitution-making in the Reconstruction era assumed extreme importance. Part of this process involved the way Texans perceived their task of attracting immigrants to the state. The Texas 1869 constitutional convention formulated a document that included provision for a Texas Bureau of Immigration. This agency functioned until 1876 as an arm of the state government before it faced oblivion under the 1876 constitutional provision that no state money be spent on any effort to bring immigrants to the state. The story of these years with their constitutional and legislative wrangling forms one segment of the overall picture of the peopling of Texas.

Constitutional changes and political maneuverings during the early 1870s strongly influenced subsequent efforts to encourage newcomers to "come to Texas." When the state government in 1876 officially stepped back from helping to attract
people to Texas, other private organizations, agencies, businesses, and individuals stepped in to fill the perceived void. Between 1876 and 1914 a whole host of these groups emerged and either directly or indirectly worked to people the state. Private corporations with names like the South Western Immigration Company and the El Paso Real Estate, Trust and Immigration Company were organized. The Texas New Yorker and the St. Louis Texan, both newspapers based outside the state, promoted immigration to Texas. Cities and counties formed immigration societies and published brochures painting a rosy picture of their community for the potential homeseeker. A state-wide convention held in 1887 worked to stimulate exactly this same kind of community involvement in a concerted effort to entice newcomers to Texas. Later organizations like the Commercial Secretaries Association and the Five Million Club (a population goal for Texas) developed pamphlets communicating the same message. These Texans accepted grudgingly the 1876 constitutional prohibition against spending tax dollars to encourage immigration to the state and then set themselves to work meeting a perceived need through their efforts as public citizens.

While private enterprise entered the immigration "business" in a big way in the years between 1876 and 1914, evidence exists that state governmental agencies never completely withdrew from efforts at attracting immigrants to the state. Though the 1876 prohibition was in place, state agencies such as the Department of Insurance, Statistics, and History (established in 1879) and later the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History (established in 1887) conducted surveys and published material that surreptitiously met the need for specific, concrete information for potential immigrants to the state.

People involved specifically in improving the transportation facilities in Texas also saw the need to encourage immigration to Texas. The railroads especially
worked to advertise Texas as a destination for the farmer. As the tendrils of steel expanded across the Texas lands, the publication departments of these many different railway companies produced maps, time schedules, pamphlets, and brochures meant to entice Europeans, southerners, northerners, and midwesterners into traveling to Texas and scouting out their future homes. Hundreds of Texans in this way sought to entice others to their state.

The port city of Galveston during this time also labored to improve the city’s natural bay and its international shipping facilities. While the impetus to improve port access centered around freightage of such products as wheat, cotton, corn, and cattle, a secondary benefit of improving the harbor was the development of Galveston as an immigrant port on the Gulf Coast. Galveston’s interest in dredging a deep water channel for export shipping complimented their efforts to attract European and American shipping into the port, both passenger and freight service. The early-twentieth century increase in immigration through Galveston was a direct result of activist Texans seeking to bring more people into the state. The story of Galveston’s acquisition of a federal immigration station culminates this effort by Texans.

In these fifty years following the Civil War, Texas experienced a tremendous influx of newcomers to the state—a migration encouraged by the innumerable writings published specifically to entice new people to settle there. No effort is made, in this overview of enticement literature, to document a direct cause and effect relationship between the production of the written word and the movement of people. It is true that the volume of enticement words, paragraphs, and pages was immense. And it is also a fact that the population of Texas doubled between 1860 and 1880 and then redoubled in the following twenty years. But the number of words can not unquestioningly be directly translated into the number of people who
arrived. Some things are just not measurable with the data at hand. However, it is clear that citizens of Texas assumed enhanced immigration would result from such enticement efforts, and the reality of substantial population growth seemed to contemporaries to justify their assumptions.

Texas could easily be called an immigrant state. Much of its population has arrived after their birth elsewhere. This was certainly true of the early settlers of the 1820s, '30s, and '40s. It was also true of the population in the period of early statehood, Confederacy, and postbellum eras, too. Migration represents a continuous thread of activity often underestimated by historians of the state.\textsuperscript{13} Awareness of the efforts to encourage that migration have also received little or no attention.

The momentum for this activity began extremely early, with Moses Austin's and Stephen F. Austin's energetic involvement in opening Texas to Anglo settlement. Letters initially carried the written word praising the land and the potential for agriculturists.\textsuperscript{14} As more people came, words of attraction evolved into a number of published guidebooks that described Texas and gave information to the potential settler.\textsuperscript{15}

Antebellum writers of enticement literature on Texas set the pattern followed by most writers in the later half of the nineteenth century. The techniques and approaches of the earlier writers were copied and adapted to late-nineteenth-century efforts at attracting immigrations. Ellis Turner has examined antebellum guidebooks as a literary genre. Guidebooks for Turner's purposes included narratives, diaries, journals, route books, U.S. government documents, and general descriptive guidebooks. While the main thrust of Turner's dissertation is the compilation of a descriptive bibliography, the early pages provide an insightful analysis of the collective material. Turner points to three primary characteristics of
such works. They most commonly 1) give advice to the traveler; 2) describe the ultimate destination of the emigrant; and 3) delineate routes possible. These common traits suggest the real usefulness of these guides for the potential emigrant. It suggests the authors' appreciation of the value of the written information in helping the immigrant's decision-making process about a potential move.

Turner's analysis highlights several other points of this antebellum written material. Turner notes that mentions of the dangers and problems of travel are "largely wanting in the guidebook." Disease, accidents, Indian depravations, and white banditry are among the topics rarely if ever presented. The negatives seldom made it into print in antebellum literature. That was also the case in late-nineteenth-century enticement literature. Emphasis on settlement by families existed in these guidebooks. There were clear statements discouraging "the vagabond or soldier of fortune," and the assumption was evident that good law-abiding settlers would provide the sturdy stock needed for the area's development. The importance of specific, helpful information also shines through the pages. For example, one Texas document of this era encouraged travel to Texas in October, claiming it to be the best month to travel and arrive. This simple nugget of information was critical for Texas emigrants. Soil needed preparation in January and February for planting in March. Timing an arrival before that, in order to build a cabin and clear some land, made strong economic sense. This author shares Turner's interest in such guidebooks, seeing them as precursors to later works of enticement.

Two illustrative examples of such antebellum enticement literature may help set the stage for understanding the themes that are echoed in later tracts of the postbellum era. Jacob de Cordova published Texas: Her Resources and Her Public Men in 1858. It was meant ostensibly to be a real estate tract. Listings of potential
land holdings around the state appeared next to advice for immigrants. Within this two-pronged effort by de Cordova, appeals to family-centered needs and interests were evident. For example, de Cordova noted "that more children are born in Texas, in proportion to the population, than elsewhere, and more in proportion are raised to adolescence." In proclaiming a low infant mortality rate, de Cordova spoke directly to the hearts of parents who often lost children early in life. In another pull at the heart strings, he wrote about cheap lands soon to become more valuable. Then he tacked on, "if not for yourselves, for your children, come to Texas." He went on to suggest that schooling "will be in the reach of every child in the State."  

This last statement appealed not only to the emotions of parents; it also addressed those thinking of the future, and immigrants have almost always been future-oriented. Perhaps this explains why such pronouncements about school systems not yet in existence were suggested to be present realities for the readers of such pamphlets, news articles, or booklets. In written material such as this, the line between what existed in reality and what existed in the mind's eye of the developer or businessman was often not clear. This fuzziness of presentation left windows open for dreaming immigrants to project in their own vision of life in the new land.

In the midst of such statements, half reality and half hopefulness for the future, most writers inserted what they called absolute "facts." De Cordova used a colorful one to reinforce his section entitled "To Immigrants": "One fact may be stated, which, however wonderful it may appear, is susceptible of every proof: A COW CAN BE RAISED IN TEXAS AT LESS COST THAN A CHICKEN in any other place in the United States." One can't help but wonder how readers took that statement of "fact."

Themes of reassurance abound in antebellum literature. A common approach is to state the fact and add a "but." One author wrote in his 1860 work
Western Texas. The Australia of America: or The Place to Live, "Snakes and poisonous insects are quite plentiful in parts of western Texas; but where cattle and hogs or stock of any kind are kept they soon disappear." Since he had not known anyone attacked by such pests, the writer suggested that people were seldom bitten. To continue the message of reassurance, he then presented a personal observation.

I suppose the awful reports sent abroad from Texas about them are from new-comers, and women principally, who no doubt have a perfect horror for and loath the snake or poisonous insect, as they picture them by accident under their hoops or in some way in their imagination over and around their heads.20

By derisively projecting onto "new-comers, and women" such tall tales, the author negates the veracity of the rumor and feels confident he has countered the negative publicity.

De Cordova and the anonymous author of Western Texas. The Australia of America spoke to potential immigrants in an assertive way, giving out words of advice that they encouraged potential migrants to take as sage wisdom. At the same time, however, the publicists assumed that each farmer would make his or her own decisions based on personal experience and the good information provided. This pattern marks most enticement literature.

As noted, enticement literature existed in the pre-1865 era of Texas' settlement. While the Civil War marks a clear break in attraction efforts by Texans, it did not stop the flow of people from elsewhere to Texas. During the conflict between North and South, population movement into Texas continued and in some instances increased as a few planters fled other southern states with their chattel property and sought greater safety in the west.21 The Civil War may have provided a brief hiatus in the on-going movement of people from elsewhere to Texas, but the break was just that--more a temporary wartime halt in the efforts to attract new settlers and much less a radical departure from earlier attempts to lure immigrants
to the state. Immigration and immigrant-attracting-efforts after the close of the Civil War represent continuity with Texas' history before 1865.

Texans wanted more people to come to their state. Their interest in immigration began with the first Anglo-American efforts at settlement of the region and continued into the twentieth century. As this dissertation seeks to chronicle the efforts undertaken to induce people to leave their homes and migrate to Texas, it is essential to clarify the terms used in this study and used by the typical nineteenth-century Texan.

The meaning of words often change over time. The term "immigrant" illustrates this perfectly. To the late-twentieth century reader the term immediately conjures up images of a person originally from outside the borders of the fifty states comprising the present-day United States of America. There is a "foreign-ness" subsumed within the use of the term today. This was not the case for the person living in 1860, 1880, or even 1900 in the United States or in Texas. To the politician in Austin, the businessman in San Antonio, the cotton factor in Galveston, or the land developer in Fort Worth in the 1870s and 1880s, "immigrant" meant anyone coming to the state. In the documents of the day, many words were used interchangeably: homeseeker, colonizer, immigrant, emigrant, northerner, westerner, southerner on the move. An "immigrant" was defined not necessarily by ethnicity, but rather by mobility. Yes, some immigrants were Norwegian, German, English, Irish, Italian, or Chinese. But, many "immigrants" were Mississippians, Kentuckians, Georgians, Ohioans, and Californians. Texans came originally from New York, Alabama, North Dakota, and Minnesota. It will help us to read "immigrant" as any newcomer to the state. Sometimes the written material would specify the kind of immigrant of which they spoke: the foreign-born immigrant, the immigrant from Georgia, the emigrants from Dewitt County, Illinois, or the German
immigrants off the ships in Galveston, for example. But just as often the term was not modified by any adjective and, in a way, thus took on a "generic" sense inclusive of any person who moved. It would help as well to read "immigrant" as a person of either gender and of any chronological age.22

A failure to define terms adequately for academic discussion has also marred earlier scholarship on southern immigration.23 First, as identified in the preceding paragraph, for the person living in the nineteenth century the term "immigrant" or "immigration" did not automatically connote a foreign born person. Mobility, rather than ethnicity, seemed to identify the first characteristic of the immigrant or any so-called stream of immigration.

Second, the term "South" is frequently used in a narrow way that excludes such states as Texas or Florida. For the purposes of this dissertation's analysis, the South means all those states in which slavery existed at the time of the Civil War. Texas definitely fits that categorization.

Third, when statements are made that the South did not receive immigration, the individual stories of each state can get lost in the aggregate statistical average for the region that suggests not many foreign-born people moved into the "South." But even a look at the statistics alone will show that a wide variety of total population movement existed among the many southern states. For example, between 1860 and 1920 North Carolina's population increased by 158 percent, while Mississippi registered an increase of 126 percent. Yet during the same time frame, Florida increased in population by 590 percent and Texas increased a remarkable 672 percent.24 Migration into each state along with its natural increase in population thus suggests a wide variety of experiences for those southern states.
Fourth, what little research that has been directed at exploring the extent and impact of immigration upon the South frequently has revolved around ethnic distinctions and assumed racial conflicts. When researchers focus on a specific group, i.e. the Italians in Louisiana or the Greeks in Florida, an analysis of the migratory process frequently gets lost, as emphasis is placed on descriptive actions of the group. Another common approach to immigration studies dwells upon labor and tensions between the host community, usually white or black, with the newcomers of a European or Asian background. In making such analyses the primary emphasis, an understanding of the process of migration has often been lost. The multiple individual decisions to move are forgotten as the focus remains on ethnic divisions.

Yet a fifth negative arising from scholars' failure to define their terms crisply becomes clear in the use of commonly repeated expressions. Standard clichés in this field include statements like: "the South failed to bring immigrants to their lands" and "immigrants did not want to move into the South." These phrases gloss over the influence of those that did migrate upon their receiving states and regions. Such clichéd accounts also fail to take into account the efforts of southerners to entice newcomers to the South.

As this dissertation seeks to chronicle events in Texas between 1865 and 1914, one purpose of this study will be to initiate a reconsideration of the concept of southern immigration and disbelieve previously held assumptions about the South's reputed disinterest with immigration. Another intention is to open dialogue on migration as it influenced postbellum Texas. The history of the state between 1860 and 1920 takes place in the midst of a six-fold increase in its population. This incredible population "boom" deserves greater study and analysis. We already know through the research of Terry G. Jordan, for example, that more Germans came to
Texas after the Civil War than before. Why is this so? Did the mere presence of other Germans serve to lure later generations to Texas? Or is there more to it than that? This question could be asked of any of the various ethnic groups in Texas and of the native-born population as well. The Texas Institute of Cultures in San Antonio has documented twenty-six ethnic groups that contributed to the settling of Texas. So there has been a concerted effort to document foreign-born migration to the state. But what about the migration of native-born Americans from other states to Texas? To study Texas in the post-Civil War era is to study a region into which millions of newcomers poured.

The emphasis on immigration and immigrants in this dissertation reflects a concern about the migratory process, about the decisions to move, and about the expectation that geographic mobility was an assumed right of Americans. To immigrate is to move, and mobility has been a persistent theme of American history. To move about from within or from without the territorial borders of the United States remains a constant in describing the growth and development of the country. As one historian has put it, "The American population? It was formed and reformed by migration. To begin with, we were all immigrants." This assertion is especially true of Texas, as the history of the state documents. A current historian of the state has made reference to the size of Texas and its multiple opportunities. He wrote, in the Texas Experience, "Texas is big enough, physically and culturally, for all of us. We have all come as immigrants." Then he continues by suggesting that we all aim "for a sense of place." This sense of belonging has often grown out of a period of frequent movement followed by a decision to remain in one place. Many have looked at Texas "as the land-of-beginning-again." Many already in Texas who had earlier made the decision to move also worked hard to present their adopted state as just that same "new beginning" to others, the land of promise.
This dissertation seeks to demonstrate that energy and enthusiasm with which Texans have promoted their native or adopted home--Texas--as the perfect home for others. This is a history of the varied efforts to tell the story of Texas--fact and fantasy, practical and visionary--to outsiders in the firm conviction that if they but knew the assets of the state, they would quickly migrate. This desire to tell the story, the boosterism of enticement literature, coexisted with bountiful migrations to the state. That river of human settlers flowing into the state seemed to prove the efficacy of promotional writing and justify its existence. The peopling of Texas was both reality and destiny for many publicists in the Lone Star State.

2Proceedings of the Immigration Convention of Texas, Convened in Dallas, Texas, December 20-21, 1887, and of the State Immigration Committee of Texas, Convened in Dallas, Texas, December 29, 1887 (Dallas: A. D. Aldridge & Co., 1888), 33.

3The Immigrant's Guide to Texas, Giving Descriptions of Counties, Towns and Villages, with Valuable Historical and Statistical Information (Dallas: L. A. Wilson, 1888), 26; Grimes County Directory, 1904 (Anderson, Texas: The Grimes County Record, 1904), ad on back cover of publication; Houston Telegraph, December 7, 1869, p. 4.


5Bryant's Texas Almanac and Railway Guide, 1882 (Trenton, New Jersey: MacCrellish & Quigley, 1882), 52.

6R. B. Hubbard, *Centennial Oration of Governor R. B. Hubbard, of Texas, Delivered at the National Exposition, September 11, 1876*, p. 13. A copy of this speech was found at the Texas State Library, bound in a volume with multiple printed works. No publication information or title page to the sixteen page pamphlet was included, although a one page preface of explanation for publication was listed as written by W. G. Kingsbury, London, England.
Bryant's Texas Almanac, 1882, p. 20.


9 A secondary theme in immigration studies that has received little attention is the extent to which multiple moves were common and an assumed part of the migration process. John Bodnar's study of population movements in Europe in The Transplanted emphasized the extent of geographic mobility on the part of future trans-Atlantic migrants in their early quests to improve their position in European society. The place moves of Europeans were replicated once they arrived in the United States by their willingness to move again, once here, as they continued that search for happiness and success. In the cities, historians have made some effort to document the extensive movement within and among urban housing opportunities, noting frequent moves by urban workers within the city. It seems clear that a parallel exists between the city worker moving from apartment to apartment and the southern rural farm worker who frequently moved from farm to farm on a yearly basis pursuing similar goals as the city worker. While seldom did geographic mobility translate into social mobility or economically more remunerative jobs, the constant movement of people from place to place ought not to be ignored by historians. Unfulfilled hopes are hopes nonetheless and contribute to changes in individual lives as much, if not more, than hopes fulfilled.

Studies of western settlement speak extensively about movement to the west, but usually fail to discuss the multiple moves of these people once they have made that initial decision to "go west." One exception to this pattern is the work of Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own." A History of the American West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). Chapter Eight entitled, "The Transformation of Western Society: Migration," pp. 183-211 analyzes migration within the West and suggests that a restlessness spurred many of these settlers into almost redefining the meaning of mobility. See page 186 especially.

Texans did their share of "moving-about" both before coming to Texas and once they arrived in the state. This again is seldom documented for the common folk, although biographies of elite white men often contain references to multiple moves. A few examples will serve to make this point. Mark Jones, ultimately a merchant in Williamson County, was born in Germany, arrived in New York in 1852 where he lived for several years, moved on to Iowa, then Missouri, and eventually arrived in Texas in 1856. Once in Texas he moved several times in the central section of the state earning a living from stock raising and farming from 1880 to 1892. In 1893 he opened a bank in Granger, Texas. Yet another example of multiple moves is that of Joseph Huey. Huey was born in Pennsylvania, lived several years in Alabama and Mississippi, and in 1851 finally arrived in Texas. After the Civil War as the Houston and Texas Central Railway built into the
northern portions of the state, Huey made repeated moves along that roadway, establishing and leaving various hardware businesses in communities along the way. He eventually settled in Dallas. See biographical sketches in Lewis Daniels, Texas, The Country and Its Men, Historical, Biographical, Descriptive (N.p., n.d.), 580-581; 464-465.

These two examples may seem exceptional, but the records suggest the opposite. Multiple moves were common. Terry Jordan in his work on Texas notes that the "southerners who populated Texas were traditionally footloose, with a long heritage of moving from place to place, and the roots they put down in any given piece of land were shallow. Theirs was essentially a mobile society." See Terry G. Jordan, "The German Settlement of Texas after 1865," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 73 (October 1969): 198. Jordan also identifies secondary moves of native-born Germans and second generation Germans in this same work. The vast number of early German settlers moved originally to the hill country region of Texas. Then, he suggests, many read promotional literature, especially from the railroads, and moved southward into the coastal prairies. (See page 201 of Jordan's article on German Settlement of Texas.) Similar conclusions about the existence of multiple moves can be found in such works as Clinton Machann, Krasna Amerika: A Study of the Texas Czechs, 1851-1939 (Austin: Eakin Press, 1983), 43; Clinton Machann and James W. Mendl, Jr., trans. and eds., Czech Voices, Stories from Texas in the Amerikan Narodni Kalendar (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1991), 7, 36, 65, 98; Lois E. Myers, Letters by Lamplight, A Woman's View of Everyday Life in South Texas, 1873-1883 (Waco: Baylor University Press, 1991), 39, 50, passim; Helen Canada, "The Quiet Ones: A Cameo Study of Another Kind of Texan, 1854-1900 (Ph.D. Diss., St. Louis University, 1977), 54-62.


Unpublished accounts often remain hidden but available. The Crutcher Family papers at the Dallas Public Library demonstrate the movement of family members from Kentucky to Texas in the 1870s and their subsequent involvement in Dallas real estate, law, and business. They illustrate the phenomenon of recent immigrants to the state becoming classic boosters of their adopted home. The Crutcher Brothers joined together as real estate agents dealing in "Texas Lands & City Property" according to a bill of sale in the manuscript collection.
Martha Ann Otey left a diary account of her 1866 trip to Texas, including letters from Washington-on-the-Brazos written back home. A transcription of her letters is available at the Sam Houston State Library in Huntsville, Texas, under the title, "A Journey from Mississippi to Texas 1866." It tells a very interesting story of that early post-war migration by a woman alone determined to make a living as a teacher. Another woman's account of migration can be found in the handwritten autobiography of Louisa Christina Rollfing. The Rosenberg Library in Galveston Texas holds the autobiography (Accession Number, 83-0054) and the typewritten transcript produced by her daughter. This unpolished autobiography gives us a personal view of a girl born in Germany who immigrated in her late teens and eventually settled in Galveston where she married August Rollfing. The details of the trip over and the first few years of adjustment to Texas are most illuminating and verify the fact that newly arrived immigrants moved often in the process of "getting settled."


14Extensive material from Austin and his efforts at publicizing Texas' opportunities can be found in manuscript collections at the Center for American History, the University of Texas at Austin and the San Jacinto Museum of History, San Jacinto Museum near Houston.

Examples of antebellum letters written by common people exist in a number of published works. They illustrate the fact that written material was sent, received, and discussed by those "back home." See Mattie Austin Hatcher, Letters of an Early American Traveler: Mary Austin Hollay, Her Life and Her Works, 1784-1846 (Dallas: Southwest Press, 1933). These are reprints of her 1830s and 1840s letters which had a wide audience when initially written.; Elise Waengerskold, The Lady with the Pen: Elise Waengerskold in Texas (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1961; reprint, ed. C.A. Clausen, Clifton,


An excellent secondary source on this antebellum era is Robin W. Doughty's At Home in Texas, Early Views of the Land (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1987). As Doughty explains, "This study contributes to humanistic geography by seeking to convey people's images of Texas and their attraction to it and their commitment to making it that special place, home." (p. 8) The work has much to say about this antebellum era and the images incorporated by newly arrived Texans as well as those viewing the state from afar.
16Ellis Turner, "In the Trail of the Buffalo: A Descriptive Bibliography of the Oregon, California, and Texas Guidebook, 1814-1860" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1980). See pages 3-24 for detailed explanation of her structural analysis and pages 118-317 for bibliographic references for all three states. The final list consists of 179 guidebooks, a distillation from an examination of 1,011 titles.

17Turner, "Trail of Buffalo," 32, 63, 10. Negatives, as Turner points out, were seldom expressed in antebellum enticement literature. Rarely did enticement publications issue a warning to their readers. Most authors hoped the information presented would be swallowed whole. Most assumed a gullible reading public, or if not that, at least a public anxious to believe what they read. William Kennedy published in 1841 a two volume work as an early invocation to newcomers entitled, Texas: The Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Republic of Texas (London: R. Hastings, 1841), 83. Yet he included a word of caution which might best have been read by all future emigres. He wrote,

persons who meditate the important act of removal to a new and distant settlement, ought not merely to peruse the various publications intended for the information of emigrants, but endeavour to ascertain the object of their authors in submitting them to the world, and test their pretensions to accuracy, by comparing and weighing the representations of different authorities.

Such comments as this one by Kennedy were not often repeated in print, although Frederick Law Olmsted in A Journey Through Texas: or a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier (New York: Dix, Edward & Co., 1857), 244, observed the following: "But so anxious is every one in Texas to give all strangers a favorable impression, that all statements as to the extreme profit and healthfulness of lands must be taken with a grain of allowance."

18J[acob] de Cordova, Texas: Her Resources and Her Public Men (Philadelphia: E. Crozet, 1858), 20-21. Two years earlier de Cordova had written The Texas Immigrant and Traveller's Guide Book (Austin: De Cordova and Frazier, 1856), from which the above quotations were obviously lifted word for word. See page 8 of the 1856 work. In this earlier work, under the heading, "A Word of Advice to Persons Emigrating to Texas," de Cordova made suggestions of a very practical, down-to-earth nature. He claimed to be addressing not the rich or well-to-do, but "the poor man and the man of moderate means" who have set themselves the goal of owning land and being successful as a farmer or stock raiser. See article in 1856 work, pp. 8-13. Other works of this era also emphasized family/children needs. One book included the following reference to children, "Is the reader a poor man of family, whose house may be open and almost roofless, and whose children are poorly clad, and the cold blasting snow storms of another winter coming on, and do these shivering children stand around and cry aloud for a father's care?" See Western Texas, The Australia of America: Or the Place to Live. By a Six Years' Resident (Cincinnati: E. Mendenhall, 1860), "Introductory," p. iii.

20 Western Texas, the Australia of America, 208.

21 James Marten, "Slaves and Rebels: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1861-1865," East Texas Historical Association 28 (Spring 1990): 32; Lieutenant-Colonel Freemantle, Three Months in the Southern States: April-June, 1863 (New York: John Bradburn, 1864), 72, 86-87; Vera Lee Dugas, "A Social and Economic History of Texas in the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963), 336-337. Dugas also documents the arrival in Texas at this time of immigration from the midwestern United States as well--a migratory flow that increased at wars end.


Other terms not commonly seen in immigration studies also help us to view the term "immigrant" as more than the narrow concept of a person "just off the boat." One 1905 work used the phrase, "predigested" immigrant to refer to those of foreign birth who had been in the United States "for a good many years." See Robert DeCourcy Ward, "Immigration and the South," Atlantic Monthly, 96 (November 1905): 615. Another reference speaks of "seasoned immigrants" meaning those that had some previous experience with migrating. See W. Phil Hewitt, Land and Community: European Migration to Rural Texas in the 19th Century (Boston: American Press, 1981), 39. Yet another term applied more commonly would be that of "second-hand" immigrant. Again this meaning suggests someone who had moved more than once.

An argument that is an extension of this broader view of the terminology would suggest that the influence of the foreign-born on and in American society goes beyond the impact of those immediate arrivals to the second and third generations and beyond. The broad sweep of culture, language, customs, and laboring skills does not abruptly end when that first-generation-emigrant dies. These influences continue, albeit in some kind of modified form, to impress upon the receiving society. This continuation of immigrations' influence beyond the arrival of one individual or that first generation immigrant has received little notice from historians. An interesting Texas exception to this common practice can be found in Studies in the Industrial Resources of Texas, Edited by Lewis H. Haney and issued as a Bulletin of the University of Texas in conjunction with the Texas Applied Economics Club (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1915). See page 42 for their definition of the "foreign element" as both those foreign born and those natives of foreign parentage.
This failure to define terms is especially the case of an early study by Walter L. Fleming, "Immigration to the Southern States," *Political Science Quarterly* 20 (1905): 276-297. However, the tendency to not be crisp with the use of terms has continued throughout the later scholarship. See Bert James Loewenberg, "Efforts of the South to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1900," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 33 (October 1934): 363-385; W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage Books, 1941), 99; Rowland T. Berthoff, "Southern Attitudes Toward Immigration, 1865-1914," *Journal of Southern History* 17 (August 1951): 328-360; Robert L. Brandfon, "The End of Immigration to the Cotton Fields," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 50 (March 1964): 591-611; Henry Marshall Booker, "Efforts of the South to Attract Immigrants, 1860-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1965). These five works constitute the major efforts by scholars to analyze southern immigration.

Statistics compiled from data in *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present*, 1965, which is a comprehensive overview of federal census material.


This phrase was used by Vera Lee Dugas in "A Social and Economic History of Texas in the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963), 679.
Chapter Two -- Immediate Post Civil War Energies

Robert E. Lee formally surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant on April 9, 1865. Pitched battles of the Civil War ceased almost immediately in the eastern portion of the Confederacy, although the last skirmish of the war was fought on Texas soil on May 13, 1865. Outside of spotty guerrilla action throughout the South, official warfare finally stopped. The end of military conflict between the northern and southern states produced a season of uncertainty for all southerners, including Texans. The beginning of warfare in 1861 had ushered in a period of intense concentration on battlefield concerns. This focus consumed the energy of southerners at their homes and as soldiers on the front lines. Their self-confidence and secure sense of mission fueled the drive that contributed to four long years of warfare. When the military peace arrived, tranquillity at the home front did not follow in its train. As the whirlwind of war ended, the dislocations and trauma resulting from the conflict continued to cause tremendous unease in the civilian population. The chaotic condition of the economy and the disruption of the labor force compelled southerners to question much of their previous sense of certainty. Now that slavery was ended, what would be the nature of labor relations between blacks and whites? What would be new? What would remain of the old?

One strand of calm, unchanging experience amid all the chaos was the agricultural foundation of southern society. The rhythm of planting and harvesting, especially the planting and harvesting of cotton, dominated southern daily existence. With the constancy of agricultural production and the uncertainty of most other peripheral yet crucial issues, the South in 1865 struggled to stand stable and strong one day at a time.
What today is called Juneteenth for black Texans arrived June 19, 1865, when the slaves in Galveston learned officially of their freedom. This special day arrived midway in the growing season--more than halfway through the development of the cotton crop. While emancipation had been on the horizon for many weeks and months, Texas cotton growers now felt the immediate pinch. What could be done to bring in the crops this year? Previously living on hopes that all would be well for this year's harvest, the landowners now experienced the sense of being set adrift on an uncharted sea. Who would do the agricultural labor that must be performed if the cotton were to go to market? Without coercion, could blacks be depended upon?

Many concerns fed this intense panicky feeling immediately after emancipation. Lawlessness throughout the state seemed epidemic. Blacks on the move shook the expectations of whites. Population shifts from rural to urban areas intensified the sense of change taking place. Political questions and military occupation heightened personal and individual fears. All of these matters impinged upon the intellectual and emotional thinking of white Texans. Their search for solutions reflected a desire to set aright the floundering economy. The immediacy of this year's cotton crop mingled with the more long-range concerns about future production. Texans individually and in groups were asking themselves, what do we do for this year's crop? What can be done to insure future production? If blacks could not be depended on, were there other sources of labor?

In the whole battery of potential solutions pressed by Texans, immigration of new workers seemed like one good solution. The idea had many advocates and found expression in a multitude of ways. This chapter seeks to document that strain of thinking--let immigrants solve the labor problem for us--amid the multiplicity of issues that grabbed the attention of Texans. Efforts to bring newcomers to Texas in 1865 and the years immediately following the war varied. Some Texans joined
cooperative organizations with the idea of importing large numbers of substitutes for the ex-slaves. Others endeavored as individuals to provide new workers to till the lands and bring in the crops. In addition, the Reconstruction-era governments began to participate in facilitating the movement of new people to the state. All of these programs, plans, and ideas took place at a time of immense unrest. Doubts, fears, and concerns about labor relationships appeared overwhelming to most southerners. Texans, too, felt this tremendous unease.

Before identifying the many attempts at bringing immigrants to Texas, it is essential to demonstrate the sense of disquietude among the people in the state. Crucial also is an understanding of the substantial mix of farming experiences and labor relationships throughout Texas. First, it is important to see that a wide range of work situations existed, both in the antebellum and postbellum eras. Agriculture was the mainstay of the Texas economy, but production on the farm could mean growing grains, raising hogs and mules, tending vegetable gardens, breeding chickens, herding sheep, as well as a host of other variable tasks such as cultivating cotton. Each farmer was an entrepreneur with an individual approach to making a living from the land he or she worked. Thus the possibilities after the conclusion of the war represented just as wide a spectrum with the possible addition of work performed by the independent black farmer.

Probably the most distressed economically of Texans and southerners were the large plantation owners. These families with huge acreage had depended on large gang-structured work groups to plant, cultivate, and harvest the crop. Without the labor, their land lay dormant and unproductive. To this group, importation of a substitute labor force for the ex-slaves seemed like a good solution, especially if they clung to the assumption that their crop was best produced in such
large land and labor units. For others with this large acreage to cultivate, coercion in the form of enforced contracts for black workers was another alternative.\textsuperscript{4}

But not all Texans had large land holdings nor a need for great numbers of workers. Many merely wanted two or three helping hands on the farm--black industrious workers if possible; white hardworking immigrants as available. Not every farm produced cotton as a cash crop. These farms, though not on the cotton-producing-track, still often needed either hired hands for agricultural production on the farm or tenants for extra acreage currently not in production. Still other farming enterprises existed around the state. Often families held small amounts of acres producing sustenance crops. These people often also had an interest in bringing newcomers to Texas. Some desired friendly neighbors. Others had an interest in pushing blacks further away from their own lands, i.e. creating a "white man's country." Still others sought to increase the size of their ethnic community or bring family and friends from homelands far away. Motives varied widely.

Even beyond the land-holding farmer, other elements in Texas society desired the emigration of people to Texas. For example, the need for dependable household servants also existed. Immigrants were seen as the answer. One Texan noted in a letter to her mother in Mississippi,

\begin{quote}
Money is not so scarce here, and many persons are sending to Europe for white servants. Agents are traveling round with proposals. It is thought by many, that the introduction of white servants will cause efforts on the part of the blacks to discharge their duties. When they see, that we are not dependent on them, they will do better.
\end{quote}

Again motives for encouraging immigration were as numerous as there were interests: the real estate agent wanting to sell land, the railroad companies hiring workers to help in construction, towns in need of new businesses and thus people with capital to "set up shop," ranchers looking for hands to herd sheep or cattle. The
list could go on endlessly. With empty spaces in the vast state of Texas, an openness to newcomers was a prominent feature of the landscape.

While variety existed in farming operations, the sense of uncertainty about the black person's position in southern society seemed uniformly omnipresent. Into the midst of this wide patchwork quilt of interest in getting on with living day by day, black/white labor relations presented a vast unknown. A window of opportunity existed at this moment for new, much healthier employer/employee relationships. Potential existed for agricultural growth and economic prosperity based upon new relationships--new ways of negotiating agricultural labor. But assumptions expressed individually and collectively quickly helped close the door on that opportune moment by "writing in concrete" beliefs about blacks held by many white Texans. Identifying racial attitudes in Texas at this moment in time helps explain the loud, strong call for immigration in the postbellum South. A look at written expressions of black potential or lack of it illustrates this point.

Racism definitely permeated the talk encouraging immigration. Blacks made up a large portion of the population in Texas in 1860. The census records 182,566 slaves in Texas in 1860, listing 25,000 of that number as mulattos. They thus comprised about 30 percent of the state's population. Using these figures, one historian notes that the blacks were thus increasing at a rate much faster than the white population, the blacks having grown by 212 percent in the decade between 1850 and 1860 and the whites by 173 percent. The Civil War years saw an increase in slaves in Texas as many southerners fled other areas of the South for the relative safety of Texas for their human property. Another historian, Merline Pitre, labels these individuals who were finally freed in 1865 as "uprooted slave immigrant[s]."
No matter how the blacks arrived in Texas or when they arrived, they were treated upon emancipation with the same contempt found throughout the South. Blacks entered the free labor work force at a "time of massive disruption." In the uncertainty of the times, whites made multiple assumptions about the previous slaves. They assumed the black would not work unless coerced physically. Some assumed that blacks would just fade away in time--become extinct through natural demise. Others believed that blacks really made the best common laborers but definitely needed to be controlled. Blacks were thus both praised and damned for their supposed characteristics. One southerner is quoted as saying that the black worked much better than any European immigrant, "better even than the olive pig-tails of the Flowery Kingdom." If nothing else, the literature of the time reflects a real ambivalence toward the black worker--both a dependence upon and a dislike for their supposed need of employer control. This ambivalence helped to spawn various efforts to replace black labor with white immigrant labor from across the ocean or from other states.

Most of the written expressions from this time period that survive come from the relatively smaller elite planter class. An 1869 pamphlet entitled Cotton Culture and the South starkly reveals the southern white cotton planters' views of their labor supply. Published in Boston by two cotton brokers, F. W. Loring and C. F. Atkinson, the final publication enlarged upon a circular that the two men had sent to cotton planters throughout the South. Unfortunately this survey of southern planters was aimed only at the cotton producers, and thus gives us no insight into other agricultural pursuits or black laborers in the production of other crops or tasks. But it does provide a window into southern attitudes toward black workers. The appendix to Cotton Culture and the South lists eleven correspondents from Texas, including men from San Marcos, Waco, Montgomery, Bryan, Plantersville,
and Galveston among others. Over 150 pages plus advertisements and various appendices were chock-full of reflections from southern planters.\textsuperscript{11}

What conclusions do Loring and Atkinson arrive at based upon their collation of the survey? They state that the labor power is "one-half what it was in 1860" and the shortage is due to the "unsatisfactory condition of the black labor on the cotton fields." The black worker receives all the blame, which is heaped upon him heavily. Why are things so bad? Among the list of negatives identified by the respondents and summarized by Loring and Atkinson are the following: The blacks have moved to town and deserted the rural areas. Blacks desire to be independent of whites in all things and thus stay away. The women and children in black families have stopped working the fields. There is increased mortality among the blacks and a definite decrease in births. Too many blacks are caught up in the political excitement of the time. Blacks are shifting to occupations other than farming; for example, they are hiring on as railroad hands. Blacks don't know how to handle money when they earn it.\textsuperscript{12}

Specific excerpts from Texans suggests that planters in Texas shared similar opinions with their fellow southerners. Some of their observations were correct even as their explanations were false. One respondent from Maury County complained that "Hands are so scarce that if they are offended in any way (and they are very sensitive), they leave at once, knowing they will have no difficulty in getting another place." They don't want to work for white men, he went on to say; and then projecting onto the future, he said, "I fear that next year they will not work at all." With such apprehension of failure it would not be surprising that pessimism was in the air. Another Texan wrote, "Negroes will never make neat and careful farmers....Negroes know nothing of the value of time." Then angry with black geographical mobility, he added to the racial stereotypes by saying:
Negroes rove from place to place. They love change, and a month's work at a place, and are reluctant to make a year engagement. White people love home, take interest in making it pleasant, comfortable—as the spot from which issue all their money and comforts.

Yet another Texan admitted to his personal inability to work with freed blacks by saying, "neither was I prepared to manage free negroes."\textsuperscript{13}

\textit{Cotton Culture} does more than create a list of laments. It offers some solutions for the consideration of the cotton planter. Unfortunately the black laborer does not gain in the suggestions. The list of "remedies for the present unsatisfactory condition of labor" is long, and the authors give quite extensive explanations as to how to make those changes. They speak of ways to improve employer/employee relations; suggest using fertilizer and labor-saving machines; encourage political stability in the South; discuss providing education for the young; note the possibilities of shifting to small farms rather than maintaining large plantations; and their ultimate suggestion—endeavor to obtain immigration into the South along with the capital it will bring. This last remedy is crucial to the implementation of the other solutions and helps explain the subtitle of their book—\textit{Cotton Culture and the South, Considered with Reference to Emigration}.\textsuperscript{14}

A major significance of this book is the breadth of the survey and the inclusion of Texas in the material. All over the South tension between the potential inherent in agricultural land and white projections of what blacks as a labor supply ought to be able to do with that land was manifest. Expectations became concrete assumptions and then solid fact in white minds. The black worker was held down by the whites' economic and political power. Rather than work to change black/white perceptions or relationships, many southerners turned elsewhere. Elsewhere was where the grass seemed greener, at least in terms of hard-working,
highly motivated individuals willing to be farmers in a new land. Loring and Atkinson recorded some of those visionary southerners.

"The thinking among us do not believe the great mass of free persons are to be relied on for the continuous production [italics in the original] of cotton; hence the obvious utility of the enterprise you desire to inaugurate of inducing emigration from Europe to our cotton lands." So wrote a man from Montgomery County, Texas. He went on to note that competition with northern and western states existed and had resulted in the past in "injurious and false reports" about Texas. Overcoming negative publicity was thus for this man an essential part of attracting immigration to his state. He also encouraged people to just come to Texas and check things out for themselves, ending his contribution to the Cotton Culture survey on a positive note.  

The hue and cry for immigrants to move into the South continues through almost all the pages of Cotton Culture. Representatives from each southern state reflect on their impression of immigration and their needs for workers. One excerpt from a Texan referred to the hardworking, prosperous Germans in Texas as a perfect model for the value of immigration. Another Texan noted the cheap lands available to all. And yet another lauded the possibilities of raising cotton on small acreage and the success of those who had tried it in specific places in Texas.  

Texans during the decade after Appomattox were living in a chaotic era. It was a time of much searching for stability to match the assumed stability of the labor force that had supposedly existed under slavery. The hope that some of the solution to present-day labor problems lay in immigration permeated the South and Texas. The press in Texas, as well as the press across the South, repeatedly linked the value of the immigrant to the white's belief in the lack of Negro ability. The argument for white immigration allowed southerners and Texans a way to express
in print their racist attitudes left over from slavery and to meld that with current racist assumptions about the superiority of white workers. By raising up the call for supposed hard-working white immigrants, the press could "put down" by comparison the failure of blacks to work hard in their freed status. To compare the two—white immigrant and black ex-slave—was to praise the one while devaluing the other.

Material printed in Texas seemed as pessimistic about the potential for black labor as the Boston production, Cotton Culture. The Texas Almanac for 1868 included observations by W. H. Neblett of Grimes County. He compared white and black workers writing, "The negro, working for a part of the crop or as a renter, failed to exert himself at the critical periods of his crop, and either lost a portion or permitted it to suffer from weeds and grass until it made but little." A year earlier one reporter in Brazoria County stated, "the present crops [1867] are but about half an average owing entirely to the impossibility of getting the negroes to work." Another observer noted that, "In a great majority of instances the negroes have worked listlessly, and to kill time instead of grass and weeds."17

Often the best indication of strongly held beliefs are found in personal communications, for the letter requires less circumspect language than the formal press. Thomas Affleck, a Washington County plantation owner, vigorously condemned black workers in his correspondence. "The bulk of them, including almost all of the young & able-bodied, [are] already worthless. And worse than that, are insolent & dishonest to a most intolerable degree," wrote Affleck. Very pessimistically he claimed, "We have no hope of working our plantations by free negro labour" and the "negroes are becoming daily more unwilling to work—with a very few exceptions; and daily verging nearer & nearer insolence." James Harper Starr of Harrison County derisively explained in one of his letters that blacks were
fast on the track to becoming as "indolent as were their ancestors on the banks of the Niger." 18

Relatively newer Texans made similar observations. A lawyer who had arrived in Texas from Virginia in 1858 wrote a letter in which he reported his observations of black workers in November 1865. "I do not believe that the negro can be used successfully unless he can be compelled to labor regularly and from the beginning to the end of the year. I have no confidence in moral suasion in the case of a negro who is at best not above a half savage....The retrogradation of the negroes commenced at the moment of their liberation and will continue until the race is exterminated." Referring to the plantation owners in Texas, he also wrote that, "Those who are most familiar with the characteristics of the negroes are afraid to depend upon him." A Mississippian recently turned Texan wrote home, "The negroes, here as elsewhere, are disposed to be idle." Frustrations abound in such personal letters revealing expectations of whites upon the black workers. "I have pretty well come to the conclusion that any business a man is capable of doing is better than planting with free negroes...they are indolent, lazy, and wasteful," wrote a planter to his physician son-in-law in 1866. To his daughter this same planter wrote, "they will not work more than 7 hours in the day nor more than five days in the week."19

By contrast, the white immigrant seemed to receive nothing but praise. One editorialist wrote, "We shall soon have our troublesome labor question settled by having an abundance of intelligent white men to till our rich soil." Another journalist noted the arrival of Swedish immigrants to Austin and proclaimed, "Let them come. There is plenty of room for all foreigners desirous of homes in our state. All hard-working industrious people, of whatever nationality, who will come to this country, are now more than welcome." Two years later the same paper still valued
the white immigrant over the black, saying, "The more of this immigration, the better. These people bring with them good means, sober and industrious habits, and a good way of attending faithfully to their own business."20

Those immediate months and years following the close of the Civil War found Texans with a mingled sense of fear and hopefulness for the future. As they scrambled to re-draw the rules of black/white labor relations, they also searched for alternatives to black workers. Many saw the immigration of white workers from outside the state as a viable opportunity to bring some sense of balance to the labor work force. Others saw emigration of newcomers as a way to help develop the state's full potential. Efforts in the direction of bringing newcomers to Texas took several forms. They included 1) cooperative organizations at transporting people from abroad, 2) activities by individual Texans serving to provide leadership in bringing immigrants to Texas, and 3) governmental involvement in facilitating the immigration impetus.

The option of cooperative organization appealed to many Texans. Enthusiasm for such cooperative endeavors is clearly seen in the newspapers of the time. Let's organize a "Labor and Immigrants Aid Society," said J. S. Thrasher in a letter to the Galveston Daily News in August 1865. In a very sensible proposal Thrasher pointed to the fact that most people have private businesses which keep them from spending large amounts of time on securing needed immigration. For him the answer was the formation of a group that would fund a central secretary to handle correspondence and the collation of information from around the state. A treasury formed from small individual contributions brought together would provide a great public benefit. Thrasher saw this aid society as meeting needs across class lines, since the "industrial and intellectual advance of the community" was in the interests of all.21
Some of these efforts at association died on the vine as a potential only. But Thrasher's suggestion seems to have become a concrete effort about a year later. The 1867 *Texas Almanac* identifies the incorporation of a "Land, Labor, and Immigration Company" by the 1866 Legislature. According to the *Almanac*, a convention met in Galveston with representatives from "some 15 or 20 counties" in the summer of 1866 "fully agreed upon the importance of united efforts to promote immigration to the State." This company saw northern agents active in Europe and "greater facilities of transportation to Northern ports" as the two driving factors hurting southern immigration. Mindful of this competition, they incorporated with the hope of issuing 2000 shares of preferred stock in order to obtain the money necessary to begin operations. J. S. Thrasher who wrote several letters to the *Galveston Daily News* in August 1865, was one of the nine members of the executive committee heading up this company. Among other prominent Texans, Ashbel Smith was also on the board.\(^{22}\)

The publication of Thrasher's August 13, 1865, letter also spurred a public correspondence between Thrasher and W. R. Baker of Houston. The *Daily News* published copies of their letters on August 18, 1865. Baker set the tone for the dialogue by suggesting that there was no sense in bemoaning the past. He looked to immigration from Europe, from other states, and even from Canada as part of the solution, but he asked how best to achieve that goal. Thrasher, in reply, answered loud and clear, "the secret of successful effort--organization [italics in the original]. We must have organized action in this great field." Again in a very realistic vein, Thrasher noted,

You will not misunderstand me to mean that every man, or any given number of men, must abandon present enterprises and devote themselves to the effort of promoting labor immigration in Texas. But I do mean that every man should do whatever conveniently lies in his way to do, to promote so desirable a result, and that steps should be
taken to give these individual efforts one common direction and effect. It is the union of these in one common channel that will produce great results.

In emphasizing organization, Thrasher purposely pointed to those who seemed to be waiting for an expected stream of northern immigration. Hinting at the tremendous movement of people across the northern plains and into the West, he urged Texans not to wait for the West to be filled up, thus leaving the overflow for the South. He called for Texans to take action themselves and to cooperate now.23

Calls for state-wide organization of immigration efforts continued to appear in the newspapers throughout the decade after the Civil War.24 The suggestions varied, but the goal of peopling Texas with new farmers and laborers remained central. The News reported on activities of successful planters. The use of white labor by Mr. Cheronze and Mr. Lawrence was duly explained in early 1866, including an account of Cheronze's trip to Europe in order to obtain white labor. A letter writer identified as "T" responded to that article with distress over how to apply those opportunities to others less able to travel personally overseas to obtain workers. In frustration he asked how, and then answered himself by saying that "the only answer" is "associate action." "By acting in concert many small contributions, by aggregation, can produce all the effects of large ones." Then in an interesting observation of perceived southern culture, "T" noted that this cooperative approach was much more common among northern communities than in southern areas. But he suggested that southerners can and should give it a try. For "T," imitating Cheronze and Lawrence required communal efforts.25

Flakes's Bulletin, another Galveston newspaper of the time, also reported on efforts at association. In a reference to "Emigrants' Aid Societies" being talked about with Mayor Leonard of Galveston, the editor said more than talk was necessary. "There must be those who will undertake the organization, and put its
machinery in motion. The object is to secure the greatest possible number of the
better class of emigrants--those for which other States are competing." This
reference to other southern states was meant to act as a spur to state pride and was
an argument used repeatedly during the following years. What did Flake see as the
task of this organization? For him, the mission consisted in telling Europeans all
about Texas by distributing informational circulars, submitting articles to European
newspapers, and lecturing in European towns to community members considering
emigration. He wrote, "What is essential is two or three energetic, shrewd and
conscientious salaried officers, who will devote their whole energies to the work of
settling the State with the hardy yeomanry of oppressed Europe." With
unknowing prescience, Flake's suggestion of lecturers and paid immigration agents
was a precursor to the Texas Bureau of Immigration, established in 1870 with
exactly this mode of operation in mind.27

Repeatedly Texans emphasized the need and saw the value of cooperative
efforts. A variety of plans for directing immigration into Texas appeared in Texas' newspapers. One article praised the attempt to set up an agency in New York that
would correct some of the false impressions about Texas circulating among the
newly arrived immigrants to that city and to the country.28 With a passion formed
out of distress, one planter in 1867 urged cooperation by saying,

I am satisfied that if you only say the word and unite together as
prudent and sensible men in the great work of saving and
regenerating your property and your homes, by settling upon and
filling up your plantations with intelligent white tenants, and with
energetic, industrious and hardy European laborers you can, in a
great measure, prevent the disasters that now threaten you.29

Another article decried work by western immigration agents to circulate
misinformation that would divert potential immigrants from Texas to western
states. This article suggested that "By establishing the right sort of immigration
agency our efforts will be concentrated and made available and effective." Again the theme of concerted work is used, but this time the emphasis directed energies against the influence of other sectional immigration agencies.\textsuperscript{30}

Another unusual plan called for the donation of forty acres of Texas land to be "made to a limited number of emigrants from any other State or from Europe." These lands would be made available as the result of concerted efforts by men in many Texas counties banding together. They believed that initial settlement would result in the sale of more lands following the success of these immigrant farmers. These Texans were acting in a very practical manner, since they assumed that taxes were going to increase and would affect most heavily those people holding unimproved land. Their efforts to increase the tax base dovetailed with immigration sentiment abroad in the state.\textsuperscript{31}

Texans loudly praised various efforts to help immigrants in their move to the state. A number of different groups labored to make immigration a reality in the state. In an editorial in the \textit{Galveston Daily News} Richardson applauded efforts by citizens of German descent in the Austin area to form an association with the idea of encouraging fellow Germans to emigrate to Texas. Collecting information that would be disseminated, often through personal contact between Texas Germans and their overseas acquaintances, was a key goal of this group. Another very specific endeavor of this German organization was to lobby the Texas legislature for laws to encourage and promote all immigration to the state. Richardson spoke glowingly of the contributions of the German element in the past and praised these efforts to increase their numbers in Texas.\textsuperscript{32}

Yet another, albeit different, approach to cooperative action was the work of legislators in the 1866 Texas Congress. According to one historian, they "thoroughly understood" the needs of Texas for responsible laborers and people to till the soil.
Their response was for each representative individually to prepare a record of current conditions in his home district. These would all be gathered and provided to Willard Richardson, who edited the Galveston Daily News. As editor of the News, Richardson also used the presses to produce the most comprehensive state Almanac of the time. According to Richardson, the legislators cheerfully contributed what he ascribed as accurate and helpful information for immigrants. He claimed in his explanatory preface to the 1867 Almanac that the accounts were written "during the intervals between the daily sessions" of the fall legislative term in Austin. Out of a 360-page work, 108 pages were devoted to these county descriptions, thus demonstrating the central belief that authoritative, correct information would have a strong pull on the prospective immigrant.33

This particular Almanac offers an interesting window into life in Texas in 1866. It reinforces the picture of planters' hopes for a substitute labor force to replace or supplement the freedmen. For example, the account for Washington County quoted a recent clerk of the county named J. H. Randle as stating that German immigrants within the last year had purchased over 10,000 acres of land in the county involving 90 different tracts of land. This information directly followed the statement by the Washington County reporter that "Our population is fast increasing; can not say at what rate; but the result will be to make this beautiful county a white man's country."34 Racism obviously propelled some in their desire to attract European immigrants to do the planters' work.

The positive encouragement of immigration by the Galveston newspaper helped to foster interchange of information among communities in the state through the columns of the paper. This interaction served to dispense ideas throughout the state, since the Galveston Daily News was the preeminent paper in Texas. One example of this connection is a July 20, 1867 letter to the editor which began, "As
your paper is an advocate of immigration, and thus working for the welfare of the State, and as this movement is for the same, you will please publish the following Resolutions." In Walker County, Texas, a group had formed the Waverly Immigration Society. Among their goals was the importation of Polish workers which they "cordially recommend...as good laborers to the country." This small community had formed the society with president, secretary, and agent all selected for the purpose of helping their own community, but they were also willing to share with others the benefits of the structure they had in place.35

Concern for the immigrant who had already arrived in Texas but had met with unfortunate experiences also spurred talk of forming cooperative associations. Under the heading "A Sad Story," the News in 1869 reported the arrival in Galveston of a Norwegian family with no English language skills. Several of their children were sick, assumedly with "croup," and two died while the family was in the city. Efforts to communicate and help these emigrants had frustrated the railroad workers. The editor encouraged the city of Galveston to plan ahead for such future contingencies. "As the tide of immigration through this port is certainly destined to increase, it seems evident that we should have here arrangements for the reception and accommodation of immigrants; and we hope the sad incident just related will prove useful in this direction."36

Anxiety in 1865 for the crops of that fall season sparked interest on the part of plantation owners to search for a different source of labor in those first few months of post war experience. This concern did not seem to abate in succeeding years as Texas planters seldom ceased looking for alternatives to black labor. An 1874 newspaper included a letter from a Fort Bend County man. This Texas county had a heavy black population and a strong tie to cotton and bottom land production. After a very pessimistic view of plantations going to ruin and land losing its value on
the marketplace, this planter gave a rousing appeal for action. He claimed that past apathy and indecisiveness had helped encourage current labor problems. He said that it was the planters' own fault that things were not what they could be. Then the author urged his fellow countryman to take charge and act. "There must be concerted action; each county should have its organization of planters, which shall make rules and regulations for the promotion of industry, the encouragement of immigration, and the improvement of society." Seeing blacks as ignorant, demanding, and lazy, this planter expected a tug of war between a judicious white class and an improvident lower class. Clearly racist in his view of blacks, the Fort Bend planter encouraged fellow planters to pool their financial resources, employ an agent "to go into other States, or abroad, as may be preferred," and thus bring "families or hands" to ultimately return the county to prosperity. "Prosperity loves to be wooed by the white man, but she flies from the Negro; if we wish prosperity to smile upon us, we must change the color of our population...Planters, let us be up and doing. The future lies before us; shall it be progress or degradation?"37

Struggling with a loss of control over their black labor supply, many planters hoped that white imported workers, due to their assumed hard driving work ethic, would provide the ideal substitute for the black. Large plantation owners in Texas seemed to spearhead most collective efforts at bringing new workers to Texas. But it is important to keep in mind that they were not the only Texans interested in immigration. While little written documentation exists that the smaller land owners were interested in bringing additional people to the state,38 they too would benefit by an influx of hired hands, additional taxpayers to share government costs, consumers to help stimulate the commerce of the state, and neighbors to add numerical mass to the towns and communities around the state. Tremendous energy, especially through written admonitions in newspapers, stimulated ideas and
exhortations for collective action to bring immigrants to Texas. Whether touting the need for workers to supplant freed plantation slaves or encouraging the arrival of newcomers to help in developing the state, newspapers were a buzz with ideas to promote immigration.

Cooperative efforts to attract immigrants to Texas in the decade immediately after the Civil War illustrate interest in immigration on the part of Texans. Individuals often served as leaders in stimulating interest in immigration. Some encouraged the movement through individual expressions of opinion. One 1865 reporter in Henderson, Texas, noted that "a great many negroes have left this portion of country and many others will follow suit." Seeing this emigration as positive, the same reporter suggested that this would infuse "energy...into the white class generally."39 Another Texan, claiming to have been a planter for thirty-five years, was much more pessimistic about the situation in the later half of 1865. As he saw it, the freedmen were sitting around waiting till Christmas, believing that land and livestock was to be divided among them with each family receiving a farm. This Navasota planter, Thomas E. Blackshear, worried about the need to begin preparing in January and February for the 1866 planting season and begged the Freedmen's Bureau to disavow such rumors and set the freedmen to work. He wanted strong laws to be enacted and enforced keeping blacks working. He said if that could not be done then, "the sooner they are sent out of the country to make room for white labor, the better for the country....I am prepared to offer very strong inducements to sober, industrious white labor, for the ensuing year, if application is made in time."40

Another individual seeking to encourage migration to Texas announced in his letter to the editor of the News that he had 30,000 acres of land along the Concho River available in tracts of about 320 acres each that he was "willing to lease...for a
term of five years, without charge, to actual settlers who will cultivate them." He urged individuals and colonies to take advantage of his offer. In his mind, many soldiers during the recent war had traveled into the southern states and seen for themselves the advantages of agriculture in that area. He was sure they were ready to make a move and he thus offered his land.41

Yet another individual who heavily invested energy and time into promoting immigration to Texas in the postwar years was Thomas Affleck. His personal concerns and labors on behalf of immigration resulted in efforts at concerted action thus illustrating both individual and collective influences upon immigration to Texas immediately after the Civil War. A Scottish immigrant himself, Thomas Affleck moved to Texas in 1858 after living in Ohio and Mississippi. He developed a reputation for agricultural interests, propagating plants for his nurseries, publishing articles and books such as his *Southern Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Calendar*, and generally keeping abreast of the latest developments in the field of agriculture. Affleck owned a large plantation known as Glenblythe near Brenham in Washington County. Before the war he was a successful planter with a very large cadre of slaves. By 1865 Affleck, well-educated and heavily involved in agricultural development, had adopted the full complement of antiblack racial attitudes common among white southerners. These racist views caused him to immerse himself in efforts to develop a white laboring class in Texas. Much of his energy after the cessation of hostilities turned in this direction. Using his wealth, his writing skills, and his experience at organizing work, Affleck developed extensive and well-thought-out proposals for importing white workers from Europe.42

While Affleck seemed to be open to new approaches and developing ideas when it came to agricultural techniques, he kept strictly to a racist belief in black inferiority. He had no qualms about expressing those opinions either, and did so
frequently. An August 1865 *News* article quoted him as referring to "the animal nature of the negro," and a year later he wrote in a letter to the *News*, "I never had, nor yet have, any confidence whatever, in free negro labor." Seemingly in an effort to console himself with others of like-minded views, he also wrote in May 1866 about the "great discouragement expressed by all at the bearing of the negroes....Sulky, 'slunging,' impudent in their bearing, and altogether offensive." He held out absolutely no hope in a prosperous Texas based on freed black labor. Probably those strong racist views nurtured the immense energy he poured into promoting white immigration. Perhaps too it was his self-propelling belief, as he stated it in a *News* article, that "God helps those who help themselves."43

The common phraseology of the time, a desire for a white man's country, also filtered into his language. Envisioning that totally white land, he used the flip side of his racist beliefs to endorse the hard-working Scotch and English farmers. For Affleck, these European workers were all that the black failed to be. And in prejudicial fashion he extolled the virtues of these white Europeans to his fellow Texans. From his viewpoint the Scotch were "cautious, prudent, persistent people" who would faithfully and thoroughly carry out any contract they signed. Lumping farmers of England and Scotland together, he claimed they were "excellent business men...and probably the most successful farmers in the world."44 His myopic view of perceived racial differences fueled the enthusiasm for his task.

Affleck's first goal was to travel to Scotland, then find and bring back twenty-five to thirty families to Glenblythe. In paternalistic fashion he planned to set them up on his land in "cottages" (a new name for the slave quarters?), furnish them tools and animals, and allow them to work under their own selected foreman. He had heard of the movement to break up plantations into small farms and agreed that such was a possibility, but he preferred the larger enterprise. It suited his sense of
efficiency and organization. When later listing the advantages of emigrating to plantations in Texas, Affleck told his Scotch and English listeners of the almost 'pre-packaged' opportunity available through his plan. Affleck went to Scotland and energetically pursued his proposals among the common folk. He published in Scotland a twelve-page pamphlet entitled *Texas and Her Resources*, which he must have given away free of charge. He filled six pages with descriptions of what he called his "adopted State" and then followed with six pages clarifying his proposition. In unique fashion he pointed to comparisons with other emigration opportunities in Australia, Canada, and various western states in the United States. He also stretched the truth, although his readers were probably not aware of it, when he referred to cotton picking as "light, pleasant and paying work." His pamphlet announced his appearance in Dumfries, Scotland, at a local fair in February and his desire to talk there with anyone interested in his proposal.45

While on his European trip he wrote back to the *Galveston Daily News* chronicling his work and sharing his hopes for the future. He bemoaned the unofficial nature of his trip wishing he held an official position from the state government and assuming he could accomplish more as an official ambassador of the Texas. He planned to speak before the state legislature upon his return and suggest a plan for aiding immigrants. His trip to Europe reacquainted him with a variety of efforts the English made to assist emigration from their lands to perceived opportunities elsewhere. Affleck saw the value of this financial assistance and felt the plans had merit as applied to the receiving areas as well.46

Once back in his beloved Texas, Affleck met with fellow planters and presented his ideas to anyone who would listen. He continued to write letters to the Galveston newspapers. Planning the incorporation of a company to encourage immigration, he had printed a six-page circular entitled "Immigration and Labor"
dated May 21, 1866, as an introduction to his plan. These pamphlets must have been circulated far and wide in south and east Texas. They laid out clearly how anyone could participate in the enterprise. Two months later he added another twist to his extensive scheme by printing a two-page letter plus printed blank contracts for potential shareholders in a plan to export livestock to Europe. Cattle and immigration may seem distant interests, but for businessman Thomas Affleck they were very much complementary, and he meant to explain that to fellow Texans. The main reasoning for the plan was the key issue of transportation. Getting white laborers to Texas required expensive passage by ship. The answer then was to send livestock out of Texas to English ports and receive back the very much needed white laborers. He admitted that his idea was an experiment but "one well worth trying." 47 And he backed up his ideas with his own personal investment of time, energy, and money.

Affleck's efforts illustrate one person's interest in immigration into Texas, and they illustrate his belief in concerted action to make that possible. The uncertainty of the postwar months and years left some people apathetic and doubtful about the future. But that same uncertainty propelled individuals like Thomas Affleck to step into action, doing something based on deeply held racist beliefs. Realizing that change was happening, Affleck came up with a plan and worked to implement it. 48

While private individuals presented plans for stimulating immigration in 1865 and the years following, government became part of this effort to facilitate immigration. It is essential to realize that movement into Texas, as immigration was defined in an earlier chapter, continued a pattern established in ante-Bellum days. No matter what the governmental authority in power at a specific time, geographic mobility was a constant. During the nineteenth century, Texas rather
quickly experienced a succession of different governmental authorities. Before 1835, Mexico held legal jurisdiction over the area now known as Texas. From 1836 to 1845 this same area became the independent Republic of Texas. Though incorporated into the United States of America in 1845 Texas later decided to secede from that Union and became a part of the Confederate States of America in 1861. By 1865, Texas again came under the power and authority of the United States government as it was forcibly corralled back into the Union. While legal control may have changed over time, it is important to point out that they all encouraged population movements to the state. Statistics also document that the political and legal entity of Texas grew in size as people immigrated into the territory. Anglos moved onto Mexican land and eventually established an independent Republic. Additional people from overseas and from the states and territories of the United States migrated into the area. After Texas became a state within the United States, settlers continued to move into the state, swelling its population and tapping into its resources. The history of Texas is very much a history of immigration.

The fact that so many individuals and families chose to move to Texas emphatically suggests the lure of the land upon others. This immigration was also stimulated by government action. The issue of immigration was not the central concern for Texas or for the other southern states in the decade between 1865 and 1875. Known historically as the era of Reconstruction, this long decade churned with changes in the black labor force, intrusion of northern and Republican influence on politics, and violence based on racist concepts of society. Texas existed squarely within this reconstruction tradition. Immigration fits into this larger picture as a minor but very significant side issue. Political decisions about suffrage, education, internal improvements, pardons, business incorporations, taxation, revenues, budgets, and land laws had to take into consideration the flow of people
into and within the state. The Texas legislature and constitutional conventions debated immigration concerns throughout this decade.

Still central to the immigration issue was the proposed supplanting of black freed people with white laborers. However, the issue became more complex as the years 1867, 1868, and 1869 rolled by. The need to populate the great empty territories of Texas also became important. The desire to create an influx of settlers, especially agricultural people, expanded to meet a variety of perceived needs. Remaining throughout all of this was an emphasis on cooperative efforts. Now however the main arena shifted to the political theater where issues of governmental involvement as an influence to immigration became more primary. A look at Texas government from 1869 to 1877 is necessary to complete the picture of Texas' efforts at stimulating a flow of immigration to the state in the ten to twelve years after Appomattox.

Typically Reconstruction history chronicles the initial control of southern state governments by Confederate leaders followed by establishment of radical republican control of state legislative, executive, and judicial branches followed again by the reinstatement of conservative Democratic Party-lead governments. Texas participated in these reconstruction shifts.49 Formulating constitutions in 1866, 1869, and 1876 was part of this process for Texas state politicians. Passing laws based on those constitutions, Texas legislatures showed a rare continuity during the Reconstruction era in supporting efforts to entice immigration to the state. A review of that process over time indicates the consistency of that endeavor whether Democrats, Moderate or Radical Republicans, or independents wielded power in the governing body.

An election held on January 8, 1866, selected delegates for a constitutional convention to be held in February. By summer a constitution was in place and the
newly elected government assumed office. In August the legislature met to begin work to reestablish a stable state government.\textsuperscript{50} However, events in Washington, D.C., intervened to cause major adjustments in Texas. Upon the passage of the First Reconstruction Act on March 2, 1867, the federal government took charge of the southern states dividing, them into military districts, assigning governors to direct activities, and requiring states to convene new constitutional conventions. Radical Republican control in the nation's capital required greater safeguards for blacks in these state constitutions and insisted upon state ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the national constitution. Texas thus went through the process again of selecting constitutional delegates, meeting, and then formulating a new constitution acceptable to the Republican powers in Washington, D.C. The result of this later convention, which began proceedings in Austin on June 1, 1868, was a new document. This constitution was ratified on November 30-December 2, 1869, with 72,466 affirmative votes and 4,928 negative votes\textsuperscript{51} and a new state constitution became the law of the land.\textsuperscript{52}

Meanwhile between 1866 and 1869 the state legislature, meeting under the authority of the earlier constitution, had passed several pieces of legislation directly dealing with immigration issues. Under the 1866 constitution several immigration measures became law. On April 2, 1866, an ordinance provided for a Commissioner of Statistics who was charged,

\begin{quote}
  to organize a system for the promotion of immigration to the State of Texas, whose duty it shall be to collect information in regard to the mineral resources, productions, and populations of the State, and to prepare and publish such documents as may be calculated to furnish correct information about all the counties of the State, and inviting immigration from other States and countries.\textsuperscript{53}
\end{quote}

Information-gathering tasks were perceived as one step in providing reliable data for the public relations efforts of the state. The ordinance reflects an interest in
encouraging immigration and suggests the belief that immigrants typically made
decisions based upon adequate information. People were obviously choosing among
alternative locations, and Texas wanted to be one of the places under consideration.

About six months later the legislature passed a law entitled "An Act
Concerning Alien Passengers." This was a clear effort on the part of the politicians
to protect the host country by making ship captains accountable for bringing
potentially undesirable immigrants to the state. The development of federal
immigration law covering this issue did not take place until later in the nineteenth
century. In the absence of federal legislation, each state passed laws regulating the
arrival of people via ship to their shores. This Texas law was an attempt at
providing such regulation. It required each vessel to make a report in writing
within one day of arrival, listing all persons planning to land. It also prohibited the
landing of "any lunatic, idiot, maimed, aged or infirm person, incompetent, in the
opinion of the Commissioner of Immigration." Those "who have been paupers or
criminals in any other country" were also denied entry. The law addressed several
needs for the state of Texas. First, it aimed at providing statistics on the state's
population, since it required in addition to each person's name, their "age, sex,
occupation, place of birth, last place of residence" and their physical condition.
Secondly, it sent a message to shipping interests that the state would not abide the
dumping of people in Texas just so that shipping lines could make money on travel
fares. Thirdly, the law aimed to keep a class of people from entering the state who
might drain local charitable funds for support. Finally, it was a small, but essential
early step in trying to provide for the public health of the state.55

This 1866 session of the legislature also saw the passage of two acts
incorporating companies dealing with immigration. On October 24, 1866, the
"Texas Land, Labor and Immigration Company" was chartered with their stated
goal "to promote immigration to Texas, to facilitate the purchase and settlement of lands by immigrants, and to introduce laborers and skilled operatives into the State." Galveston was to be the place for company headquarters.\textsuperscript{56} Then on November 2, 1866, the state legislature provided for the incorporation of the "Western Texas Colonial Land Immigration Company," which was intended to develop the resources of the State by disseminating reliable information, inducing emigration from other States and from Europe, furnishing labor, extending facilities to emigrants, and directing and determining the investment and employment of capital and enterprise to the State.

The specifics of the law were more detailed than with earlier corporate legislation. Provisions gave the company the power,

- to acquire real estate, to sell or otherwise dispose of the same; to contract with any person or persons desirous of immigrating to this State from any other State or country; for the advance of his, her or their expenses, which may be incurred in accomplishing their object, stipulating for the repayment by him, her or them, to this corporation, of the sum or sums of money so advanced, with a reasonable charge or commission for the labor, trouble and risk incurred.

This corporation also had the right to declare yearly dividends to its stockholders, although there were limits to this power.\textsuperscript{57}

In review then, the Texas government established by the 1866 constitution did concern itself with immigration issues. Its main interest seemed to lie in two directions: obtaining and disseminating information about the state for the benefit of encouraging movement into Texas, and controlling such agencies (whether shipping lines or land companies) that facilitated movement of people to the state.

When the national government passed the First Reconstruction Act in 1867, it effectively discredited the 1866 Texas constitution and insisted upon new basic laws for the state. Planning to draft such a new constitution in the summer of 1868, ninety-four men met, only six of whom had participated in the constitutional
convention of 1866. The resulting 1869 constitution, acceptable to the northern Republicans, made specific provision for a Bureau of Immigration. A Superintendent of Immigration could be appointed by the Governor for a four-year term at an annual salary of two thousand dollars. The legislature was given power to appropriate money "for the purpose of promoting and protecting immigration."

This money could be spent
defraying the expenses of this Bureau, to the support of agencies in foreign seaports, or seaports of the United States, and to the payment in part or in toto of the passage of immigrants from Europe to this State, and their transportation within this State.

This portion of the 1869 constitution obviously and enthusiastically encouraged future legislation dealing with immigration into Texas.

Debate and discussion at the long and involved constitutional convention in 1868-1869 included a multitude of subjects and issues of interest to Texans. Black suffrage and civil rights were primary interests among others. For the purposes of this study a detailed analysis of the convention's activities is not necessary. But it is most helpful to follow the events during the convention which influenced immigration recruitment during this time in order to document the constancy of interest in bringing people to Texas. At the first full session of the constitutional convention, Governor Pease's address was read to the assembled delegates. Major issues referred to by the governor included crime, enfranchisement, school taxes, and state debts. One of his hopes was "that you will adopt efficient measures to encourage immigration to our State from foreign countries, and to give aid and encouragement to such works of internal improvements as the necessities of our people require." Subsequent supporters of immigration, following the lead of Governor Pease, often combined their interest in peopling the state with support for internal improvements, which helped make transportation and commerce easier.
As a side note to the issue of immigration, the governor's address also included the following optimistic observation:

We have reason to congratulate ourselves on prosperous seasons, and the prospect of abundant crops. The freed people are doing well, far better than their most ardent friends anticipated under all the circumstances by which they have been surrounded. The prejudice against them is gradually giving way to a better feeling. Many of those who prophesied ruin to the country from their emancipation are now compelled to admit that there is still some hope for the future;..\textsuperscript{61}

While not everyone would have agreed with Governor Pease, the sense of emergency and immediacy of those first few months of crop concern in late 1865 had dissipated.

Among the many committees established by the convention was one designated for immigration. Its chair was Edward Degener, representing the western counties of Bexar, Wilson, Kerr, Bandera, Medina, Uvalde, Kinney, Maverick, Edwards, and Zavala. Degener was a German by birth, had served in German legislative bodies, and emigrated to Texas in 1850. He was a wholesale grocer in San Antonio. There were six other members of the committee. Julius Schuetze represented Fayette and Bastrop Counties. He was Prussian born, emigrated to Texas when he was 17, and was currently serving as a Bastrop County judge. H. H. Foster of Colorado County was a 28-year-old farmer and one of the convention's native Texans. George W. Smith representing Bowie, Davis, and Marion Counties was only a three-year resident of Texas serving as a major in the Union army as part of the occupation forces in San Antonio. He was from New York State. Erwin Wilson represented Brazoria County, where he was a 58-year-old farmer. He was originally from Tennessee, though he had lived in Texas for over 18 years. Nothing biographical is known about John Morse other than he was white and represented Shelby, San Augustine, Sabine, and Newton Counties. Stephen Curtis was the one black man on the committee. He was 62 years old, born in
Virginia, and represented Brazos County. The forceful figure on the committee was its chair, who also sat on the Committee on Division of the State, the Political or Legislative Committee, and the Committee on Apportionment.62

The report of the Committee on Immigration was presented on June 18, 1868. It included the proposed wording of the Constitutional provision and then added an extra five pages of explanations for the committee's recommendations. The rationale for a bureau of immigration, the report said, came from the past tradition of the nation's interest in and encouragement of immigration. Noting the development of the western territories of the country resulting from this population influx, the committee's report then stated that "The American slave States could not keep time with their successful sister free States." Pointing to the changes of the time and adding the valuable advantage of the mild southern climate, the committee said it was now time for Texas to induce immigration southwestward.63

Money appropriated for the bureau was to be spent in three ways: "to defray the expenses of the Bureau of Immigration...to support agencies in foreign seaports...[and] to pay in part or in toto the passage of emigrants from Europe to this State, and their transportation on railroads in this State." The committee explained that agencies in the United States really didn't address the need to speak to the potential immigrant in his or her home country before the traveler had spent money for transportation via a more "circuitous route." The perceived need for funds to support the actual travel of the immigrants came from the committee's understanding of "the unavoidable difference between freights from Europe to Northern seaports and our shipping places." They seem very aware of the disadvantages under which the southern states, including Texas, labored in terms of direct shipping routes with Europe. Debate ensued over the various portions of the committee's recommendations. The final constitutional provision did allow for state
financial support of the actual travel expenses. As to the issue of placement of
Texas immigration agencies, the final provision expanded the potential inherent in
the constitutional article by including the chance to set up agencies in seaports in
the United States in addition to foreign seaports.64

The committee recommended the donation of land to immigrants. They
proposed that the head of a family could receive 160 acres while a single male would
be entitled to 80 acres "free of all costs whatever, other than the expense of
surveying the same." The members saw this as a gift dependent upon the
immigrants living there for at least three years and also noted that such occupation
enhanced "the value and increased taxability of the lands bordering on the new
location." They saw investment in attracting people as ultimately increasing the
state's revenues. Their ability to see the long-range picture is something not often
shared by legislators burning with interest in the moment's concerns.65

Finally, the report anticipated some objections to its proposals. Noting that
just one type of immigration was being encouraged by this constitutional provision,
i.e. foreign immigration, they tried to explain.

It is not the wealthy foreigner, nor the merchant; not the industrial
nor the experienced American citizen; immigrating from another State
to Texas, who is in need of the protecting and assisting hand of the
Bureau of Immigration, but such class of foreign labor to whom the
trifling outlay for ocean transportation is a serious consideration.

What we are in need of, is a hard working thrifty population,
which clings to the soil it has once undertaken to cultivate, without
nomadic propensities and of unquestionable loyalty to the
Government of the United States [italics in the original].66

This explanation seems to present a fairly narrow focus towards peopling the state.
Such a view was not to remain the only one over the many years ahead in the late
nineteenth century.
The *Journal* of the Reconstruction convention makes record of one other activity concerning immigration. One criticism of this constitutional convention was that it did not refrain from expanding its session work to include what were clearly more legislative concerns. One of those times when it stepped outside the path of framing a new constitution was a declaration by the Committee on Immigration to incorporate the Liverpool and Texas Steamship Company. This declaration divided the members of the committee and created debate in the whole convention. It seems that six of the seven committee members supported provisions to fund this company in its efforts to establish direct transportation for European immigrants. As proposed, bonds guaranteed by the state would help maintain the company. Edward Degener of San Antonio submitted a minority report in which he said the declaration was "highly objectionable." Giving no reason for his opinion at that time (January 12, 1869), four days later he submitted a protest to the declaration, claiming it was a "scheme" to which he did not want his name associated. He still was not specific, or at least the *Journal* proceedings do not record, his objections. The declaration, after a series of votes on amendments and adjournment, finally passed by a vote of 41 to 22. The ultimate success of this company or subsequent funding by the state government is unknown to this writer. The specific arguments pro and con remain a mystery.67

Three questions relating to immigration as an issue at the 1868 constitutional convention deserve further analysis: 1) What relationship did lawlessness, real or perceived, have upon the conventions proceedings? 2) Was immigration an issue that divided the convention along major political party lines? and 3) As the drive to divide Texas into smaller states gained force in 1868, were supporters of immigration on the side of division?
Violence was part and parcel of life in many parts of Texas. This was the case during the war years and in the immediate postbellum era. Texas still had a frontier, sparsely settled and touched by marauding Indians. Black/white tensions existed as the freed slaves sought to carve their position in Texas society. Government between 1865 and 1870, when Texas was re-admitted to the Union with its own authority to make and enforce laws, was often inadequate and laws frequently not enforced. Early on, newspapers noted the gruesome stories of violence and editorialized over them. Ferdinand Flake, an avowed Republican of German birth, wrote about this lawlessness regularly. However, on November 28, 1866, he pointed out that overstating this tendency to violence could and would have negative results. He wrote that such statements would "prevent immigration, hinder our trade, destroy our good name, and mar our general prosperity." As a typical newspaperman of the time he assumed a booster mentality for his adopted state and hoped that the growth of the state would not be harmed by the reports of lawlessness.68

Another Galveston booster was Willard Richardson of the Galveston Daily News, and he also saw the connection between slowed immigration to the state and reports of violence. His response was to blame the Republicans, and he did this forcefully in August 1868, in response to the work of the Constitutional Convention. In an editorial column he stated,

The object of the crime report of the Convention is to prevent emigration to Texas. The radicals have not given up the hope of ruling the State through the negro, and therefore do not want to be bothered with any more whites. If they had their way they would have just enough negroes to do the voting and working, and no more whites than are necessary to hold all the offices and cheat the freedmen out of their earnings....they do not want white people to come in for fear their programme may have to be changed.
He also quite vehemently objected to the use of a New York/Texas comparison in that same report of the convention, saying "The fairness of taking New York under her own government and Texas under radical rule, is not obvious." Two days later Richardson wrote, "Already the first crime report of the Texas Convention has been translated into foreign languages, to be scattered in Europe for the purpose of keeping emigrants away from Texas." What better can we expect from the radicals, Richardson sarcastically continued.69

This criticism of the radicals in Texas rested on a report by Governor Pease to the U.S. House of Representatives, dated May 11, 1868, and a Special Committee on Lawlessness report of July 25, 1868, from the constitutional convention. Pease's communication was printed by order of the Committee on Reconstruction in the federal House, and thus was available nation-wide for publication in various newspapers and magazines. In seven separate documents covering twenty-eight pages, Pease disputed the military's report that peace existed in Texas and begged for assistance in holding down violent occurrences throughout the state. The report emanating from the Texas convention had a more limited initial impact, but according to Richardson still had tremendous influence overseas.70 Those seeking to present Texas in a positive light as the place for future settlers were distressed by these activities of the constitutional convention.

Constitutional conventions are often battlefields for political parties. Frequently parties line up on opposing sides arguing pro and con a specific issue. One question for historians of Reconstruction politics in Texas is whether one political party or another supported immigration efforts. How did the parties "line up" on the issue of encouraging immigration to Texas? Did they try to undermine each others work? Or did they see immigration in a positive light but argued about who should be attracted to the state and how that encouragement should be
facilitated? These are difficult questions to answer. It is true the so-called
Republican constitution of 1869 officially supported a special Bureau of
Immigration, while the later 1875 constitution, adopted when the Democratic Party
was back in control, included a prohibition on spending any money on helping
immigration to the state. Yet the matter is not that simple. The story of the
Bureau and the 1876 Constitution will be related later.

Here it might prove helpful to look at official party platforms as bare bones
statements in this time period. Meeting in Bryan on July 7, 8 and 9, 1868, the
Democratic Party adopted a platform that included the following plank:

That we need more population, labor, and capital, as well as peace
and civil government, for the development of the resources of our
great State, and that our true policy is to invite immigration and
capital from the Northern States and Europe, and to assure them of a
friendly welcome, and we declare that statements that immigrants
from the Northern States are not received with friendship and cannot
expect security for life and property amongst us are made by the
Radical party for political effect and are willful [sic] perversions of the
truth.

Obvious tensions existed between the Republican and Democratic Party. The fact
that the two main parties were holding party meetings while the constitutional
convention was happening in Austin may have contributed to the fierce
argumentative tone of this statement by the Democrats. Accusations at the time
were slung back and forth frequently asserting that the opponents were against the
influx of newcomers. This argument was based on perceptions of how newcomers to
the state would influence ultimate voting patterns.

The Republican Party met in Austin on August 12-14, 1868, and its official
platform had no separate statement about immigration as such. This meeting
reflected the decisions of the moderate Republicans in office. A smaller group of
Republicans, commonly referred to as the radical wing of the party, bolted this
convention and held a separate meeting on August 14-15. Led by E. J. Davis, E.
Degener, and James P. Newcomb, this "other" Republican convention adopted
among its eight resolutions the statement,

That the establishment of just and liberal provisions in our organic
law, placing our State among the most progressive of the Union, with
a rigid and exact enforcement of the laws, will encourage emigration,
promote prosperity, and at an early day suppress lawlessness and
violence.

The tone of their plank suggests the belief that as people emigrate into the area, the
violence will subside. They thus saw the suppression of violence and the
encouragement of immigration as complementary concerns. Another portion of this
platform called for no long residency requirements for voting eligibility. They felt
"that exclusive regulations of this sort will have a tendency to create the impression
abroad that the Republicans of Texas are jealous of the influx of strangers."74 From
the platforms in 1868 it would seem both parties were concerned about their image
around the country as well as within the state itself. They both seem to be
supportive of population movements into the state, as they jockeyed for position and
tvoter support.

During the succeeding years, the official voices of both parties continued to
support immigration. The 1869 Radical Republican Convention adopted a
resolution,

That the Republican party of Texas earnestly desires the
encouragement of internal improvement and immigration, and will, as
a party, press the adoption of measures having these ends in view.
That in connection herewith, we condemn the demagogical use of the
term of "carpetbagger" and other terms of reproach applied to
strangers who may come among us, designed to keep alive the
prejudices of the ignorant and deter immigration.

Two later conventions of the Democrats in 1869 and 1871 expressed positive feelings
about immigration. A small group of Democratic journalists wrote into their
platform the statement, "That we are in favor of encouraging European and
American immigration, and pledge them our protection, irrespective of both place
and political principles." The larger Democratic State Convention held in Austin
January 23-26, 1871, included as one of its ten resolutions:
The Immigration of the white races from all quarters of the world,
should be encouraged; and there should be no unreasonable
impediments or delay to naturalization and citizenship. The
Democratic party having been uniformly in favor of a liberal policy
toward all persons of foreign birth, who in good faith seek a home in
our favored land.

The 1872 convention meeting in June adopted the same plank. Both the 1871 and
1872 state Democratic meetings adopted platforms supportive of immigration. It
would seem from this short overview of party platforms that the two major political
parties in Texas were supportive of immigration efforts.

Activity in the constitutional convention of 1868/1869 also raises another
historical question whose answer remains cloudy. Was there a connection between
those who favored immigration to Texas and those who voted the question of
division of the state? Texas came into the Union with the option to divide its large
land mass into smaller states if it so desired. This possibility has been entertained
throughout the history of the state, but received special interest at the 1868-69
Constitutional Convention. Frustration over violence in the state intensified
feelings separating eastern and western counties. Western counties felt the need for
frontier control against Indian raids and lawbreakers. The eastern counties
struggled with racial violence as black/white tensions intensified after the war.
Some representatives of each section saw a division of the state as one way to cope
with the perceived failings of the other section.

While the division issue was a complex political maneuver involving many
disparate issues and supported by many Texans, some have suggested that differing
sectional interests in bringing immigrants to the state played into the story. Yet voting records do not seem to indicate a clear-cut division by sectional representatives. Others have noted the argument that racial concerns were involved in the division issue. Yet again voting records note that of the nine black delegates at the 1868-69 Constitutional Convention, five voted for division and four voted against. One other bit of documentation provides an interesting insight. During the division debate at the 1868-1869 convention a printed copy of a proposed Constitution of the State of West Texas was laid on every delegates desk one January morning. Article ten of that proposed document dealt with immigration. Its two sections look remarkably similar to the ultimate provision for a Bureau of Immigration incorporated in the final version of the 1869 Constitution. It would seem those hoping for a separate state of West Texas held similar if not identical views with those who were working to formulate a constitution facilitating readmission of the whole state of Texas to the federal Union.\textsuperscript{76}

The long and involved deliberations of the Texas constitutional convention finally came to an end in February 1869. Debate over ratification kept newspapermen, politicians, and citizens wrangling with each other through the summer and early fall. At the polls in November and December the citizens of Texas ratified the document and then proceeded to elect Edmund J. Davis as governor of the state.\textsuperscript{77} Once all the paperwork and bureaucratic record-keeping were complete, Texas rejoined the Union on March 30, 1870, in full partnership with all other states.

Immigrants continued to move into Texas from 1865 to 1870. Just what specifically pulled them to this locale or pushed them out of their previous homes has not been the subject of the preceding pages. Rather this author has documented the sentiment extant in much of Texas at the conclusion of the Civil War that the
state needed people. Immediate concerns with substitutes for the black freed people were followed by interest in populating the state with people to develop the land, push back the lawless frontier, and improve economic growth. Discussion of immigration did not center around questions of whether or not immigration was desirable. Instead debate focused on how to facilitate this movement to Texas. Belief in joint action dominated this discussion. At first individuals encouraged the banding together of like-minded people. Eventually duly elected representatives developed constitutions and laws providing for governmental coordination of immigration efforts. In 1860 Texas had 604,215 people, of which 420,891 were white. In spite of the horrors, death, and destruction of the warfare in the intervening ten years, that population figure rose to 818,579 people and of that total number 564,700 were white and 253,475 were black. Texas and Texans saw the influx of people during the first decade after the Civil War as a positive movement. Their legislative body, governmental agencies, and private initiatives continued to nurture that feeling through the first five years of the 1870s.

Slave narratives in Texas suggest both sides of the mobility question in those first months after freedom. Felix Haywood said that "right off colored folks started on the move. They seemed to want to get closer to freedom, so they knew what it was--like it was a place or a city." Molly Harrell, about seven years old in 1865, reported that, "Me and my mother left right off and went to Palestine [a city in Texas near their master's plantation]. Most everybody else went with us." Andrew Goodman reported that, "Three families went to get farms for themselves, but the rest just stayed on for hands on the old place." Black mobility was not an absolute function of freedom. The opportunity to move, however, was built into the emancipation decree. Those that moved had varying degrees of success. William Moore living in Mexia, Texas, at liberation time, reported leaving his master immediately and that "it wasn't long before we found places to work. Miss Mary found us a place with a fine white man, and we worked on shares and drifted around to some other places and lived in Corsicana for a while." Walter Rimm told of his parents debating about whether to stay or go, but finally how the father got an ox team and loaded up the family. According to Walter, "We went about sixty miles and stayed about six months, and took a place where we could make a crop." Some stayed put or moved to homes very close by. Others traveled longer distances or tried life in the city. See Ronnie C. Tyler and Lawrence R. Murphy, eds., *The Slave Narratives of Texas* (Austin: The Encino Press, 1974), 113, 115, 118. Pages 113-127 of these slave narratives offer a fuller picture of those immediate months following emancipation.


Some historians suggest the lure of higher wages in those early months of 1865 and 1866 served to entice blacks to move. Gilbert C. Fite in *Cotton Fields No More, Southern Agriculture, 1865-1980* ([Lexington, Ky.]: University Press of Kentucky, 1984) states that "Thousands from the Southeast were attracted westward to Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, where wages were higher." (p. 3) One source lists yearly wages in 1867 for blacks varying, from $104 in North Carolina to $125 in Georgia to $139 in Texas. A year later wages dropped on the average in these same states $89, $83, and $130, respectively. See Oscar Zeichner, "The Transition from Slave to Agricultural Labor in the Southern States," *Agricultural History* 13 (January 1939): 29.
One additional intriguing suggestion to help explain mounting unease on the part of whites as blacks moved about is made by Vera Lee Dugas. She notes that summer brings on the "slack season" in cotton production, so that the numbers of blacks congregating in towns in the summer of 1865 would have tended to increase. Their mere presence in numbers would have worried many whites, despite the fact there was not a great deal of work to be done at that specific time of the agricultural season. See Vera Lee Dugas, "A Social and Economic History of Texas in the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963), 342.

³White fears of losing their property increased the anxiety among Texans. One Texas resident land owner wrote to a friend who was also a northern congressman saying, "let me know about confiscation. The idea is being spread among the negroes that the lands of the whites will be taken and given to them." See "The Bryan-Hayes Correspondence," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 25 (April 1922): 292.


⁵For some southerners and Texans, too, this "vast unknown" was too difficult to conceive. Thus one response to black emancipation at war's end was to leave the South. This out-migration was relatively small, often estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000 southerners. Thus while not numerically significant in itself, the option and thought of leaving added to the frenzied feelings circulating in the late 1860s. See E. Merton Coulter, The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), 184-185; series of three articles collectively titled "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America" by Lawrence F. Hill in Volume 39 of the Southwestern Historical Quarterly: Number 1, October 1935, pp. 100-134;
Specific Texas references to such movement express the distress evident at the time. A June 16, 1865 Galveston Tri-Weekly News article asked, "Shall we go to Brazil? Companies are being formed for migration thither...Let us not desert our land, but rather cling to it in adversity." Two years later the issue was still before the Texas people, as another Galveston paper printed a letter from "a Texan in Brazil." After a stay of five months in South America, J. L. Miller reported on both the good and the difficult aspects of life in Brazil, but included the remark, "I have found Brazil, so far, emphatically to be a home for Southerners. The climate is similar to that of Texas." Flakes's Bulletin, November 27, 1867. Though some made the move, others considered it and remained in Texas. See Lois E. Myers, Letters by Lamplight. A Woman's View of Everyday Life in South Texas, 1873-1883 (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 1991), 25-26. Some heard the suggestion made and outright denounced it. W. G. Nolan was one of these. He was a planter who encouraged immigration to Texas in part because as he wrote, "I will not be scared or coaxed to Brazil or Mexico. I will not abandon and give up my little plantation to negroes or Yankees, unless, indeed, it is wrested from me by force. No I shall do no such thing." Galveston Daily News, July 9, 1867, p. 1. Hereinafter this newspaper will be listed as GDN.


8William H. Harris, The Harder We Run. Black Workers Since the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 7.

9Coulter, South During Reconstruction, 92-101.

10This reference to Asian and Chinese immigrants is quoted in Claude Hunter Nolen, "Aftermath of Slavery: Southern Attitudes Toward Negroes, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963), 279-280.

11F. W. Loring and C. F. Atkinson, Cotton Culture and the South, Considered with Reference to Emigration (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1869). See Appendix for list of correspondents and pages 1-2 for explanation of authors' approach to their publication.

12Loring, Cotton Culture, 21-24.

13Loring, Cotton Culture, 4-5, 131-132.

14Loring, Cotton Culture, 25. In the call "To Advertisers" at the end of the book the authors clearly stated their purpose, "The Original plan of the gentlemen engaged in its compilation was to print an inexpensive business Circular calculated to promote emigration to the Cotton States." While this stated purpose would help
explain their negative outlook towards freedmen as workers, one has to wonder what connection their business had to the immigrant trade, if any.

18Loring, Cotton Culture, 67-70.

18Loring, Cotton Culture, 94-95; 120; 139-140. Texans who were large landowners slowly accepted the possible option of dividing up their acres into smaller units. One planter in a GDN article of April 25, 1867 encouraged such division by saying, "neither white nor black hired laborers can ever be employed with anything like marked success in mammoth plantations." See item as quoted in Krawczynski, "Agricultural Labor of Black Texans," 70. Yet another example of encouragement for dividing up large land holdings can be found in an August 22, 1868 article of the Brazos Signal in Richmond, Texas. The editor reported on the plantation of Capt. N. P. Ward and the success of his white tenantry policy. "Go ye and do likewise," encouraged the journalist. The 1872 Texas Almanac also encouraged dividing up large acreage because, "facts prove that small, well managed places, can be made to yield profitably, while large ones simply sink money."(p. 37)

The experience of two different large landowners illustrates this movement. Hamblin Bass circulated handbills dated July 20, 1867 offering "To farm laborers without capital...as much open land as each laborer can cultivate." Thomas Affleck by May, 1867 wrote friends that he was sure partitioning his plantation was the best solution and expressed an interest in selling it to Germans. See Woods, Hicks-Adams-Bass...Letters, p. 426-427 and Cole, "Texas Career of Thomas Affleck," 463.


See other examples of printed negativism in The Port Sullivan, Belton and North-western Railroad of Texas, Its Charter, Organization, and Transfer to a General Agent, (Galveston: Galveston News Office, 1869), 15-17.

18Letter from T. Affleck to his Uncle Hannay in Scotland, November 14, 1865, p. 223; Letter from T. Affleck to a businessman in Liverpool, November 22, 1865, p. 239; Letter from T. Affleck to C. S. Longcope, a merchant in Houston, August 30, 1865, p. 215. All Affleck letters are from Cole, "Texas Career of Thomas Affleck." Starr's letter to W. S. Fisk, dated September 7, 1866 is quoted by Larry Earl Adams, "Economic Development in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1875," (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1980), 138-139.

19Letter from General William H. Hamman to sister Caroline in Virginia, November 18, 1865 in Hamman Collection, Fondren Library, Rice University. Letter from Martha Ann Otey at Washington-on-the-Brazos to her mother, M. F. Nolley in Mississippi, July 15, 1866 in a bound collection of her transcribed letters at Sam Houston State Library, Huntsville, Texas, entitled, "A Journey from Mississippi to Texas 1866." Letter from Hamblin Bass to Dr. Robert Adams, 1866;
Letter from Hamblin Bass to Mrs. Rebecca Adam, April 7, 1866. Both Bass letters included in Woods, Hicks-Adams-Bass...Letters, p. 401.

Bass's observations of blacks spending less time in the fields reflects the reality of a consistent pattern across the South and in Texas. See study by Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch for in-depth explication of this phenomenon, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Bass's interpretation of such decisions on the part of the ex-slaves to control their own work hours was consistent with other white observers. At the time, though, they noted the lessening of activity and judged it as proof of the Negroes' supposed innate "laziness."

First quotation is from the Tyler Reporter as quoted in Dallas Herald, January 18, 1870 by Winston Lee Kinsey in "The Immigrant in Texas Agriculture during Reconstruction," Agricultural History 53 (January 1979): 136. Subsequent quotations from Daily Austin Republican of June 14, 1866 and October 26, 1868 as quoted by Larry E. Scott in The Swedish Texans ((Univ. of Texas: Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio, 1990)), 113

GDN, August 13, 1865, p. 1.

Texas Almanac for 1867, p. 272-273. Thomas Affleck was a driving force in the formation of the "Land, Labor, and Immigration Company." He wrote extensively about it, formulated much of its publicity material, lobbied for it in Austin, and traveled to Europe in order to facilitate the actual migration of people. A detailed account of his involvement with this company can be found in Cole, "Texas Career of Thomas Affleck," pp. 311-313 and 322-346.

GDN, August 18, 1865, Supplement.

GDN, May 19, 1866, p. 2; August 30, 1867, p. 2; August 5, 1868, p. 3; August 6, 1868, p. 2; August 7, 1868, p. 2; December 2, 1868, p. 1 & p. 2; October 29, 1869, p. 3; March 4, 1874, p. 2.

GDN, May 19, 1866, p. 2.

Flake's Bulletin, March 30, 1866, p. 4.

Flake's support of immigration efforts continued in later issues. See February 13, 1867, Flake's Bulletin, for his praise of Bishop Dubois's efforts to direct Polish immigration to Texas.

GDN, August 5, 1868, p. 3. See also Kinsey, "Immigrants in Texas Agriculture," 128.

GDN, July 9, 1867, p. 1.

GDN, August 6, 1868, p. 2. This fear of western competition was repeated by others. A letter to the editor of the GDN authored by Orlando Dorsey of New York and published December 2, 1868, p. 4 expressed this fear, encouraged a "combination of action," and also threw in the prod that other southern states were using cooperative means to affect similar ends.
31GDN, August 7, 1868, p. 2.

32GDN, December 2, 1868, p. 2. The News in August 25, 1871 noted the continuing work of this German Association which still maintained a Secretary communicating information with other Germans. The Society's concerns in 1871 revolved around the threat of yellow fever that had been epidemic in 1867 and had threatened the Texas coast. The announcement in the newspaper suggested that efforts to bring Germans to Texas included both Germans in Europe and Germans who had already settled in some of the eastern states.


34Texas Almanac for 1867, pp. 171-172; One historian calls this 1867 publication "a revealing documentation of planter prejudices." See James A. Baggett, "The Rise and Fall of the Texas Radicals, 1867-1883" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1972), 61.


36GDN, October 29, 1869, p. 3. Cooperative efforts such as this one suggested by the newspaperman were not initiated until much later when the volume of ocean-going immigrants increased at the beginning of the twentieth century. That does not mean that the editor of the News stopped trying to get his idea adopted. In a May 7, 1871, (p. 3) edition he tried to shame Galvestonians by comparing the work of the community in Colorado, Texas. Noting that he had earlier encouraged Galvestonians to provide "a place of refuge for emigrants when they first land upon our shores" he went on to excerpt from the Colorado Citizen of May 4 information on the existence of an "Emigrants' Home" which the city maintained "in a state of cleanliness and comfort, being furnished with bedding, chairs, cooking stoves, etc." With sarcasm he said the City Council can't see the value of such a similar endeavor, but maybe some of the wealthier citizens of the community might see the importance of furnishing such a place for Galveston. There is no indication that Richardson was able to sway either those wealthier citizens or the municipal government with his plea.

A footnote to the 1869 "Sad Story" was recorded in the GDN, November 3, 1869, p. 3. According to the short note in the paper, this struggling and then grieving Norwegian family received help from a fellow countryman in Galveston—an earlier arrival to Texas. Mr. William Jamison, employed at a Galveston furniture store, reportedly gave of his time and money to help the family and eventually provided for the burials of the two children out of his own pocket. This pattern of individual care and concern is also a main theme in the story of immigration into Texas.

Not everyone saw the need for specific immigrant work within the Galveston community. Ferdinand Flake's paper responded to national concerns expressed for immigrant protection upon the revelations of abuse upon the ship James Foster, Jr.
arriving in New York. This abuse inspired a congressional bill introduced by Wisconsin congressman Hopkins. Flake noted "sharers" and railroad lines and immigration companies that seemed to be taking advantage of the unsuspecting emigrant. But then he said of Galveston that immigrants were "always honestly treated" here; ships that arrived in port could be models for others because they were "clean as a Quaker kitchen"; and the major local merchant house, Kauffman and Droge, was a very reputable member in the immigrant trade. Flake thus saw no need for special agencies to facilitate immigrant arrivals in Texas. See Flake's Bulletin, April 9, 1869, p. 4.

37GDN, March 4, 1874, p. 2.

38Willard Richardson, as editor of the Texas Almanac and the Galveston Daily News continually supported immigration efforts to Texas. In an August 25, 1871 article of the News he praised the work of Major Oswald of Columbus, Texas, saying Oswald in the next edition of the Almanac would "give his views on the subject, and show how every man may obtain farm labor, or settlers, on his lands at small expense and without risk of loss." The suggestion that everyone would be interested no matter the size of his farm or land holdings reflects a belief that interest in immigration crossed class lines.

39Henderson Times of October 7, 1865 as quoted in GDN, October 14, 1865, p. 3.

40GDN, September 14, 1865, p. 1.

41GDN, November 18, 1865, p. 1.


A comprehensive, well-documented biography of Thomas Affleck exists in the work of Fred C. Cole, "The Texas Career of Thomas Affleck," (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1942). This dissertation uses innumerable newspaper articles and extensive letters written by Affleck to cover Affleck's Texas years, from his arrival in 1858 to his death in 1868.

43GDN, August 9, 1865, p. 1; May 19, 1866, p. 1.

44GDN, August 10, 1865, p. 1; March 25, 1866, p. 4.

45GDN, August 10, 1865, p. 1; "Texas and Her Resources" by Thomas Affleck, pamphlet in the Affleck Papers, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas, see page 2 and 9 for respective quotes.

46GDN, March 25, 1866, p. 4. The efforts by the British government to assist emigration from England to less populated areas of their empire or the world in general were numerous. The northern neighbor of the United States also tried

GDN, May 19, 1866, p. 1; "Immigration and Labor" by Thomas Affleck, pamphlet in the Affleck Papers, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; Printed letter and contracts dated August 1, 1866 from Glenblythe, near Brenham in the Affleck Papers, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

Ultimately Affleck was unable to consummate a sustained plan that actually brought large numbers of immigrants to Texas. However, it is difficult to discount the potential impact his written material and personal visits to Europe had on influencing individuals to eventually emigrate to Texas. Affleck stands out as one Texan who personally worked to influence immigration to the state. Others are less known. See Kinsey, "Immigrants in Texas Agriculture," 128.


Richardson, *Texas*, 234-239: Official certification by J. J. Reynolds the military commander in charge of Texas was filed for the Senate Judiciary Committee on March 10, 1870. Reynolds' letter verified the ratification of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution, contained a copy of the Texas constitution including its immigration provisions and totals on the voting throughout the state. See United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Misc. Doc. # 77, March 10, 1870. Recorded differences in voting totals exist. The federal record gives 72,366 pro and 4,928 con, while Richardson, *Texas*, p. 239 and Ransdell, *Reconstruction*, p. 286 use a different total of 72,466 pro and 4,928 con. Betty Jeffries Sandlin in her dissertation entitled "The Texas Reconstruction Constitutional Convention of 1868-1869" (Texas Tech University, 1970) makes comment in footnote number 31 on page 233 that, "The Texas Almanac disagreed with Reynolds' figures,...It credited the Constitution with
a vote of 54,477 to 4,658. *Texas Almanac for 1870* (Galveston: Richardson and Company, 1870), p. 194." Sandlin then appropriates the figures of 72,366 to 4,928 in the body of her paper.


53 Gammel, *Laws*, Vol. 5, 900. Thomas Affleck lobbied in August of 1866 before the eleventh legislature for the passage of a bill naming him to the position of Commissioner of Statistics, for the Promotion of Immigration. He hoped to mesh his personal interest in immigration with a governmental title and thus authority to prosecute such an endeavor. While the bill passed the Texas House, it failed passage in the Senate, thus ending Affleck’s dreams of formally representing the state in Europe. See Cole, "Texas Career of Thomas Affleck," 347-359.


55 Interestingly, the act makes reference to "the Commissioner of Immigration or to his Assistant or Agent." Therefore some administrative bureaucracy must have existed for such work with immigration.


58 Richardson, *Texas*, 327.


This 1868 provision for a Bureau of Immigration that would assist immigrants financially for their transportation sounds much like Affleck and his support for such assisted immigration. To date, this author has not been able to make a direct connection between Affleck's proposal, his plan to present it to the Texas legislature, and the final adoption of similar provisions by the government in the 1869 Constitution.


It is important to note that party platforms are but one forum for political discussion and reflect a compromise position that usually evolves through committee negotiation. A platform thus does not provide insight into the multitude of opinions expressed or discussed before the final adoption of a particular plank in a platform. A historical treatment of these meetings and their debates in relation to the issue of immigration is not currently available. This limitation aside, the platform is an indication of party interest and enthusiasm for various topics.

The Constitutional Convention met from June 1, 1868 to August 31, 1868 and then again from the first Monday in December, 1868 to February 8, 1869.


76 The best account of the division issue for Texas on this time period can be found in Ernest Wallace, The Howling of the Coyotes: Reconstruction Efforts to Divide Texas (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1979). Wallace documents the involvement of Edward Degener and E. J. Davis (pp. 23 and 38) in that endeavor and notes the West Texas Constitution (p. 79). Black voting records are provided by Pitre, Through Many Dangers, 18. A complete copy of the Constitution of the State of West Texas was available in bound photocopy form at Fondren Library, Rice University. Article Ten is on page 30. Article Eight of the same document dealt with voter registration and allowed immigrants who had declared their intention of becoming American citizens to register to vote (p. 27).

77 Sandlin, "Reconstruction Convention", 215-237. Although not especially strong on analysis, an account of Davis as governor is available and contains quite extensive biographical information. See Ronald N. Gray, "Edmund J. Davis: Radical Republican and Reconstruction Governor of Texas," (Ph.D. diss., Texas Tech University, 1976).

78 Donald B. Dodd and Wynelle S. Dodd, Historical Statistics of the South, 1790-1970 (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1973), 54. It is interesting to note that the relative ratio of blacks to whites remained fairly constant during the decade's growth. In 1860 whites constituted 69.66 per cent of the total population and in 1870 that figure stood at 68.99 percent.
Chapter Three -- Continuing Support for Immigration Efforts in Texas

"An Act to Organize the Bureau of Immigration" became law on May 23, 1871, pursuant to article eleven of the state constitution.¹ Not much debate preceded this enactment, for it was the general sense of the legislature and of many in the state that an expanding population was essential for an increase in prosperity. There had been a panicky fear on the part of southern landowners after the close of the Civil War. They could not envision a freed black labor force as an instrument of cotton production or plantation work. Some Texans and southerners believed the solution depended upon importation of new workers, i.e. immigrants. This fear abated as time demonstrated that blacks would work as laborers in the fields. However, even with a return to some semblance of perceived normality (cooperativeness), there continued state-wide interest in bringing people into Texas to develop agriculture and commerce.

The governor and the legislature of Texas saw a need and the state congress set up an executive body for the purpose of encouraging immigration and supporting immigrants as they came to the state. The governor was to appoint a superintendent for a four-year-term of office and offer a salary of $2,000. The superintendent could then appoint up to four salaried agents for the bureau. Of these agents one would work in Great Britain, another on the continent of Europe, and two others would work in the United States: "one for the Northern and one for the Southern States of the United States." In addition the governor could designate individuals as unpaid lecturers or agents to supplement the cadre of salaried officials.²

The legislature appropriated $30,000 for the Bureau of Immigration in 1871. Line items in the budget included preparation of a yearly report to the governor,
publication of informational pamphlets, and salaries for the superintendent and his four agents. Their tasks encompassed a wide range of duties and reflected the anticipation of the legislators as to the needs of the immigrants and the ability of the state to so provide. The law stated that the superintendent should "take all the steps which he may deem advisable and proper for the encouragement of immigration, and for the protection of immigrants." This included help in the procurement of their transportation from the coast into the interior; in the guarding them against fraud and chicanery and peculation; in their temporary location in proper and reasonable places of board and lodging on their arrival; and in making all such regulations and provisions as may be in any manner necessary and conducive to their welfare.

The law stated that the assistance of other state officers would be forthcoming as needed. Superintendents interpreted this provision to mean that officials around the state could thus be a source of help in collecting information.³

A belief in the value of the written word can be seen in section four where the law states, "it shall be the duty of the Superintendent to collect and compile, from all the sources within his reach, such suggestions, references and statistics as are best calculated to give a correct idea of the material and social condition of our State, and to diffuse correct information of the advantages of this State to immigrants."⁴ Distributing information about Texas was central to the mission of the Bureau of Immigration. Dissemination of information meant publication of pamphlets, writing articles for distribution to newspapers, and preparing data for submission to journals. That the state of Texas directed much of its efforts to foreign-born people is obvious from the provision that such pamphlets could and should be published into "one or two of the principal languages of Europe." These pamphlets were to describe the "developed and undeveloped agricultural and mineral resources of the State of Texas; the nature of her climate, soil, geographical features and
advantages; her manufacturing capacities; her public improvements...." The intent of the Texas law-makers merged with the common practice of the day to issue informational brochures.

The law was both specific and clear in its purpose. Typical of many laws, however, there was no real indication in its actual wording of the social influences or needs that propelled the legislators to so frame a law and provide for its implementation. In searching for their rationale and/or motivation, one hint is given in a message by Governor Edmund Davis to the legislators at the outset of their session. According to Davis,

The impression which is abroad, that an era of peace and quiet and prosperity has commenced here, is attracting an unusual stream of immigrants, and of a more intelligent class than heretofore. With immigration is also coming capital to invest in internal improvements,..."

The governor's address thus reflects the thinking of the time. In simple equation form it would read: people equals money. Peace on the land means people will come. Peace on the land means money comes with them. Just a little later in his address, Governor Davis returned to the subject:

I have remarked that immigration has largely increased. Both in numbers and class of immigrants, no previous immigration equals that now flowing into the State. Occurring, as this does, without special encouragement on our part, we may imagine the influx had a well considered law been enacted to organize and perfect the immigration bureau.6

The implication remains that with more people comes more money and with more money comes the prosperity, growth, and development of the state. The Bureau of Immigration continued in operation throughout the existence of the 1869 State Constitution. But when the new Constitution of 1876 emerged as the supreme law of Texas, the bureau became a relic of the past. Section Fifty-six of the 1876 document stated, "The Legislature shall have no power to appropriate any of the
public money for the establishment and maintenance of a Bureau of Immigration, or for any purpose of bringing immigrants to the State." The story of the 1875-1876 debate over the Bureau's existence will be related later. Here, we pause to describe the work of the Bureau from 1870 to 1876.

In its structure the Bureau of Immigration provided the ultimate expression of the pleas for concerted action enunciated from 1865 to 1869 by many Texans. In this case the government set up the bureaucracy to carry out the goal of attracting immigrants to Texas. In addition to the bureau itself, the governing bodies of the time enacted other legislation that influenced immigration into Texas. Homestead provisions and plans for geological surveys of the state's land were just some of this additional legislation and belong in the larger story of governmental influence on immigration. Government served as an active agent in attracting immigrants. Texas retained immigration advocates who as public servants attempted to influence such a population movement. Central to their work for the state was their sustained emphasis on accurate, widely disseminated information. The Texas Bureau of Immigration serves as a prime example of the clear belief in concerted action to accomplish an objective as well as a profound trust in the efficacy of the written word to influence the peopling of Texas.

The 1869 constitution provided for a bureau with a superintendent and gave the legislature the power to appropriate revenue of the state for its operation.\(^8\) Utilizing this proviso, Governor Davis must have appointed Gustav Loeffler as superintendent and given him the go-ahead to begin operations even before enabling legislation was passed. Correspondence between Davis and Loeffler in August 1870 suggests that Loeffler believed people would come from the northern United States and then also from Europe when the Franco-Prussian War ended. In these early months of government under Governor Davis, Loeffler set up headquarters in the
port city of Galveston and reported to the governor that he had already organized a settling of 500 Germans to Texas. The sense of urgency the governor felt on this issue comes through in Davis's first address to the Texas House of Representatives. He noted that as peace moved over the land, more and more people would view Texas as a destination. He added that Texas's cheap lands with mild climate could of themselves provide that lure. But he then urged immediate attention to the organization of the formal Bureau of Immigration since, "we wish at once to turn the tide of immigration in this direction." This "at once" mentality may explain the governor's quick appointment of Gustav Loeffler to head up the state agency.

The first Superintendent of the Bureau of Immigration was born in Germany in 1828. As a young man he came originally to New Orleans upon migration to the United States and then shortly thereafter moved to Houston, Texas. He married Julia J. Fisher, a Houston native, and together they had ten children. He settled in that growing city and according to the 1873 Houston City Directory had become a cotton factor. His business interests may have influenced his connection with the Second Annual State Fair, held in Houston in May 1871. For that state-wide competition he served as Superintendent of Department B, which collected and judged such items as Texas-made cutlery, manufactured goods, shoes, guns, and furniture. An earlier postbellum directory listed him as a "merchant" sharing offices with E. R. Wells & Co., a dry goods dealer in the city. Loeffler must have been active in the large German community of Houston, for in 1866 he served as president of the Houston Turn-verein, a social and athletic club common in cities with sizable German populations. There is no indication of what specific qualifications prepared him for the job other than his foreign birth, but he held the office of superintendent for almost four years. In 1874 he returned full-time to the
cotton business as a dealer and exporter, finally retiring to San Antonio where he died in 1877.\textsuperscript{11}

Loeffler's first report to Governor Davis published in 1870 identified his working format for disseminating information. He wrote, 'I considered that the collecting of statistics showing price of land, production of the soil, means of communication in the different parts of our State, for the purpose of publishing the same to the world, was one of first importance,...'\textsuperscript{12} With that in mind he sent out a "circular" requesting information. He cast a wide, fairly unscientific net over the state to landowners, farmers, and business people. These early efforts reflect the lack of knowledge of the time about scientific surveying techniques. They also reflect the enthusiasm for the task and the intense interest by Loeffler in his mission. His unsystematic approach to mining the field for information can be seen in that circular. In one paragraph of the circular he asked for responses based on these questions.

> Are you willing to sell land to immigrants? How much have you for sale? Where is it situated? What is the character of the land? Has it water and timber, and in what proportion? Is it in a healthy locality? What is chiefly raised in the neighborhood? How far to market? Is it in the neighborhood of a railroad or navigable stream? Are the titles good? What are your school facilities? What is your price, and how the terms of payment? Will you rent land--if yes, what are your conditions? If you desire help from immigrants, what will you pay to farm laborers, what to mechanics? What nationalities do you prefer? What inducements are offered to immigrants in your settlement?\textsuperscript{13}

Not only was the net cast broadly for information, but the kinds of information asked for were wide-ranging as well.

On analyzing the questions included in the circular, one sees Loeffler intent on giving the immigrants concrete, specific information. He felt their first concerns were questions about land, schools, and labor opportunities. He knew that the farmer was concerned about transportation access for marketing his crops, the
potential to buy or rent land, the legal concerns to property ownership, and future healthfulness of his family. A key issue for almost all the immigrants to Texas in this time period was availability of land. This issue is unique to the late-nineteenth-century immigration to Texas as well as southern and western portions of the United States. Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century immigration more frequently revolved around job openings in cities or industrial areas. This is not to negate that some immigrants to Texas between 1865 and 1914 were job hunting and/or urban oriented, but the large mass of people who came to Texas had land opportunities in mind.

In addition to sharing a copy of his circular in this report to the governor, Loeffler clarified additional efforts on his part. An important concern was transportation to the state. The superintendent saw his position as liaison between the immigrants and the transportation companies. This effort at communicating with the rail and shipping companies in order to obtain special rates for immigrants and their luggage remained important to him. He reported some success with companies in Texas and in the port of New Orleans. By mentioning Canada in his report he hinted at a potential and perceived source of immigration through that country. Loeffler referred to the numerous letters received by him requesting information, and this surely influenced his request that the bureau be furnished with maps of the many Texas counties. He then reported statistics reflecting immigration into the state through the port of Galveston within the previous months.

Patterns of seasonal migration which continue throughout the later part of the nineteenth century emerge here. For example, no immigrants were identified as arriving in July and August of 1869. Summer travel was both uncomfortable and could be dangerous, with epidemics not unusual, so settlers avoided traveling at that
time. The heaviest migrations into the state most typically came in the late fall and early winter months. Loeffler reported immigration totals for fall, 1869:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>2900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>4100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these figures, Loeffler stated that 3,300 were from Europe, thus at least one third of all immigrants at that time came directly from a foreign country. Loeffler ended his report with a request that the legislature develop laws and provisions so that the work of the bureau could be carried out.

His request probably encouraged legislators to pass the May 23, 1871, act formalizing the bureau's structure and purpose. The second report by the Bureau of Immigration to the Texas Legislature was dated December, 1872. The size of the printed report (i.e. twenty-seven pages versus the first report of three pages) reflects the greater activity of the bureau. The bureau was past the stage of gearing up for activity and was in full swing now. Loeffler's major distress was the failure to get a pamphlet about the state into publication. He had collated information and written the document and begged for the money to have it printed. As an inducement to the congressmen he pointed to the fact that other states and various railroads were distributing pamphlets in Europe and thus Texas was losing a golden opportunity being seized by others. He praised the newspapers for printing any and all information he could supply, thus suggesting more cooperation from the news media than from the legislature.

Loeffler appointed four bureau agents paid by the state government. They moved to their assignments and began their tasks. J. H. Lippard had started work as the representative to the southern and western states in New Orleans, but
quickly moved to St. Louis, Missouri. Loeffler referred to Lippard as the "right man in the right place." William H. Parsons set up offices in New York City as the Commissioner of the Northern and Eastern States and reportedly directed immigrants to Texas, emphasizing settlement in groups. Dr. Theodore Hertzberg was working in Bremen, Germany, and had good success utilizing European newspapers for his message. Great Britain also had a representative of the Texas Bureau of Immigration in the person of John T. McAdam with headquarters in Manchester. According to the report McAdam had "already sent over three hundred persons to Texas, most farmers, and many men of means." Governor Davis's hope that people coming to Texas would bring money into the state was materializing—at least as Loeffler's report seemed to reflect. After lauding the work of his agents, Loeffler then asked for more legislative support. He wanted agents in the northern part of Texas at the railway termini. He also mentioned some benefit from the "lecturers appointed by your Excellency" although he decried the lack of written material that would enhance their work.¹⁷

A certain ambiguity existed between the lines of this comprehensive report. The over-all spirit of the document reflected the belief by Governor Davis that people coming to the state would bring money and industry with them. Their potential worth to the state was also identified. Davis had claimed in an earlier speech that "Every industrious, able-bodied adult added to our population may be considered an addition of fifteen hundred dollars to the wealth of the State."¹⁸ So two points were being made. One, people bring money with them. Two, their presence will stimulate the economy and thus mean more wealth for the state at large. It was to this later point that Loeffler continually aimed as he suggested money be set aside "to advance a part, or, if necessary, the whole of the passage for deserving agriculturists...." For Loeffler and Davis, some small amounts of money spent now
for individual immigrants would mean greater benefits in time. Loeffler prefaced his suggestion with the information that this was being done satisfactorily already by some farmers and planters in the state.¹⁹ This pre-pay assisted immigration was not necessarily innovative for other regions of the nation, but it had never been tried by the Texas government before.

Loeffler's continual push for adequate financial help meshes with the very caring image he and his bureau portrayed in the pages of the report.

All immigrants arrived have been properly taken care of, and no serious cause of complaint reported. Through their own carelessness it occurred now and then that a portion of immigrants' baggage remained behind or was miscarried, and whenever this was made known to me the proper steps for its recovery were taken, and always resulted in the obtaining of the missing articles.²⁰

This image of a caring father facilitating the introduction of people into the state seems an accurate one. The report reflects the energy and enthusiasm with which he tackled both the "people part" of the job and the administrative needs.

The main body of the 1872 report was followed by eight separate sections or addenda. Superintendent Loeffler included copies of his circular to county officials, as well as his short printed schedule of favorable rates for transportation and lodging that the Texas Bureau of Immigration had been able to identify and share with potential immigrants. He also included a facsimile of the certificate used by the bureau to verify immigrant status for those lower transportation rates. The report included statistics stating that a total of 41,598 people arrived at the Galveston port in the year 1872. And finally there were several letters from bureau agents²¹ reporting on their various work. Hertzberg in Germany as well as Lippard and Parsons sent in letters for publication in the executive report. In addition Theo. Lappe, serving as lecturer in Switzerland and France, presented his ideas for
facilitating immigration. The Texas Legislature couldn't have asked for a more
detailed account of the small bureau's activity, though surely they must have wished
that the calls for increased funding were not a part of the report. 22

New and ingenious approaches to the "immigration problem" came to the
surface through the letters of these bureau agents. John Lippard, working in St.
Louis, felt visual aids would complement and stimulate the printed word. He
explained how he traveled from Missouri to Texas and collected various agricultural
products. Then he returned to St. Louis, putting his Texas goods on display, a full
six weeks before the more northern climate would allow maturing of the same foods.
The local papers as well as the national journal Industrial Age cooperated in noting
the event. The visual aids were thus turned into written material, of which Lippard
duly "circulated a large number." He reported that this "one act awakened more
inquiry concerning the advantages and resources of Texas than anything else I had
done." 23 In addition Lippard parlayed that idea into discussions with the Industrial
Age Printing Company to produce a weekly paper entitled the Saint Louis Texan.
He must have felt strongly about the potential of the paper, for he advanced $800 of
his personal money to initiate the endeavor. His enthusiasm runs throughout his
letter, as when he suggests that the bureau has accomplished so much "in so short a
time with the limited means on hand." 24 Lippard also picks up on a suggestion
made earlier by his supervisor, Loeffler, that the various counties in Texas organize
immigration societies and collect information locally and then send it on to other
places such as the Saint Louis Texan. The notion of immigration societies around
the state had been suggested earlier, but the idea did not seem to get off the ground
then or at this time.

Dr. Theodore Hertzberg's communication also brims with enthusiasm. He
echoes Lippard's statement of "I am proud of Texas" with his own version of that
feeling as he writes, "I can proudly say to-day that my road is clear before me, and that the State of Texas will not long remain the lonely star in the Union as regards European immigration, but she will soon shine as the lone star, receiving the greatest per centage of the transatlantic immigration [italics in the original]."

Hertzberg's innovative idea involved the collection of $2.50 from each head of a family that had migrated from Europe in the last twenty-five years to Texas. That money, once collected, would serve as the funding for a "Texas paper" to be published in German and French on the continent of Europe. Hertzberg assumed and stated that Texans would want their fellow countrymen to come to Texas, and this would give them the collective means to facilitate such a migration. As an overseas agent, Dr. Hertzberg was well aware of the competition existing in getting immigrants to various parts of the U.S. and he begged for financial help in order to do that job well.\textsuperscript{25}

William Parsons, as the bureau agent lodged in New York, followed the pattern of his fellow agents by utilizing any means at hand to disseminate information about Texas. Since official documents were not available yet from the bureau itself, he submitted articles to various New York papers and they printed his information. He cast abroad his name and address, suggesting anyone interested write him for further information. He claimed to "have set in motion a vast amount of individual migration and several co-operative associations."\textsuperscript{26} Interestingly, Parsons also points to the competition for immigrants by other states and businesses. The repetition by several agents of the "competition scare" suggests that whether the place was Germany, New York, or St. Louis, the movement to encourage population migration was definitely part of the tenor of the times.

While still emanating enthusiasm, Superintendent Loeffler's report for 1873 dealt more graphically with the frustrations of his work. He wrote that "rumors of
epidemical diseases" and some quarantine installations "greatly deterred people from coming here." He spoke of exaggerations by the press as well as individual rumors and comments—all tending to slow the pace of immigration. To make matters worse one railroad revoked special immigrant rates favorable to Texas travel and the state legislature failed to provide the money necessary to keep the needed agents on the job. The appointed lecturers had all quit except for Joseph E. Griffin of Pennsylvania, and according to Loeffler, "They claim that laboring for love doesn't pay their outlay for paper, ink, pens, postage, nor cash spent for fares...." 27

Other personnel changes must have influenced a lack of continuity in bureau activity. In 1873 Loeffler still listed four people as official agents for the bureau. But only one, Dr. Theodore Hertzberg, was still on duty at his post in Bremen, Germany, from the previous year. The representative in England was now Launcelot Abbott, about whom no biographical information has been found. In New York, George H. Sweet, an ex-Confederate colonel, now served the bureau as its official agent. And finally, Galveston earned its own agent in the person of U. G. Baker. 28

Later in the 1873 report Loeffler again chided the Thirteenth Legislature for failure to appropriate funds. He told them that the pamphlets, which have been a central project of the bureau, have been ready for publication but await money to pay the printer's bill. Such failure to fund the bureau's work meant they missed the opportunity to influence this fall's season for immigration—the most crucial time of the year. He also tried again as in his earlier report to talk the legislature into establishing a fund to help finance transportation for deserving individual immigrants. In a tactic typical of the office, Loeffler pointed to programs in place whereby British colonies like Australia and Canada assist immigration to their lands and "get the lion's share of immigration from the mother country, although
these people have a preference for the United States." Loeffler appears to suggest a conservative approach to such a program. He stated clearly that such "aid should however be given only in really deserving cases and with the utmost caution, while the party receiving the same ought to regard it as a sacred loan and strive to redeem it as early as possible."29 An air of almost ultimate trust in the value of his work for the state of Texas and a very paternalistic attitude towards what he attempts to do, comes through loud and clear in Loeffler's communications to the governor.

Some racial and class attitudes are also subtly apparent in the report. Loeffler writes that "the immigrants who arrived were mostly of the agricultural class, and just such as any State might be glad to welcome." He adds that they come with money, so he sees them as bona fide contributors to the state. His earlier reference to immigration from the "mother country" also hints at preference for immigrants from Great Britain or at least the Anglo-saxon strain of peoples. This is tempered, however, by another part of the report speaking of Mennonites from Russia as potential workers in raising cattle and live stock in Texas, as well as hoped for immigration from Prussia.30

On a more positive note Loeffler refers to the enlarged number of letters going out from his office in response to requests for information. He pragmatically admits to using what resources he could find at hand, such as a Texas Almanac and map, Brady's Glimpses of Texas, and "a pamphlet gotten up by the Texas and Pacific Railway Company."31 He also identifies the services of the bureau in helping immigrants with luggage concerns and employment in their new home state.

Attached to the end of his formal report, Loeffler includes the number 37,394 as total arrivals to the state "via the Gulf." In the main body of the report he guesses estimates arrivals to Texas in 1873 as 125,000, of which 85,000 came by land. In a frustrating lament Loeffler reported there are "too many avenues of approach
on our northern boundary" to keep adequate statistics.\textsuperscript{32} Loeffler gives his budget estimate for the next year as $39,000. Most of that estimate was a $20,000 contingency fund he hoped to establish in order to help fund needy immigrants. He pursued this goal throughout his stay as Superintendent of the Bureau of Immigration. But as the years passed he lowered and then re-lowered his projected total for his dreamed of pot of money. The 1873 figure of $20,000 was down from the 1872 request of $50,000. Loeffler and the bureau never received these amounts nor were they able to establish such a fund.\textsuperscript{33}

Loeffler was more successful at publication than at establishing an immigrant help fund. While the latter never materialized, the written material did develop slowly. A few examples exist to suggest the kind of work Loeffler pursued. In a business reference work entitled \textit{Frensz's Tariff Investigator of the United States, Enumerating Steamboat, Sail Vessels, Express, Steamships, Immigration, Canal, Railroad, Telegraph}, Loeffler had a full page ad for the Texas Bureau of Immigration. The \textit{Frensz's Tariff Investigator}, published in 1873, was thirty-six pages long. Its stated aim was to enable merchants to obtain the latest information including the most up-to-date charges for such companies as the Houston Direct Navigation Company, the Houston and Texas Central Railway, and the Cotton Press Company, among a multitude of others.\textsuperscript{34}

The Bureau of Immigration reference proudly and clearly identified a schedule, "Showing favorable rates obtained by this Bureau from Steam and Sailing vessels, Railroad Companies and Boarding Houses for the transportation and accommodation of immigrants to our State." In capital boldface the notice stated "ALL RAILROAD AND STEAMSHIP COMPANIES IN TEXAS CONVEY IMMIGRANTS AT HALF PRICE." This coup by Loeffler had involved considerable effort, and he worked to extend those rates to interstate transportation lines. The
major portions of transportation costs were interstate or overseas travel, so the goal of
lowering those rates was a primary one for Loeffler. Reduced intrastate rates
were one step in that direction. The bureau was to play an active role here, because
in order to procure the half-fare rates an immigrant had to obtain "a certificate from
this Bureau or its Agents...proving the bearers to be bona fide Immigrants to
Texas."35

This published schedule specified rates company by company and identified
costs for cabin passage and for steerage passage. For example, the Liverpool and
Texas Steamship Company offered cabin passage at $125.00 and steerage for
$40.00. Sailing vessels commanded charges of $75.00 and $28.25 respectively with
some reduction in fares for children. Rail rates from New York were quoted as well.
The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad offered a $40.00 fare from New York to
Dennison City, Texas, but also offered connections from such other cities as St.
Louis and Chicago. Various other railroads were listed. Notations included the
amount of free baggage allowed for each paying ticket.36 Luggage concerns
significantly influenced travel for immigrants. Baggage limits could be a major
concern especially for someone within the U.S. seeking to relocate with household
and farm equipment.

The bureau's ad aimed at comprehensiveness. In addition to transportation
fees, the page schedule also enumerated costs at boarding houses in New Orleans,
Galveston, and Houston. Some hotels offered to carry baggage "at reduced rates."
Loeffler pointed to certain lodging houses that could accommodate German, French,
or Bohemian speaking guests most comfortably. The schedule listed the specific
names of individuals who could be of assistance at the various transportation hubs
such as New York, St. Louis, Galveston, or New Orleans. Names and addresses of
bureau agents in these various places were included. The ad concluded with the
statement that "further information of Texas as a field for the capitalist, merchant, farmer, and every other willing workers, will be cheerfully given by Gustave Loeffler, Sup't of Immigration for the State of Texas." Then followed the explicit disclaimer, "Agents of this Bureau are strictly forbidden to exact pay for their services from Immigrants."37

This extensive ad by the Bureau of Immigration illustrates several crucial points about the "immigration business." First, transportation was a central focus for the immigrant. Expenses entailed in long-distance moving could be prohibitive. The bureau saw as part of its mission to help lower those costs. One avenue for the immigrant to lower costs was suggested in this ad with the statement "special reduction for large numbers together." Large families that traveled with neighbors from one location could save substantially. Secondly, a multitude of concerns faced the immigrant, creating what might seem at times as a morass of details--luggage, meals, lodging along the way, and length of the trip. Loeffler and the Bureau seemed to be aware of those concerns. In addition, the ad addressed what was probably the ultimate fear for immigrants--being taken advantage of by unscrupulous people along the way. One specific provision in the state's legislation had been that the bureau should help immigrants "in the guarding them against fraud and chicanery and peculation." Loeffler's disclaimer as to the motives of bureau agents was an effort to quell some of those fears. In its totality, this ad demonstrates the extent of the Bureau's work and reflects their perceived mission. Loeffler and his cohorts wanted to provide help and support to the potential immigrant. The Frensz's ad suggests they did this primarily through concrete specific information to facilitate transportation.38

Frensz's Tariff Investigator demonstrates one activity of the Bureau. We can only wonder at the extent to which this document arrived into the hands of those
people who could most use it. Another, possibly more wide-spread delivery of information existed in such works as almanacs, a common publication of the day. The interaction of the Texas Bureau of Immigration with such state-wide publications is best illustrated by an 1871 ad in the Galveston Daily News where the editor tells his readers about the progress toward publication of the sixteenth edition of the Almanac. He wrote, "As usual, much of our space will be devoted to such subjects as will be of peculiar interest to immigrants, such as the price and production of lands in the several portions of our State;...Instances will be given showing that the poorest immigrants may become the owners of good farms of their own in two or three years by ordinary industry and economy." The ad included the statement, "We also hope to receive from Mr. Loeffler [sic], the State Commissioner of Immigration, some interesting information connected with his department." Loeffler was usually more than willing to oblige, because publication in such works multiplied the number of people he could reach with his collected information.39

Yet another example of bureau activity at disseminating written information illustrates the continued emphasis on transportation as well as the trend of the future in cooperating with the growing railway systems in the state. Loeffler maintained constant contact with the railways and employed these connections to further his need to disseminate information. In 1873 the Texas and Pacific Railway actively promoted its westward building program through publication of a pamphlet entitled Notes on Texas and the Texas and Pacific Railway. Published at the company's headquarters in Philadelphia, Notes on Texas proclaimed the advantages of the Texas and Pacific Railway as an "inter-oceanic railway." The so-called "Appendix" to the pamphlet ran from page 33 to 48 and it reads like an almanac. Sub-titled "General Facts, Useful to newly arrived Immigrants and those Contemplating Emigration," paragraphs covered such subjects as Texas laws,
minerals, industry, crops, and potential locations. Without formally using Loeffler's name, the booklet lists a schedule of rates by ship and rail supplied by "The Commissioner of Immigration for the State of Texas."^40

Included in Notes on Texas were hints on "How to Select a Location" and reports on "What a Man of Small Means can do in Texas." Trying to dispel notions to the contrary, the pamphlet exclaimed in italics, "and the fact has been abundantly proven, that white men can labor effectively every day, and all day long, in the exhilarating breezes of our favored land." Assessing the immigration to Texas up to this point in time, the pamphlet stated that it "has been almost exclusively of whites, and mostly from the other late slaveholding States; but, during the last twelve months, a large number of immigrants have come into Northern Texas, from Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Minnesota."^41 Loeffler was pleased with this pamphlet. Its glowing picture of Texas's potential connected railroad growth to population growth to the ultimate growth of the state. He admitted in a bureau report to using it in the absence of a yet-to-be-funded government publication.

Loeffler utilized a variety of means at hand to send out his information, but his pet project remained a specific volume published by the state agency for distribution by its agents. As noted earlier, Loeffler in frustration pleaded with the Texas Legislature for funds to publish such a document, which by this time was ready to roll off the presses if only financially supported. Texas: The Home for the Emigrant, From Everywhere was first published under the direction of Loeffler and later reissued and up-dated by his successor Jerome B. Robertson.^42 The 1875 edition consisted of forty-three pages and will be described later as it fits under the administration of the second Superintendent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration. The point here is the importance placed by the Bureau of Immigration on practical up-to-date information for distribution through their channels.
Not only did Texas set up a governmental agency to encourage immigration, but it continued to legislate on other issues influencing immigration. These efforts included concern with homestead laws, establishing and funding a geological survey of the state, and incorporating a number of land use companies. Incorporation provided the legal framework for a group of individuals to work collectively to make money while pursuing a single interest. For example, the state incorporated many railroad companies over the years. In an indirect way these chartered railroads then influenced movement of people into the state by hiring workers, shipping people and freight, and advertising the sale of their lands. The railroad story will be discussed in a later chapter, for it was of extreme significance and extensive influence in the peopling of Texas, especially the panhandle, western, and southern regions of the state.

In addition to railroad incorporation, the Texas Legislature over the years gave legal status to various other companies that more explicitly expressed an interest in stimulating migration. On May 12, 1871, the "European and Texan Immigration Association" came into being. The law listed two Texans, five New Yorkers, and one Englishman as the directors. They were given the right to make contracts, buy and sell property, and conduct business that included the right "to buy or charter vessels; to erect houses or stations, and use such agents as they may desire to carry out the purpose of this incorporation." In addition they requested and received the right to set up agencies in Europe and in the United States with the goal of finding and forwarding new citizens to Texas. The foresight to develop cooperation between such an incorporated entity and the state Bureau of Immigration is reflected in the provision that the superintendent of the bureau should furnish to said company "for distribution, such books, pamphlets, maps, and other printed matter" as may be available from the state organization.\(^{43}\) This
provision in the incorporation laws suggests that the legislators had an inkling of the kind of network that could evolve with an active Bureau of Immigration and the development of private enterprises around the state.

Other companies, typically involved in land sales or real estate, were also incorporated under state law to help with immigration. On May 22, 1871, the "Land Owner's Association of Texas" was given power to "make contracts for the introduction of immigrants to settle upon their lands." The "Texas Land and Immigration Company," incorporated on October 24, 1871, held the stated purpose to "promote immigration to Texas, to facilitate the sale and purchase and settlement of lands by immigration, and to introduce laborers, skilled operators and capital into the State." The Victoria Society of Washington County was chartered on November 24, 1871, "to encourage and promote the emigration of British farmers and others to aid in the development of the agricultural and mechanical interest of the county."44

The Twelfth Legislature also addressed the need for cheap and adequate transportation for immigrants. On May 19, 1871, they passed legislation incorporating the Texas and Europe Steamship Company. The connection of Texas with Europe was the obvious purpose. This was to be done by establishing a "monthly line of steamers" between the two locations. According to the law as passed, "Ample and suitable accommodation shall also be provided to meet the demands of immigration to Texas."45 The joining of freight and passenger trade made economic sense and benefited the immigration efforts.

Subsequent years found the Texas Legislature continuing to support incorporation of private companies that maintained interest in population movement into the State. The "Milam Real Estate and Emigration Association" was chartered on May 3, 1873. Later the same month, the "Texas Land and
Colonization Company" was incorporated under state law. Nothing in the state legal document suggests the purposes of this company except the title of the company itself. On June 4, 1873 the same legislature provided for the incorporation of "The El Paso Real Estate, Trust and Immigration Company." Their stated goal was to develop the "northwestern counties" of the state while the main offices were to be located in El Paso.46 If these are representative of companies meeting state incorporation guidelines, we also may assume that various individuals and partners also developed businesses or agencies to both sell land and encourage immigration.

Private enterprise can thus be seen as a supporting agent in this peopling of Texas. Real estate agents, land developers, and town boosters all contributed to a variety of organizations interested in attracting immigrants to specific places or plots of land in Texas. Utilizing the Bureau of Immigration, the state remained the central organization working to influence migration to Texas. In addition to establishing the bureau, the state government passed further legislation affecting the potential for immigration to the state. On August 12, 1870, legislation provided for homesteads of 160 acres for each head of a family and 80 acres of land for a single person as gifts in exchange for three years residence and payment of the title fees. Three days later the same legislature provided that such homesteads were exempt from "forced sale for debts."47 These homestead laws remained on the books up until the turn of the century. Their importance and purpose were also reinforced during the deliberations of the 1875 Constitutional Convention. One committee in that convention noted that the homestead exemption was a tradition going back to the 1845 Constitution and wrote, "We believe it to be of essential value to the State in securing an industrious and law-abiding population." After making their argument for the inclusion of the homestead exemption in the new constitution, they concluded,
Beyond all this, we hold as a primary truth of inestimable value, that the principle of homestead exemption is the grandest foundation yet conceived, upon which to build up in our State an industrious, independent, self-sustaining and land-holding yeomanry, who shall forever be the great pillars of the State.48

The representatives formulating a new constitution saw a tight connection between the homestead exemption provision and future immigration to Texas.

Yet another close link in the overall scheme of attracting people to Texas was the establishment of a geological survey and a state agency to keep up-dating this type of information. A detailed historical account of geological work in Texas is available in Geology and Politics in Frontier Texas, 1845-1909 by Walter Keene Ferguson. The story is a complex one of political entanglement in scientific endeavors. Suffice it to say for the story of immigration to Texas, that many felt a geological survey of the state would encourage people to come to Texas. Governor Davis and later Governor Coke both seemed to be of that persuasion, for they both encouraged the Texas Legislature to adopt laws facilitating such an endeavor. Davis in an 1870 message suggested a survey to be conducted under the direction of the General Land Office and saw this as a way to develop "a full understanding of the capacity of the State" both in terms of mineral wealth and agricultural possibilities. Governor Coke in March 1874 noted the appointment of a new state geologist and projected that a geological survey would be of "incalculable value....Every interest in the State will be benefited by it." In 1875 Governor Coke reported that a geological survey was under way and "making satisfactory Progress." Such encouragement by the executive branch did not necessarily result in a substantial geological interest in the state, but it reflects their perception that such endeavors would encourage immigration. It follows that since they encouraged immigration, they saw this issue as one needing their support as well.49
So far we have seen Texas state government become heavily involved in the immigration business through the establishment of a Bureau of Immigration. In addition they passed legislation designed to help encourage settlement of the state, i.e. homestead laws and provisions for geological surveys of the state. The legislature encouraged, through its incorporation laws, establishment of agencies to deal with real estate, transportation needs, and land development as adjunct opportunities to encourage migration. All of this activity would imply, on the part of the Texas government, an active involved role in the state's economic development. The government did not take a hands-off or laissez-faire attitude toward economic growth. Rather it actively sought capital, people, and entrepreneurial skills to help develop the potential in the state.50

The Bureau of Immigration remained the main emphasis for the Davis and Coke Administrations. It was through this governmental agency that significant collective efforts to influence immigration to Texas were made from 1870 to 1876. The Texas Bureau of Immigration officially began under enabling legislation in 1871. As a small arm of the executive branch, it continued to function until 1876 as a governmental agency attracting people to Texas. While persevering in its efforts, political unrest swirled around it and other state agencies. The political scene found Republicans and Democrats fighting for control of the legislature and the governorship. Republican strength waned as Democratic politicians became more numerous and potentially more influential.

The newly elected Thirteenth Legislature that met in 1873 contained a majority of Democrats bent on changing the Republican agenda of the past three years. Issues were many. Educational programs, suffrage requirements, internal improvements, budgets, and appropriations claimed most of the attention of these lawmakers. Debate raged over these many issues. In the midst of this storm the
Bureau of Immigration continued to function with no major shift in its policies or stated purpose. Some cosmetic changes occurred as a new administration took over the governor's mansion. When a Democratic governor took office in January, 1874, he exercised the option to place his own appointees into government positions. For the Bureau of Immigration this meant the replacement of Gustaf Loeffler with Jerome B. Robertson as Superintendent.

A great deal is known about Jerome B. Robertson but very little about his work as Superintendent of the Bureau of Immigration. Robertson, born in Kentucky, had his first contact with Texas when he served in a volunteer company of eighty-six men responding to Texas' President Burnett's call for help against the Mexicans in 1836. After serving in the cause of Texas Independence, he was permanently furloughed in June 1837. Robertson returned to Kentucky to settle his affairs there and then returned to Texas, his newly adopted state. His early years in Kentucky had included an apprenticeship to a hatter, involving some experience with the hatter's trade in St. Louis. He also attended Medical School at Transylvania University in Kentucky as well as studied medicine under the tutelage of a doctor in Owensboro. Thus Robertson earned the title of doctor and practiced medicine on and off throughout his lifetime. A military title seemed to be his preference, however, for he served in many capacities on the Texas frontier and in the Confederacy, holding the rank of general upon the cessation of Civil War hostilities. He is probably remembered most as the leader of Hood's Brigade. He succeeded General John B. Hood to that position in September 1862.51

In addition to his medical and military careers, Robertson served in several capacities as public servant and politician. Living in Washington County, he was a member of the Texas State House from 1847 to 1849 and the State Senate in 1849-1851, after earlier working as coroner and postmaster of his county. One source
labeled him "a rabid secessionist" in the 1861 state secession convention. After fighting in the Civil War, he was paroled and returned to Independence, Texas, where he supported himself and his family as a doctor. Robertson had married Mary Elizabeth Cummins in March 1838, and together they had three children, two of whom survived infancy. Mary died in April 1868 and Robertson remained a widower for the next ten years. In those years after the War, Robertson became active again in his local Masonic order. He also encouraged and helped organize the Hood's Texas Brigade Association which officially began in May 1872. He served in multiple capacities in this association of confederate veterans and had a special interest in collecting the history of his brigade.52

Governor Richard Coke in 1874 appointed Robertson as his choice for head of the Bureau of Immigration. Robertson held that position for two and a half years until the bureau dissolved. Throughout his tenure in office he maintained the confidence of Governor Coke if not of the legislature. The governor in an extensive message to the Texas Legislature in 1875 praised efforts at increasing the Texas population and applauded the superintendent's efforts. He said, "General Robertson has labored faithfully and incessantly, and it is believed, considering the slender resources at his command, most efficiently for the promotion of immigration." 53

Whatever else we can say about Robertson comes as an analysis of the annual reports he submitted to the legislature. We will return to that in a moment, but first, why was Robertson selected to fill this post? It would seem that Robertson obtained the job as an honored Confederate soldier in the Democratic Party when it resumed political influence in state government. This civil service job may have offered one of the few opportunities in Texas at the time. Yet Robertson had his medical experience and skill to rely upon as well as some land and family in Independence, Texas. Did he really need the job? Maybe so. If he needed a post,
why one in this bureau rather than some other agency such as the land office or public health administration? Some possible background might explain this particular appointment. First, he himself was an immigrant, coming to Texas in 1837 from another southern state. Second, he was the son of an immigrant from Aberdeen, Scotland. While Robertson may not have seen himself as such, later writers called him "the fighting Scot," and he may have imbibed such ethnic distinctions before later accepting the label, Texan.54 Third, thanks especially to his military career, Robertson was a well-traveled man with knowledge of much of the South, St. Louis, and extensive parts of Texas. For whatever reason or combination of reasons, Robertson seems to have willingly taken on the task of superintendent and worked to facilitate immigration to Texas. That he later served as an emigration agent for the Houston and Texas Central Railroad would indicate he carried his interest into the years after the demise of the bureau and used the same skills to continue making a living.55

The striking aspect of the 1874 change-over in the Bureau of Immigration remains the continuity it demonstrates in Texas' interest in attracting immigrants to the state. No dramatic break with Loeffler's efforts were suggested or made. Robertson carried forward the same goals of the Bureau's first superintendent. Robertson saw transportation as key to the success of importing new people into the state. So he continued to work for reduced rail and steamship rates for prospective immigrants. He also felt strongly the need to continue publishing good specific information. The publication of the pamphlet Texas: Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere remained central to the bureau's mission.

The 1874 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Immigration expressed the frustration of a governmental executive agency trying to accomplish its goals and purposes with little or no funding by the legislature. Repeatedly Robertson noted
this problem. After appointing two agents he stated "that the very limited pecuniary means it was in my power to furnish them has prevented them from accomplishing a great deal that they otherwise would have been able to do." Simple clerical help was missing:

The demands made on the Bureau for information from all parts of the United States and foreign countries are so numerous, that it is impossible, with the limited clerical force I have, (being one clerk only) to give the inquiries anything like proper or full answers.

Robertson also pointed to payment of bureau debts from the previous year as depleting what little funds he had. 56

Limited funding was a major concern. Letter writing remained a constant challenge and burden within those funding parameters. The fact that both Loeffler and Robertson referred to the large number of incoming requests for information and their struggle to keep up with dispensing information in that way tells us much about the people of the time. Letter writing was a finely tuned skill of evenly barely literate people. People wrote letters to family and friends. But they also wrote to the stranger asking for help and/or information. In the pre-electronic world of nineteenth-century United States, paper and pencil served a valuable function in making connections. Loeffler referred in his reports to letters "from every State in the Union--even from California...Europe and the Canadas" and efforts to give "as detailed a reply to every letter requiring information as possible." Robertson wrote that the "demands from the other States of the Union, and from England, the German Empire, France, Holland, and Norway, for information...have steadily increased during the year, and are now one hundred per cent greater than they were at my last annual report." 57 Postage and stationary made up a significant amount of each year's budget. In the absence of copies of any of these many letters--incoming or outgoing--we can only wonder how they were worded or exactly what
they said. The repeated emphasis by both superintendents of the bureau on
concrete, correct, and up-to-date information obviously suggests that recipients of
letters from the bureau received the best information available at the time.

Both Loeffler and Robertson made sustained efforts to get something into
publication. A published document could serve several purposes. It could facilitate
the transferal of information without long letter writing. While the down-side of
that formal nature might be a lack of the personal touch, it would be compensated
by the comprehensiveness of the information and the documents' authoritative
appearance. Secondly, it would demonstrate the efficiency and energy of Texas to so
publish such a document. And thirdly, it would be a source of information more
easily and more commonly passed on to other people considering immigration.

The bureau did eventually get material into print with the aim of attracting
people to Texas. The fairly nondescript pamphlet published by the Bureau of
Immigration said reams in the title alone: *Texas: the Home for the Emigrant, From
Everywhere*. The family image evoked by the word "home" trumpeted the main
purpose of the bureau. In facilitating the growth of families and homesteads, the
bureau meant to dispel the frontier image of the state's past, emphasize stability
and a sense of place, while encouraging the influx of newcomers. The inclusivity
expressed by the phrase "from everywhere" also projected an image of arms reaching
out to embrace the multitudes.58

No sketches or photographs graced the forty-three page document. Multiple
tables, charts, and testimonials made up the substance of this Bureau of
Immigration publication. In this format the pamphlet also succeeded in presenting
an image of official information, unprejudiced by private business interests or
organizations looking to make money from the immigrants. The tenor of the
pamphlet can be seen by the repeated use of assumed authorities on topics of interest. One section reads,

For the information of the readers hereof, I insert a letter from Col. John James, a practical sheep-grower, and a substantial and reliable citizen of thirty years residence in the State, whose statements may be relied on as correct.

Such affidavits sprinkle the pages for a readership that, it is assumed, would value such authoritative statements. ^{59}

In *Texas: the Home for the Emigrant from Everywhere*, tables and statistics are used to attract potential immigrants. Numbers provide annual temperatures, amount of rainfall, and humidity totals. All of these figures were marshaled to tell the story of a healthful climate, with plenty of rain for crops, and temperate weather for year-round work. A farm ledger list was reproduced to give a hint of the typical costs in production and the rhythm of farming in Texas. Statistics showed the commerce at the Galveston port with emphasis on imports and exports, especially cotton. Inclusion of such information pointed out to the immigrant the extent of trade in the state and the access to markets for Texas farmers. Yet another list gave counties by name and their growing population from 1850 to 1870. ^{60}

This no-frills report was filled with advice for the immigrant: Consider renting first upon arrival. Buy land after you have scouted out the area in order to make the best informed decision about purchase. Travel by wagon is an option to be considered, because you can bring your animals and livestock with you. If you end up with an extra horse or mule or wagon, you will surely find a market for them. If you are a lawyer or a physician you "ought not to be advised to come to Texas, unless [you] can come with the additional determination to seek employment in tilling the soil." Write to a county clerk for specific information on that county. If he can't help you he will put you in touch with a "reliable citizen" who will do so.
Should the immigrant wish to raise sugar, rice, cotton, corn and stock, let him settle in lower Central Texas. Should he wish to raise cotton, corn and stock, let him settle in middle Central Texas. Should he wish to raise cotton wheat corn and stock, let him settle in upper Central Texas.[Italics in original]

Travel in groups. Such travel lowers initial rail costs, since railroads offer group rates. Come to Texas in the fall. This is the best time so that preparations can be made for making a crop the first year here.61

Choices were presented to the potential immigrant. Information to whet the appetite of anyone seeking to know more filled the pages of Texas: The Home for the Emigrant, From Everywhere. Many items presented in the pamphlet may have encouraged the emigrant to develop a new concept of the potential in Texas. For example, the longer growing seasons and opportunity to plant more than one crop in a year probably caused some who wintered in snow laden countries to consider moving South. Statements about current taxes must have made many pause over a higher tax rate in their homeland. Potential for receiving a homestead of 160 acres must assuredly have lured some to trek to Texas.62

Reassurances were also a part of the Bureau's pamphlet. It labeled as an "erroneous opinion" that northern and western men were not wanted in Texas, nor safe in Texas. The pamphlet printed in full various sections of the state Constitution providing for homesteads and exempting them from forced sale for debts. This demonstrated the liberality of the state government and the real desire to make settlers secure in their homes. Another way of reassuring the emigrant was to point to the negatives in Texas, showing them to be in reality a positive. Describing the notorious "northerns" everyone had heard about as "winds coming suddenly from the north" changing the temperature "from the temperate to and below the freezing point in a few hours," the pamphlet went on to show the positives of such northerns. It referred to "their purifying effect of the atmosphere and
beneficial effect on the health of the people." Addressing these kinds of fears, the bureau's information sought to reassure potential emigrants that while change is inherent in the experience of moving, that change need not be a negative experience.63

*Texas: The Home for the Emigrant From Everywhere* did not speak much of the labor hiring conditions in Texas. Comment existed about the use of Mexicans as shepherds for the livestock, but no mention was made in the booklet of black workers. The only reference to women's needs was made by a man in the sheep growing region who wrote

wool-growers...are not likely to have many neighbors. Therefore, men having families, used to society, must have a residence in a village as near to his business as he can find a suitable location. Otherwise, the females in the family are lonesome, being often left alone, while the men are attending to the flocks.

City living was not described. The assumption throughout the document was that people would settle on the land and raise crops or livestock.64

It would be interesting to compare later editions of this work, if the Bureau of Immigration had existed beyond 1876. Would their approach have changed over the years? Would their heavy emphasis on bare statistics have continued? Would urban life have been extolled as yet another opportunity for the immigrant? Would certain immigrant nationalities have been discountenanced? Would references to blacks and Mexicans have changed? Unfortunately, we don't have that luxury of comparison. This pamphlet stands alone as "the" government document of the era. Later, private enterprise would enter the scene producing veritably hundreds of fliers, booklets, maps, and pamphlets extolling the virtues of life in Texas. But *Texas: The Home for the Emigrant From Everywhere* was the government's effort at attracting the immigrant to its borders.
Written material was considered essential by the bureau's superintendents. They were finally successful in that effort. Once this was accomplished, the letter writing and dispensing of information became easier for the home office of the bureau. The outlying bureau offices throughout the United States had the additional task of making contact with potential immigrants and dispensing personal and up-to-date information. Many different men served as agents for the bureau. Each brought their own unique experience and interest to the task. It is tantalizing to wonder about each person's contribution to the overall picture, but unfortunately little information about each agent remains.

The bureau reports provide no insight as to personnel changes. They merely record the appointment of men to the task, so the men seem to arrive and depart the scene unheralded. This is the case under both Loeffler and Robertson. Changes in personnel did take place when Robertson became the superintendent in 1874. He was not given the permission to send agents to Europe in 1874, but there was no indication in the report as to why that mission of the bureau was no longer to be funded. He appointed Dr. W. G. Kingsbury of San Antonio to bureau offices in St. Louis, Missouri. This represented a shift from 1873 when no paid agent served that city. Robertson appointed C. W. Mathews of Smith County, Texas, as representative for the southern states and he located in Atlanta, Georgia. Galveston's Bureau Agent became General X. B. DeBray. DeBray, born in France, had a long-time record of service to Texas. He had earlier been a translator for the General Land Office because of his language skills and later served during the war in the cavalry. In 1867 he had moved to Galveston and worked there for the bureau from 1874 until 1876. He later returned to Austin to work for the Land Office again. The reports give us no information about the dismissal of previous agents or rationale for changes in location of bureau offices.
Non-paid personnel seemed to proliferate under Robertson's administration. The law allowed appointments upon the governor's consent for agents or lecturers to serve without government compensation. In 1874 Robertson reported appointing some twelve people to honorary commissions as bureau agents. They were men in other business endeavors who through their contacts in commercial dealings stood in a position to share information with those interested in Texas. The superintendent saw these volunteer agents as less than optimum, pointing in his 1875 report to the difficulty in controlling their actions. Robertson knew their motives for giving information were highly slanted by their various business persuasions and he viewed these men as necessary evils in light of the inadequate legislative appropriations. As the state legislature failed to fund the bureau's activity, Robertson reverted to any means at his disposal to get out the information he felt so vital.\textsuperscript{66}

Robertson's sense of frustration over budget constraints reveals itself through his 1875 Report as well. For example, he uses the past technique of comparing Texas' efforts with those of other places in the United States and abroad. In the report he praised an eighty-four page Wyoming publication by its Board of Immigration as so influencing immigrants that the territory of Wyoming was "better known to potential immigrants" than Texas. This praise for the work of the western states in obtaining population was extensive. He claims they had already spent millions and had substantially directed the flow of immigration westward. In appealing to state loyalty, Robertson was in his own way shouting at the legislators to see the impact of their parsimonious behavior.\textsuperscript{67}

In addition to the "competition scare" efforts, Robertson resorted to bottom-line economics to argue his case.
Nor is the pecuniary benefit from immigration remote; for the immigrant, as soon as he arrives among us, begins to bear his proportion of the expenses of the State government, to the extent of his poll, State and county taxes (leaving out the value of the increased productions by his labor); he lightens the burthen of those who were here before him....Double the population of Texas, and we will hear no more of high taxes.68

The tactic of speaking to lawmakers' pocketbooks would seem a good one, but in reality it did not seem to sway the legislators at all. In fact, as Robertson continued to plead for better funding, the push for a convention to formulate a new constitution was in full swing. That convention, dominated by those wanting retrenchment in government spending, ultimately spelled doomsday for the Texas Bureau of Immigration.

Superintendent Robertson and Governor Coke continued throughout the 1874-1876 period to support government involvement in the effort to attract immigration to Texas. In Coke's inaugural address on January 15, 1874, the governor referred to

an immigration policy which shall make known to the world the unrivaled advantages of Texas, her liberal homestead laws, and the cheapness of her rich and productive lands, the remunerating prices of labor, the healthfulness of her climate, the magnificent rewards of thrift, energy and industry, within her limits, and by appropriate legislation stimulate and increase the steady and swelling tide of enterprising, thrifty and intelligent population, now pouring into her borders from every quarter of the old and new world.

He went on to support economy and honesty in government. His speech was a comprehensive plan for the potential inherent in the large area of Texas, but also a plan rooted in statements about governmental economy. This continuing Reconstruction-era emphasis on budgets, appropriations, and money was eventually to prove the nemesis of the Bureau of Immigration.69

Several weeks later Coke sent a message to the Texas house and senate with his suggestions and ideas for legislation. He encouraged liberality in connection
with the Bureau of Immigration as he worked to stir up patriotism for state endeavors.

The one thing needful in Texas is population. We want labor, thrifty industrious men and women...The eyes of the world are now turned to Texas; her vast resources, the unequaled inducements she offers to immigrants, is beginning to be appreciated; our railroad communications now tap the hive where the population swarms, and Texas is easy of access; the tide of immigration now pouring into her borders is strong and swelling; now is the propitious time by wise legislation to inaugurate a policy which shall to the fullest extent utilize our splendid opportunities to make Texas the home of the immigrant from every quarter of the world.

While the governor spoke of inaugurating a policy for the bureau, in reality he supported the past efforts of the Bureau of Immigration and encouraged more liberal appropriations. Two months later he went on record supporting additional funds for the bureau. As the Texas legislature struggled with formulating a budget and providing appropriations, Coke sent a message to the congressmen stating, "The estimate for the Bureau of Immigration, I am satisfied, is not as liberal as it should be...I recommend that this appropriation be increased to an amount commensurate with the important part this bureau should perform in settling and developing the State." 70

Continued underfunding hampered bureau work. With this in mind Governor Coke's January 1875 message to the Texas legislature dwelt extensively on the subject of immigration. The nub of his talk was summed up in the statement, "The great want of Texas is population. Liberality in providing means for supplying that want is the truest economy." Coke's message did not just ask for money. He reiterated an overall plan for the bureau. He proposed settling agents in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Norfolk, Atlanta, and New Orleans, "allowing each agent means for keeping open an office in those cities, with allowances to each for necessary traveling expenses and postage." Still valuing the written word, Coke continued by
saying, "in short, everything that an immigrant would desire to know of a country to which he was about to move, should be published, and the office of each agent should be a depot for their distribution." Coke did not propose establishment of a contingency fund so desired by Loeffler in the early years of the bureau. But he saw agents and their offices as distribution centers for information, feeling the information would serve as its own attraction. Coke used terms like "a general intelligence office" supported by the "Chief of the Immigration Bureau in Texas." While none of the agents would be located in foreign countries, Texas had not given up on the foreign-born immigrant. Coke specifically called for the translation of documents into foreign languages for distribution.\textsuperscript{71}

What kind of immigrant was Coke imagining as being attracted to Texas? He mentioned their coming from "rural districts," thus seeing them primarily as agriculturists. They "would bring with them resources" and would be "of the most desirable character, intelligent reading persons." Again, we return to the literate emigrant--the person who can read and make decisions on his/her own. Coke sensed the value of the written word as propaganda as well. He wrote,

As near as it can be done, we must place immigrants on our standpoint, give them our knowledge and experience of Texas, and to make them come to Texas for homes, and prefer Texas as we do to any other country, must as far as possible put them in possession of the reasons which influence us, and this can only be done by a judicious, liberal advertisement of Texas, as she is.\textsuperscript{72}

In addition, Coke pointed to the inter-relatedness of immigration to the entire economic development of the state. For Governor Coke it was critical to convey to legislators the wider picture. He spoke about markets and a reliable labor force. He pointed to the economic power of merchants with many customers and the value of cheap transportation for those commercial goods. He also mentioned the political power for Texas in the national arena should its population increase and thus its
representation in Washington increase also. Coke wanted the congressmen to see
the value of a little money invested here reaping large rewards in the future.\textsuperscript{73}

While the call for more money to fund the bureau continued to ring out from
the yearly reports of the bureau, other interesting tidbits can be gleaned in the
pages of these reports. The 1875 report notes the removal of Col. Mathews from his
post in Atlanta, Georgia, to Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Georgia legislature had
just passed a law taxing any immigration agent $100 to operate an office in the
state. This fee applied to each county location for such agents. The obvious purpose
of such a high licensing fee was not revenue, but control. Robertson shared this
assumption with the legislators, suggesting that Georgia thus showed how much she
valued her own population.\textsuperscript{74} The law also indicates how many people must have
been leaving the old Confederate stronghold of Georgia and emigrating to
potentially more prosperous lands. This was an indication of the mobility that
existed in the decade after the Civil War. The legislative efforts thus strove to block
such an outward flow of people. The fact that Georgia's law affected the activity of
the Texas Bureau of Immigration also suggests the interconnectedness of the
several states in their interest in migration and immigration.

Yet another indication of the wide-spread interest in attracting immigration
to southern states can be seen in Robertson's 1874 report. He records his efforts at
reducing transportation rates to potential immigrants and mentions a business trip
to Norfolk, Virginia, where he personally inspected port facilities. Reporting on
talks with representatives of several railroads, he was optimistic about the potential
of developing overseas routes from Europe to Norfolk with connecting rail lines to
Texas.\textsuperscript{75} While the Norfolk terminus of European travel never materialized as a
significant disembarkation spot for immigrants, Robertson's interest in that
endeavor reflects one states' interest in immigration as part of a larger interest manifested by other southern states.

On the issue of transportation facilitating immigration, the same 1874 Bureau Report included reflections from DeBray, the Galveston agent of the bureau. Along with his statistics of the Galveston port landings, he noted the shift from sailing vessels to steamships as the preferred mode of transportation by immigrants. Changes of this sort influenced route selection on the part of those leaving Europe, as well as their destination in the United States. As the competing shipping lines set up their routes, one area of the country might benefit from increased migration while another might be harmed. DeBray was pointing to such influences, letting his superior know the trends of the time.

DeBray even went a step further. He made a novel suggestion on how to lure shipping companies to direct travel to Texas. He wrote,

If I am correctly informed, a small premium given by the State for every immigrant introduced from Europe directly at Galveston, might induce the owners of steamship lines to abandon New Orleans for Galveston, thus giving a great impulse to our direct trade with Europe, and promoting immigration.\textsuperscript{76}

The Texas Legislature never initiated DeBray's idea, but his mere suggestion gives today's reader of such bureau reports some insight into the influence of transportation on the immigration business of the time. While legislators may have been too "now" centered to see the value of such interest in shipping lines and their connection to immigration, the records still show the connection was there, was felt, and was understood by someone intimately involved in the effort to attract immigrants to Texas.

Another unique effort by a bureau representative is found in the 1874 bureau report that includes a short letter from H. K. Needham, which he signed "Commissioner for Northern Texas." Robertson later identifies him as a non-paid
agent. Needham was located at Denison on the Texas-Oklahoma border. Stationed thus along a wagon trail access point and at the terminus of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad, Needham recorded travel statistics of people moving into the state and boarding accommodations for such travelers. He seems to have seen himself as a way station similar to the late-twentieth-century Texas Highway's Welcome locations. He wrote:

For the accommodation and free use of immigrants arriving by teams, I have provided a commodious wagon yard, with good shade and water.

I have also provided this office with land maps, plats, etc., showing the location of the State University lands, alternate State sections, and school lands of Northern Texas, besides descriptive lists of many thousands of acres of land offered for sale by railroad companies and private individuals, which makes this a free intelligence office for the immigrant.77

There is no mention in the report of Needham's full-time position, so no indication of why he took such a personal interest in the peopling of the state illuminates his motivation.

In such a frustrating vacuum of information, conclusions about the effectiveness of such endeavors as Needham's or suggestions as those of DeBray are impossible. That the population of Texas increased over the years 1865 to 1876 is documented in the statistics compiled by census takers. That the Bureau of Immigration was instrumental in a significant way in affecting that movement can not be so easily documented. What can be documented, however, is the activity of a state agency--the Texas Bureau of Immigration. The belief in concerted action, a carry-over from the immediate years after the Civil War, propelled the efforts to establish a Bureau of Immigration in addition to efforts at providing tax money to run such an agency. A confidence in the value of written information also permeated the efforts of this governmental body to influence the direction of
migration to its territories. Both a belief in cooperative effort and a value placed on written words motivated the Texas Legislature to experiment with a governmental agency aimed at attracting people to Texas. This experiment came to a decisive end when Texans chose to ratify a new constitution in 1876. Chapter Seven will document the political workings of the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1875. But first, an overview and analysis of written enticement literature fills the pages of the intervening chapters.
1General Laws of the Twelfth Legislature of the State of Texas, First Session-
-1871 (Austin: J. G. Tracy, 1871), 127-128; Constitution of the State of Texas,
Adopted by the Constitutional Convention (Austin: Printed at the Daily Republican
Office, 1869), 33. Copies of these documents also available in Laws of Texas,
compiled and arranged by H. P. N. Gammel (Austin: The Gammel Book Company,

2Texas Laws. 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, pp. 127-128. Rowland
Berthoff in his study of immigration in the South mistakenly states that Texas
organized in 1871 a bureau with agents, "though the state constitution forbade
appropriations of funds for the purpose." In actuality state money supported the
bureau until the 1876 constitution prohibited such expenditures. See Rowland T.
Berthoff, "Southern Attitudes Toward Immigration, 1865-1914," Journal of
Southern History 17 (August 1951): 338.

3Texas Laws. 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, pp. 127-128. The
paternalism existent during slave times by plantation owners seems to be mirrored
here by the legislators' approach to incoming immigrants. The assumption of a less
knowledgeable group of people being helped in organized fashion by a more
knowledgeable group fits the pattern of southern paternalism. It would also be
interesting to know if their own personal experience in migrating to Texas
influenced each of these legislators. Were they asking themselves questions like:
How was I treated? How do I wish I had been treated? What do I wish I had known
before I moved here?

4Texas Laws. 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, pp. 127-128. Yet
another question is whether the issue of written documentation is an elite issue or
one across the classes. An argument could be made for legislators (most of whom
where of the upper class) valuing written words and thus incorporating that
approach into their state immigration bureau, when in fact this was not valued by
potential emigres.

5Texas Law. 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, pp. 127-128. One extant
copy of such a foreign-language pamphlet can be found at the Texas State Archives.
See Texas Bureau of Immigration, Texas: Domov Privandrovalcu (Austin: J.
Cardwell, 1873).

6Message of the Gov. Edmund J. Davis, of the State of Texas (Austin: J. G.
Tracy, State Printer, 1871), 14-15.

7Vernon's Annotated Constitution of the State of Texas, Volume 3 (Kansas
779-834 for the entire 1876 constitution and page 834 for this specific provision.

8Constitution of the State of Texas, (1869), 33.

9As documented by James A. Baggett, "The Rise and Fall of the Texas
Radicals, 1867-1883" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1972), 167.

11. Ellis A. Davis and Edwin H. Grobe, eds., *The New Encyclopedia of Texas* (Dallas: Texas Development Bureau, n.d.), 1666; *Houston City Directory*, 1866, pp. 33 and 84; *Houston City Directory*, 1873, p. 20; Second Annual State Fair of the Agricultural, Mechanical and Blood Stock Association of Texas (Galveston: Steam Book and Job Office of the "News", 1871), 19. Loeffler's first name is listed differently in various places: Gustav, Gustave, or Gustaf. This author believes Gustav to be the preferred form.


14. According to Vera Lee Dugas in "A Social and Economic History of Texas in the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963) written information about immigration frequently identified December and January as the best months for migration to Texas. See pages 50-54. One contemporary source cites two reasons for such timing: 1) less danger of health concerns as during the fever season and 2) arrival in Texas at a time when soil needs to be prepared for the early planting season in February/March. See F. W. Loring and C. F. Atkinson *Cotton Culture and the South, Considered with Reference to Emigration* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1869), 92. This planting pattern would have been much different than that typical for farmers in more northern climates. Attempts at directing immigrants to arrive in December or January were therefore attempts at helping them not lose a whole year's potential crop.


21. *Report*, Bureau of Immigration, 1872, p. 7. Loeffler appointed four agents. According to one historian they were all "Radical politicians." The representative on the European continent was Theodore Hertzberg. He was from Bexar County which had a strong German minority in its population. He had served as a member of the Texas Senate in 1870 and 1871. John T. McAdam served the Bureau of
Immigration in Manchester, England. He was from Washington County. New York was the office for William H. Parsons of Harris County in which Houston is located. Parsons was a former Confederate General. Agent for the central river area of the United States was J. H. Lippard from Hill County, Texas. See Baggett, "Rise and Fall," p. 168.

23Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1872, pp. 10-27. Loeffler had the written support of his superior, Governor Davis. In a January 16, 1873 communication delivered to the Texas Senate, Davis lauded the Bureau's activity and the "labors" of its workers. "The bureau has been ably and economically conducted, and I recommend that a liberal appropriation be made for its support during the present and coming fiscal year. The amount he asks, $89,200 is not too large for the ends proposed." Senate Journal, January 16, 1873, p. 43.

24Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1872, p. 23.


26Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1872, pp. 25, 17, 18.

27Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1872, pp. 25-26. One of the New York papers utilized by Parsons was the Texas New Yorker. This paper was published by a Texan and stated on its masthead, "Devoted to making known to the Capitalist, Merchant, Mechanic, and Emigrant, the Agricultural, Horticultural, Stock-raising, Manufacturing, Railroading, and other Latent Wealth of Texas."

28Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Immigration of the State of Texas for the Year 1873 (Austin: Cardwell & Walker, Printers, 1874), 3 and 4. The status of Lecturer for the Bureau of Immigration was not clearly defined in earlier legislation other than it would be work without a formal salary. This report suggests that the Governor had appointed many such lecturers, who received "commissions," but only one was left by the end of the year. The designation that he was "of Pennsylvania" doesn’t clarify for us whether he did his work in Pennsylvania or was from that state or what other connections he had that would enhance or fit with his efforts as lecturer. Hopefully, more information will develop to clarify the position of this type of personnel.

29Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1873, p. 14; Charter and Revised Ordinances of the City of Galveston, and All Ordinances in Force to April 2d, 1872, Together with Appendix, embracing all ordinances in Force to February 28th, 1873 (Galveston: Printed at the "Daily Civilian" Book and Job Office, 1873), xii and unnumbered page; John H. Heller Texas Trade Guide and Business Directory, For Fall Trade, 1872, (Galveston: n.p., 1872), p. 4; Galveston Daily News, May 9, 1871, p. 3 and February 2, 1871, p. 3; Manuscript labeled "James A. McKee Mayor to "Commission of Emigration" George Marchman," 04-0053 in Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; Galveston Daily News, May 1, 1870, p. 3. Baker's exact administrative position is a bit fuzzy. He is listed in an 1873 Galveston City Ordinance book as one of a group of many city officials including the treasurer, city attorney, and Chief of Police. In another source dated 1872 he is identified as
"Immigration Agent" with offices at 180 East Strand. The local newspaper labeled Baker "The Commissioner of Emigration" when they reported on the latest arrival of immigrants due at the Galveston Port in May. This same newspaper had just three months earlier called him "Mr. Baker, the city commissioner of Immigration." It is possible that he held a city position set up to facilitate immigration at Texas' largest immigrant port. There seems to be some precedent for such a city-based position because Mayor James A. McKee had appointed George Marchmann "Commissioner of Emigration" on January 19, 1870 and claimed the appointment was based on a city ordinance.

30Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1873, p. 9.

31Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1873, pp. 4-6.

Wm. Brady, Glimpses of Texas: Its Divisions, Resources, Development and Prospects (Houston: A.C. Gray & Co., 1871). The Almanac, published by the Galveston News Office and Mr. Richardson, was packed with information and was probably the most up-to-date and comprehensive source of Texas information. The railway pamphlet to which Loeffler refers states on its title page "Compiled from Official and other Authentic Data" whatever that might mean to the reader. This railway, with primarily Pennsylvania officers, put together a full fifty pages of information about their railroad and Texas. Interestingly they include with proper identification the Bureau of Immigration's circular of transportation statistics and rates in their materials. The pamphlet deserves fuller attention as the premier example of later more prolific railroad promotional material. See Notes on Texas and the Texas and Pacific Railway (Philadelphia: No. 275 South Fourth Street, 1873).

32Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1873, pp. 9-10. This frustration with documenting immigrants remains throughout this time period. As the railroad lines multiple they add access routes to and through the state. All of this is in addition to people arriving by coast-wise steamers and by overseas steamers into various Texas ports.

33Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1873, p. 16; Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1872, p. 9.

34C.J.H. Frensz's Tariff Investigator of the United States, Enumerating Steamboat, Sail Vessels, Express, Steamships, Immigration, Canal, Railroad, Telegraph (Galveston: Galveston News Steam Print, 1873), 1 and 33.

35Frensz's Tariff Investigator, 33. The only copy of such a certificate that this author has been able to locate exists in the 1872 Bureau of Immigration Report where Loeffler includes what he labels a facsimile of such a certificate.

36Frensz's Tariff Investigator, 33.

37Frensz's Tariff Investigator, 33.
38Frenaz’s Tariff Investigator, 33; Texas Law, 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, pp. 127-128.

39GDN, August 25, 1871.

40Notes on Texas. Schedule of rates is on pages 39-40. Page 2 of the document lists the officers of the company, almost all of whom work in Pennsylvania. The only Texan on the Board of Directors was J. W. Throckmorton, one-time Governor of Texas from 1866-1867. J. G. Walker is listed as the General Emigration Agent. Both he and Throckmorton list Marshall, Texas, as their office location.

41Notes on Texas, 44-48.

42[Texas Bureau of Immigration], Texas: The Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere (Houston: A.C. Gray, State Printer, 1875).

43Gammel, Laws, Vol. 6, 1463-1464; Texas Laws. 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, pp. 325-326.

44Gammel, Laws, Vol. 6, 1574-1575; Gammel, Laws, Vol. 7, 152-153 records the incorporation of the “Texas Land and Immigration Company” and lists Ira H. Evans as one of four listed associates. Evans was a one-time Speaker of the Texas House. For him politics and business obviously meshed. See also Texas Laws. 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, p. 42.; Gammel, Laws, Vol. 7, 211-212 identifies the Victoria Society and lists seven associates. John T. McAdam is included as one of those associates. In 1872 he was an agent for the Texas Bureau of Immigration in Great Britain and Ireland. Again politics, business interests or experience came together conveniently for those active in the Texas Legislature.

45Texas Law, 12th Legislature, First Session, 1871, p. 424.


47Jesse Dorsett, "Blacks in Reconstruction Texas, 1865-1877" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1981), 25-26; Texas Law, 12th Legislature, Called Session, 1870, 127; Baggett, "Rise and Fall," 142; Lee Van Zant, Early Economic Policies of the Government of Texas, Monograph No. 14 in Southwestern Studies Series, Volume 4 ([El Paso: Texas Western Press], 1966), 8-9. The inclusion of the Homestead legislation in multiple documents published to attract immigrants to Texas, testifies to the perceived significance of this legislative provision on influencing people to make Texas their home. Repeatedly these laws, copied verbatim from the legal codes were inserted somewhere in the text of pamphlets or booklets extolling the advantages of settling in Texas.

To what extent these laws were utilized by women is the subject of an intriguing study by Florence C. Gould and Patricia N. Pando. In Claiming Their Land, Women Homesteaders in Texas ([El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1991], the authors compile from Texas Land Office documents lists providing the number of women and their claims between 1845 and 1898. If nothing else, the study shows
that women did arrive as immigrants to Texas and participated in the process of claiming and settling the land. This helps rectify the "invisibility" of women as immigrants to the state.

48Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Texas, begun and held at the City of Austin, September 6th, 1875 (Galveston: Printed for the Convention at the "News" Office, 1875), 569 and 570.


50This economic point and analysis is aptly made by Van Zant in Early Economic Policies. See entire article, page 1 through 48.


52Speer, Encyclopedia, 549; Simpson, Touched, 7-8; Simpson, Hood's, 15-27, 103, 131-133; F. B. Chilton, comp., Unveiling and Dedication of Monument to Hood's Texas Brigade (Houston: F. B. Chilton, 1911), 196-197. The historical committee of the veterans association often received the label "Robertson's Committee" as often as any other designation. See Simpson, Hood's, 131. Robertson also actively worked for the Texian Veterans, in addition to his interest in the smaller Hood's Brigade. The 1873 Proceedings of this organization indicate extensive commitment to the veterans of Texas by Robertson and thus also a ready made network system of people with which Robertson interacted. Such connections probably enhanced Robertson's effectiveness as Bureau Superintendent. See Proceedings of the
Convention of Texian Veterans held at Houston, May 13th, 14th and 15th, 1873 (Galveston: News Steam Book and Job Office, 1873).

53 Governor's Messages, Governor Coke, January 12, 1875, p. 110.

54 Simpson, Touched, 2, 8, 11.

55 Revised Map of the State of Texas, Published by the Houston & Texas Central R.R. (n.p.: n.p., 1876). This is a one-sheet map with copy on the reverse side. The written material identifies Robertson as a former superintendent of the Texas "Bureau of Emigration" and encourages potential settlers to write him for information sent free of charge.; see advertisement for H&T RR in Waco Daily Examiner, June 27, 1877; Speer, Encyclopedia, 549.

56 Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1874, pp. 5-6.

57 Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1872, p. 3; Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1873, p.9; Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1875, p. 3.

58[TBI], Texas: Home, (1875).

59[TBI], Texas: Home, 26.

60[TBI], Texas: Home, 5-8, 24, 33-34, 41-43.


62[TBI], Texas: Home, 24, 8-9, 19.

63[TBI], Texas: Home, 4, 15-16, 35.

64[TBI], Texas: Home, 26, 28. Agricultural activities are referred to continually and throughout the pamphlet.


66 Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1874, pp. 9-10; Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1875, p. 10.

67 Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1875, p. 5.

68 Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1875, p. 6.

69 Governor's Messages, Governor Coke. January 15, 1874, p. 6; Lieutenant-Governor Hubbard echoed the sentiments of Governor Coke. In his Inaugural Address he hoped that the state would "foster immigration so that our vast solitudes may be filled by the coming millions from the worn-out lands of the old world and the new." Hubbard, himself, was a transplant, born in Georgia, educated in Virginia and Massachusetts, he arrived in Texas in 1853, and settled in Tyler. See Governor's Messages, Lieutenant-Governor Hubbard, January 15, 1874, p. 11.
70 Governor's Messages, Governor Coke, January 26, 1874, pp. 17-18; Governor's Messages, Governor Coke, March 16, 1874, p. 49.

71 Governor's Messages, Governor Coke, January 12, 1875, pp. 105-106.


73 Governor's Messages, Governor Coke, January 12, 1875, pp. 105-110.

74 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Immigration of the State of Texas, for the Year 1875 (Houston: A. C. Gray, State Printer, 1875, p. 9.

75 Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1874, pp. 7-8.

76 Report, Bureau of Immigration, 1874, p. 13.

Chapter Four -- Attracting People to Texas: The Written Word,
Part One--Newspapers, Almanacs, and Business Pamphlets

The Texas Bureau of Immigration did not serve as an umbrella agency coordinating efforts around the state. Money available for the bureau was small compared to the needs. Paid workers of the agency were few in number and low in experience, although full of enthusiasm for their task. The bureau served more as one part of a potentially expanding network. The network was more nebulous and tentative than highly connected, but it valued the publication of written material. This valuing of correct information, written down and distributed far and wide, remained central to the immigration effort of the bureau and of Texas throughout the last half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. This strong focus existed whether it was a governmental body collecting and distributing information, or a private institution such as a railroad printing maps, or a business endeavor such as a land agency publishing a flier.

How do we describe this loosely connected Texas network? Component parts included newspapers across the state. Many papers with a visionary editor contributed booster images in their columns. Not only did they record growth and development of their towns but shared dreams of what might lie ahead as citizens grasped the potential of their community. Newspaper and journal publications far from Texas also contributed to this network. They served as an adjunct source of information incorporated into the whole network influencing population movement to the state. Some, like the *Saint Louis Texan* and the *Texas New Yorker*, were published in major urban areas by Texans. Almanacs or almanac-like books often published by journalists served as another part of the network by recording information about the state and publishing it for a wider audience. Some, like the
Texas Almanac published by Willard Richardson, were even subtitled "Emigrant’s Guide to Texas."

Businesses supplied additional resources for proclaiming the hopes and dreams of current Texas residents for an expanding economy and even industrial growth. Land agencies and real estate agents published pamphlets extolling the values of their specific holdings, but in the process also wrote pages and pages of information on Texas in general. Railroads as they built across the Texas interior, through the panhandle, and over the western plains produced a huge variety of short fliers identifying possible settlement along their train routes. These businesses used words and, as the technology advanced, added photographs to supplement sketches and tables and graphs. The activity of railroad publication departments and also land dealers more commonly fits the postreconstruction era of Texas history, but their precursors existed in the early 1870s as well.

Newspapers, almanacs, and company publications helped weave a communication web that spun out across the United States and even overseas in an effort to attract immigrants to the unsettled land and untapped opportunities of Texas. Letters from individuals also entered this network for they were often published in one way or another after reception by the intended addressee. Observations from these letters, whether from those in Texas or from those far away in contact with Texans, provided personal insight, and in published form made a connection with the hopes of many individuals contemplating a move or a change of scenery. And finally, letters sent personally from one individual to another fit into this expansive network of various instrumentalities enticing people to Texas. While personal letters may not have resulted in huge numbers of people moving, their written words influenced smaller rivulets of movement that added to the overall stream of immigration coning to Texas in the later half of the nineteenth century.
These letters also reveal many of the personal emotions and desires of real life people making connections with families and friends.

Throughout the ten tumultuous years after the Civil War, written materials served as a central core in the efforts to attract immigrants of all nationalities. Efforts by the Texas Bureau of Immigration to publish a document for distribution show the agency's belief that written material was crucial to their efforts. *Texas, the Home for the Emigrant from Everywhere* was finally published to meet that goal. A wide variety of other such material is available for contemporary study. Almost all this written material held a dual purpose. A definite connection existed between the business interest that paid for the publication and the goal of attracting immigrants. This two-fold purpose proved central to such works and was interwoven on almost every page. Newspapers conveyed information destined to be of help to the immigrant. But they also needed to sell their paper through the advertising medium and make enough money to print the local and foreign news for its readers. The almanac served as an advertising medium at the same time it shared information designed to help the immigrant decide when and where to settle in the state. The land broker spoke of the potential lying dormant in the soil, needing only an "industrious farmer" to unlock it. The railroad company wrote of great expanses of land at cheap prices ready for investment of time and money by the hardworking family from elsewhere. The town-booster pamphlet shouted the benefits of a community to any good and upright citizen willing to come and settle down. Whether the newspaper publisher, the land broker, the railroad, or the small Texas town published the material of allurement, the message met two needs—the business interests of the publisher and the informational desires of the potential immigrant.
The importance of newspapers to nineteenth-century Texans cannot be overstated. In an era before airwaves communication the journalistic endeavors in communities throughout the state and country created and maintained essential connections among people. Newspapers met several needs for the burgeoning immigration movement in Texas. First, they reported the news around the country relating to immigration efforts by other southern and western states. Second, they wrote about the movement of immigrants into their area and spoke encouragingly to those transients. And third, they advertised themselves as the best source of local information for the potential resident. In performing all these roles for Texas and its potential citizens, the newspapers formed a substantial part of the network attracting people to Texas.

In June 1865 blacks in Texas learned they were free. Changes were in the air and the previous labor system heavily dependent upon the black slave was in chaos. In the midst of these changes, interest grew in bringing immigrants to southern states to supplant or at least to supplement the black labor supply. Even as the successive growing seasons passed and farming took a more settled appearance, interest continued in bringing more people to the state. The newspapers reflected those changes and continuing interests. For example, the September 13, 1865, issue of the Galveston Daily News had two articles reporting on immigration into other southern states. Under a Richmond, Virginia, dateline, the News noted the arrival of sixty Swedish immigrants via New York heading for Goochland, Virginia. It seems these recent immigrants "were induced to join their friends in Goochland" in a clear example of chain migration's influence upon population movements. The Virginians were enthusiastic about the arrivals, for the paper reported, "We hail with pleasure the coming of these laborers, and invite others to follow in their wake. We extend them a hearty welcome." In the same
issue the News excerpted from the North Carolina Advertiser the announcement of a Scottish Emigration Society that proposed "to invest in Southern lands." Detailing some history of Scotch settlement in North Carolina, the paper praised those settlers "who compose one of the most intelligent and thrifty portions of our population." Then in true booster tradition the Advertiser stated, "We are quite sure that no portion of the South offers such advantages for the favorable consideration of the society as North Carolina."¹ In their reporting of events in other southern states and around the country, newspapers kept the issue of immigration before their readers.

Keeping an eye on other immigration movements, a Texas paper in August 1867 reported on the activity of a Tennessee group that meet and raised money to send "one of our best and most influential citizens to represent us as an agent in Europe." With obvious determination they said, "We are bound to give white labor such a test as will put all further questions as to its practicability to an end." This information came from the Memphis Ledger and reflects one kind of response to news from Europe that Europeans viewed the South as a potential place for relocation.² Just knowing that Europeans were considering immigration encouraged some Southerners to pursue activities like this Tennessee group. Texans noted these responses because their newspapers kept them aware of such activities elsewhere.

Texas papers also kept current with immigration news in the North. An August 1868 article reported on the number of emigrants coming to New York and the activity of a labor exchange in finding employment for these transients. Noting that some Southern states "received a portion of these laborers," the article also reported that most stayed in the New York and New Jersey area. Another Texas newspaper quoted statistics on arrivals to the ports of Boston and Charleston during
the first half of 1871 as well as listed the many occupations of the new arrivals. Reporting on activity in other parts of the country, the Galveston Daily News of May 7, 1870, noted an Agricultural and Immigration Convention meeting in Charleston, South Carolina. It also shared information on the work of the Mississippi Valley Emigration Society of Planters in sending a representative to Hong Kong to obtain workers.

Not only was Texas looking at the activity of other states, but other states were watching Texas. One excerpt quoted in the News from the Montgomery Alabama Advertiser illustrates this communal state-watching.

One of the European steamship companies proposes to land emigrants in Texas for $44 per capita. The immigration to that State in 1873, reached 125,000 souls. Of these 37,000 went via the Gulf and Galveston, and the others overland. In 1850 the population of Texas was 212,000. It is now equal to that of Alabama. And still the enterprising people of that commonwealth are not happy. They are establishing emigration agencies in all neighboring States.

While the Alabama paper seemed to be envious of Texas activity, the Galveston paper appeared to be gloating as it reproduced the Alabama sentiments.

Texas newspapers also kept their readers appraised of immigrant movement into their communities and seemed to respond as cheerleaders in this population shift. Under the title "To Emigrants" the Waxahachie Argus proclaimed "The Land here is fine and prolific as any upon which the sun of heaven ever cast his beams." The Belton Journal gave an account of wagon loads of families "from Boone county, Mo., on their way to Hays county" and then noted a later wagon train of eight more vehicles. The Journal wrote, "We say come on. We have lands and provisions for thousands and will welcome with open arms,...good men who choose to cast their lot amongst us." The Gonzales Inquirer took notice of several wagon loads of German immigrants destined ultimately for New Braunfels. "They were as fine looking a set
of men, women and children as we could wish to see. They are the very people to build up our State."6

While communities in the more central portions of the state gave accounts of the movement, the funnel cities of Galveston and Houston also reported on the immigrants passing through their communities. In October 1869 the Houston Telegraph noted the arrival of several hundred German immigrants heading on to farms in Washington County. A month later the same paper reported on "a large number of immigrants...mostly from Tennessee" coming as families "with all the appearance of means and comfort about them." The Telegraph in December observed arrivals of hundreds of immigrants by packet from New Orleans to Galveston, pointing to their number as including Germans, Georgians, and "a few Alabamians." In 1870 an article noted the Galveston train "thronged with immigrants...mostly natives of Alabama, though a few were from Mississippi and Georgia." This journalist saw the movement as confirmation "that the superior natural advantages of Texas are at length becoming widely known and recognized...Truly we may affirm now that the tide has set in; the day is not distant in which she will be the Star State of the Western World." This tendency to translate the current movement of people into a praise of future achievement repeated itself in many newspaper articles.7

Keeping up-to-date with events around the country, also contributed opportunities for Texans to bring immigrants to their state. Sometimes a calamity of one sort or another would spur additional efforts on the part of Texans. In October 1871 the event was a major fire in Chicago. The Scandinavian Club of Houston instigated the response. A Houston newspaper reported the efforts. Under the heading "Immigrants! Immigrants!" an announcement of "50,000 Germans and 30,000 Scandinavians (Swedes, Norwegians and Danes) homeless and desolate"
served to bring to the attention of Houstonians a great need. The Scandinavian
Club went on to state, "in behalf of these, our unfortunate countrymen, we now
appeal to the inhabitants of Texas, soliciting their aid in enabling as many of them
as possible to emigrate to this State." The Club agreed to serve as a temporary
employment agency, matching requests for specific workers with potential disaster
victims, and helping to facilitate transportation. Another article in the same day's
paper alleged that Superintendent Loeffler of the Texas Bureau of Immigration had
news that the Illinois Central Railroad was ready to deliver "the unfortunates" free
to New Orleans in lots of twenty-five. If Loeffler could raise the $6.00 per person
needed to move them from New Orleans to Galveston via the Morgan steamers,
Texas would be able to help the victims and Texas. Then in an editorial statement,
the journalist criticized, "Thus with this small outlay, hundreds of industrious
immigrants could be brought here, and yet the Legislature gobbles up the money as
fast as it goes into the Treasury, and Mr. Loeffler can obtain none of it." While
obviously discouraged with the Texas Legislature, the newspaper did try to help
facilitate the effort. How many fire victims actually made it to Texas is unknown.
The newspaper, however, saw itself as an arm in the efforts of Texans to influence
people to move to Texas.8

While almost every article spoke positively about the need for immigration to
Texas, attitudes about inclusiveness varied. An editorial in the Houston Telegraph
glowingly spoke of the advantages of Texas, stating the need for millions of new
citizens. "Let the people came...We are a tolerant people. We will welcome the
Yankee, the Radical, the Republican, the native, the foreigner, and men and women
of all faiths and creeds. Therefore come to Texas, the land of promise. Heaven
made it for you."9 But not all felt as inclusive in their call. For example, one
observer for the Houston Telegraph noted in 1869 that some recent German
immigrants were "stout, intelligent looking people, and more to be desired a
hundred fold than the much talked of Chinese." In 1871 the Victoria Society of
Washington County used the newspaper to proclaim their interest in having English
farmers settle in their community. The organization was "composed entirely of
English agriculturists, who but a few years ago were immigrants." They noted that
"the Germans and others are nearly all protected and provided for by their various
clubs and associations," and the Victoria Society wanted to fill that need for English
immigrants.10

Another example of exclusivity can be seen in the effort of Hempstead, Texas,
to attract immigrants. Austin County residents formed a committee of eight for the
purpose of encouraging immigration. They then collected specific concrete
information about their county and requested the Galveston and Houston papers to
publish their proceedings. The Telegraph did as they requested. In fact the two
column article ran unchanged and unedited for over four issues. A few lines in the
article, however, indicate a narrowness of vision, for they claim to want "emigrants
congenial with us in social habits and education, and in political
sentiments...Resolved, That we most cordially invite emigrants from our sister
Southern States to come and settle here."11

Sometimes the exclusionary cautions were more specifically political in
nature. The Galveston Daily News excerpted a Goliad Guard article reporting on
immigrants from Indiana who had settled in their county. One of their number had
stated that there were others desiring to leave Indiana for Texas but the paper
reported they "are prevented from coming this way in consequence of a prevalent
idea that the people of the South are hostile, and anything but friendly to
immigrants from the North. This is a great mistake." While the Goliad paper
feared the impact of such rumors, the Galveston paper seemed to feel the need to explain just who was welcome in Texas, for they added to the article the following:

Men who come to work, to labor, to do business, will meet with a welcome of the kindest character; but professional office-holders, who come as locusts went to Egypt, to eat out the sustenance of the people, must expect to receive the cold shoulder.

Reconstruction era struggles over political power in the state had obviously fueled this argument. It reflects at least one person's frustration at the much-exaggerated influx of so-called carpetbaggers into the state.¹²

On the whole, however, the state newspapers published articles meant to attract people to Texas. Typical of such efforts was a long running article in the Houston Telegraph entitled, "Texas. Information for Immigrants." The editors claimed the paper was constantly receiving "letters of inquiry concerning Texas" and felt the best solution was to publish a well-rounded account of the state and its advantages. By publishing such articles and filling their columns with information for potential immigrants, they were in effect advertising their own paper as a source of valuable information. They also did this in an explicit way as they put advertisements for their paper in other publications. Burke's 1875 Texas Rural Register and 1876 Texas Rural Almanac both contain examples of such efforts. A San Antonio Herald advertisement claimed its paper was "Specially devoted to furthering the interests of Texas, and giving information to seekers after homes in Texas." Another ad began "Important to Texas Emigrants. Parties desiring to remove to Texas, will find it to their advantage to send for the FORT WORTH DEMOCRAT, and post themselves about the different sections of the State." The Texas German Gazette advertised for subscribers claiming its paper was "devoted to immigration, and to the development of the agricultural and industrial resources of Harris county especially."¹³ An informal network evolving in Texas in the ten years
after the Civil War attempted to meet the perceived need for an influx of population to develop the state. The newspapers contributed to that growing network. They kept Texans aware of immigration news at home, around the country, and abroad. The papers through their enthusiasm and repetitious nature served to encourage most efforts at attracting immigrants to the state. Periodicals outside of Texas also contributed to this evolving news network. The premier example of such activity was the publication, the Texas New Yorker.

The editor of the Texas New Yorker was George H. Sweet, a one-time resident of San Antonio who enthusiastically supported the development of Texas. In New York he utilized his Texas journalistic experience to publish a monthly paper of twenty-six pages describing Texas and praising its possibilities. New York, at the time, was the center of all immigrant activity in the country and the city which dominated the financial business of the United States. The Texas New Yorker published its first issue in September 1870 and continued publication until March 1878. The bold masthead portrayed a single star with clasped hands shaking in welcome. Around the star were scenes of life in Texas, including ships loading and unloading at a wharf, a farmer walking behind a plow, and livestock grazing in the field. Just under the woodcut was the proclamation, "Devoted to making known to the Capitalist, Merchant, Mechanic, and Emigrant the Agricultural, Horticultural, Stock-raising, Manufacturing, Railroading, and other Latent Wealth of Texas."  

A wide variety of material filled the pages of the Texas New Yorker. A standard inclusion was a "Travelers' Railroad Map" of the state, usually printed on the back of four pages of news articles. Internal advertisements for the Texas New Yorker spoke directly to the main goal of the periodical. "50,000 New Subscribers wanted for the Texas New Yorker!!!...Every Live Texan should take it, and send a Copy to his relatives and friends in the Old States. If you want People, Back your
State, and make her Resources known." Sweet's scheme aimed to put 288 pages a year before the New York reading public for the subscription rate of $1.50 per annum. And obviously he anticipated that Texans at home would read and subscribe as well. George Sweet's office in New York became a focal point for material and information on Texas. The postal service provided the link between contributors and the publisher and again from the publisher back into the hands of the readers. The inter-relatedness of the immigration efforts on the part of Texas and Texans is clearly illustrated upon a study of multiple issues of the Texas New Yorker.

A running column in the Texas New Yorker was entitled "The Texas Press." Its main purpose was to provide space for laudatory letters and comments from newspapers around the state of Texas, as they observed the work of the New York paper. Typical of the statements was one from the Sherman Courier reading, "This paper is doing a great deal for Texas, and deserves our patronage,--$1.50 per annum." The listing also allowed the Texas New Yorker to stroke the Texas papers. By using their name in print, Sweet publicized their existence and efforts. Newspapers like the Victoria Advocate, the Navasota Tablet, the Waco Register, and the South-Western Index received such publicity from Sweet in his column.

Letters from subscribers and letters of inquiry repeatedly appeared in the columns of Sweet's periodical. The editor reveled in letters like one from Dr. M. D. Raiford of Smith County, Tennessee, who wrote he was "bound for Texas" and needed information, particularly information on Marshall, Texas. Sweet wrote in another issue, "We have on our table, letters from Doyleston, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania; Otsego, Allegan Co., Michigan; Level Land, Abbeville Co., South Carolina; Hopkinsville, Christian Co., Kentucky; Southport, Connecticut, and numerous other points" all wanting information on Texas. It is easy to imagine him
just rubbing his hands together gleefully and thinking what great news for the growing state of Texas. In the same vein he published a letter from a Connecticut man saying, "I have circulated your books and papers among my acquaintances and some of them who have been thinking of going West have about decided to try Texas." Diverting immigration from other states to Texas had been an effort of the Texas immigration movement from the very beginning and remained one of Sweet’s goals.  

Notes from papers in the home state and letters of inquiry reproduced verbatim helped Sweet convey his message. Contributions by Texas newspapers were another common approach to the enticement journalism practiced by Sweet. Whether these came as a direct gift of the respective Texas papers to the editor’s office or were lifted, a la typical nineteenth century journalism, is not always clear, but many articles bear this construction. Examples abound. The November 1871 issue included the following: "The Austin Democratic Statesman says: In spite of the huge taxes the administration has levied upon us, the immigration is likely to be larger this Fall than ever." The next month’s issue included an observation from the Brenham Enquirer stating, "Yesterday’s morning Gulf train brought up about 200 immigrants, mostly Germans and Bohemians. There were a good many women and children, and the immigrants look to be of the better class."  

Editorializing also gave Sweet the opportunity to praise his home state. In a front-page lead-article in May 1872, Sweet noted the existence of pauperism in New York and went on to compare the lack of same in Texas. For the Texas New Yorker the opportunities inherent in Texas for industrious young workers precluded any expectation that some people might not find the state to be their Garden of Eden. Concerning Texas’ participation in the upcoming Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, Sweet said in 1872 that the state must have an exhibit for "Nothing will so
command attention and attract capital and immigrants, as a proper interest in this thing by Texas." In an April 1872 article entitled "Concluding Remarks to Immigrants" Sweet repeated an earlier refrain encouraging the publication of correct written information so that clear headed immigrants could then decide on their future. He wrote, "We urge a spirit of inquiry...Read, learn, inquire and go and see for yourselves." Then referring to Texas, he added, "She is peopling up with a degree of rapidity unknown to any other State in America."19

The inter-relatedness of various publications in effectively working to attract immigrants can be seen repeatedly during this decade after the Civil War. The pattern especially fits the story of a periodical being published in New York by a Texan for Texans and for people all over the world who might have the penchant to immigrate to Texas. Sweet's Texas New Yorker was read in Galveston. Just how closely it was read is revealed by a Houston Telegraph editorial that began with the words, "That Bear story in the November number of The Texas New Yorker on the facts stated, is literally true, but there is a mistake in the name of the hero, for such he was. His name is James Short, and not Sharpe, as Brother Sweet has it." The bear story in the New York paper had the title "A Desperate Struggle for Life With a Texas Bear." It would obviously arouse interest in a wide variety of readers. Another example of this inter-awareness of each other's immigration efforts is illustrated in an advertisement for the Texas New Yorker. Sweet took out ads in Texas publications like the Texas State Register. The 1872 edition of the Texas State Register had a half page ad for the New York paper that hawked the value of a subscription and gave the advertising rates for the Texas New Yorker as well.20

In addition Sweet's Texas New Yorker contained columns and columns about the activity of the Texas Bureau of Immigration. The Texas bureau existed from 1870 to 1875 with Superintendent's Loeffler and Robertson respectively at its head
during that time. The Texas New Yorker was at its height of publication during those years and used the bureau and information provided by it to feather its own publication's efforts to attract immigrants to Texas. Under the title, "The Texas Immigration Fever," Sweet reported the work of Gustav Loeffler with some people from St. Louis and with a Dr. Kramer of Lusanne, Switzerland. In praise, he said, "Mr. Loeffler is working with considerable zeal in the discharge of his duties."

Several times Sweet refers to letters he has received and then notes that he will turn them over to the Bureau of Immigration for further responses. 21

The Texas bureau established and maintained an office in New York City. Sweet announced the opening of that office in March 1872 by W. H. Parsons, noting Parsons' twenty-six year residency in Texas after being "educated in the Northern States" as excellent credentials for the position. Praising Parsons "for his intimate knowledge of, and devotion to, the material interest of Texas," editor Sweet then reproduced the circular letter Parson used in his efforts to open the New York Office. In addition the Texas New Yorker published full column reports by the bureau as to transportation rates for immigrants and statistics on population flow into the state. 22 The Texas Bureau of Immigration was a small agency and the Texas New Yorker was a fledgling journal. Together they interacted and increased the influence of both.

The Texas New Yorker enthusiastically supported immigration efforts by the people of Texas and by the state government of Texas. The periodical fills a special niche in the realm of enticement literature based upon its location, but in all other ways it fits comfortably into the company of many other publications seeking to attract immigrants to Texas. George Sweet used his position as editor of the Texas New Yorker to expand his influence. In 1871 Sweet authored a book of 160 pages with the very long title Texas: Her Early History, Climate, Soil, and Material
Resources, with sketches of Eastern, Central and Western Texas, Principal Counties and Cities, also Reliable Information concerning her Present and Prospective Railroad Developments and Inducements to Immigration or the Immigrants' Hand-Book of Texas. Not surprisingly it was published in New York and was full of letters, articles, and newsy tidbits all in the tradition of his periodical. The book began with these words,

With the view of imparting the largest amount of reliable information concerning Texas, for the smallest amount of money, so as to reach all classes contemplating immigration to this Empire State of the Southwest this pamphlet is given to the public at the cost of publication.[Italics in original]

Sweet thus became one of many who added to the growing body of enticement literature all aimed at providing concrete written information to potential immigrants considering Texas as their future home.23 He did this both through the publication of the monthly journal, the Texas New Yorker, and through the booklet, Texas: Her Early History, Climate, Soil, and Material Resources.

Newspapers and journals supported the growing effort to attract new people to the lands in Texas. Almanacs of the period performed a similar service. Almanacs carried a host of information packed into one neat composite reference work. For the agriculturally oriented families of the nineteenth century, possession of an almanac was frequently as common as a Bible. Astronomical and meteorological tables, included in such documents, served as guides for planting and harvesting. In addition these sources might include lists of governmental officials, post office locations, descriptions of counties or cities, advertisements, reports by various authorities on a wide variety of subjects, as well as anecdotes and entertaining stories. Often regions of the country boasted their own particular almanac; sometimes states enjoyed almanacs specific to their borders. Texas was one of those states in which a variety of publishers collated information and printed
almanacs of various sorts. The most widely distributed and read of those Texas volumes was the Texas Almanac published by Willard Richardson of Galveston.

Richardson published his first edition in 1857 and continued to do so through 1865, although the editions during the war years were more pamphlet size than earlier efforts. Possibly the confusion and chaos at the end of the Civil War caused a short hiatus in publication, but in 1867 Richardson again was in full production, remaining so through 1873. The title of the 1869 almanac changed from earlier issues. It became the Texas Almanac and Emigrants' Guide to Texas. 24 The specific use of this title reflects accurately an essential element of the publisher's purpose. It reflects, too, the widespread acceptance by Richardson and his readers that Texas needed people and those people needed information to entice them to consider Texas as their home. While the name change only began in 1869, earlier issues also spoke to the immigrant and their needs for information. The new title in 1869 merely put up-front one main intended usage of the volume.

That the Texas Almanac was seen as a major information source for immigrants is reflected in a number of references to it in the literature of the day. Horace Greeley in one of his publications used a letter from a planter in South Carolina to his friend already settled in Texas as an illustration of southern frustration during the war years. The letter, dated January 24, 1861, read in part, "I desire you to procure for me, and send by mail, a Texas Almanac. Six months since, I felt perfectly willing to remain in South Carolina; but I can remain here no longer....I want the Almanac to see what part of Texas may suit me. I want to raise cotton principally, but must raise corn enough to do me. I cannot live here, and must get away." 25 Other examples of such need for an almanac exist. An anonymous author claiming to be "a Six Years' Resident" of the state published Western Texas, the Australia of America; or The Place to Live in 1860. In it he referred to the Texas
Almanac suggesting that the readers obtain a copy from "Mr. Richardson of the Galveston News" if they wanted more information. It "should be in the hands of everyone who thinks of going to Texas; or wants reliable information in regards to it," stated the writer. This suggestion came from a person who had already written over two hundred pages describing the advantages of migration to the western counties of Texas. Yet another booster for increasing the population of Texas was William Brady of Houston. His own almanac-like work of 1871 included a copy of a lecture given to Houstonians on the subject of European emigration by the Reverend Father Nugent of Liverpool, England. This lecturer related how difficult it had been to obtain reading information about Texas, even though he looked for the same while traveling throughout the United States. "He had searched the book stalls for some work on Texas, but found none till his arrival in New Orleans," where he purchased the Texas Almanac of 1869.

Not only did others see the Texas Almanac as a helpful tool for the immigrant, but the publisher clearly printed a similar intent in the pages of the book. An 1868 preface to the Almanac read in part,

As the circulation of our Almanac now extends far beyond the limits of Texas, and is greatly sought after, not only throughout the Southern States, but through a large portion of the West and North, as well as in several countries in Europe, we have devoted a larger space than usual to descriptions of Texas in detail....and those ordering large quantities, to aid in promoting immigration to Texas, will be liberally dealt with.

A later issue included sections headed "How to Find a Home in Western Texas," "Answers to Inquiries About Texas," and "Advantages of Texas Compared with Those of Georgia and Alabama." Packed full of testimonials, the Almanac also included a complete copy of the new state constitution and short accounts of the state's history including the story of the Alamo's Fall.
A close connection between the Galveston Daily News and the Texas Almanac existed throughout the years. Willard Richardson was the publisher of both and his office at the newspaper served as a communication hub for obtaining any and all information about the state. Richardson knew the people to contact for information and encouraged their participation in his publications. In addition to personal appeals for articles, he published in the News a "circular" asking for help in putting the Almanac together. In a process he claimed to have repeated yearly, he wrote in August of 1868, "We will here briefly refer to some of the subjects upon which we shall be thankful for correct information, which will be published in such form as directed by the author." He then mentioned that "a copy of the Almanac and Map will be sent free to each contributor." The resulting compilation of information thus had multiple authors. One historian suggests that this fact embellishes for the twentieth-century reader the value of the Almanacs, for "These contributors lived in all parts of the state. They contributed grass roots data accompanied usually by opinion of the straight-from-the-shoulder variety." The Almanac was truly a collated volume of information. A reading of its pages suggests clearly that many around the state loved their homes and in turn wanted other people to see the potential available in settling in Texas.

Richardson published the Almanac as a business venture and he utilized the columns of the Galveston Daily News to accomplish and enhance the various issues of the Almanac. In an August 30, 1867, News article entitled "The Texas Almanac" he agonized over the failure of most subscribers to pay for the copies of the Almanac already distributed throughout the state and claimed an anticipated loss of "several thousand dollars" for this year's issue. He stated flatly that future issues would only be sent upon receipt of payment. Frustrated, he then set about to toot his own horn. Referring to the Almanac he stated, "we confidently believe it has done more to
bring immigration to the State than all our legislation during the same time, and in
this opinion we think most [of] our intelligent readers will agree with us.\textsuperscript{31}

Richardson saw the \textit{Texas Almanac} as a help to the immigrant who would be
a farmer. The book was not meant to attract immigrants to the growing cities of the
state. With that in mind he appealed to those who were knowledgeable around the
state to submit articles. Noting that the previous year "we gave a full description of
all the counties in the State, so as to enable the immigrant to better determine what
portion of the State is best suited to the products he proposes to cultivate," he now
called for more specific, concrete information about the farming itself. He wrote,
"Our soil and climate require a different mode of cultivation from that to which most
of our immigrants are accustomed, a different period for planting and sowing, and a
different time and different mode of harvesting." So, encouraging participation from
experienced farmers, he asked for information on,

The time for preparing the ground, the depth of plowing, the proper
kind of plow, the teams required, the other agricultural implements to
be used, whether the crop should be sown or drilled, or planted in rows
both ways, the distance between the rows, what kind of cultivator is
the best, ....

and the list went on filling up the rest of the column.\textsuperscript{32} The central actor to the
writers of all the almanacs of the late nineteenth century in Texas remained the
farmer and by extension the farmer's family.

Another dimension of the \textit{Texas Almanac} was its role in describing the
political conditions of the time. A review of the 1870, 1871, and 1872 \textit{Almanacs}
helps to clarify this point. Richardson chose to reproduce the newly adopted
constitution in full in his 1870 edition. This 1869 constitution was instrumental in
the process providing for Texas' readmission to the Union following the disruption of
the post-Civil War years. So its adoption marked a milestone event in the eyes of
most Texans. Richardson followed the next year with an extensive overview of the
laws passed by the Twelfth Legislature in 1870. In justification for such coverage, he wrote, "All our laws have been entirely changed and are now very imperfectly understood by a large majority of our people." His decision seems directed both to a concern for the current residents of the state and for the knowledge of future immigrants to Texas. In the 1872 edition of the Texas Almanac, Richardson made reference to "our unstable and revolutionary condition, politically." In addition he shares a very personal disappointment arising from that chaotic political situation. He wrote in 1872,

We had hoped that the devotion of so large a part of this work to the great cause of immigration, would have induced our Legislature to order a few thousand copies for distribution in those countries where such information could not fail to add many thousands to the number of immigrants now seeking a home in Texas. But all such hopes have thus far been disappointed. It is true, we have now an immigration Bureau, and we believe a very competent man placed at the head of it. But no adequate means have been placed in his hands to enable him to give aid or even information and encouragement to immigrants. While other new States are distributing books and pamphlets gratuitously all over Europe, by means of which they secure thousands of immigrants annually, our State has practically done nothing as yet.

Richardson's disheartening assessment of the Texas legislature shows first his dashed hopes for the distribution of his special publication, the Almanac. But it also demonstrates the struggle in Texas at the time over taxes and expenditures for the state agencies set up by the constitution.

Richardson's lament included in the preface to the 1872 edition does not identify Gustav Loeffler by name. However, he does label the superintendent of the Bureau of Immigration a "very competent man" and includes later in the edition an article about the immigration bureau. Loeffler was part of the communication web centered at the Galveston Daily News office of Willard Richardson. This can be seen by Richardson's reference to Loeffler having "kindly placed at our disposal the
answers he has received from sixty-five counties to his circulars asking for information." Richardson utilized such information in the pages of his newspaper and his almanac. But he also bemoaned the fact that the state agency was "left almost totally helpless, for the want of an adequate appropriation to enable him [Loeffler] to send abroad the valuable information at his command."35

The Almanac also broadcast a recurring theme in enticement literature. Richardson wrote, "All that is necessary to secure thousands of immigrants annually, is to give them correct information of the advantages offered by this highly favored State."36 The various boosters would be saying in effect: Get it published for the reader far and wide. That seems to be the message of journalists, superintendents of governmental agencies, and writers of many persuasions. Their faith in words and the subsequent decision-making skills of the readers propelled their unending insistence on publishing solid, clear information. It is easy to see the Texas Almanac throughout the period from the Civil War to 1873 as one kind of this enticement literature.

Other almanacs or almanac-like books also fit comfortably into this genre. Albert Hanford in what he labels "the sixth number published since the surrender" forcefully promoted the publication of his work, the Texas State Register for the Year of our Lord 1872. He claimed in its pages to have been "the means of inducing more good men to visit the State than any other private individual." The 96-page booklet was full of advertisements addressed to potential merchants, traders, and consumers in Texas. The layout of the book consisted of left-hand pages full of information with right-hand pages full of advertisements. The ads made it possible for Hanford to present the State Register "for gratuitous distribution," and in booster fashion he stated that "no other State offers such superior inducements to
the immigrant, whether farmer or mechanic, for the easy acquisition of competence and wealth." Hanford’s book said enthusiastically, "Come to Texas."37

While this author has not found a copy of the earlier volumes of Hanford’s efforts, copies of the Texas Register for 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1879 were available and these later issues indicate a sustained interest in providing information for the potential immigrant. The format changed somewhat with informational columns filling both sides of each page and ads interspersed infrequently or collected in the rear of the volume. The 1876 issue claimed that the "demand for Our Register has increased so much outside of Texas, that we have dropped many of the advertisements, and enlarged the work to make it THE EMIGRANTS' GUIDE TO TEXAS, and offer it for sale at a very moderate charge." The charge was 25 cents without a map and 50 cents with a map. Hanford maintained a Galveston post office box for correspondence but also noted that the book was printed in New York and letters after the first of May ought to be addressed to the New York office. These later yearly issues did include much more specific, concrete information of interest to the immigrant. Excerpts from Texas laws, listings of mineral resources, discussions of Texas weather, and farming calendars filled the pages. The 1876 edition also listed J. B. Robertson as "Immigration Agent for the State" just about the time when his position was being eliminated by a new state constitution.38

In 1877 the price of the Texas Register increased to 30 cents or 75 cents if the map was included. It was also the first time a listing by counties was adopted, much in the tradition of the earlier Texas Almanac editions. The 1877 issue consisted of 168 pages, reflecting its continued growth in size over the years. "The more Texas is known the better it will be liked," wrote Hanford, and he seemed bent on making Texas better known. The following year the size remained the same, but the price of the book without a map increased to 35 cents. Additional counties were included in
this 1878 issue with the suggestion that back copies of the register with earlier information on other counties were available from the publisher for only one dollar. Later issues indicate the Texas Register continued to address the needs of people migrating to Texas. Within the pages of these various editions, a fuller knowledge of the publisher's motivation evolves through advertisements for his "Celebrated Purified Whiskey" and the Texas Land Agency of which he seems to be the primary agent. Attracting immigrants to Texas remained a primary interest for Albert Hanford, but his publications also pointed to the business side of this venture. As with Richardson and the Texas Almanac, Hanford seemed to combine both purposes well.

Yet another almanac existed at this time in Texas and spoke to the potential market for such publications. Its first issue of 1875 seems more like an undisguised 161-page advertisement booklet. It was poorly edited in terms of providing good concrete helpful information to immigrants, but since Richardson's Texas Almanac had suspended publication by this time (his last issue had been 1873), it seemed to fill a need. The title page for this book identifies it as the Texas Rural Register and Immigrants' Hand Book for 1875 and states it was "Compiled from Various Sources by J. Burke, Jr." The 1879 edition held the title Burke's Texas Almanac and Immigrant's Hand Book for 1879. There were breaks in publication in the years 1877 and 1884 with the last edition published in 1885.

Although this series of almanacs straddles the later years of the 1870s and moves us past our arbitrary 1876 date, it does help illustrate several points of the enticement literature of the day. The author of the Texas Rural Almanac for 1876 lists himself, along with his associate E. H. Vasmer, as "Publishers of Texas Maps and Immigration Pamphlets." While this is in itself an advertising statement, it also points to the extensive use of maps at this time to help describe and define the
state. This 1876 issue included the map work of R. Roessler, a noted geologist who had participated in the 1871 U.S. Geological Survey of Texas. The reference also suggests a multiplicity of immigration pamphlets already on the market, for the reader would need some reference point to understand the meaning of the pronouncement—"Immigration Pamphlets." 41

Burke as well as Richardson and Hanford before him viewed his work as crucial to the population growth of the state, and all of them were all willing to take such credit, even if it meant stating the case for their achievements themselves. Burke wrote about the increased population of Texas in his 1876 issue with the statement that "Fully two hundred thousand people from other States have found houses among us during this year. They have come from every quarter of the Union, and from Europe." Referring then to his Almanac, he wrote in a slightly modest tone, "we feel assured that it has been instrumental in bringing some, at least, of the thousands who have found homes with us during the past year." 42 Such announcements serve to plug the importance of the book so that potential advertisers will come on board in subsequent editions, but it also speaks to the inner sense of what the compiler felt he was doing through all his energy and work.

These almanacs were clearly documents intended to reach farmers. The subject matter dealing with rural concerns points to this, as also does the editorializing evident in some of the short articles included in the books. An especially light-hearted appeal for farmers can be found in the 1876 edition of Burke's Almanac under the title "The Class of People Most Wanted in Texas." After suggesting that the country has more doctors than it needs, the author then attacked other professionals.

We have nine times too many lawyers. The State could well afford to make a "big swap," and trade off seven-eighths of her lawyers for Northern farmers, at the rate of forty lawyers for one farmer, and
make "big money" by the exchange....We have all the clerks, counter
hoppers, book-keepers, lawyers, doctors and deadheads the country
can well support, and we can not advise any more to came. But we do
want, and must have, farmers. We have plenty of room, and will
gladly welcome within our borders five million good farmers. [Italics
in the original]43

The effort to entice people to settle in Texas may have concentrated in the cities of
Houston and Galveston where these various almanacs were published, but their
message was ultimately directed to the common farmer from everywhere to come
and settle on the lands throughout the state.

The 1875 edition of Burke's Almanac contains two unusual items, that this
author has not seen replicated in other enticement literature of the time. In an ad
for the Texas Rural Register itself, listing advertising rates and publication dates for
the coming year, Burke makes an interesting offer.

"We invite contributions for the next number, and offer as SPECIAL
INDUCEMENTS, the following Premiums; For the best article on
Stock-Raising in Texas--One English Double barrel laminated steel
SHOT GUN, valued at $50.00; For the best article on the
Transplanting and Growing of Forest Trees on Prairies Land--In
currency, $25.00." [Italics in the original]

A similar proposal is not made in the following edition and no mention is made of
any reply to these propositions, so one wonders what kind of response Burke got to
his offers. Guns for words was his ploy. Burke thus presented an intriguing
marketing approach.44

In yet another advertisement, a lottery was proclaimed by J. E. Foster, a
land agent based in Houston. The full page ad began with the heading, "Foster's
Land Agency, and Bureau of Emigration, the Oldest Land Agency in Houston, Tex."
The following text offered land for sale or rent throughout Texas in sizes for small
farms or large colonies. Then a typical brag was included.

During the past five months I have advertised in nearly 2,000
newspapers, distributed 4000 maps of Texas, and 4000 pamphlets
descriptive of Texas. My EMIGRATION BUREAU is supplied with
maps of Texas, pamphlets, circulars, etc., affording all the information the emigrant needs, with an efficient corps of clerks to answer letters, and furnish all information asked for.

This is followed by the announcement that on March 3, 1875, a drawing will be held for $25,000 in Gold, and $175,000 in Real Estate. Tickets were $3.00 each. Land, immigrants, and lottery all rolled up in one package were offered to those who responded by sending for information to J. E. Foster in Houston Texas. This announcement called the event "Foster's Second Real Estate and Gold Drawing." Without further information about either of these drawings, it is interesting to speculate on exactly what happened in each case. The lures presented in these two advertisements were surely extremes attempted by highly imaginative marketing individuals. Whether they were successful or not, they can be viewed as examples of the wide variety available in enticement literature of the day.

The almanacs in general, because of their expected yearly publication dates, suggest the belief that information must be up-dated regularly in order to keep the reader current. They can be seen as one type of written material, fitting on the continuum somewhere between the daily or weekly pages of a booster newspaper and the typically one-time pamphlet published by a land agency or railroad company. Almanacs in their more journalistic pattern consisted of odds and ends loosely tied together by a slender thread. The interest of readers in the happenings and doings around the state fueled the publication of these works. The almanacs also demonstrate the typically dual purpose motivating publication of most of these books. The business interest of the publisher, (i.e., make money, publish books, develop an enterprise) meshed with the message within the covers of the publication. When the words said in effect, "we hope you come to Texas," the activity of publishing the book also said "thanks for supporting me in my endeavor at making a living."
While almanacs had a standard format and typically included the same subject matter no matter who the publisher, a multitude of other documents of the era served to entice immigrants to Texas but do not fit into any such clear pattern. As these documents are read by contemporary scholars the primary question remains, "Who wrote this document? and why was it published?" If we make the assumption that the material was published to attract people into moving to Texas, the question then goes a level deeper to ask what other motive did the person or organization have in attracting immigrants to the state? Sometimes this is easily identified. For example, John W. Forney is the author of a 92-page book entitled *What I Saw in Texas*. It was published in Philadelphia in 1872. On first appearances it would seem to be typical of the travel literature of the day where a northerner goes south, observes activities around him, and reports for a newspaper or journal in the North. As one delves deeper into the pages, it becomes apparent however, that Forney is traveling as a companion to Thomas Scott, president of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Scott's goal in visiting Louisiana and Texas is to consolidate business with urban communities along the designated future roadway of the railroad. Forney's task then became publicist for the trip and recorder of events for later publication to interest others in the work of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Other documents do not so easily explain themselves upon a reading by the contemporary scholar.

*Texas: Its Climate, Soil, Productions, Trade, Commerce, and Inducements for Emigration* reads the title of a 34-page pamphlet with no identifiable author. Published in New York by Martin & Fulkerson Stationers in 1870, the title page includes a woodcut of an official-looking state seal with its single star and laurel leaves and the notation "Fifth Edition." The inside written material has a light journalistic tone and begins under a subheading "The Paradise of the South." In
time and with continued reading it became clear that the pamphlet is a poorly put
together group of letters from a "correspondent" to the New York Sun. The
newspaper thus served as the focal point receiving and publishing the letters of J.
M. Morphis, all of which deal with the subject of Texas. This format thus allowed a
dialogue via letters with a number of people asking questions that Morphis
answered. Texas comes out the winner in this interchange as Morphis relates a
multitude of positives to be experienced for those living in Texas. But the scholar of
today would still be asking, why did the Sun choose to reproduce these pages from
their newspaper or was it in fact someone else using the Sun material as a vehicle to
dispense information?

Other publications of the time fit the pattern of this enticement literature.
One excellent example of this genre with an 1871 date is entitled Glimpses of Texas:
Its Divisions, Resources, Development and Prospects. The author was William
Brady, a real estate broker located in Houston. In this publication over seventy
pages of text describing Texas, agriculturally and commercially, precede another
thirty-plus pages of advertisements as well as land listings for Brady's firm. A
smaller document of only twenty-seven pages presents all the alluring features of
Texas and then simply refers the reader to Catlin, McCarty & Co., located at 71
Broadway, New York. Entitled A Few Practical Remarks About Texas, this book
ends with a ringing "Appeal":

Flee ye hither ye oppressed and homeless of other lands, here you
receive a welcome from all, with land enough and homes for all who
seek them, on our broad and rolling prairies. Here the virgin soil lies
basking in the rays of Sol, inviting the husbandman, the fore-runner
of civilization, to occupy the lands so lately vacated by the
"Comanche," the Buffalo and Antelope, to plant the seeds of other
lands and reap his reward of wealth which will spring as if by magic
from her lap.
Such effusive language, meant to stir the potential immigrant to change, was also admittedly "done through a pure and high motive, that of bringing our rich and desirable lands in this section before the world, offering the emigrant and wanderer a good home and at a low price." McCarty was a real estate developer singing the praises of Texas and its available lands.50

Another publication of this time period entitled *Texas. Information for Emigrants* was published in Tennessee and authored by H. C. Mack. The preface explains that the work "has been done in the interest of numerous friends and acquaintances desiring information preparatory to emigration," but no clear indication of a deeper motivation appears. Nor is there any concrete sense from a reading of the full 207 page (a document which the author calls "our pamphlet") as to the ulterior motive of the those paying for the publication. The work is very supportive of railroad development in the state, but this was a typical opinion held by many in 1869. Mack includes most of the common topics of such enticement literature. He divides Texas into southern, eastern, and north-western sections and provides ample descriptions of all three areas. He presents information on the geological features of the state, its history, healthfulness, and climate. The work provides no internal evidence suggesting how it was distributed or how many copies were published. While we have no sure sense of motivation, the document has a fascinating approach in its first fifteen pages. The author addresses the potential immigrant on a very personal level, sharing concerns and considerations in moving as if talking with a friend or neighbor. Mack suggests a sort of mid-life assessment for each person.

Your labor supplies the wants and necessities of a rising family, but...your children are rapidly pushing forward to assume their positions upon the arena of life; the rigid exactions of society and the consuming taxations of fashion, well-nigh or may be entirely cancel your income, and the twilight of age is rapidly paleing your
countenance, and the question presents itself as to what you had better do to improve the circumstances and amend the condition of your family in life.

Such inward soul-searching suggested by the author leads him ultimately to the rest of his book in which he details all the advantages of selecting Texas. Texas becomes the ultimate place to put one's hopes for those later years of life. Mack's approach thus incorporates a detailed balance sheet of reasons for migrating anywhere. It then lays out all the information to help the immigrant make a decision to the advantage of Texas.51

Although Texas. Information for Emigrants seems to have no clear underwriter, other written material much more explicitly identifies its motivating force. A good example of such specifically directed enticement literature is an eighteen-page document entitled Circular of the Texas Colonization. Land & Trust Company, with a Brief Description of Texas, Northwestern Texas and Young County. The title page includes the phrase, "Mailed Free to Any Address" and provides the location of its several offices. The pamphlet announces clearly its purpose. It has been chartered by the state government "and co-operating with the 'State Bureau of Immigration,' has been organized for the purpose of advancing the interests of settlers, and developing the rich territory of North-Western Texas...particularly the county of Young and counties adjacent thereto."52

There is definitely no confusion as to motivation of the publishers. They also try to give their company a sense of authority and permanence for the last pages of the document list references including five people from New York City and another much longer list from Texas. The Texas reference list is revealing, for it includes Edmund J. Davis, listed as the late governor of the state, J. W. Throckmorton, one-time governor of Texas serving currently as the Land Commissioner of the Texas and Pacific Railway Company, and Senators Wood and Erath. It also lists J. B.
Robertson as a reference, giving him the title of Superintendent of the "Bureau of Immigration of the State of Texas." One page earlier in the document, fifteen men are listed as "Principal Agencies" for the Texas Colonization, Land & Trust Company. One of those listed is Gustav Loeffler, "late" Bureau of Immigration Superintendent. The inclusion of both superintendents, one appointed under a Republican governor and the other selected by a Democratic chief of state, lends an interesting twist to this pamphlet's efforts at credentialing itself. It also points to the political associations of the company as well as its connection with the growing railway systems of the state.53

While the brief pamphlet includes some concrete information about Texas, its laws, and opportunities, it encourages those wanting more information to send 50 cents to the agency for the purchase of an unnamed pamphlet and map, claiming this second pamphlet "will be of infinite more value than all the information that can be imparted by letter." Current scholars might wish that the circular had named this supplemental pamphlet, but we can only wonder as to the reference.54

In the later portion of the nineteenth century, many developing towns and cities in Texas published small brochures as booster documents for their community. Multiple examples of such booster literature exist in the period from 1880 to 1914 and beyond. While rare for the earlier period of 1865 to 1876, one example proclaiming the advantages of its city to the new settler exists and was simply titled, Austin, The Capital of Texas and Travis County. The document is interesting for a variety of reasons. First, since it emphasizes the city of Austin it has moved somewhat away from the enticement literature that more exclusively spoke of getting farmers for the country side. Secondly, the sixteen-page document uses quite effusive language in a style different from other publications of the time. In it Texas is a land of "sensuous matchless beauty" with "rolling plains and dusky
forests...and sandy parks through which birds of paradise vie with the stray sunbeams in gleaming beauty." And finally it concludes with a full-page advertisement for the Texas Land and Immigration Company of St. Louis as a real estate agent for the entire state of Texas. This commercialization seems to come from out of nowhere and to immediately broaden the emphasis of the publication. In any case, the reader is drawn back to the knowledge that enticement literature almost always served two purposes--attracting immigrants to their locale and meeting the business needs of the people paying for the publication.

A wide variety of enticement literature exists for the period from 1865 to 1876. So far this study has looked at representative newspapers, a variety of almanacs, as well as several documents published by land developers or real estate agencies. The presence of such a variety of published material all dealing with efforts to attract people to Texas is in and of itself clear testimony to the strong desire for immigration to Texas by Texans. The development of transportation systems across the wide expanses of Texas influenced tremendously the growth of the state's population. While the major extension of railroads happened in the post-1876-time frame, some of the railroads in the earlier period used written material to stimulate their business.

Railroads spread their web across Texas in the years after the Civil War. Sometimes haltingly, sometimes with the speed of their own locomotives, the bands of iron and steel moved across the vast territory of Texas. Railroads, both stimulated immigration and were stimulated by this influx of people. Just as the Bureau of Immigration during the early 1870s used the written word to foster immigration, so also did the railroads. Just as letters sent and received, encouraged people to consider emigrating to Texas, so also did time schedules, maps, and various pamphlets published by the railway agencies. Just as individuals worked in
positions labeled Superintendent or Commissioner of Immigration, so also did the railway companies hire and fund passenger and emigration agents to facilitate the flow of people across their lines. This valuing of the written word distributed far and wide remained central to all efforts to entice people to move to Texas. It also played a big part in railroad publications of this era—1865-1876.

One common effort by the railroad companies was the publication of a map locating the route of the railroad and the adjacent lands. Folded into a small pocket-size pamphlet, the back of the map would be full of information for anyone riding over that line. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway (MK&T RR) published in 1876 such a pamphlet under the label, Free Guide to Texas. Calling their road through the "Beautiful Indian Territory" to Denison, Texas, "The Emigrant's Route," the railway advertised its cheap rates, departure times, and advantages to travelers from the North and Northwest.57

The cost of travel remained a central concern for all immigrants. The MK&T RR offered special rates. In this same brochure the railway listed $25.00 as the first class rate from St. Louis or Hannibal, Missouri, to Denison, Texas, with a side by side listing of emigrant rates for the same route. The $12.50 listed as "Emigrant rate" from Missouri to Denison, Texas, thus appeared to be a real bargain. Additional charges would move the immigrant on into the center of the state to such terminals as Corsicana, Waco, Bryan, Hempstead, Austin, and San Antonio. The map/sheet noted an extra baggage bonus for the emigrant ticket holder. Each ticket holder was entitled to 200 pounds of baggage free of charge in contrast to the First Class ticket holder who was allowed only 100 pounds free luggage. Such an unusual flip in the expected, may have caught the attention of many prospective travelers. The brochure also listed freight rates on household goods by the pound or by the railroad car. Special provisions for live stock existed as the road allowed a man
caring for and traveling with the animals to ride at no additional charge. Thus the railroad was advertising itself as the moving van of the time. They offered cheap rates for people, freight, and animals. They offered the convenience of one-stop trip-planning.\footnote{58}

Other railroads also published maps and information for prospective immigrants. The Houston and Texas Central Railroad (H&TC RR) issued an 1876 Revised Map of the State of Texas. While their marketing approach did not match that of the MK&T RR with its flashy Free Guide to Texas, they did proclaim the services of their special Passenger and Emigration Agent located in St. Louis. In the agent's office, "will be found correct and detailed maps of every county in the state, to-gether with price of land, location and rates of fare and routes to Texas." This emphasis on an office with an agent was also a common feature of late nineteenth century companies working to bring people to southern or western states. Such offices were seen as a distributing spot for written material for people on the move. In this case, the railroad latched on to a special man to do the job--General J. B. Robertson. Robertson had served from 1874 to 1876 as the second superintendent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration and thus was admirably suited to this new position. Robertson, in the employ of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad, functioned in similar fashion to earlier agents of the Texas Bureau of Immigration that had resided in St. Louis.\footnote{59} The relationship--immigration and transportation--is an obvious one and merely continues a connection going way back in time.

The MK&T RR served Texas actively by attracting new people to Texas. The 1877 edition of their brochure expanded to twenty-six full pages and minimized the map emphasis by reducing the map to one page. Still using the catchy heading, "\textit{FREE!}" the pamphlet was designed to be handed out liberally to anyone requesting
information about Texas. In stiff competition with other railroad lines, the MK&T used their "free" informational brochures to attract business to their road.\textsuperscript{60}

In this way railroad publications served two purposes. They were advancing the interest of their company in developing all the potential inherent in the railroad. At the same time they were providing immigrants concrete written information to facilitate not only their travel to a new place, but also their decision-making process on where to locate. Railroad brochures, maps, and time schedules thus belong to that larger category of material we have labeled enticement literature. A few other examples exist of such railroad endeavors.

One railroad pamphlet of fifty pages belonged to the Texas and Pacific Railway (T&P RR). Entitled \textit{Notes on Texas}, it also served as a resource for the first Superintendent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration. Loeffler admitted using it to dispense information in the period before the state funded the Bureau's own document for attracting immigrants. The T&P RR was headquartered in Pennsylvania. Six of the eight men on the Board of Directors were Pennsylvania residents. One other was from New York and the eighth member was J. W. Throckmorton from Marshall, Texas, one-time governor of Texas.

Though not a Texas-based company, the T&P RR saw their future in the future of Texas. The first ten pages of their pamphlet provided the history of the rail line as well as showing the expectations they felt would follow the completion of the railroad line. For example, they wrote, "Such a cloud of hardy immigrants will follow upon the heels of the track-layers, as speedily to dispose of the Indian question, in the interest of humanity, civilization and progress." Confident of their purpose and their potential, the pamphlet is really a sales document for support of the Texas and Pacific Railway. The last twenty pages, labeled as an appendix, bears the subheading "General Facts, Useful to Newly Arrived Immigrants and
Those Contemplating Emigration." It is chock full of practical information and of course emphasizes the connection of the railroads in the state.61

In yet another example of railroad enticement literature, the Galveston, Harrisburg, San Antonio Railway Company prepared a document of 120 pages in 1876. The cover sported the title Immigrants Guide to Western Texas while the inside title page reads A Description of Western Texas and credits M. Whilldin with compiling the work. The narrative in the book follows the line of the railroad, reading as a description of what one would see looking out the window as the train passed from Galveston to San Antonio. Profusely illustrated with woodcuts, the effort of the words and pictures together is to help the reader literally "see" the rail route in their mind's eye. In a technique more common of the era, the compiler admitted, "In preparing this work, recourse has been freely had to the labors of all who have written on Texas." Then he lists such works as Yokum's History, the Texas Almanac, the Texas New Yorker, and "the publications of the State Commissioner of Immigration, General Robertson."62

In an interesting opportunity for comparison, the same company published a similar document with the cover title Immigrants Guide to Western Texas, Sunset Route. Internal evidence would suggest 1876 as the date of this publication. Publication dates are not the only thing they have in common. For although the one document is 120 pages long and the other is only 54 pages, many paragraphs from the longer document can be found verbatim in the shorter version, including the introductory paragraph.63 This happens repeatedly in the history of railroad publications. Frequently without any identifiable author, the brochures and pamphlets indiscriminately borrowed from each other and from other printed material of the day.
Railroads became more and more important to the immigration movement as they constructed additional miles of track into and throughout the state. Bryant's Railroad Guide is yet another publication, fitting within the framework of enticement literature, but solely promoting the railroad as the central focus for all business. Calling itself, "The only Newsy Railroad Guide in the World!" it had a yearly subscription rate of $1.50. With 130 pages printed quarterly, it claimed it could do a better job than a traveling commissioner of immigration if it were only distributed throughout the southern and old northwestern states. As with other enticement literature, Bryant's Railroad Guide was not hesitant to pat itself on the back for its work towards attracting immigration. Bryant wrote,

"we have answered hundreds of letters of inquiry by parties from diverse sections of the country, who were contemplating a home under the genial beams of our Lone Star; and beyond any reasonable doubt, we have contributed more than our quota of influence to swell the might current of immigration that has transferred over one million souls across our threshold during the past ten years."

Thus following in the footsteps of Richardson, and Hanford, and Burke, Bryant saw himself as a major contributor to the immigration effort.64

All of these people who published documents encouraging immigrants to come to Texas forcefully presented their view of Texas. Out of their words evolved images of Texas meant to attract new people to its borders. Today's scholar must also take note of the multiplicity of such enticement literature and subsequently be aware of this concerted effort to influence population movement into the state.
1 Galveston Daily News, September 14, 1865, pp. 2 and 3. Hereinafter this newspaper will be listed as GDN.

2GDN, August 30, 1867, p. 1; Awareness of European interest can be seen in such articles as one published by Flake's Bulletin on January 2, 1866. Entitled "The Late Confederate States as a Field for Emigration," it was lifted from the Liverpool Daily Post. The English paper stated that the South was "the best field toward which to direct the energies of emigrants of almost every class." The article concluded with the statement, "In short, all who are active and able and willing to work, will find delightful settlement, and ample, as well as profitable employment, in the Southern States of North America." Such statements surely influenced Texans to look toward enterprises designed to attract those emigrants to Texas.

3GDN, August 8, 1868, p. 2; see also GDN, July 5, 1867, p. 2; Houston Telegraph, November 18, 1871, p. 8.

4GDN, May 7, 1870, p. 3.

5GDN, March 4, 1874, p. 2.

6Waxahachie Argus as quoted in GDN, August 13, 1868, p. 3; Belton Journal as quoted in Houston Telegraph, October 27, 1871, p. 3; Gonzales Inquirer as quoted in Houston Telegraph, November 1, 1871, p. 4. The Calvert Enterprise noted the changes in the country around Calvert by observing on January 4, 1870, "A large portion of it is now being filled up with an industrious, hardy, intelligent and enterprising population." See quotation in The Mortgage Bonds, (7 per cent. Gold or 8 per cent. Currency) of the New Orleans, Mobile and Texas Railroad Company ([New York: Kennard & Hay, n.d.]).

Observations about immigration movement most frequently dealt with the people going from place to place. Sometimes, however, the journalists also noted the influx of machinery and potential for development supplementary to agriculture. The San Antonio Express reported the movement of immigrants from Indiana "with some blooded stock, a steam engine, machinery for a saw and grist mill, etc., to be put in operation at Mason." See GDN, May 5, 1870, p. 2.

7Houston Telegraph, October 20, 1869, p. 5; November 26, 1869, p. 5; December 7, 1869, p. 5, January 8, 1870, p. 5.

8Houston Telegraph, October 26, 1871, p. 2 and p. 5; October 27, 1871, p. 5.

9Houston Telegraph, December 7, 1869, p. 4; Similar inclusive calls for immigration existed elsewhere. For example, the Texas New Yorker in October 1872 printed a front page "Circular for the Texas Emigrant Association of Grimes County." In it the association stated, "What we need is more people...good, industrious people--no other kind....Of whatever civilized State or country you may be, come! We have no prejudices, so that you come to be with us, and of us."

10Houston Telegraph, October 20, 1869, p. 5; November 2, 1871, p. 4.
11*Houston Telegraph*, October 26, 1871, p. 6.

12*GDN*, February 24, 1871; The News in this article was merely repeating a theme enunciated many times before. For example, in a short untitled article on August 13, 1868, p. 2 the News proclaimed that many of the Galveston and Texas citizens were originally "men of Northern birth." The article decried efforts by "carpet-baggers" to convey to others a report that southerners don't like northerners. The newspaper said that since the motives of carpetbag movement to Texas were suspect, their claims for negative treatment should be disregarded. The News in a possible reflection of typical Texan belief stated that it is assumed if a northerners resided a year in the South, "everyone of them would be quite as Southern as anybody else." How widespread such a feeling was may be debatable, but those supporting immigration of whatever sort seemed to act upon such a belief.

13*Houston Telegraph*, November 8, 1871, p. 6; *Texas Rural Register*, 1875, pp. 84-85; *Texas Rural Almanac*, 1876, p. 136.

14Masthead description comes from an October 1871 copy of the *Texas New Yorker*—the earliest extant issue available to this author. Since the masthead remained the same through at least October 1872, this author assumes it changed little over the eight year existence of the paper. Future study would be necessary to ascertain changes in the publication over the longer period of time.

15*Texas New Yorker*, October 1871. Hereinafter cited as TNY.

16*TNY*, November 1871, p. 50; January 1872, p. 102.

17*TNY*, May 1872, pp. 198 and 210; July 1872, p. 248.

18*TNY*, November 1871, p. 51; December 1871, p. 75.

19*TNY*, May 1872, p. 193; June 1872, p. 234; April 1872, p. 183.

20*Houston Telegraph*, November 19, 1871, p. 8; *TNY*, November 1871, p. 52; *Texas State Register*, 1872, p. 45.


22*TNY*, March 1872, pp. 161 and 152.


24Stuart McGregor, "The Texas Almanac, 1857-1873," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 50 (April 1947): 419-421, 427. The next issue of this almanac after 1873 was in 1904 when interestingly a change in title reflects a change in emphasis for the publication. The 1904 volume became the *Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide*, a name which remains through to the present yearly editions. See non-paginated Introduction by Walter Moore to the volume *The Texas


29Parallels exist between George Sweet and Willard Richardson and their respective efforts at attracting immigration to Texas. Both men had extensive backgrounds in the field of journalism. As it turned out they both edited a newspaper—Sweet's the Texas New Yorker based in New York and Richardson the Galveston Daily News published in Galveston, Texas. That editorial position provided a geographic location to serve as a hub of communication that helped fuel other endeavors at producing written information. The daily News funneled information into the Texas Almanac and the Texas New Yorker made information available for the publication of Sweet's pamphlet on Texas and its resources. The extent of the immigration network in Texas was thus magnified by the efforts of each man and their respective approaches to broadcasting the promise inherent in Texas.

30GDN, August 4, 1868, p. 1; McGregor, "Texas Almanac," 426.

31GDN, August 30, 1867, p. 4. Building on his work of the previous years, in 1868 Richardson promoted the upcoming Texas Almanac. Advertising rates varied from $100. for a full page to $20. for one eighth page. He sold the book for 50 cents including a "large map of the state," but also offered a discount of 100 copies for $35., i.e. 35 cents each. See GDN, August 2, 1868, p. 3.

32GDN, August 30, 1867, p. 4.

33It might be noted at this point that the Texas Almanac served a multiple number of roles. In this author's attempt to point to the Texas Almanac as a tool or example of enticement literature, it is important not to neglect the fact that the book met many other needs for current Texans. The Almanac served a useful, concrete purpose in keeping resident Texans up-to-date with the latest information on farming and even on state governmental services.

34Texas Almanac, 1872, Preface, not paginated.

35Texas Almanac, 1872, Preface and pp. 149-151.

30Texas Almanac, 1872, p. 150.
Not all almanacs were oriented toward the immigrant. J. C. Raymond's Texas Almanac, for the Use of Farmers, Stock-Raisers, Merchants and Mechanics, 1873 was a small booklet (fifty pages) devoted to planting, astrological signs, and various pharmaceutical products. No information specifically addressed to immigrants or to those concerned with transportation was included. This type of almanac, however, seems to be the exception, not the rule.

Texas State Register, 1876, pp. 3, 56-60, 105.

Texas State Register, 1876, p. 42; Texas State Register, 1877, pp. 2 and 39-70 for county information; Texas State Register, 1878, pp. 6 and 42-72 for county information; Texas State Register, 1879, p. 137.


Texas Rural Almanac and Immigrants' Hand Book, for 1876 (Houston: Burke & Vasmer, Publishers, 1876). See front cover also. Map is folded and tucked inside back cover.

Texas Rural Almanac, 1876, p. 31.

Texas Rural Almanac, 1876, p. 91.

Texas Rural Register, 1875, p. 92.

Texas Rural Register, 1875, p. 76.

Yet another example of such a lottery plan existed in the planning stages for the Austin Trust Company. In what they labeled, "a Texas Land and Immigration Gift Scheme," this company began negotiations with a Chicago man to serve as trustee for yearly drawings of land, based on "the same principal as the Kentucky Library Lottery." The land was in Texas, the drawing was to be held in Chicago. They were aiming for a fall 1875 event. See Letter from L. H. Fitzhugh of Austin, Texas to Gen. S. B. Buckner, Chicago, Illinois, January 7, 1875. Simon Bolivar Buckner Collection, SB474, Huntington Collection, San Marino, California.

Two members of the board of directors of the Austin Company can be identified as respected citizens of Texas: A. S. Roberts, a Virginia native who arrived in Texas in 1858 and served in Hood's Brigade; John Cardwell, a native of Georgia who established a plantation in Wharton County before the War and from 1871 to 1885 worked as editor of the newspaper, the Austin Statesman. For biographical information see Handbook of Texas, Walter Prescott Webb, editor-in-chief. 3 volumes. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1952-76).

John W. Forney, What I Saw in Texas (Philadelphia: Ringwalt & Brown, Prs., [1872]).

Brady, Glimpses of Texas. A clear example of the interconnectedness of a Texas enticement network can be seen in the publication of excerpts from Brady's book in the pages of the Houston Telegraph. See the October 17, 1871 issue, p. 3.


Circular of the Texas Colonization, Land & Trust Company, with a Brief Description of Texas, Northwestern Texas and Young County (N.p., 1873), title page and p. 1.

Circular...Texas Colonization, 17-18.

Circular...Texas Colonization, 3.

Austin, The Capital of Texas and Travis County (n.p.: DuPre & Peacock, n.d.), 12 and 16.

An excellent example of the relationship of railroad development and immigration can be seen in a small pamphlet issued by the New Orleans, Mobile and Texas Railroad Company. In their brochure advertising mortgage bonds, they praised Texas saying "A constant stream of thrifty German industry, mingled with steady accessions from the Northern and Atlantic States, is flowing in and spreading over the Texan country; but there is room for millions more." Seeing themselves as the force that could help the South develop its resources, the railroad company tied the growth of the population in the gulf states to the potential for the railroad's growth. In addition to transportation for humans, the sales brochure also pointed to the potential in transporting lumber and cattle. This 1871 document used immigration in their effort to sell bonds. Their promotional efforts pointed to the relationship of the roads and the people. See The Mortgage Bonds, (7 per cent. Gold or 8 per cent. currency) of the New Orleans, Mobile and Texas Railroad Company (New York: Kennard & Hay, 1871). An additional connection between people and the railroads existed in the labor pool developed by the transportation companies. An advertisement in the August 4, 1868 edition of the Galveston Daily News offered jobs to "as many stone masons as he can get" by a personnel agent for the Central Railroad working north of Bryan, Texas. Jobs, and the advertisement of those jobs,
such as in this railroad instance, served to attract many people to work in Texas with many of them probably remaining in the state after their arrival.


58Free Guide, 1876. See back side of map.

59Revised Map of the State of Texas (n.p.: Houston & Texas Central Railway, 1876).

60FREE!, Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway (N.p., 1877).

61Notes on Texas and the Texas and Pacific Railway (Philadelphia: Ringwalt & Brown, Prs., 1873), 6 and 33.


63Immigrants Guide to Western Texas, Sunset Route, Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway (N.p., [1876]).

Chapter Five -- Attracting People to Texas: The Written Word,

Part Two--Letters, Printed and Personal

In the years immediately following the Civil War, people, businesses, and agencies published volumes of information meant to attract newcomers to Texas. Newspapers supported the immigration effort by printing columns on the subject. Almanacs met the need of Texas residents for current information and at the same time provided needed information to potential citizens of the state. The Texas Bureau of Immigration published its own special pamphlet and funneled information to other publications for printing. Land agencies and railroads also added to the growing number of works proclaiming the advantages of moving to Texas. In this way a variety of sources joined to develop and cast forth a net to draw in more and more prospective immigrants to the state.

Vast numbers of letters written by individuals created yet another strand for that fishing net. Each letter made some kind of impact upon another human being, most typically influencing the recipient to think about or re-think their decision to remain where they were or to move to Texas. Letters by their very nature suggest personal interaction. An individual sits down and puts his or her thoughts, reflections, and opinions on paper. The letter travels across space, eventually reaching the recipient. When opened by the addressee, the letter immediately establishes a connection as the reader takes in those written words and strives to understand the feelings underlying the message. Letters link a writer to a reader. This is true whether the letter is kept as a personal experience or is published in some formal way. The letter format, in and of itself, conveys a sense of an interpersonal experience. Knowing the influence such letters muster, editors
frequently turned their columns over to extended excerpts or full letters. The editor used the letter format to enhance the impact of the information being presented.

The enticement literature concerning settlement in Texas between 1865 and 1876 is replete with examples of the letter format, printed for a public forum to digest. A few examples will serve to illustrate this point. Horace Greeley, a New York newspaperman, made a trip to Texas and the states bordering the lower Mississippi River in 1871. Whatever his ultimate motive, and many would suggest the trip served partly to fuel Greeley's political aspirations, the journalist came to Texas. He proceeded to travel by railroad mostly and to send dispatches back to the news office. The published columns were labeled "Editorial correspondence of the Tribune." Later the New York Tribune collected these columns together in a small volume and published what they called, Mr. Greeley's Letters from Texas and the Lower Mississippi.¹ The Tribune assumed a large audience existed for such information. The letter format allowed the journalist to speak casually and directly to the reader and in the process convey in a personal way impressions during his travels.

Greeley remarked on a wide variety of subjects. "Texas seems to be better timbered than any other prairie State with which I am acquainted," wrote Greeley and he expressed surprise at "the remarkable fertility of the rolling prairies." Greeley's letters were not merely laudatory in nature, however. He took Texas to task for its lack of good transportation facilities and spoke condescendingly of the bad roads and the bad water. He seemed to try and shame Texans for having land enough and fertile enough to grow wheat for all its inhabitants and yet importing "nearly all her Flour." In similar fashion he decried their failure to supply their own needs for pork, butter, and lumber. In a more ambiguous statement he also wrote,
Whether it be a recommendation or not, I judge that it has required less effort to live in Texas than in any other State of the Union. The common saying, "It costs no more to rear a cow here than a hen at the North," is literally true....Many a man has thus grown rich without effort and almost without thought.

Greeley's visit and subsequent "letters" back to New York served to place Texas in the minds of readers across the country. Texas politicians knew the significance of the visit. The Texas legislature passed a joint resolution on May 24, 18771 encouraging Greeley to visit the State Capital. Although Greeley never made it all the way inland to Austin (the roads according to him were impassable), his words traveled across the state and throughout the United States. When he wrote on May 29, 1871, that "Texas is a great State geographically, with immense natural resources and gigantic possibilities; but she has not yet justified her early promise," Texas supporters latched on to the first half of his statement with pride. Then those boosters spoke of the need for more people to help develop that inherent promise. To their way of thinking, Greeley's "letters" helped to entice potential immigrants to participate in that growth.

Sometimes letters even appeared in publications overseas. In fact what some researchers have called the "America Letters" appeared early in the immigration shifts from Europe to America. And they continued to swell in numbers as more and more people left family and friends behind to travel across the Atlantic or Pacific Oceans. Some of these "America Letters" appeared in European papers. Again, the letter format suggests a personal message being shared between two intimates. Newspapers of the time with telegraphic connections around the globe reported on activities far from the homeland. Information about the United States and all its many areas arrived in Europe through many mediums. The letter format provided a way for such information to be shared in a way that hinted of a little more intimacy and personal connection than otherwise. Witness portions of one letter
written from Texas on April 19, 1867, that was printed in Morgenbladet two months later.

You may well believe that we are often surprised by the dispatches in Morgenbladet and your reports from America, colored as they all are by radical views. And we are amused to see the warnings against the many dangers that threaten those who emigrate to the southern states! Probably there can be no greater error. At present there is no place in America where capable Norwegian emigrants would be able to do so well for themselves as in Texas and some of the other southern states, now that the Negroes no longer can be depended upon. For those of your readers who might be interested I shall give a little description of Texas and its glories.

The letter then proceeded to speak of new construction in Texas and specifically the many houses going up in Galveston. The writer wrote glowingly of this Texas city, recounting the fact that residents called it the "Queen of the Gulf." Such enthusiasm was also tempered by the constant American activity reflecting faith in the aphorism, "Time is money." This correspondent talked about the beautiful beach and bathing opportunities and then also told about "a biting norther (north wind)...so piercing that it will chill you through even if you wear three topcoats." The Norwegian reading public would have definitely warmed to such information.

Letters were also frequently used for communication closer to home.

Norwood Stansbury was a sugar planter looking for work in the early months of 1875. He traveled from Louisiana to the Texas coast and during the year wrote back to his friend J. Y. Gilmore, editor of the Louisiana Sugar-Bowl, published in New Iberia, Louisiana. The letters give today's reader a glimpse of life in Texas in 1875 just as they did for Louisiana readers of the Sugar-Bowl. As stated earlier, the letter format provided a personal touch that made the conveyance of the information all that much more special. Stansbury had been in Galveston in 1861, so he had a convenient reference point with which to compare Galveston's development. He wrote to Gilmore, "The growth of the city has been wonderful. The population
exceeds forty thousand, and has more than doubled in fourteen years." Continuing the comparisons, he wrote, "There is an air of life and thrift here not visible in any of our towns at home."  

The letter format assumes a sharing of both good and bad experiences, positive and negative responses. Stansbury's letters bear out this pattern, for while he praises some things, he frankly complains of others. On February 6, 1875, he wrote, "If the weather has continued as bad with you as it has been here up to this date, then you must be in a wretched condition, and farming operations much behindhand....Clouds, rains and northerns alternate, and make up a very disagreeable state of things." Or in a later letter, "When the winter of Radical rule gives way to the spring of Democratic sway and prosperity, I hope to return, but till then I will make out to content myself with freedom mixed with Texas agues." Health problems such as fevers and chills seem to be for Stansbury just something to be endured as he worked to develop a means of making a living.  

Stansbury's letters also point to the fact that he is reading the papers from Louisiana. This gives him the appearance and reality of keeping up with the happenings at home, and thus when he writes with intimate knowledge of the problems back home, his letters continue to carry that very personal touch that Gilmore admired and utilized in the pages of his weekly paper. The fact that the Louisiana Sugar-Bowl was printed in English and in French increased its readership and may have influenced a wider spectrum of people to begin thinking about Texas.  

Straight-forward description also served to convey secondary messages that had the potential to attract immigrants. Stansbury's September 15, 1875, letter referred to the Morgan Company's efforts to dredge out a channel in the area of Galveston Bay. He wrote, "Hundreds of men find employment during these hard times at liberal wages, and the cash at the end of every month is as sure as the
rising of the morning sun." Such a statement served as its own lure to men struggling with making ends meet back in Louisiana. Stansbury did not have to say "Come to Texas, Jobs abound!" He conveyed the same message with his simpler (and because it was in letter format more believable) statement about the activity of workers on a local transportation project. The same type of understatement can be seen in a February letter of his where he wrote, "The great mass of immigrants and excursionists come by the railroad direct to the interior, with little expenditure of time and money." His statement attests to the growing number of people moving to Texas and the ease with which that move happens. Readers took note and then re-thought their own commitment to remain in Louisiana or move on. Norwood Stansbury's letters thus serve as one small part of that enticement literature that attracted many people to Texas.8

Letters in print came in many forms. One published in the Houston Telegraph on October 20, 1869 came originally from San Francisco, California. It was addressed to M. M. Brady of New Orleans and discussed the possibilities of importing Chinese to labor in the southern cotton and corn fields. The fact that a Houston paper picked up on something sent from California to Louisiana reflects the extent of interest in the subject and the journalistic practices of the day. Some southerners saw imported workers from China as the solution to their frustrations with the black laborers. Surely they perked up when they read that Chinese workers were arriving in California daily and "in considerable numbers." Observations that "they are efficient and skillful...submissive, patient and industrious, and are readily taught in work of any kind" would have encouraged their hopes for such immigrant workers in Texas.9

Letters in newspapers beget more letters in an ongoing process of shared confidences. J. H. Lippard was an agent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration in
1871 and was stationed in New Orleans. In November 1871 he sent a letter brimming with enthusiastic news to Gustav Loeffler, then the superintendent of the Texas agency. The editor of the Houston Telegraph used this agency report/letter as part of his personal campaign for immigration into Texas. "I am happy to say that I found the people fully aroused, as to the future [sic] prospect of Texas; many hundreds are on their way and many more preparing [sic] to follow their friends to our State," wrote Lippard. Then he said, "let me state that I had a notice inserted in the New Orleans Republican stating my mission, locality, etc., which notice brought more correspondence than any one clerk could answer, and was still increasing when the notice was discontinued."10 If we assume Lippard is truthful in his statement, the response he received seems to indicate an interest in one-on-one contact with someone who is knowledgeable about Texas. People were willing to write letters to an non-acquaintance in order to obtain the information they sought. The Bureau of Immigration was willing to respond, but also found itself overwhelmed by the need.11

Immigrants to Texas, like the Norwegian who wrote an 1867 letter from Galveston to Norway, sought to maintain contacts with people back home and to share information with them about migrating. Closer to home, a farmer originally from Perry County, Alabama, wrote a short letter to the editor of the Mobile Alabama Daily Register. Dated September 19, 1870, from Columbus, Texas, the letter read in part, "Last fall, in the general drift to Texas, I followed in 'the course of human events.' Landing at Galveston, I went up the Central railroad, in the current of immigration, not knowing where best to go in this vast empire of territory." Then he explained his experiences, ending the letter with the statement, "I merely wish to state these facts that those coming this fall will not have to run
around so much to find cheap lands, and where best to go to find a place. I shall be back in Perry county soon after my family. Crops good." Signed, W. Bradley.12

This letter by an Alabama farmer breathes of the personal nature of letter-writing even though he is addressing the letter with the intent of its publication for county-wide consumption. Others reading the letter as they perused their local paper must surely have begun to wonder about migrating elsewhere and specifically about whether Texas really had anything to offer people from Alabama. The fact that Bradley came from a county which in 1880 had 7,150 white citizens and 23,591 blacks is reflected in the body of his letter as well. It hints at partial motivation for considering such a move to Texas. Bradley wrote in his letter, "The State allows 160 acres to every family, and 80 acres to single men. There is enough here, it is said, for 500 families. I found west the health better and the lands equally as rich, and by odds less negroes. In fact, they are comparatively few." Obviously racial concerns entered into the reasons why Bradley was moving to Texas, and he felt his information on that subject would influence others.13

Bradley's racial views were shared by others. And others utilized the letter format to convey similar racial ideas to acquaintances in their home state. In 1867 Thomas E. Blackshear, whose plantation lands were in Grimes County, Texas, wrote back to Lucius C. Bryan, editor of the Thomasville Southern Enterprise, a paper in his old hometown in Georgia. Blackshear had moved to Texas in the late 1850s along with his slaves. He had survived the Civil War and the emancipation of his workers. Frustrated as many landholders were in the changes brought on by emancipation, Blackshear could not say anything good about the newly freed slaves. He wrote to Georgia that he would not "put up with the idle, lazy, and thriftless habits of the freed negro" and that he was willing to divide his land into smaller units to be rented to white men. He encouraged movement to Texas, noting that
"Movers are passing by my house nearly every day, going West, and I hear of large
dombers of immigrants from the old States, coming into every part of our State," but
then he added,

I do not wish to take from my good old native State a single useful
citizen, but to let that hardy, industrious, laboring class, who are
toiling upon the old worn out, poor lands of Georgia, for a bare
subsistence, know where they can get good land on easy terms, in a
healthy country, where they can make a good living and something to
spare, in return for their honest labor.

Blackshear commented in his letter that he received the Enterprise, though very
irregularly, and liked keeping abreast of the "changes and new names" back home.
Blackshear's letter documents both his racist attitudes and his proposed solution to
the perceived labor shortage. It also demonstrates the typical letter hinting at
Texas as the solution for those dissatisfied with their lot in life. Blackshear's
comments surely caused some Georgians to reconsider their daily lives and their
hopes for the future.¹⁴

Letters back home, via the local newspaper, provided one vehicle to convey
personal interest and concrete information. George Sweet in his Texas New Yorker
columns also utilized personal letters to convey his promotion of immigration to
Texas. He went a step further by encouraging Texans to capitalize on the interest
expressed in letters by writing directly to these potential immigrants. The June
1872 issue of the Texas New Yorker included a letter from a New Engander
requesting a copy of the New York paper and stating,

A friend and myself (and our family of course,) have intended locating
in Iowa or Nebraska, next season, in fact had made up our minds to
do so--when I happened to see a copy of your paper (May, 1871). We
now feel as if we would like Texas best and wish all the information
you can give through your paper or otherwise. We are poor in pocket,
but have pluck and character.

E. C. Ryer

Box 549  Burlington, Vt.
Sweet followed this printed letter with the suggestion that Texans correspond with these "Green Mountain" people, saying "Perhaps a number of families might be induced to join with him and all settle in some good neighborhood in Texas." Sweet valued the drawing power of a letter, as well as the influence of chain migration on the development of a new territory.15

Sweet was not the only editor with such an insight. W. G. Webb, proprietor of the Houston Telegraph, urged his fellow Texans to become involved in the immigration movement. He wrote,

There is too little individual effort expended in this direction. There is not an inhabitant, perhaps from other countries, who has not friends at the place from which he came, and he could surely bring at least one immigrant to Texas by writing, or sending printed matter, giving information about the country....Truthful information about Texas and its people, is all that is necessary to obtain immigration.

Webb felt that such letter writing would double the population of Texas in a year, and while his enthusiasm was overblown, the technique he suggested was a valid one. The immigration movement would only be enhanced with greater involvement on the part of the common citizen. He continued, "Two cents to send a paper or three cents for a letter may bring a dozen good citizens...Let every man and women in Texas feel that it is a part of his or her duty to induce others to come here." Webb ended his editorializing with the observation that if people don't get involved, the population of Texas won't increase and "we alone should bear the blame."16

Many new and older residents of Texas did write letters "back home" wherever that place might have been--overseas or across state borders. These confidential letters frequently conveyed the writer's innermost emotions, questions, and feelings. The intimacy inherent in these personal letters spoke to the value given connections with other people far away.17
Personal letters are not typically published in books and are infrequently kept for any length of time by the recipient. They serve as a disposable means of intimate communication. Their rarity makes for interesting reading and also great speculation as to how the addressee felt about the letter and responded to it. It is this author's belief that personal letters substantially influenced immigration to Texas throughout the settlement and growth of the state, both during the antebellum and postbellum eras. Due to their relative scarcity today, those few remnants of such correspondence, that we do have, take on an increased significance, a significance that historians have debated endlessly.

"To migrating families, letters were a tenuous link between the known and the unknown." With this sensitive statement, Lois Myers introduces the edited letters of Anna Louisa Wellington Stoner. What was true for the Wellington-Stoner family was true for most families on the move in the later half of the nineteenth century. Letters were a tether to solid civilization and to other people. They provided a needed "connection" when the experiences of day-to-day life were full of breaks and changes in routine and environment. These same letters met other needs as well, especially the conveyance of information about the land and place traveled through and to. In those descriptions and explanations of these migrations, letters influenced the flow of people. They definitely influenced the movement of people into Texas.

For the purposes of analyzing such letters and their impact upon the peopling of Texas, it would be helpful to share a complete short letter and then note the various influences and aspects of the writing. The following letter that went from Mitchell Daniel to his relative Raleigh Travers Daniel says worlds about their relationship and about the move recently accomplished by Mitchell.

Paris Texas
Jany 29 1877

My Dear Uncle

I have been so busy arranging my family in their new world, that I have had but little time to write, or I should have written to you before. It certainly is not because we have ceased to think of you and those around your fireside whom we love, for there is not a day but "Uncle Travers" is mentioned, And in my thoughts your welfare is constantly present. I hope to visit you in March, if we are not all blown up by powder and ball about the 4th of that month, & should be glad to meet Uncle Jeff with his genial heart & face, at a game of whist with you, as of days gone past. Richmond is certainly the most delightful place in the world and I only wish I could afford the pleasure of living there with my household, but as my children grow, their necessities keep pace, and I find myself at that Stage, in man's life, when I must stop thinking of my own wants, and work for their future; and though the harness may chafe & rub me at times in the constant drudgery, but it gives me pleasure to make others happy & keep hid from their young eyes and hearts, the cares that must come in this world to each in his turn. The change from Richmond to Texas is very great in every aspects, and I am hardly yet used to it, Cosmopolitan as I have been. But it's vastly different moving about by one's self and moving with the whole family. Immigrants are pouring into this state from all sections of the world, and the progress & improvement of the county rapid. The State has doubled its population within five years and will double it again in five more. This town when I left here in 1869 was only 1500 people now has 8,000 and is still rapidly improving, though property is very cheap, and has not advanced in price within the eight years I speak of. We all await with great anxiety the the [sic] Presidential question, & hope Tilden will peacefully take his seat. Texas could send 200,000 troops in the field at short notice if necessary & if the north will lead the fight to protect what is left to us of the Constitution; She will do it with good will. Is there any change in the Culpepper affair that concerns me. Please do not lose sight of it. Emma & our little girls are all in fine health, and are delighted to get back to their Grandfathers where they feel at home. We shall remain with him until I can manage in some way to build them a home. We own a good town lot, but our former home has gone to decay beyond recovery. Emma & the Children join me in love to you, Fran & the girls.

With affectionate wishes

Mitchell Daniel

Mitchell shares his nostalgic desire to be in Richmond, both to visit, and in a more permanent way to live there. For Virginia in actuality had been home to Mitchell
for most of his life and the ties remained strong. His letter has a profound "but..." at this juncture that illustrates the importance of family both to the typical emigrant's move and to the continuing connections back home. Mitchell wrote, "but as my children grow, their necessities keep pace, and I find myself at that Stage...." His self-reflection indicates his commitment to the young members of his immediate family and his willingness to make a change in order to secure their future happiness.

Expressing his chosen accountability to the family, he then launches into a description of his new homeland. He views the influx of people to the state as indication of its improvement, and he has the advantage of being able to compare this area of Texas with the same place he had seen eight years earlier. The comparison lends credibility to his observations. We can only wonder how much his enthusiasm peaked the interest of others back in Virginia.

In closing the letter with the usual amenities stating that everyone is fine and sends their love, Mitchell also reveals the connections that may have helped originally attract him to Texas. He mentions the presence in Texas of a grandfather whom the children and his spouse adore and with whom they are sharing lodgings. Family in Texas and family in Virginia thus maintain a tie via the letters, a tie not broken by the thousand or so miles of territory in between them.

One of the special attributes of most letters is their sharing of both positive and negative emotions and experiences. In this letter, the writer speaks of a sense of homesickness and longings for the past. He mentions the difficulties in getting settled and the energy and time commitment it requires. Yet he also speaks with hope of the potential in his new home state and shares that with his uncle. In a way, Mitchell's desire to be in Virginia balances his enthusiasm at settling in Texas. His observations of the present also give him hope about future development in the
area in which he has chosen to settle. The hope so typically evident among immigrants--and expressed in their actions and words--is clearly evident in this letter by Mitchell to his uncle.

Not all letters fit neatly the paradigm just presented. Each letter has a personality all its own and reflects the position of one person at one point in time. A letter may be full of description, yet evidence no sense of hopefulness. A letter may tell about a whole host of experiences and yet give no indication of how important family is to those experiences. However, within the full range of letters, many served to attract others to Texas. They did this in an open way when the writer suggested a move. They did this in a more subtle way when the writer merely described his or her life experiences in Texas. Excerpts from a number of letters written between 1865 and 1876 help demonstrate this message of enticement.

In 1865 General Armstrong Custer arrived in Texas, on assignment from the United States Army to help in the settlement of society after the surrender of Texas. Custer as an officer was able to bring along to Texas his wife, Elizabeth, more commonly referred to as "Libbie." Libbie kept notes of her overland journey to Texas and later published her reminiscences in a book entitled *Tenting on the Plains*. During her travels to and from Texas, she also kept in close communication with family back home, as did her husband General Custer, referred to as Autie in the correspondence. Those letters chronicle the problems of overland travel in the immediate post-civil war Texas and so have much negative to say about the experience.

But the Custer letters deal with many topics. In October 1865 Libbie wrote to her parents.

Autie and I were saying that if you had all your land in ready money and could invest it down here you would make yourself wealthy in a short time. I wish you could get some of the money that is floating
around in Texas...cotton is not the only way of coining money down here. Land is so cheap. Improved plantations are selling for one third their value, because planters are disgusted with free negro labor.

She also praised the people for their friendliness, saying, "No country in the world can equal the South for hospitality." In an earlier letter from Alexandria, Louisiana, General Custer wrote to Libbie's father about preparations for the trip to Texas and his plans to be in Houston within two weeks. He wrote, "I advise you to visit this country and invest in land...Immigration from the Free States to the southern and south-western country is likely to come soon. The soil is rich."\(^{21}\)

Many of the letter writers in Texas were recent transplants. Sara A. Dodson came to Texas from Alabama and settled in Brazos County. She wrote a letter to a friend back home on November 21, 1866. She began by apologizing for her slowness in writing but then went on to explain the rationale behind her tardiness.

I know, I promised to write as soon as I reached Texas. I should have done so if there had been any mail, when I first came; first I felt as joyous as a bird and desirous of giving vent to every emotion; but soon, a reaction took place; I found myself disappointed in everything, except finding my friends alive and well; and I know you would detect it in every line I wrote. My spirits have somewhat recovered, and though I do not like Texas yet, I am better satisfied with it, than at first.

Sarah then chronicles her travels over land and sea, noting that Houston was "small, ugly, and muddy." She traveled further inland and struggled through a "Norther" arriving at her sister's "nearly frozen to death." This stop along the route to her ultimate destination gives today's reader the knowledge that Sara was not the first family member to move to Texas, but that she was following a path earlier traveled by her parents and sister. The importance of such chain migration cannot be overstated or overemphasized.\(^{22}\)

Sarah was not happy with much of the society she observed. "Drinking, swearing, Sabbath breaking, and every other vice is practiced by the majority of the
people, and the others smile at it, instead of frowning it down." This activity in Bryan, Texas, discouraged Sarah, and she mentions moving on to Waco where it is reported that there is "a fine flourishing place, with good churches, good schools, and as good society as is to be found in the State. I hope we will find it congenial to our taste." Sarah finds comfort in her children and husband and it would seem the presence of family compensates for the problems in the resettlement.²² Sarah's letter illustrates that not all letters paint a rosy picture of life in Texas. Some letters surely discouraged potential migrants into the decision to stay put. If the recipient was determined to migrate then a negative letter might mean the decision to move somewhere besides Texas. Just the fact that the letter is sent and a connection re-established with others in other southern states, helped keep Texas emigration on the minds of people who had not yet moved to Texas.

Sarah and her family moved as the Civil War was coming to a close. A later emigrant was Hugh Harmon McElvy, a farmer from Georgia, who arrived in Texas about 1870. McElvy wrote on August 27th 1871, in response to a letter from a physician friend, named "Lawson," who had remained in Whigham, Georgia. McElvy lived in Collin County near the northern tier of counties in Texas. Dr. Lawson must have asked for help in locating a place to live, for McElvy's letter details his own search for a good piece of land and his suggestions for his friend.

You asked me to find a good place for a Dr & the people all able to pay. I have found a place where you can have health for your self & family and as much fever as you want to administer medicine to & nearly all able to pay there bills. The water is pure blue lime just like it is in Kentucky...You can settle in the cross timber if you desire or parie [sic - prairie] just as it suits you.

McElvy describes the animal life and the range and farming country. His descriptions make it clear that he himself is still open to the potential of moving further on north or west. His willingness to locate and re-locate reflects a common
characteristic of immigrants arriving in Texas during this time. In his travels and among his observations, McElvy also wrote,

- There is one thing I can say for the Sitizens of Texas. They are a long ways a head of the Sitizens of Ga in Schools. Evry Knighborhood I Saw they had large fine Schools & churches houses & the School rooms were all occupied. These frontier counties we traveld in are nearly all Settle up from the old States mostly from Kentucky, Tennessee & Missourea & a good chance of north Georgians. Some flew from South Carolina & a flew from North C.

The letter included references to his family, wife, and children and ended with a postscript suggesting that Lawson send the letter on to his father, thus making one letter do for two. The rustic simplicity of the letter does not betray the interest that McElvy had in sharing his experiences with someone from home. The informal intimacy of the letter suggests the connection that can exist between friends many miles apart.\textsuperscript{24}

Sometimes the newly transplanted Texans wrote back home conveying information and experiences. But sometimes the people back home, as in the case of Dr. Lawson in Georgia, initiated the request for more information on Texas. An extensive grouping of letters exists for the Adams family, originally from Georgia, who moved to Texas before the beginning of hostilities in the Civil War and remained in Texas to adjust to life after war's end. This well-to-do-family arrived in Texas with slaves and plans for a large agricultural enterprise. Their trip included railroad, boat, and wagon travel. Once settled they continued to keep in touch with family members back east throughout the war years. They also wrote to family and friends within Texas, such as Hamblin Bass and M. J. Lawrence, earlier arrivals to the state.\textsuperscript{25} Often these earlier immigrants had already helped, through their personal letters, to give advice to Dr. Robert Adams on the best mode of travel and other plans for his families ultimate move.\textsuperscript{26} Efforts to communicate with family
back in Georgia were hampered due to the dislocations of war, but the two brothers--Jefferson in Georgia and Robert in Texas--kept in touch, as did their wives.

Susan Adams, wife of Jefferson, wrote Rebecca on August 13, 1860. As sisters-in-law they had a close relationship and shared the concerns each had for their respective family's happiness. In that August letter, Susan signed off, but then added at the bottom of the paper, "Tell me whether you would advise me to go to Texas after having tried it this long?"27 The "this long" referred to was in actuality only a year. Unfortunately, we don't have Rebecca's direct response, but Susan's question illustrates that sense of wonderment on the part of those left behind.

Susan's later letters also demonstrate the sadness at separations, especially when previous letters held sad news. In response to one such letter Susan wrote, "Come back to Georgia and we will find a home where we will be united and happy once more. We could all live here for a while at least, we will gladly share all we have with you. Oh! I would be so glad to see you once more in Georgia. Will it ever be?"28 The correspondence continued through the war years. The sisters wrote about comparable experiences at the conclusion of the war when they both had to deal with the emancipation of their slave workers. Then in letters during 1866 it becomes evident that Susan Adams has been left a widow and must manage the plantation land by herself. This propelled her brother-in-law, Robert Adams, to travel back to Georgia for a time to help her with legal papers and problems.29 The connection between the Georgia Adams family and the Texas Adams family was close, yet far apart in miles. Jefferson chose to remain in Georgia before and throughout the Civil War. The letter writing continued, full of the ups and downs of family life, but in the end Jefferson and his family did not move.

Not everyone in correspondence with a Texan made the decision to move. The important point for analysis of enticement literature is to be aware of the part
such letters played in the process of thinking and re-thinking the potential of such a move. Another example of requests for information from other southerners to Texans can be found in the letters of the Hardin family. After the Civil War Mimmie and George Davis lived in Texas where George worked as a lawyer and for a time as an agent for the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands. He received a letter from a cousin, Frank Green, living in Barnwell District, South Carolina. Frank was a lawyer by profession but as with so many before him also a landowner and farmer. In a December 13, 1867, letter from South Carolina Frank wrote about his experiences,

...the war had so impoverished the country and unsettled business that I thought it more prudent to remain upon my farm where I was sure of a living. From then till now I have not regreted the choice...I am now doing what all farmers are doing in this section, barely living. How does the world use you?

    If you are doing well and can promise me anything, I shall come out and live in your land. From your card, one would infer that you were "right" and I hope you are. Are you a married man?

    George take pains to write me carefully whatever may be an inducement to make one move, who longs to do so. Is there not in some of those counties in which you practice a good opening? What would land near the county seat be worth per acre?

When this letter was received by George, he wrote a note in pencil on the back and sent it on to his mother, Sarah, saying, "I received this a day or two ago. Have answered it and told Frank and all hands to come out here and cast their lot with us in a new land." Frank continued to correspond with George, inquiring about the game and fish in Texas and complaining about the lack of reliable labor in Georgia. In the long run, however, Frank never moved to Texas. He continued to eke out a living on his land in South Carolina, perhaps fearful of leaving his plantation of 600 acres and starting over even with familial encouragement.
Another relative of the family was Frank Hardin, who in November 10, 1872, had to write a letter to his sister, America S. Stevens, informing her of the death of Frank's sister Catherine. America, living in Pattersonville, Louisiana, at the time, responded with a letter tinged with desperation. In part it read,

There are but three of us left of a large family--all passing rapidly away. I am so anxious to be in Texas among my relations, and would have gone long ago if our circumstances had allowed, but we are now left homeless and very poor by the war, and have never been able to make anything more than support since.

America felt confident she could support herself by running a boarding house, and so she asked, "Please tell me where is best place for me in your town and what you would advise me to do. I will await an answer from you, as I have a month to remain here....Any arrangements you and Charles make will please me." Reliance upon family and friends to help in the migration process was a common circumstance then as it is to this day.

Women seldom traveled alone to new places in the postbellum South. But obviously America was willing to do so. Another adventurous woman was Martha Ann Otey. Letters written in 1866 by Martha Ann Otey to her parents and sister in Holmes County, Mississippi reveal a widowed woman of courage seeking a new life in Texas. With a heavy sense of responsibility for the maintenance of her parents, Martha left two young children with them and traveled westward to seek a position as teacher in east Texas. From the beginning her "mission," as she saw it, was to find a job as head teacher of a school and then help her mother, father, sister, brother, and her own two children move to Texas for what she herself called, "a new people, a new element, a new home." Much depended upon her shouldering these heavy familial duties, but much also lay at the hands of fate, weather, and the economy. From March through November of 1866 she kept up a continuing correspondence with family in Mississippi, constantly describing her activities and
experiences in Texas. As she chronicled those events her Mississippi family began to imagine Texas in their own minds and slowly grow accustomed to understanding Martha's world as it came closer to being their world. Martha wrote both about the negative and the positive. She chronicled the bad weather, the impassable roads, the lack of rail transportation, and the bugs. But she also wrote with great hope in her letters:

Galveston is a beautiful place. I like its appearance better than any town I ever saw. Had I the means I should settle here for life. I went down on the beach this evening. The sight was worth all I have seen since leaving home....I am perfectly charmed with this country [Texas], and hourly wish that we were all here in a good home, all fixed to mind. I think we can do much better in Texas than East of the Mississippi...I see nothing yet to make me despond of success. Of course, not being wealthy, I shall have much to contend with in establishing myself in Texas, but, if we can get all here with "whole bones," we can live.

Martha's positivism may have been fueled by letters she received from friends who had earlier made the decision to emigrate to Texas. While she was residing in Washington County, Martha received a letter from a woman named Genie living in Gonzales County further to the West. Genie wrote,

A hearty welcome to this lovely land. I trust you will become as much infatuated with its beauties as myself, and here amid the broad and luxuriant prairies, long flowing moss, and bright sparkling streamlets, take up your abode and be one of our number.

Martha wrote home about the people with whom she had come in contact during her travels and as she worked to settle in Huntsville. She recorded, "The kindness of the people in this State only makes me more anxious to live among them." In another letter she reiterated similar sentiments saying, "Such kindness as the people of this State have shown me, I never dreamed of." She also perceptively looked at the wider world picture, noting the migrations going on around her. With her typical mixture of hope and realism, she wrote on July 15, 1866,
I think this State will fast fill with people from all parts of the South. It certainly presents greater facilities for the unbounded energies than any other. I am much pleased with the prospects ahead, yet, I fear the influx of emigration, Southern and foreign, will greatly advance the prices of everything. We can only hope for the best.37

Martha's enthusiasm for Texas translated into interest by her parents back home in Mississippi. In December 1866, her father Col. Edward Dromgoole Nolley wrote to Martha's employer at the Huntsville school expressing his thanks for Dr. R. T. Heflin's kindness toward Nolley's daughter, Martha. He wrote, in part,

I am moreover much gratified to learn,...that her future prospects in the modern El Dorado of the Far West and Sunny South, are bright & boviant [sic]....Shortly after Texas threw off the Mexican yoke, and established her freedom, sovereignty and independence, as the "Lone Star State," I was favorably impressed with the natural resources and advantages of the country, and when I came South, it was my ultimate intention to permanently settle in that country, believing, it would be a country of growing importance, a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of States.

The subsequent history of the country has fully confirmed me in my first favorable impression, and I cherish a strong hope that the period is not very distant, when I shall be comfortably settled in that highly desirable region of country.38

Edward Nolley's reflections convey much about the migration of many southerners. First, his comments suggest that he has had it in his mind to move to Texas since 1845 and Texas' early statehood. If that is the case, Texas had been on his mind for almost twenty years. Many other migrants to Texas probably shared Nolley's experience of thinking about such a move to Texas for a long period of time, though for many the time frame was probably more like a year or two. Second, he uses terms to describe Texas that were found in much of the enticement literature of the day, i.e. "El Dorado," "Sunny South," and "Lone Star State." News about Texas was arriving in Mississippi and other areas of the South and the images conveyed in those writings became part of the consciousness of potential emigrants to the state.
The Otey family correspondence clearly demonstrates efforts at keeping a connection with family "back home" that had not yet moved. It also brings to light that essence of "hope" which seems to imbue the typical immigrant with the energy to make a move.

Letters thus conveyed the full spectrum of news. Sometimes the letter contributed directly to the immigration of people to Texas. Once in a while the letters were clearly a report of success. Often the letter conveyed the positive result of what might have seemed in the beginning to be a very risky idea. For example, Fannie C. Sterne wrote back to her brother Charles Montgomery Sterne in Falmouth, Virginia. Fannie had settled in Locust Grove in Walker County, Texas. In her June 28, 1869, letter addressed to "My Dear brother" she wrote,

and when I left Ala for Texas gave you the larger portion of all that I had in the world. for in giving you a hundred dollar I only left seventy dollars for my self to bring me [to] Texas where I had hoped to earn my bread in peace. I have been even more successful that I had hoped [and] have built up a reputation as teacher and could get a fine situation in any part of this country.\(^9\)

Surely many more such mini-success stores exist. However, the written documentation through a letter saved for a hundred years or more is much less common.

One other success story conveys the efforts of people helping other people in the migration process. An English woman wrote back to friends in 1871, reporting on her work to help settle immigrants in Washington County, in or near the town of Brenham, Texas. The letter writer noted the arrival in Galveston of the immigrants via New Orleans by ship from Liverpool and then recounted their trip inland. She writes,

I am thankful to report that all have been placed in good homes where the prospects before them are favorable. They came trusting in the Lord and we have never seen His hand more conspicuously displayed in any temporal matters than it has been on their behalf in closing
doors which needed to be closed, as well as in opening in new and unexpected quarters.

The immigrants had spent six weeks traveling by ship. In Galveston they were cared for by Mr. C. M. Hurley, "a Christian Merchant" who helped them settle in boarding houses overnight. Short worship sessions were held in Galveston, where thanksgiving was rendered and "the Lord's goodness was recounted as we meditated on Psa. CVII. 'He brings them to their desired haven.'" 40

The real motive for the letter appears in the single line: "Friends at home who helped will be glad to know how the various members of our company have been placed." Those assisting the first-time-immigrants wanted to ease the discomfort of travel, and the worries for safety that it entailed. Such care as that expressed by this English woman reflects the deep religious commitment of those helping these newcomers, as well as their collective joy in the success of settlement. The immigrants had come in family units. The positions which most of them attained were as servants, for "In every case the wife works in the house, & and the husband outside in the care of horses, cattle, garden, & farm; the husbands have all been accustomed to farm work." The letter mixed the more positive news of high wages and good employment positions, with the downside story of transportation difficulties, the low price of cotton this season, and the changeable weather. 41 Yet in all the information conveyed by the letter, the outstanding message was one of connections among caring people as they worked to facilitate immigration to Texas.

An intriguing aspect of the whole question of letters as part of enticement literature is the inability usually to document the actual affect of the letters. Just how many people came to Texas based upon a letter written in their local newspaper or a personal letter sent by a friend of a friend? We can never really know. In the same way it is impossible to identify the numbers who came in response to railroad
literature or to a pamphlet issued by the state government. The importance of such enticement literature for our study is not in documenting its statistical success—there is no mathematical equation that relates the volumes of words to the number of people who came. Rather the effort here has been to show the wide variety of such written material produced by people who wanted immigrants to come to Texas. It is first by its very existence a statement of that desire on the part of Texans. Second, the prolific amount printed, published, and written displays many motives on the part of the various authors. Third, the emphasis seemed to be on "people" in the general sense. Immigrants from northern states, western states, southern states, Canada, and Europe—in other words, people from almost anywhere, were the object of all the propagandizing going on during that first decade after the War.

In the unstructured network of interest at attracting people to Texas, letters helped fuel the movement. Letters carried hopes, dreams, reality, and struggle. Those reading the letters and responding to them heard those frustrations and those visions, and many ultimately made the decision to be caught by this movement to Texas. The vast net cast for people by Texans depended heavily on the belief that the written word was a mainstay of the effort. Many clearly read letters and made a decision to move.
1Mr. Greeley's Letters from Texas and the Lower Mississippi: To which are added his Address to the Farmers of Texas, and His Speech on his Return to New York, June 12, 1871 (New York: Tribune Office, 1871).


3Mr. Greeley's Letters, 32. Other journalists traveled to Texas and wrote letters back to their publishers. Most were not as well-known nationally at Greeley. One reporter from Kansas sent news of Texas to the Saline County Journal. His observations included negative issues, like stealing by Indians, and positive, like the presence of many trees and excellent climate in Texas. But he wrote encouragingly, "To those who desire further information, my advice is to visit the state and see for themselves." See Robert W. Richmond, ed., "Letter from Wise County, Texas," The American West 9 (March 1972): 42-47 (quote from p. 47).

4The existence of letters to people back home has been documented by a host of historical evidence. Most of these documented letters reflect the larger flow of immigration to northern or western states. The few letters available for study about immigration to southern states, reflects the slower pace of migration to those states. Due to the greater transportation difficulties in traveling South, this author believes the letters had a greater relative influence on migration than letters from northern or western sources. In any event, the few letters we do have, especially relating to Texas, deserve study and analysis. Sometimes the letters influenced immediate migration; possibly they more commonly sowed the seed that grew slowly and influenced others in an expanding type of network. See W. Phil Hewitt Land and Community: European Migration to Rural Texas in the 19th Century (Boston: American Press, 1981), 30-31, for support of this view.

One source suggesting influence of these letters on future Texans can be found in Clinton Machann and James W. Mendl, Jr., trans. and eds., Czech Voices, Stories from Texas in the Amerikan Narodni Kalendar (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1991). See especially page 13 where Josef L. Lesikar writes about a letter that had "fallen into my hands." Czech Voices also does an excellent job of documenting autobiographies written for the Czech language press. The extent of these newspapers and their reading public would suggest some influence by Texans in enticing others southward when they wrote about their experiences in their native language for Czech readers.


7Stansbury, "Letters," 507.

8Stansbury, "Letters," 511 and 503.

10Houston Telegraph, November 25, 1871, p. 4.

11Writing a letter to an unknown individual may not have been an unusual experience in the late-nineteenth century. Another Texas governmental department--Office of the Secretary of State--remarked about the volume of letters it had been receiving in the year 1870. James P. Newcomb in his report as Secretary of State wrote, "The correspondence of the Department has been quite extensive, embracing hundreds of letters from different parts of the State, and from other States, many of an unofficial character, and relating to inquiries concerning immigration. These letters have all been carefully answered, in order that encouragement may be given to persons looking to our State as their future home." See Inaugural Address and Message of Gov. Edmund J. Davis, to the Legislature, State of Texas, with Accompanying Documents (Austin: Tracy, Siemerling & Co., 1870), appendix, p. 8. This type of correspondence was presumably taken over by the Texas Bureau of Immigration when it came into existence in 1870.

12Mobile Alabama Daily Register, September 28, 1870, p. 3, col. 2.

13Alabama Register, September 28, 1870, p. 3; B. F. Riley Alabama As It Is: or, The Immigrants' and Capitalist's Guide Book to Alabama (Montgomery, Alabama: W. C. Holt, 1887), listing under Petty County.

Bradley's comment that Negroes in his new home (Columbus in Colorado County, Texas) were "comparatively few" is interesting for the census records identify heavy black population in that county, i.e. in 1870 out of a total county population of 8326 people, 3,701 were colored and 4,625 were white; in 1880 the same county had a total population of 16,673 people, 7,686 were colored and 8,987 were white. The relative balance between the races in Colorado County, Texas, must have seemed to Bradley as a significant improvement over the three-to-one ratio of black to white in Perry County, Alabama, which was the home from which he emigrated. For census figures, see Statistics of the Population of the United States, Ninth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), Volume One and Tenth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), Volume One.


15Texas New Yorker, June 1872, p. 235.

16Houston Telegraph, November 6, 1869, p. 4.
17The importance of letters sent "back home" has been documented in numerous places, especially when historians look at the European immigration to this country. One set of historians suggests that multiple illustrations could be used to show how these letters "furnished the final push that sent emigrants to this country." See Merle Curti and Kendall Birr, "The Immigrant and the American Image in Europe, 1860-1914," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 37 (September 1950): 213. Other historians of German immigration claim "emigrants relied far more heavily on letters as a source of information than on anything else." They suggest that people would travel "10 to 12 hours" to hear the contents of a letter, "especially when written by persons known to be trustworthy." Potential immigrants valued specific, concrete information and seemed to value the personal letter more than anything else. See Walter D. Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich and Ulrike Sommer, News From the Land of Freedom, German Immigrants Write Home (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 29. The most extensive governmental commission, most commonly called the Dillingham Commission, to study immigration in the first decade of the twentieth century, published 39 volumes of their research. In Volume 4 they document causes of emigration and speak loudly about the importance of letters. They reported, "It was frequently stated to members of the Commission that letters from persons who had emigrated to America were passed from hand to hand until most of the emigrant's friends and neighbors were acquainted with the contents." The single letter thus made much more than one connection. See U.S. Congress, Senate Immigration Commission. (1911). Immigration Commission Report, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, S. Doc. 747. 39 Volumes. Volume 4, p. 57.


19A very special example of the link that letters provided is seen in reading the diary of Clara Conger. Clara was a seventeen-year-old daughter in the Conger family of Oneida, Illinois. In the fall of 1870 the family made a forty-day overland trip to Texas. During that time Clara kept a diary of her experiences as part of a group of twenty-two people traveling by wagon. Repeatedly in the diary Clara refers to letters. On Friday, September 9, 1870, she wrote, "was raining and rained most all day. Mailed 11 letters at Paris, it is quite a place." On the eleventh she recorded, "I got a letter from Ida, the first time since I started." On the thirteenth, she wrote, "When we got to Boonville I got a letter from Jim and one from Kit and wasn't I glad to get them." And on the twenty-second she wrote, "Got into Baxter Springs in the afternoon and drove immediately to the Post Office. Got lots of letters. I got 4 and O how happy I was." Her diary records "misquitoes," her efforts at tatting, and "Niggers" along the road among a wide variety of other observations. But her continual reference to those letters, both sent and received, demonstrate clearly the letters as a link with others. To what extent they influenced others in Illinois to migrate creates tantalizing suppositions, but that remains unanswered by these sources. See Roger N. Conger, "The Emigration of the N. H. Conger Family

M. Daniel, Paris, Tex. to Raleigh Travers Daniel, Richmond, January 29, 1877, in Robert A. Brock Collection, Box 82, Folder 66, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

John M. Carroll, comp. and ed., Custer in Texas: An Interrupted Narrative (New York: Sol Lewis, 1975). This source consists of an effort to use General Custer's wife's narrative of army life, interspersed with letters by the Custers and by army personnel, to piece together a coherent travelogue of Custer's assignment in Texas. Elizabeth's Tenting on the Plains of which some excerpts provide the narrative was published in its own right in 1888 and thus fueled interest in Texas because of its unique perspective. The letters quoted here are from pages 120 and 60.


This was not an uncommon occurrence. Several people from an area back home might move to a new area and then fan out across the state, searching for the land best suited to their preferences. The Adams family had that experience and continued to correspond with those "home" friends who had moved to eastern or northern areas of Texas more remote from the Houston/Galveston section of the state. See The Hicks, Adams, Bass, Floyd, Pattillo, and Collateral Lines, together with Family letters, 1840-1868, compiled by Gary Doyle Woods (Salado, Texas: The Anson Jones Press, 1963), especially p. 210, letter from M. J. Lawrence, Rusk Country, Texas to Dr. Robert Adams, April 2, 1860 and pp. 215-216, letter from M. J. Lawrence to Dr. Robert Adams, June 10, 1860 and pp. 242-243, letter from Lawrence to Adams, November 26, 1860.

Hamblin Bass was especially instrumental in helping the Robert Adams family in their move. The fact that Bass's daughter Rebecca was Dr. Adams wife had a great deal to do with that family concern. See letters, pp. 201 and 206.

Hicks, Adams, Bass...Letters, Letter from Susan Adams to Rebecca Adams, August 13, 1860, p. 224.

Hicks, Adams, Bass...Letters, Letter from Susan Adams to Rebecca Adams, July 3, 1861, pp. 276-277.

Hicks, Adams, Bass...Letters, Letter from Susan Adams to Rebecca Adams, October 7, 1865, pp. 397-398; Letter from Susan Adams to Robert Adams, June 18,
1866, pp. 402-403; Letter from Hamblin Bass to Rebecca Adams, September 3, 1866, pp. 405-406.


31Trammell, Seven Pines, 232-233.

32Otey uses the term "mission" in at least one letter she wrote from Chappell Hill, Texas, to her father, Col. Edward Dromgoole Nolley on March 22, 1866. Her dream of "a new home" was expressed in a letter by Martha Ann Otey from Huntsville, Texas, to her parents in Mississippi, September 16, 1866.

The Martha Ann Otey collection of letters and portions of her diary can be found at the Sam Houston State University Library bound under the title, "A Journey from Mississippi to Texas 1866."

33One example of such negativism is in a letter from M. A. Otey in Washington County, Texas to her sister Eliza Thomas Nolley in Mississippi on June 22, 1866. She wrote in part, "Yet with all the advantages possessed by this State, it has, as little Jackson of Castilian memory would say: "minor points of objection." The heat is very oppressive in summer. The water generally limestone, the insects numerous. The centipede, the tarantula, and stinging scorpions are common, also a very poisonous little spider." Otey Collection.

34Letter from M. A. Otey in Galveston, Texas, to her mother, Mary Frances Nolley on a plantation near Durant, Mississippi, March 16, 1866; Letter from M. A. Otey in Chappell Hill, Texas, to her younger sister, E. T. Nolley in Mississippi, March 22, 1866; Letter from M. A. Otey in Chappell Hill, Texas, to her father, E. D. Nolley in Mississippi, March 22, 1866. Otey Collection.

35Letter from Genie E. S. Williamson of Gonzales County, Texas, to Martha A. Otey in Texas, March 26, 1866. Otey Collection.

36Letter from M. A. Otey in Brenham, Texas to her mother M. F. Nolley in Mississippi, April 25, 1866; Letter from M. A. Otey in Washington County, Texas to her mother M. F. Nolley in Mississippi, June 29, 1866. Otey Collection.

37Letter from M. A. Otey in Washington-on-the-Brazos to her mother M. F. Nolley in Mississippi, July 15, 1866. Otey Collection.

38Letter from Col. E. D. Nolley in Mississippi to Dr. R. T. Heflin at Huntsville, Texas, December 7, 1866. Otey Collection.

39Letter from Fannie C. Sterne to Charles Montgomery Sterne, dated June 28, 1869 in the H. F. Lewis Collection, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas.

40Photocopy of original letter held by the Baker family of Fort Worth, Texas, in the possession of the Texas Seaport Museum, Galveston, Texas. Mary Taylor of Hewitt, Texas, donated the photocopy and is a granddaughter of one of the children mentioned as coming to Texas in that 1871 group.
41Baker Family letter at Texas Seaport Museum, Galveston.
Chapter Six -- Attracting People to Texas: The Written Word,

Part Three--Representative Strategies and Tactics Adopted

Attempting to put a diverse grouping of enticement literature into an analytical framework takes on Olympian proportions. One could create a road-long list of things to look for or comparisons to make. Points of comparison multiple exponentially. For our purposes, the emphasis will remain with the "attracting" effort of these documents, i.e. their specific call to potential residents. What tactics did they employ to entice people to come to Texas? Reassurance was one common technique used no matter what the subject matter. Making a negative into a positive, dispelling rumors commonly held in other locales, and pointing to stabilizing features of the new home all served to provide reassurance to the questioning immigrant.

Another common tactic employed by writers of this genre included noting the importance of family and family needs. The central experience of most immigrants remained a familial one. It is important to note that families uprooted themselves and moved on to perceived greener pastures more frequently than did single individuals with no family attachments. Even when the first immigrant traveled alone, the trip often was made to prepare the way for the entire family unit. The brochures and pamphlets of the time knew this fact and catered to that audience.

The historian should be aware of yet another immigrant characteristic that permeated these written enticement pages. Immigrants by nature tend to be future oriented. They relate to the "will" and "shall" of the future, often confusing it with the now expressed in statements using "is" and "are." Typically the present and the future were so closely aligned on the pages of multiple pamphlets that the hopeful immigrant failed to distinguish the difference and saw the future already in his or
her present. Writers routinely placed statements about the future next to concrete descriptions of the present. They wrote to the hopes of their audience.

Many approaches were used to attract immigrants. Writers all presented, or felt like they presented, basic and specific information about the state. These authors perceived their task as information gatherers and dispensers. The underlying assumption remained that if the information was made available to the potential migrants, then they would surely come to Texas. In presenting that information three fairly common techniques were employed in these written materials: attempts at reassurance, assumptions that the family was the unit of immigration, and efforts to speak to the immigrants' hopes for the future. A look at representative documents of enticement literature published during the first decade after the Civil War will clarify and demonstrate these various techniques.

"Will be/Is" Factor

The "will be/is" factor of enticement literature presents one of the most intriguing aspects of such written materials. As today's scholar reads this material in the light of the late twentieth century, the tendency exists to speak out to the late-nineteenth-century reader with a clear "Watch out! Think twice about what they are saying!!" "Be careful! Question motives!" "Read with a critical eye!" "Divide what will be from what is already in place!" Our emotional response today is partly based on the knowledge that sometimes the dreams of the immigrants who came to the United States and to Texas did not always materialize.

Immigrants, by the very definition of the word, meant people willing to try something new--people hopeful that a change will improve their lives, increase opportunities for their family members, or separate them from what seems like a hopeless future. That trait of hopefulness can also tend to cloud judgment. It can
project onto the present, the hopes for tomorrow. Throughout most documents that we are labeling enticement literature, there is an intertwining of the present and the future. This blending could easily be lost on the quick reader, who often assumed that items projected into the future were in fact already in place. Phrases like "will be," "soon," and "in the near future" were common and slipped in next to descriptions of the land and the towns along the way. Sweet, in the Texas New Yorker, published a letter from a Gatesville, Texas, farmer in July 1872. It read in part, "This is the first letter I ever tried to write to a newspaper in my life,...Crops are good. As for wheat, it is better than good. Corn is also good. In fact, better than I ever saw it." His enthusiasm continued as he described other developments in Coryell County by saying that a court house was going up and a bridge would be built "soon."¹

As writers described their home towns or their farms or their city's growth, pride in their locale obviously spilled over into their descriptions. This was a fairly common occurrence. And it is to be expected in any such material meant to attract others. The "will be/is" phenomenon, however, is taking that pride and enthusiasm one step further. Sometimes it reflects an unconscious blending of information as in the previously quoted letter from the Gatesville man. Sometimes it is a deliberate effort at stretching the now to include the projected accomplishments of the future. Railroads commonly used this tactic in their promotional literature. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad (MK&T RR) published such a typical pamphlet. In it the MK&T RR claimed it "was the first line to enter Texas from the north" and that it "is the emigrant's best and cheapest route." Past and present statements existed side by side. Statements of fact also followed: "Lands, in this division of the State range from fifty cents to ten dollars per acre." and "The pecan here finds its favorite home; it becomes the giant of the forest, and every year throws its rich oily nuts to
the ground." Then comes the future intertwined. Still speaking of western Texas, this pamphlet noted "Some localities are well supplied with springs, creeks and rivers of clear wholesome water" and went on to report the value of the pure "mountain air of this region" and its healthful affect upon "consumptive patients from all sections." Then it stated, "and when this beautiful and health-restoring section shall become better settled and known, there cannot be a doubt of its becoming the great resort of the thousands of invalids who annually [sic] seek a change of climate to prolong their lives." In a later paragraph, the same pamphlet itemized the advantages to life in Texas and then trumpeted the belief that, "all these and more are in the near future, each day and year are marching her [i.e. Texas] onward and upward."²

The Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad (GH&SA RR) made a similar ploy in addition to their extensive description of the developments in place along their railroad.

Cites will spring up with the rapidity of magic, the produce of the country will be in such demand, and its lands advance so rapidly in value, that all who have located upon them will become wealthy without labor. This is no fancy picture. That which will happen will be the repetition of that which is now happening all along the line of the Union Pacific Road. Weimar, Flatonia, and other small stations that we have described, will then become flourishing cities, replete with all the luxuries of wealth and civilization.³

The GH&SA RR was making a statement that they felt time would prove accurate. Their reference to past expansion resulting in growth in other areas of the state, helped to give greater legitimacy to their "will be/is" statements.

Railroad promotional literature was not alone in emphasizing the importance of railroad growth in the state and its relationship to the overall development of Texas. George Sweet, journalist, editor of the Texas New Yorker, and publisher of an extensive pamphlet on Texas, commonly incorporated the "will" with the present.
In his 1871 pamphlet, Sweet entitled one section "The Shortest Route From New York City to Mazatlan on the Pacific, is Via the International Railroad in Texas." Then he projected the future of the International Railroad "extending as it will from Northeastern Texas, on the confines of Red River, for 530 miles through the most productive regions of the State, to the waters of the Rio Grande in the Southwest." Still speaking about railroads, but now connecting them to city development, he said of Houston that it "is rapidly growing into a fine large city. It already owns the largest hotel building in Texas." And then he added that "the Houston and Great Northern Railroad will, by first of January, 1872, add its contribution of about 90 miles from Houston, to its Trinity crossing" and "Then we have the International Railroad, which will connect with Houston at Hearne on the Central." Sweet's image of the railroads in Texas definitely meshed the "is" and the "will be." In the same booklet he also wrote that, "her wonderful system of railroads, yet to come, all, all invite the capitalist with his dollars and the yeoman with his brawny arm." His statement implies the vision that he has in his own head already has reality in the world of Texas life.

Other efforts at attracting immigrants used the same meshing technique. The Texas Almanac of 1870 gave extensive attention to the "advantages of Texas" and explained the agricultural possibilities state-wide. The Almanac described the staple crops and then added,

There are here also many other crops suited to our climate and soil found to be more profitable than even cotton at the present prices, such as sugar, the castor bean, the ramie, &c. The cultivation of the two latter is more experimental than otherwise at present, but they are destined soon to become leading staple products.5

That the castor bean and the ramie plant did not become major crops in Texas does not negate the message. For in the mind of Willard Richardson, as editor and publisher of the Texas Almanac, the possibilities were very much a part of his
present view of Texas. He merely wanted to share that view with others—especially others thinking about immigrating to Texas.

Even the fairly conservative Texas Bureau of Immigration material succumbed to use of the "will be/is" tactic, though they used it much less readily than other promotional literature of the day. In a section on the western, more arid portion of the state, a Bureau pamphlet reported that "Farms have already been started, and are now being cultivated with the assistance of irrigation, from which the yield of crops sounds fabulous." But then the projection into the future began: "when its vineyards shall have been planted, the wines from which will rival in quality and quantity those of France, and greatly add to the wealth of this region, it will be the finest portion of the American continent." The line between now and then was frequently blurred in such attraction literature.8

The immigrants themselves in their written material to others blended the present and the future. In one letter Thomas Blackshear of Navasota County wrote about what he personally saw and what he heard, thus mixing the close-up observation with the hopes that such activity would continue elsewhere. He wrote, "Movers are passing by my house nearly every day, going West, and I hear of large numbers of immigrants from the old States, coming into every part of our State." A Norwegian immigrant living in Galveston wrote home praising Texas, saying,

Texas is generally acknowledged to be one of the most healthful and fertile states in the Union, and it only lacks people and capital, railroads, and canals to become in time one of the greatest grain- and cotton-producing areas in the world.

His personal hopes for the future in his adopted state colored his present perception of Texas. That comes through clearly in the message of his letter.9

City boosters dreamed of the future too. Their blending of present and future spoke to their hopes for improvement. Sometimes the city spokesperson overdrew
its projected future. In one promotional pamphlet entitled *Texas: Its Climate, Soil, Productions, Trade, Commerce, and Inducements for Emigration*, the anonymous author wrote about the present and future of the city of Jefferson. He placed Jefferson in 1870 as Texas' fourth largest city with a total population "numbering more than 15000 inhabitants." Census records would indicate the assertion was a slight exaggeration, but the writer continued with the following statement:

As this portion of Texas is well watered, very rich and productive, increasing rapidly in population and trade, in all probability Jefferson, in a few years, aided by the construction of the International and Transcontinental Railroads, will be the second if not the first city in the Lone Star State. [Italics in the original]8

The reality of fertile soil and good location allowed this writer to see the addition of the railroad as the spur to making Jefferson supreme among the cities in Texas.9

The blending of present and future served as a convenient tactic for almost all the attraction literature of the time. The intent of the writer, whether speculative or genuine in nature, assuredly varied from document to document. That the potential immigrant read this blending and often failed to make the distinction between future and present description is also an accurate assumption. The existence of the tactic in Texas enticement literature, though, speaks to the hope carried in the heart of almost all immigrants as they began their journey.

**Families as the Norm**

In his classic work on immigration, John Bodnar writes of the centrality of the family to the immigration experience. Taking issue with Oscar Handlin's image of "uprooted" people, Bodnar prefers the gardener's view of "transplanted" life. While disorientation and some chaos surround the immigrant's experience, Bodnar sees the connection to family as a stabilizing and crucial part in the whole journey from citizen in one nation to productive member of another country.10 It is doubtful
that authors of enticement literature of the late nineteenth century spent time
developing this theoretical framework. However, the results of their work exemplifies
their awareness of immigration as a familial event. Written material meant to
attract new people to the United States, and specifically to Texas, addressed its
message to men and women; wives and husbands; mothers and fathers as parents of
children. In other words, the promotional literature spoke to families of all shapes,
sizes, and ethnic background.

The Texas State Register of 1876, an almanac-like publication of the era,
provides a typical example of the effort to attract families. The book included the
statement, "Texas is a new country; large areas of her domain have never seen the
plow or been tickled with the hoe. She desires to receive a large amount of
immigration....She asks men and women in all parts of the world...to come to her
territory." An advertisement in Bryant's Railroad Guide began with the boldface
heading "A HOME IN TEXAS!" and went on to tout its "excellent schools &
churches" as a lure to settlement. A pamphlet proclaiming the virtues of life in
Austin and Travis County addressed the same kinds of issues as the ad in the
railroad guide. It included columns on such topics as the churches by number and
denomination and the schools for white and colored students. The pamphlet also
noted ethnic associations like the Turnverein for the German population and the
Hibernians for the Irish. Masonic lodges and the Grange association were listed as
well. The enticement literature seemed to be sending a message that included the
whole family's activities, not just discussing the work of the farmer in the field.\footnote{11}

Some promotional literature took an additional step in their efforts to attract
new citizens to Texas. They subtly, and sometimes not so subtly, tried to use guilt
to move the potential emigrant. The Houston Telegraph in an 1869 article asked,
"Why stay in countries where you and your children must be hewers of wood and
drawers of water, when you can come to Texas and carve out for yourselves an independence." H. C. Mack in his booklet Texas. Information for Emigrants said it more boldly.

It is your duty to avail yourself of all the advantages of country and climate that you possibly can--by emigration if necessary, not alone for your own comfort and convenience but that your offspring with you and after you may be relieved of many of the hardships and much of the burthens of life. If it be the duty of men to do all they can for the good of their neighbors, how much more is it their duty to provide for the happiness and well-being of those of their own household. 13

Yet another exhortation to migrate to Texas put the message to the family in this way:

Should fathers and mothers in the older States, who have children, wish to go to a new country where they can raise them up and accustom them to the flowery and joyous paths of honor and virtue, so that they may in after life be the pride, delight, and support of their parents, my advice to them is: Go to Texas! where the land is cheap and rich--where labor and capital are in great demand--where the poor man by honest labor may become rich--where no such things as hunger and starvation are known. 14

Family obligations and family interest were perceived by the writers of much of the enticement literature as primary motivating factors in the final decision to migrate, i.e. to make a change with the hope that life will be better for everyone in the family.

Another family-oriented approach by those publishing materials intending to attract immigrants was to share personal stories of success. Relating the experiences of a variety of families around the state was a primary technique used by the GH&SA RR in its 1876 booklet of fifty-five pages. With a pattern of repetition that was unimaginative in approach, the anonymous author used names of people connected to specific locales to verify by personal example the statements made encouraging immigration. The tactic, by implication, encouraged the potential
immigrants to put themselves into the printed story as the main characters. The booklet asks the reader, for example, to think about the Gallm family which lived eighteen miles outside of San Antonio. They bought land in 1870 and by 1876 had much of it fenced. They had made 120 bushels of corn in 1876 and the "wife had made and sold, by the first of September, two hundred dollars' worth of butter." Justifying the hard work and the move, the author noted that the family valued their land "at $1,500" after just paying $200 for it five years earlier. The booklet claimed Mr. Gallm "has had no one to help him but his little son, now fifteen years old." Although the statement seems to discount the probable contribution of the woman to the actual farming process, the story does suggest the effort of the family working as a whole to accomplish their life's dream.\textsuperscript{15}

Other examples of this strategy on the part of enticement literature are common. A real estate agency working in Texas and Louisiana reported visiting one of the large plantations recently divided up for family tenants and finding "corn cribs full of corn and pumpkins" and one family which "made $125 from the sale of eggs alone in one year." The 1870 Texas Almanac included a letter to the editor where the subscriber detailed the success of one family with these words: "One man, with two small boys to help him pick the cotton crop, can easily cultivate fifteen acres in cotton, and as much more in corn, besides potatoes, oats, vegetables, etc., more than enough for his own use." The immigration committee of Hempstead, Texas, proclaimed in some of its material for distribution that a "Mr. Armor, lately from Alabama, has made two crops here on high, dry, sandy uplands in the prairie. Last year, with late start, cultivated 30 acres cotton and 40 in corn with himself and three sons, aged respectively 16, 10 and 8 years."\textsuperscript{16} The family working together, as a unit, meant success in the fresh lands west of the Mississippi. At least, that is the message of most promotional writers.
The typical assumption of most enticement literature was that emigrant families would engage in farming. They would move onto the land and grow crops for export utilizing the growing rail system around the state to deliver their goods to market. Many of the booklets and pamphlets also mentioned other alternatives, such as stock-raising. Hanford's Texas State Register of 1879 continued in this tradition by reiterating earlier suggestions that stock-raising could be profitable, even for those with little capital. Families could succeed in raising cattle and horses, the book claimed. The article read in part,

...Years ago, one of our Texas writers mentioned the fact that men in moderate circumstances, with families, found this a very remunerative employment for their boys, as, at the age of eight or ten years, they become as efficient as grown hands, and are far more apt at learning. Boys take readily to the stock-raising business, and their interest can be easily stimulated by making them the owners of a few head, which, in three or four years, increase to a respectable property on which to set up for themselves. The occupation is healthful, and if the parents are moral and intelligent, they can train their sons after their own image and likeness just as easy in following this as any other business.17

The tug at parental duty to "train" and prepare the family members for a livelihood is obvious.

Sheep raising was also something encouraged by the pamphlets for emigrants to the state. The western lands of the state seemed best suited to that endeavor. The Texas Bureau of Immigration in printing information on sheep raising in Texas gave slightly discouraging advice, but still suggestions oriented toward family considerations. The pamphlet reiterated the information funneled to them by someone signing his letter "John James." Through the eyes of this John James the advice read,

...To conclude, I will say that wool-growers, using several thousand acres of land each,...are not likely to have many neighbors. Therefore, men having families, used to society, must have a residence in a village as near to his business as he can find a suitable location.
Otherwise, the females in the family are lonesome, being often left alone, while the men are attending to the flocks.

The business suits single men better at the present time--but upon the general occupation of the country, that difficulty will be less felt.  

Such an admonition seems detrimental to the attraction of families. Yet seen in another way, the advice expresses the reality of a special type of agricultural business. And the writer seems very aware of the natural tendency for immigrants to come as family units. His advice would be the kind that families would want to consider as they pondered the idea of moving from their homeland.

Enticement literature provided a whole host of information that families would find important. One railroad publication made the comment, "As a hand-book for the immigrant, this work would be incomplete did it not contain some allusion to the homestead, marital and other laws of the State."  

Most pamphlets whether issued by the state government, railroads, real estate agencies, or other business endeavors included some material excerpting state laws as they applied to these issues. The chance to obtain a homestead and keep it free from bankruptcy proceedings served as a concrete lure to potential families. The assurance that widowhood would not automatically result in loss of one's home would have meant a great deal to prospective migrants to the state. Reproduction of constitutional provisions or state laws thus served to inform the family unit of its central role in settling the state.

Information relating to governmental laws was only one of many subjects covered in these pamphlets. Families used these various booklets to help decide on their course of action once the decision to migrate was made. Sometimes the suggestions given were contradictory. One publication stated,

Immigrants are advised not too sell more of their personal property before starting for Texas than is unavoidable. Whatever they will need when they arrive, had best be brought along if they
have it. Many have suffered by selling off their comforts at low prices which they needed on arrival.

This is especially true of live stock of good quality or improved breed. These always find a ready market in Texas, and at good prices. While the immigrant is cautioned against burthening himself with unnecessary and cumbersome luggage, he is advised not to sell necessary comforts.21

Yet another reference work stated,

For the information of people emigrating to Texas, we wish to say, that before leaving other States, they should sell everything they have in the way of personal and household effects, unless it is the inevitable and everlasting feather bed. We might as well make this exception, for any woman had as soon think of leaving a baby behind as to sell this feathery family bequest. There is no use in bringing along a lot of old quilts and general "plunder" when you can buy anything and everything just as cheap in Texas as where you come from. The freight on "old plunder" eats up the entire value of it, frequently; and it is better to sell out lock, stock and barrel, and take a new deal.22

This last example of advice would seem quite unusual considering that the source was Bryant's Railroad Guide. One might assume its author would see railroads benefiting from carrying household freight items. However, our point here is not that the pamphlets did not agree, but that the written material knew it was addressing families and that the immigrants would be making decisions based upon familial concerns.23

Railroads throughout the last half of the nineteenth century remained primary publishers of promotional literature working to attract new settlers to Texas. One of their methods was merely to describe Texas and its bounteous land as an attraction to settlers. But they also used these written materials to explain the railroad's unique potential as the best means of transportation available. Railroads spent money on promotional material for a variety of reasons. Often they had land to sell the newcomer--land that had been part of the state's deal at encouraging railroad construction. In addition the railways needed settlers along
the lines to produce goods that would then need to be shipped to market. Freightage on those goods would thus support the railroad. Of course the movement of goods would go in both directions, for the trains returning to the settled portions of the state would haul along the goods needed in the general stores, newspaper offices, saloons, and shops as well as materials for building construction. Finally, the railroad needed to develop an image as the best, most comfortable and dependable form of people transportation as well. It is to this last motive that the railroad material addressed the needs of family units.

One superb example of promotional material taking direct aim at the immigrant as part of a family on the move was an MK&T RR flier entitled, Free Guide to Texas. Aware of the concern for travel costs to new lands, the railway offered reduced rates for children. The railway proudly advertised that children under five were entitled to free passage, while those between the ages of five and twelve road at half fare. The MK&T RR even promised to entertain the children during their travels. One mother's testimonial was prominently displayed in their brochure:

All the Children kept well on our trip to Texas....The only trouble we had was with the children after we reached the "Indian Territory." They were fairly crazy with delight, and their little heads were out of the window all day long. First they would see a drove of deer; then thousands of prairie chickens; then a tree full of parrots and mocking birds; then the hill sides and valleys just one mass of verbenas...then great towering rocks, looking like glaciers of ice with grand cascades pouring over them.24

Her enthusiastic portrayal of the children and their excitement over the scenery from the train was meant to reach the parenting concerns of immigrant travelers.

The enticement literature in Texas from 1865 to 1876 exhibited enthusiastic portrayals of the state and a broad range of instructive data for the potential immigrant. Imbedded in this vast quantity of written material was the assumption
that specific, up-to-date information would set the stage for families to make a knowledgeable decision to move to Texas. Two strategies utilized in the various promotional literature of the era have been highlighted in this chapter: 1) written material was typically addressed to family units, 2) material often blended future possibilities with present realities as if they were one. A third tactic widely used was that of reassurance. The publisher or author assumed the existence of a specific, usually negative message previously received on the part of the reader and worked to change that currently held idea.

Reassurance

Often the source of mis-information remained a nebulous "they have said" or "rumor has it." Rarely did Texas promotional literature identify specifically an institution or person or business that had spoken negatively about Texas. The unknown assailant of Texas' reputation remained foggily in the generic. For example, one railway pamphlet stated, "the erroneous opinion prevailed that a Northern or Western man, and in fact the immigrant from every where, was not safe here." A pattern developed within enticement literature. First, the existence of the negative message was often proclaimed. Then that message was forcefully addressed. And finally, as the argument supportive of Texas came to a close, the reader could almost hear the author saying, "And thus we see that once what was thought true is not in fact so." It was hoped by tackling the rumor or negative publicity head-on, it could be laid to rest forever.

Many such rumors provided fodder for defensive statements by those writing enticement pamphlets and books. To the assumption that workers were not needed in a state with a substantial black population, one newspaper proclaimed, "Labor is
in great demand, and prices now rule high....In no State in the Union is labor so well paid as in Texas. While labor is high, living is astonishingly cheap." One letter writer to the Texas New Yorker assured readers that Texas was a wheat-growing state, as opposed to only a cotton-growing state. In June of 1872 he claimed to have gathered some heads of wheat from his fields, shelled them, and counted the grains. In a tone of pride and assurance he wrote they "averaged 55 grains to the head!"
To the argument that cities in Texas were not healthy places to live, the Texas State Register stated with authority, "Galveston is a healthy city, being entirely free from any prevailing sickness....There has not been a case of yellow fever in the city for the last year." Then in a classic example of the "will be/is" tactic the author added, "There is no reason why this fever should exist in Galveston at all, and it is believed that sanitary improvements, made and in progress, will effectually protect the city from any future visitations of the yellow fever."26

Rumors about Texas were almost as numerous as the vast numbers of acres available for settlers. One persistent story about Texas grew partly out of its position on the western frontier, proximity to Indian territories, and participation in the Civil War fighting; i.e. that Texas was a lawless, violent place. Enticement literature, especially those works published during the decade from 1865 to 1876, had to address that concern. Almost every document of this early era had a statement to the effect that law and order were the rule for the day. One said, "Law and order are as rigidly maintained, and crime as promptly punished as in any of the States. Every neighborhood is supplied with church privileges, and the cause of the Bible is well maintained."27 One 1869 pamphlet stated,

There is a great prejudice existing abroad against Texas on account of its reputed lawlessness. Those wild reports so often circulated about the outlawry of Texans are greatly exaggerated; as a rule you will notice that the further you get from the given scene of action the more you are likely to hear about these things; the storm
gathers force as it moves on, so reports grow enormous as they get further from the latitude that gives them birth.

In combating such circulating reports the same author tried a dose of honesty by stating,

That there are a vast number of crimes committed throughout the different portions of Texas we do not doubt, and the people themselves do not deny it, but that there is such a wholesale system of wrongs and outrages being continually committed, as is indicated by current circulations and represented to exist by the northern press is in no sense true.

While in this case the author was blaming the journalists of the North, they remained a unnamed mass of antagonists without a specific face or name.\textsuperscript{28}

The issue of lawlessness was brought up time and again by writers who paradoxically were trying to lay the discussion to rest. One pamphlet began its discussion of Texas "Society" by saying,

Much has been said and written about the lawlessness of Texas and the disorganized state of society; this is to a certain extent, or falacy [sic], a base concoction of falsehoods, invented and used for political capital.

The people of Texas are to-day a good law abiding people and crave nothing more than peace and prosperity...The days of lawlessness and crime in Texas, are things of the past, and every good man is trying to better his condition.\textsuperscript{29}

A Houston newspaper concluded a long article with the rousing call, "Come to Texas. There is no lawlessness here that will affect a man who aims to settle and make a living by honest labor."\textsuperscript{30}

The message was repeated over and over again. Whether it was believed by the reader, or not, the writers felt the need to stand patriotically by their state and claim success for the law-abiding element of the state. George Sweet in his promotional book on Texas used a Texas Irishman's letter to make the statement from San Antonio, "The State of Texas never was more peaceable than at present, and its march toward grand development and signal prosperity is remarkable."
Using the same letter format, Sweet also quotes an Englishman whose message had been published in the *Birmingham Journal* in England. Traveling to and through Texas, this European recorded his observations and reported:

The notions prevalent in England about Texas, and, for that matter, in the older States of the Union, would picture to the imagination a country wild indeed, where the citizens lead a semi-lawless life, with six-shooters in hand, and in pretty constant dread of stampeding buffaloes and creeping Indians. All these notions melt away like dissolving views, when one leaves New Orleans and steps on board the steamer for Galveston.

This Englishman's portrayal of his encounter with Texas reads like a continual revelation mile by mile of the civility of Texas--the land and its people.31

No matter who the audience or readership of the enticement literature, the writers worked to make it crystal clear that Texas was not some backward, uncivilized, shooting range. In following a common, if unconscious pattern, the writers typically tackled the subject head-on, made their argument, and then left the subject behind after a definitive conclusion. The *Texas State Register* of 1876 made their representative argument in this way and under the heading, "Character of the People of Texas."

Notwithstanding all the abuse that has been cast upon the South, and especially upon Texas, we do not hesitate to say that when the immigrant settles in any of the farming sections of Texas, he will find himself surrounded by a law-abiding, peaceable, and well-informed people, who will not only respect all his rights, but will extend to him all the kindness and attention due to a stranger. He will also find the old settlers of Texas generally a moral and religious people, but perfectly free from all bigotry and intolerance...All that has been said of the violent and disorderly character of Texans is totally false, and we here pledge ourselves that every immigrant will find it so.32

The absoluteness of the statement was meant to convey an aura of finality to the argument. One senses a feeling on the part of the author that since he had written the statement, it must surely be so.
As the writers of enticement literature tried to put to rest the rumors about Texas lawlessness, they also worked to dispense with the perception that Texas, a southern state, did not want northerners. As with other rumors, this one had some basis in fact. In the immediate postwar period, some northern soldiers, educators, and government representatives arrived in southern territory seeking to participate in efforts at reunification of the southern states with the northern states. Perceived as outsiders by many, this in-migration provoked negative responses on the part of some southerners. Written material expressing such negativism did reach the northern press. A few times this message was enriched by fable rather than fact and thus rumors evolved. Efforts to dispel this rumor as it applied to Texas varied from the very flowery to the very direct. One writer speaking of "The New Era" in Texas wrote,

> The people of Texas, do most sincerely desire, and still labor for an accession to their numbers of all such, without reference to their nativity, or to their religious or political opinions--who may come in good faith and honesty of purpose, to lend by their hearts, their hands, their heads, and their means, and every good influence, to the more perfect restoration and maintenance of sound and wholesome government, and to the fullest development of the wonderful resources of a country yet only in its infancy of development, and almost unknown.[Italics in original]

Another promotional pamphlet noted the past experience of men who "came from Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Connecticut, and even the State of New Jersey," thus supplying Galveston with "several very good citizens." The same writer noted that the population of Texas had people "from all parts of Christendom" and then added, "Texans born and reared in Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, are often seen associating on terms of intimacy and friendship with the fire-eating natives of South Carolina." Taking his argument one step further and probably stretching his own credibility, the author added, "In fact, many of the
richest and most influential citizens of Texas were born, reared and educated in the Northern States, and no class of emigrants are more warmly desired in Texas than the sharp, ingenious, labor-saving Yankee."

Always searching for a way to influence the readers and impress upon them the veracity of their claims, writers of such booster literature often relied upon the travelers’ account recorded in letter format. George Sweet in his promotional work appropriated the letter of a Michigan man writing in April 1870 from Bryan, Texas, in Brazos County. Other subjects in the letter were varied, but the issue of northern acceptance by Texans is one point clearly addressed.

And I must say that notwithstanding the prejudices under which I in common with all of you labored, as to the feelings here, I am now convinced from actual experience and observation, that the Northern man, it don’t matter what his politics are, or what he may have been, is just as safe here as in Michigan.34

This letter, written in 1870, addressed the topic directly. Still in 1876 the concern about Texas accepting people different from themselves remained a topic of consideration and debate.

We can see that the topic remained on the minds of Texans and non-Texans alike by a review of Governor Richard B. Hubbard’s speech at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. He, too, followed the pattern of bringing up the subject, discussing its fallacies, and then making an effort to leave the topic forever, as if the question were settled. The Centennial Exposition of 1876 was to be a party celebrating the birth of the United States of America. It gave each state at least one opportunity to improve or develop its public image by asking each governor to address assembled guests at the Exposition. Governor Hubbard of Texas utilized that chance to describe his beloved state and all its resources. He also used the speech to denounce the negative publicity abroad about Texas. After rehearsing the obligatory history of the settlement of Texas, its development as a Republic, and
then its inclusion in the United States of America, he boastfully listed the natural
resources of the state. He spoke of the "fabulous growth" of the state's population,
but then directly began to refute what he called the "carping critics and willful
maligners of our good name."  

Specifically addressing the issue of emigration and toleration, Hubbard
addressed the Philadelphia crowd on a September day in 1876:

Texas invites the emigrant to come hither, and from whatever
land, he will be met at the threshold by genial and honest
welcome....What care we for your political opinions, or under what flag
you have fought? Texas wants men, honest men, with hearts and
strong arms, to populate her wilderness and prairies, with freedom to
vote or to speak as if "native and to the manor born."...Why, sirs when
you are told that we dislike for our Northern brethren to immigrate
hither, it is a base slander on a brave and generous people.  

Hubbard's speech, made in the North to a predominately northern audience, had its
initial impact upon the populace and also through newspaper accounts of the time.
But it is especially interesting to see how that speech became an integral part of
enticement literature on a wider scale.

Two existing documents serve to show the influence of Governor Hubbard's
Centennial Speech. It was reprinted in its entirety by W. G. Kingsbury. Kingsbury
was an employee of the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad Company
of Texas. Upon the directive of the officers of that railroad, Kingsbury had the
speech printed with the idea of distributing it throughout England as a means of
overcoming negative publicity about Texas. In his preface to the printed speech,
Kingsbury said in reference to Texas that "certain anonymous writers in
newspapers, and Agents of Colonial Schemes have undertaken to blacken her fair
name, and dispute her many advantages." With that as the incentive, Kingsbury
felt the weight of authority ascribed to a governor of a state would lend exceptional
credence to the message so "that no man worthy of notice would dare dispute them."
While it is not known how many copies were printed by the GH&SA RR or distributed overseas, the effort exemplifies attempts to overcome negative publicity and the utilization of various materials to accomplish that end. The governor's speech ended up with a much wider audience than just those who stood before him in Philadelphia. The extent to which the speech was copied or excerpted in other publications is unknown, but it was used in the 1878 version of A. Hanford's Texas State Register. We can assume that other Texas publications utilized the authoritative sounding statements of the governor in a similar way.37

Governor Hubbard's speech serves to make two points. One, it clearly addressed the rumor that foreigners or northerners were not welcome in Texas and attempted to close the subject for discussion. Since the speech was made in 1876, its existence suggests that the question of who was welcome in Texas had been an issue for all of the ten years since the close of the Civil War. The rumor obviously still had great strength throughout the country. Second, the speech hints at the linkages among promotional literature of this time period. This chapter's emphasis at analyzing strategies and techniques used by enticement literature, has not delved into this aspect of the subject. However, it is important to be aware that material was freely used, re-used, edited, and re-edited by the many different pamphlets, booklets, and brochures published by those wishing to entice people to move to Texas. The example of a Texas Governor's speech made in Pennsylvania being appropriated in its entirety by a railroad for distribution in Europe illustrates such overlap and re-use. It hints at just one thread of the network cast everywhere to attract the potential settler to Texas.38

Efforts such as Governor Hubbard's to reassure assumed that a negative message prevailed outside Texas as to the state's desirability as a home for immigrants. Messages of reassurance existed in all the enticement literature. The
subjects of such words of comfort were many. So far in this analysis, we have restricted our explication to two topics for which writers offered reassurance: rumors of lawlessness and the belief that Texans hated outsiders. Yet another message, heard frequently by people in Europe and in northern or western states, was the story of the "Texas Norther." The approaches taken to dispelling the stories surrounding "Texas Northers" were as numerous as the many pamphlets published. One approach was to minimize one aspect of the climate to the glorification of all the other weather. The Texas Colonization, Land and Trust Company, in its short pamphlet said simply, "The only disagreeable feature of our climate is the 'northers.' By implication all the rest of the year's weather couldn't be maligned. One direct approach used by a writer for the Texas Almanac of 1873 was excerpted for re-use in the Texas State Register of 1876. It read, "Texas northers have not only become famous abroad, but they deserve notoriety for the suddenness [sic] and violence of their winds, but not, generally, for the severity of the cold which attends them." This author, W. J. Blewett, devoted a full page to describing two kinds of winter storms in Texas--"wet northers" and "dry northers." Blewett based his observations on experiences during his previous four years residence in the state and compared Texas storms with storms he had experienced in Florida and Georgia. He was especially intrigued with the "dry northers," since as he put it, they "are attended with peculiar and singular phenomena, never witnessed, so far as I know, in any storms east of Texas." He described their unique character in this way.

For several hours preceding the most violent of these dry northers there is almost a dead calm, and the air is unusually warm and sultry. A few low, sluggish bodies of cloud float about in the atmosphere. A dark, muddy looking cloud-wave will next appear low down, all across the northern horizon, which is the "precautionary signal" of the near approach of this strange Texas storm. A few minutes more, and the terrible roaring of the norther is distinctly
heard. All hands in the field at work are running to the house for shelter...

Blewett's description is a bit more detailed than most, but his emphasis on the suddenness of the event captures the essence of stories that circulated about "Texas Northers." 40

Another document approached the subject much more tersely with the simple statement, "Some complain of our Texas northers, and others of the severe heat of summer. Our northers are of short duration. They conduce to health and give the farmer fine opportunities to kill his pork." 41 The argument made in this statement illustrates a common approach to defining northers to potential immigrants. The writer takes the fact that northers exist and presents the flip side or advantage to such a change in weather.

The Austin city boosters wrote about northers as causing "a sudden fall of the thermometer" but added that thereby, "The atmosphere is purified and cooled, and healthfulness promoted." One real estate agent said of northers that "this suddenness of change makes the cold felt more sensibly and disagreeably. But these north winds are never unhealthy, and are only unpleasant while they last; they do not last longer than two or three days." Another promoter of Texas immigration claimed, "One great benefit may be mentioned as coming from these chilling blasts, and that is, that they always give a cool, dry and healthy atmosphere." This same writer, after devoting over a page to the subject, then tried to throw responsibility for the negative expressions of Texas' northers upon disgruntled migrants. He wrote, "The effect of these Northers is most prodigiously magnified, and especially by those who becoming dissatisfied with the country, are disposed to retromigrate, and naturally attempt to justify their course by berating the country." And then he added, "There is no denying the unpleasantness of these Northers, even by those
entertaining feelings of the greatest partiality for Texas, but this unpleasantness is greatly magnified by those who acquire a dislike for the country.\textsuperscript{42}

The Texas Bureau of Immigration even tackled the subject of northerners in a several paragraph section to its promotional brochure. The Bureau's approach to the subject reflects a simple, practical bent at adapting to weather changes. The brochure describes the sudden wind and the quick change in temperature, but notes that "The man recently from the North or West, does not mind them, while the Texan puts on his warmest clothing, or keeps in doors." Then much like other explanations of these winter storms, the writer pointed to the positive to be seen in the negative experience, "These winds are highly charged with electricity, and there is no doubt of their purifying effect of the atmosphere and beneficial effect on the health of the people."\textsuperscript{43}

In each of these documents the pattern repeats itself. Identify the negative. Explain the reality. Sometimes point to the beneficial aspects in the midst of the seeming negative. Then move on to another subject, assuming that the rumor has been neatly laid to rest. The very forcefulness of the approach reflects the belief on the part of these various authors that the written word has power. They believed that information published for the potential immigrant carried a great deal of weight in helping the immigrant make decisions. Texas promotional literature of the late nineteenth century depended heavily upon such an approach as the best pathway to peopling the state.

Reassuring potential immigrants that the unknown is really not that scary was the self-imposed task of the enticement pamphlets, brochures, and books published in Texas between 1865 and 1876. Dispelling rumors became an active process. Writers meant to take the offensive against disagreeably negative publicity. They frequently tackled the topic of supposed lawlessness in the state.
They also attacked the rumor that outsiders were not welcome within Texas' borders. Yet another negative message taken on by the writers of this enticement literature was what some called "the dreaded norther."

Many Texans living between 1865 and 1876 saw the need for an in-migration of people to the state. The perceived need for these newcomers varied depending upon the source of the immigration encouragement. Cities wanted people to help fuel their growth and support development through their taxes. Railroads wanted farmers along their lines as customers of transportation services. The state government responded to the belief of its voters that new people were needed to fill out the empty spaces in a far flung "Empire State." And landowners looked to various endeavors to bring hands to the plow for farming the fertile soil.

No matter the initial motivation at attracting people to Texas, a belief in the value of the written word was a central focus to all these various groups or people. When asking themselves, "How do we attract people to Texas?" the standard reply involved some suggestion requiring the publication, printing, or distribution of the written word to perform that service. Newspapers, almanacs, slim pamphlets, thick booklets, maps, and letters all provided the medium for those written words. It has also been suggested that all these mediums shared at least three basic strategies in utilizing those written words. They all spoke directly to immigrants most frequently as family units, assuming the migration of people in families. They all blended, to some extent at least, the statements of the present descriptions of Texas with the future promise seen by the writer. And also, they used the tone of reassurance to present a caring approach meant to dispel the fears of the unknown inherent in any migratory adventure.
In the ten years after the Civil War, many people moved to Texas. Her population increased dramatically from 604,215 in 1860 to 818,579 in 1870 and then almost doubling to 1,591,749 in 1880⁴⁴ and that increase was on the whole welcomed by most natives. During that same time the state of Texas maintained and funded a Bureau of Immigration with the stated purpose of encouraging immigrants to move to Texas. The involvement of government in this endeavor has been illustrated. Its endeavors have also been shown to be one part of an expanding network meant to send the welcoming message abroad and across the United States. Political maneuverings in 1875 ended the life of the Texas Bureau of Immigration. It is to that story to which we now turn.
1Texas New Yorker, July, 1872, p. 260. Hereinafter cited as TNY.

2FREE!, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway (N.p., 1877), pp. 7, 8, 4, 6.

3Immigrants Guide to Western Texas, Sunset Route, Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway (N.p., [1876]), 51.

4George H. Sweet, Texas: Her Early History, Climate, Soil, and Material Resources. With Sketches of Eastern, Central and Western Texas, Principal Counties and Cities. Also Reliable Information Concerning her Present and Prospective Railroad Developments and Inducements to Immigration; or the Immigrants' Hand-Book of Texas (New York: E. O'Keefe, 1871), pp. 21, 47, 4; Texas journalists shared this meshed image (present and future) of railroad systems criss-crossing the state. The Houston Telegraph, December 7, 1869, p. 4 included a statement typical of this vision: "...now is the time for the immigrant to come here, while land is cheap. These roads will not only connect with others reaching the great railroads of the East, but also the Pacific Ocean." The Galveston Daily News, August 13, 1868, p. 3 quoted the Waxahachie Argus as saying, "We have as fine schools and educational facilities as are afforded anywhere. We will soon have great railroad nerves intersecting the body of our growing State, when land will advance at a rapid bound."

5Texas Almanac, 1870, p. 133.

6[Texas Bureau of Immigration], Texas: The Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere (Houston: A.C. Gray, State Printer, 1875), 22; Other promotional efforts repeated the projections about wine production. For example, the Houston Telegraph printed an article that stated the coastal region of Texas had waters full of fish and forests of trees "covered with vines producing grapes, from which millions of gallons of wine might be annually manufactured." (November 8, 1871, p. 6)


9The interesting epilogue to the story of this Texas city is that the 1870s was the high point of development for Jefferson. The city would not work with Jay Gould and the potential railroad construction in the way in which the railroad tycoon insisted and the city was left with water transportation heading towards New Orleans, but no rail connection with the rest of the state or country. This contributed heavily to the city's failure to evolve into the growing metropolis foreseen by city boosters.


12*Houston Telegraph,* December 7, 1869, p. 4.


15*Immigrants Guide to Western Texas,* p. 36.


17*Texas State Register* (Galveston: A. Hanford, 1879), 43.


19M. Whildin, comp., *A Description of Western Texas* (Galveston: "News" Steam Book and Job Office, 1876), 92. The front cover of this document has an illustration of the railroad and the title, *Immigrants Guide to Western Texas.* The book totaled 120 pages and appears to be a longer version of the fifty-four page document published by the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railway with a front cover title of *Immigrants Guide to Western Texas. Sunset Route.*

20See the following literature for examples of this use of excerpts from constitutional or legislative materials: *Texas Almanac,* 1870, pp. 58-82 contains the whole state constitution with p. 75 listing the article dealing specifically with the state's interest in developing a Bureau of Immigration to encourage the peopling of the state; Bryant, *Bryant's Railroad Guide,* pp. 64 and 79; *Notes on Texas and the Texas and Pacific Railway,* (Philadelphia: Ringwalt & Brown, Prs., 1873), pp. 34-35; [TBI] *Texas: Home,* pp. 15-16 and 18-19; *Sweet, Texas,* pp. 109-110; *Texas State Register,* 1876, pp. 58-60; *Immigrants Guide to Western Texas,* pp. 47-50; *FREE!* pp. 9-12; Revised Map of the State of Texas (N.p., 1876), back side of map.

21*Texas State Register,* 1878, p. 124.

22Bryant, *Bryant's Railroad Guide,* p. 121; Yet another perspective on the decision to either bring all or sell all is presented in the Texas Bureau of Immigration 1875 work where the state agency counsels the advantages of traveling by wagon to Texas during the fall months of September to December when travel is fairly pleasant. One advantage of this mode of travel, says the pamphlet, is the family's ability to bring with them much of their home stock giving them a needed
head start in farming their new land with not as much additional outlay of capital. The idea is followed by the observation, "These suggestions are worthy the deliberate consideration of those preparing to move." See [TBI], Texas: Home, pp. 37-38.

In this chapter the attempt to remain focused on three specific tactics used in attracting immigrants should not eliminate the observation that much specific information was included in each of these pamphlets. An excellent overview of the inclusive information can be obtained easily by looking at various Table of Contents. Articles or lists included references to post offices and money order offices in Texas (Texas State Register, 1879); newspapers in Texas (Texas Rural Register, 1875); State fair of Texas information (Brady, Glimpses of Texas, 1871); geological features of the country (Mack, Texas. Information for Emigrants, 1869); county population figures with rainfall and temperature information ([TBI], Texas: Home, 1875).

Free Guide to Texas, Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway (Chicago: Rand, McNally Co., 1876). Document consists of one folded sheet. Also see children's rates listed in pamphlet by the MK&T RR entitled FREE! (N.p., 1877), p. 27.

FREE!, p. 2.

Houston Telegraph, November 8, 1871, p. 6; TNY, July 1872, p. 260; Texas State Register, 1876, p. 73.

FREE!, p. 2.

Mack, Texas, p. 141.


McCarty, A Few Practical Remarks, p. 3; Texas: Its Climate, Soil, Productions, pp. 28, 5-6.

McCarty, A Few Practical Remarks, p. 3; Texas: Its Climate, Soil, Productions, pp. 28, 5-6.

R. B. Hubbard, Centennial Oration of Governor R. B. Hubbard, of Texas, Delivered at the National Exposition, September 11, 1876, pp. 11 and 7. A copy of this speech was found at the Texas State Library, bound in a volume with multiple printed works. No publication information or title page to the sixteen page pamphlet was included, although a one page preface of explanation for publication was listed as written by W. G. Kingsbury, London, England.


Hubbard, Centennial Oration, "Preface," no pagination listed; Texas State Register, 1878, p. 77.
An interesting comparative study could be done of the wholesale use and reuse of written material by the various enticement literature. It is doubtful that potential immigrants read and compared various brochures, but today's scholar can see what we would call in the twentieth-century blatant plagiarism. An excellent example of this practice, which can serve to make the point would entail a comparison of the 1877 MK&T RR brochure FREE and the Texas Bureau of Immigration's booklet Texas: Home for the Emigrant From Everywhere. In fact the first page of each document is a verbatim rendering of a laudatory account of Texas history that begins with the sentence, "There is no portion of the American Continent so rich and Varied in history as the State of Texas." While the Bureau's publication has an 1875 publishing date and the railroad pamphlet was published in 1877, we can't be sure that the one copied the other. It is possible that they both used an earlier source for their work. Neither document has a stated author. See pages 6-7 and 16 of FREE and compare to Texas: Home pages 13 and 24-25.


Circular of the Texas Colonization, Land & Trust Company. With a Brief Description of Texas, Northwestern Texas and Young County (N.p., 1873), 6; Texas State Register, 1876, p. 61.

Texas State Register, 1872, p. 78.

Austin, The Capital of Texas, p. 2-3; McCarty, A Few Practical Remarks, p. 8; Mack, Texas, p. 131-133.

Chapter Seven -- The 1876 Constitution and a Major Change

The Legislature shall have no power to appropriate any of the public money for the establishment and maintenance of a Bureau of Immigration, or for any purpose of bringing immigrants to the State.

Section 56, 1876 Texas Constitution

With this succinct wording, the state of Texas through its formally elected representative body officially closed a governmental door to encouraging immigrants to populate its immense territory. It did not categorically deny an interest in attracting people to Texas, but it did clearly state that no government money could be spent in any such endeavor. How did Texas move from its 1869 Constitutional provision allowing for a special governmental bureaucracy, facilitating and coordinating immigration, to this blanket prohibition? Who supported this major change in outlook by the Texas legislature? The books, pamphlets, newspapers, letters and other promotional literature in abundance that had emerged over the previous decade would seem to indicate widespread approval of efforts to attract immigrants to the state. Were ethnic hatreds involved in the final repudiation? Was this an issue evolving out of political party rivalry? Did the Democratic Party battle the Republican Party over this subject? Did immigration become a shuttlecock issue between blacks and whites? A multitude of questions come to mind and rightly belong in the effort to understand this portion of Texas history. However, this author believes that the bottom line in all the decision-making was money—the state budget. Anger over perceived heavy taxation crystallized a coalition that saw government money spent for the purposes of attracting immigrants to Texas as an extravagance the state could ill afford. This chapter seeks to document the workings of the 1875 Constitutional Convention and the final
ratification of a new state Constitution in 1876. By chronicling the process, it will show that taxation and fiscal concerns lay behind the 1876 constitutional repudiation of formal government efforts to attract immigrants to Texas.

Much agitation existed in 1873 and 1874 over the issue of a new constitution for Texas.\(^2\) As the Republican controlled legislature lost seats to the Democratic Party, a swelling voice had nothing good to say about the 1869 constitution. When the Texas voters in 1873 ultimately voted Republican governor, Edmund Davis, out of office and Democratic governor, Richard Coke, into office, the noise increased. One scholar suggests that Democrats saw the 1869 constitution as "the last reminder of radical control in Texas" and felt an absolute political duty to destroy it.\(^3\)

Yet Governor Coke did not automatically join in the call for a new constitution. Upon his election as governor he shared concerns about changing the current constitution and encouraged the legislature to consider preparing amendments to improve it. He did chronicle the changes around the state with characteristic optimism by saying, "New population with new ideas are filling the country, new industries are springing up. Enterprise and rapid improvement is the order of the day." In this way he gave credit to the tide of immigration moving into the state and its potential influence on the future.\(^4\)

Finally in early 1875 Governor Coke moved with the tide within his party and encouraged the legislature to issue a call for a special constitutional convention. In his address to both houses of the Texas Congress he wrote,

The present constitution of Texas is by universal consent admitted to be in many essential particulars an extremely defective instrument,...No reason exists now for longer submitting to it. The causes which one year ago rendered it imprudent to call together a constitutional convention have ceased to exist, and the time and temper of the people are propitious for the work of constructing a new constitution.
Governor Coke went on to list reasons for past hesitancy but then recommended the selection of a convention composed of three representatives from each senatorial district in Texas to begin work immediately. Elections were held, and the convention opened in Austin on September 6, 1875.\textsuperscript{6}

When the Constitutional Convention of 1875 met as a representative body, it had ninety elected delegates. Twenty-one standing committees were formed. Of these committees one worked to formulate the state’s direction on the issue of immigration. There were ten men on the committee, with Jacob Waelder as its chair. Table One lists the members of the Committee and some biographical information:

\begin{center}
\textbf{TABLE ONE}
\end{center}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>County Represented</th>
<th>Nativity</th>
<th>Arrival In Texas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Waelder</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Bexar</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julius E. Arnim</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Lavaca</td>
<td>Prussia</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe P. Douglass</td>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Cherokee</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caton Erhard</td>
<td>Druggist</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Bastrop</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wm. C. Holmes</td>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Grayson</td>
<td>S. Carolina</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. L. Johnson</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam B. Killough</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Robertson</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>1837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. D. Martin</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Hunt</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird B. Davis</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Wharton</td>
<td>N. Carolina</td>
<td>1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan Russell</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All the men were married. Davis was the only black on the committee and one of only four in the whole convention. He was also the committee's only Republican member. Half of the committee members also held Grange membership--Douglas, Holmes, Johnson, Martin, and Russell. In trying to analyze the committee's make-up, it is difficult to see any significant trend. Three of the ten were born in Europe. None were native Texans, but then there were only four of those in the entire convention.6

The information for the above membership list is taken from an 1875 document called Walsh & Pilgrim's Directory of the Officers and Members of the Constitutional Convention. A different directory by Nat. Q. Henderson published in 1875 identified ninety members of the convention of which seventy-six were Democrats and fourteen were Republicans. Of that total the Henderson directory identified seven foreign-born and four native Texans among the delegates. Seventy-two came from other southern states. Seth S. McKay, who wrote much about Texas constitutional developments, suggests in his Seven Decades of the Texas Constitution of 1876 that "about one-half of the delegates elected were Grangers." The Henderson Directory and Walsh & Pilgrim Directory count 38 or 37 respectively, both counts being somewhat less than the 45 that would make up half of the assembly as stated by McKay.7

The issue of Granger influence on the constitutional convention is one of primary importance. One past historical argument runs as follows: A large number of the constitutional delegates were also members of the Patrons of Husbandry. The final constitution did not provide for a Bureau of Immigration nor include any encouragement of immigration to the state of Texas. Thus, the Grangers must have been against immigration, i.e. the farmers in Texas did not like immigrants.8 While the argument progresses logically, it misconnects motive and outcome.
The Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry as it was formally called, was a growing force in Texas life and in Texas politics during the 1870s. The State Grange organized in October 1873 and according to one historian "spread rapidly in Texas," with a membership roll of somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000 farmers. While the actual discussions during meetings of local Grange groups were normally closed to outsiders or outside reporting, the Grange outlook on topics of the day did filter into newspapers. These accounts help to flesh out the Grange "position" on political topics.\(^9\)

It is essential to note at this point that no one monolithic position existed among Grangers. But trends can be identified. Governmental budgets, taxes, and spending programs grabbed the attention of Grange members. Most of these members were farmers working to eke out a living from the Texas soil. Their hopes for future agricultural production were often thwarted in their minds by the excessive intrusion of government in their personal affairs and by the costs of transportation for their products. As these farmers viewed the rising taxes of the Governor Davis-dominated twelfth legislature and the subsequent allocations under Governor Coke, they saw future disaster in big government spending. According to the historian Seth Shepard McKay, members "all over the state were outspoken in favor of retrenchment and reform."\(^{10}\) Thus as a group in the Constitutional Convention Grange members favored less taxation, lower government spending, and less government bureaucracy. However, records do not seem to indicate a cohesive voting bloc that singled out immigration as something to be specifically attacked in the efforts to form a new constitution.\(^{11}\)

A recent study of the Texas constitutional process during the 1870s discusses the Grange connection to the constitutional convention. John Mauer notes that official constitutions of each local Grange prohibited the Grange from partisan
activity in politics, but since many members considered a constitutional convention a nonpartisan endeavor, they actively sought positions as delegates. To some in today's world, this may seem a disingenuous distinction. Also, at the time many Grange members may have been shifting their opinions on the value of active participation in the political process. Whatever the motivation of the delegates to the convention who happened also to be Grange members, to suggest that they voted en masse is misleading. To suggest they functioned as a voting bloc sounds too much like current political terminology applied to nineteenth-century-party voting patterns. A more subtle distinction emerges from Mauer's analysis. He documents the fears on the part of the old line Democratic Party that it might lose control of the convention's proceedings. This debate had influenced the earlier indecision in 1874 and 1875 among Texas legislators whether to hold a separate constitutional convention or merely work through the elected legislature to amend the current 1869 constitution. The ultimate decision had been to wipe the slate clean and begin anew. So in the spring of 1875 elections for convention delegates began. When the election was complete, seventy-five of the ninety delegates were Democrats by party affiliation. But, according to Mauer, few of the past standard bearers of the Democratic Party became delegates, and the convention thus had "a strong nonestablishment representation." He then also suggests that this resulting delegation "acted in response to economic and other issues of self-interest rather than in anger at Republican rule." They were not so much reacting to previous state government, as working in a more independent manner to assert their desire for less taxation and less government spending. Mauer suggests, too, that this Granger response (although I would identify it more as farmer self-interest response) was as much a criticism of the Democratic Coke administration as it was of the Republican Davis administration. Assuming this line of thinking and noting that the Bureau
of Immigration was supported strongly by Governor Davis and by his successor Governor Coke, the voting pattern suggested by Mauer makes sense. On the issue of immigration it fits the thesis, suggested by this author, of a strong reaction against government spending rather than a strong reaction to immigration or to Republican power.

Continuing to analyze the attitudes of the delegates to the constitutional convention, it could then be assumed that the discussion over supporting government expenditure to entice immigrants to Texas was not a battle between the Democrats and the Republicans. The Constitutional Convention was overwhelmingly a body dominated by Democrats, with only fourteen Republicans out of ninety delegates. The debates on the convention floor were most frequently debates among Democrats with differing opinions, rather than inter-party squabbles. The floor debate on the immigration provision follows that pattern, both in the final recommendations of the Immigration Committee and in the convention debate itself.

The first notice taken of the immigration issue at the Convention was on the fifth day, September 10, 1875. On that day W. W. Whitehead, a Democrat representing Tyler County, introduced a resolution that was referred to the Committee on Immigration. Whitehead first moved to Texas in 1851 from Alabama. He was a married man and listed his occupation as farmer and doctor. At the time of the convention he was forty-seven years old and held Grange membership. His resolution requested the Committee on Immigration to refrain from inserting any provision for a Bureau of Immigration into the final constitution.

While Governor Coke had earlier in 1875 given a lengthy endorsement of government action in support of immigration to Texas, he made no such specific recommendation about immigration or any other subject when he communicated
with the Constitutional Convention on its second day. Rather, he identified his intention of soon having in their hands copies of reports of the various executive agencies and then wished them well with an endorsement of their ability to develop a document worthy of Texas.\textsuperscript{19}

A second resolution recorded in the \textit{Journal Proceedings} came from Caton Erhard. It was introduced on September 30 and also referred to the Immigration Committee. The resolution reflected Erhard's personal experience as an immigrant and a real sense of history in trying to clarify the rationale for his viewpoint. He encouraged the continuation of the Bureau of Immigration as a state agency and as needing provision in the constitution. He assumed such an agency would continue to publish written materials including "good and disinterested advice." He noted that many immigrants were not native speakers of English. Then in an effort to create empathy with those potential immigrants, he said that such written materials were crucial--"the necessity of which all those will appreciate who ever were in any foreign country."\textsuperscript{20} Looking at the subject historically, he reminded the delegates that the Preamble to the United States Declaration of Independence included a grievance against King George accusing him of failing to pass laws to encourage immigration to the then colonies of Great Britain. Mr. Erhard went on to note that Texas during the Republic days had induced immigration by giving land to newcomers, "being well aware their newly-acquired Republic would be valueless without immigration." Suggesting thus a tradition in Texas of encouraging immigrants to move to the state, Erhard saw the Bureau of Immigration as fitting perfectly within that past heritage.\textsuperscript{21}

Just a few days after Erhard's resolution was referred to it, the Committee on Immigration reported to the convention their collective decision. After debating the resolutions referred to them in committee, they recommended, "the people ought not
to be taxed for any such purposes, and therefore respectfully recommend that a clause be put in the organic law restraining the Legislature from ever appropriating money for such purposes [italics in the original]." The report was received and placed on the docket for later discussion. Two members of the Immigration Committee served notice that they would be submitting separate minority reports. Only five of the ten members signed the majority report, leaving us to wonder what were the opinions of the other three supposedly in the majority. Of the five who signed—Russell, Killough, Arnim, Holmes, and Douglass—all were white and Democrats. Three were Grangers. Four of the five had originally lived in another of the southern states, while one, Arnim, was foreign-born.\textsuperscript{22} The official position of the majority members claimed taxes as their central concern. Nowhere in the short report is there a statement against foreigners or newcomers to the state. Nowhere does the majority report claim racial antagonism or party allegiance as defining their position. The minority reports submitted later were much fuller in their presentations and help give at least a partial insight into the discussions made behind closed doors as the committee was hammering out their report.\textsuperscript{23}

The chairmanship of the Immigration Committee originally belonged to Jacob Waelder. When he found himself at odds with the majority of the committee members, he must have stepped down from that leadership position. The name listed as chair for the majority report was that of Jonathan Russell. Waelder submitted a minority report on October 5, 1875. His report made several relevant points. First, while he conceded the lack of success on the part of the current Bureau of Immigration, he expressed the sincere desire to continue the information-sharing tasks of that agency. He suggested the formation of a Bureau of Agriculture, Statistics, and Immigration. This state agency would obtain, collate, and disseminate information about Texas. Waelder valued written information
"coming from a public officer, by authority of the State" claiming it would have
greater influence on strangers than any other document prepared by some private
organization or company. Secondly, he tried to develop support from other
legislators by showing how such information would not only be helpful for
immigrants, but would also inform Texans of their state's resources and potential.
This idea of information for internal use had not been emphasized before by earlier
legislation on immigration.24

Waelder valued concrete and specific information written down and
disseminated for Texans and Texans-to-be. Another angle to his argument against
adoption of the majority resolution involved the issue of fairness and "justice," as he
perceived it, and diverse needs throughout the state. One short section of this
minority report by Waelder gives us a slight window into one of the arguments that
may have colored the immigration debate. Waelder wrote, "If all sections of the
State do not need, or desire increase of population, there are other sections whose
prosperity would be enhanced thereby." Maybe here were shadows from the 1869
Constitutional Convention fight over division of Texas into two or more states. That
debate showed that certain areas of Texas had needs different than other sections
and saw state division as a solution for those differences. It is an obvious
observation that the western and northwestern portions of Texas were in greater
need of people to fill up their unused lands than were eastern and southeastern
counties. Saying this, however, says nothing about perceived desires by plantation
owners in these eastern and coastal regions for replacement labor for the ex-slaves.
It says nothing about desires to break up large plots of land into smaller tenant
farms and the hiring of labor to produce a crop on those lands. Maybe the
committee argument revolved around just what sections of the state really wanted
more people. This give-and-take issue would thus have been tangential to the issue
of taxpayer's money to so facilitate that people movement. Since no records were made of committee proceedings, our ruminations may seem fruitless. We may never know definitively what the argument rested upon or who took what sides, but relative population density was probably part of the issue.25

Waelder's minority report not only opposed the majority report's absolute prohibition against expenditure of state funds, but subtly inserted a different approach to the issue. His suggestion about written information for all, narrowed the focus of the old Bureau of Immigration's efforts at facilitating immigration and at the same time broadened the appeal for such publication of information. He refrained from direct support for the current agency known as the Bureau of Immigration, insisting rather on the continuance of efforts to disseminate information that would attract people to Texas.

A second minority report, submitted October 6, came from Caton Erhard. With a long explanatory declaration, Erhard itemized his ideas. He then presented a carefully worded tentative article for the Constitution that included a bureau "which shall have supervision and control of all matters connected with immigration." Erhard must have felt the money issue was the primary argument to be refuted, for most of his efforts were directed to that subject. He boldly tackled the subject of taxes. Instead of lowering taxation on the people, Erhard maintained that the destruction of the Bureau and the failure to make any other provisions would result in "an increase of taxation" due to the decrease in immigration to the state. The earlier Davis theory that more bodies means more money and spreads the tax base was being revived by Erhard in his own way. He was suggesting that a larger population would widen the state's tax base and thus relieve tax burdens on all.26

Yet another stand taken by Erhard refuted the statement presented by some in the convention that immigration would happen naturally and needed no
additional assistance. This view was perceived by Erhard as short-sighted. Again
drawing on arguments similar to late 1860s dialogue, Erhard contended, "By
individual effort we may perhaps partially carry out the wishes of the people; by
combined effort we most certainly will [italics in the original]." For him concerted
effort far outweighed any benefits of false economy in allowing the state
immigration agency to disappear and expect private individual efforts to supplant
that. For Erhard this would be taking a big step backward. Erhard kept addressing
the money issue directly.\textsuperscript{27}

Erhard, like Waelder before him, accepted negative reaction to the perceived
inefficiency of the past administration of the Bureau of Immigration. But he pushed
the point by saying that "a fair trial of an immigration bureau has never been had in
this State." Erhard then presented a resolution calling for a constitutional provision
allowing a Bureau of Immigration with power and money "for the purpose of
promoting and protecting immigration, and for the maintenance of said bureau." No
portion of the resolution suggested state aid to support assisted travel for potential
immigrants and neither was there a specific reference to pamphlets or written
material. Erhard’s minority report was accepted and referred for later discussion.
The first extensive debate on immigration began October 14th. To that floor debate
we now turn.\textsuperscript{28}

One legal historian refers to the debate over the continuation of a bureau to
encourage immigration as "passionate," with "eloquent" speeches proclaiming both
sides of the issue.\textsuperscript{29} Our limited primary sources make it difficult to recreate the
emotion of the debate, although we do have the bare-bones vote counts and
resolutions offered by convention delegates to give us some idea of what happened in
1875. As noted earlier, the majority report before the convention called for an end to
any use of taxpayer’s money for encouragement of immigration into the state. Two
strong voices spoke out against such a prohibition--Jacob Waelder, a lawyer from Bexar County, and Dr. Caton Erhard, a druggist from Bastrop. Waelder's and Erhard's views served as focus points for the debate.

Their approaches were different although they both saw the need to provide governmental encouragement for immigration to the state. Erhard clung to the bureaucracy already in place. He kept making the point that continued financial support of the bureau now, even at low financial levels, would ultimately result in great benefits in the future. Erhard believed in one satisfied immigrant utilizing the services of a strong Bureau of Immigration as causing a chain reaction in which more people would follow suit and move to Texas. The end result would be a state with the population it needed for economic growth and full utilization of natural resources. Waelder was willing to give up the current agency but emphasize one of its functions, i.e. the collection and distribution of concrete information. Waelder seemed to sense the animosity that had grown around the very terminology--Bureau of Immigration. Instead he felt the information-gathering and dispensing function of the old bureau could be done under the auspices of a Bureau of Agriculture, Statistics, and Immigration. Waelder's approach plays more to the political nuances existing in placement of words. Relegating the "immigration" part of this future bureau to third place and projecting the importance of agriculture and correct information for the furtherance of that most important occupation in Texas to the front of the line, might have seemed for him the pragmatic thing to do.

The immigration issue came up before the assembled delegates on October 14. Delegate Waelder initiated the debate with his amendment seeking to delete any prohibition of appropriation of money by the state. According to the newspaper account of the day's proceedings, he was concerned for how such a provision would be viewed by those outside Texas. He feared they would perceive a hostility by
Texans towards foreigners and therefore decide to migrate to other developing states in the west. Caton Erhard offered yet another amendment, suggesting that “immigration shall be encouraged by the Legislature by all means within their power.” Convention delegates tabled both amendments, leaving the subject of immigration to be debated at a later time.30

The major floor debate took place on Tuesday, October 19, 1875. Jonathan Russell representing Wood County in the northeastern section of the state stood by the majority decision of the Committee on Immigration and provided the exact wording of their suggested resolution:

The Legislature shall not have the power to appropriate any of the public money for the establishment and maintenance of a bureau of immigration, or for any purposes of bringing immigrants to the State.31

Jacob Waelder quickly offered a substitute article calling for the establishment of a bureau of agriculture, statistics, and immigration. According to McKay, who bases his analysis of the convention’s proceedings upon a newspaper account of the day, Waelder then addressed the assembled body at length, attempting a seemingly coy negative statement with the hope of crystallizing support for state aid to immigration. Waelder suggested that there did not seem to be much of a desire for immigration at present, but that past immigration had helped to steadily build up many counties in the state. Surely Texans would not want to exclude such people from participating in future state development, hinted Waelder.

At this point in the early moments of the debate, the Journal Proceedings record that John H. Reagan, a lawyer, farmer, Granger, and resident of Texas since 1839, then spoke to the issue with some support for Waelder’s proposal. Reagan reportedly sought to amend Waelder’s proposal for the newer bureau by inserting the phrase, "provided, that the moneys expended by this bureau shall be for the
collection and dissemination of information on these subjects, and that no money shall be paid out for bringing immigrants to the State." The wording of Reagans' amendment suggests two things. First, there seemed to be support for some kind of central agency for collecting and disseminating information. Second, there was little or no support for direct state aid to immigrants.\textsuperscript{32}

Reagan's compromise, for that is in fact what it aimed to be, sought to encourage immigration but limit that encouragement to written words. Reagan's moderate position, if it had held, would have provided the state of Texas much flexibility over the next eighty years. It would have allowed the expenditure of money, as succeeding legislative bodies saw fit to apply to specific times and places, for immigration encouragement. Reagan was a respected member of the Texas elite, having served as postmaster general of the Confederacy. At the time of his participation in the Constitutional Convention he was also waiting to serve as congressman-elect to the U.S. House of Representatives.\textsuperscript{33}

The issues on the table for debate seemed to revolve around three schemes: first, government money to be spent on a specific bureau of immigration to facilitate the bringing of immigrants to Texas; second, government money to be spent on accumulating and dispensing information about Texas to entice immigrants to come to Texas; and third, no tax money to be appropriated for any effort to attract people to the state. Caton spearheaded the first scheme, Waelder proposed the second, and Russell Wood, serving as chair of the Committee on Immigration, pushed for no money, no bureau, no governmental support to encourage immigration. Reagan's suggestion thus became a compromise possibility that entered the debate as option four.

Numerous other delegates entered the fray on this same October Tuesday sharing various perspectives on these schemes. W. P. McLean of Titus County
feared the potential for unlimited expenditures by any Bureau set up to encourage immigration. McLean was a thirty-nine year old farmer, originally from Mississippi, and an identified Grange member. Up front, McLean noted his participation in the 1870 Texas legislative debate over the formation of the current Bureau of Immigration. He shared that, then as now, he was opposed to such an establishment. In one of the few references to ethnic origins recorded in the debate, McLean praised the German population and its contribution to Texas. But from his perspective the Germans had come not because of any inducement set up by a state governmental agency. His speech was definitely not anti-foreigner. His views were based upon concerns for taxation.  

The debate escalated. Waelder had earlier suggested that probably no interest in immigration existed at the present time in Texas. R. Sansom from Williamson County got hooked on that baited statement. He claimed that people were not opposed to immigration (probably the very statement Waelder was hoping would come from the lips of the anti-bureau faction), but rather to any separate bureau for that purpose. Sansom pointed to his earlier suggestion that a clerk be utilized at the state Comptroller's office for the collating of statistical information relating to agriculture and mining interests. In this way Sansom admitted the need for viable information, but he expressed his personal unwillingness to spend much money on the project.  

Reagan was given the opportunity by the chair of the convention to speak again in support of his compromise approach. He wanted the delegates to be aware that whatever their final decision, there should be no way it could be construed as being hostile to the peopling of the state. Reagan clearly connected the import of this debate to the public relations efforts of Texas to settle its frontier. He wanted the delegates to attempt to see their actions from the eyes of those outside the state
looking in. He also pointed the debate to a future concern. He hinted that decisions perceived as making an effort to limit immigration to the state could damage what would be later efforts at getting the final constitution ratified by Texas voters. Reagan claimed that, on the whole, Texans wanted new people to move to Texas and would see an absolute prohibition as a valid excuse for not ratifying the final document.\textsuperscript{36}

More debate followed Reagans admonitions. John Henry Brown, a printer from Dallas County, supported some moderate efforts at providing written information for immigrants but felt that climate, soil, good government, and low taxes would, in and of themselves, attract people to the state. Brown also wanted it recorded that he personally felt, and assumed most others did as well, that J. B. Robertson, the current head of the Texas Bureau of Immigration, was not the object of this debate. Brown registered admiration for the work of Robertson and shared hopes that Robertson's expertise might find a useful outlet in the future.\textsuperscript{37}

The next speech was a lengthy one by Henry C. King of Kendall County, a county situated just northwest of San Antonio.\textsuperscript{38} King's argument immediately approached the subject from a sectional perspective. He noted that the "western half of Texas is comparatively unpeopled." But quickly added that no matter the locale, the subject of immigration is one "in which the whole State as a body politic, is virtually interested." King's speech then worked to enlarge the vision of the constitutional delegates. His arguments covered a broad spectrum. He used statistics to say, "it is well known that immigrants will bring with them about $500 per capita, or about $1,500 to each head of a family." Then, he pointed out, these families typically buy land, become producers, and then, obviously taxpayers.\textsuperscript{39}

According to King, Texas needed people. Then he asked the assembled group, "Now, how are we to get them?" Wait for the natural process of slow in-
migration or utilize an aggressive information campaign? Taking the side of
immediately dispensing concrete, up-to-date information, he said,

I venture to say, Mr. President, that there are but few
members of this Convention who are not in receipt of many letters
from one quarter of the country or another, making inquiries about
Texas. They want to know all about the climate, soil, products,
society and the respective advantages of different localities, and they
generally exhibit, by the character and number of the questions they
ask, as much ignorance of Texas as anxiety for exact information.

The importance of the written word was central to King's argument. He spoke of
the "streamlet" coming to Texas "as compared to the swelling tide" heading to other
parts of the nation. Assertively, he then said, "They would all come to Texas if they
knew the facts."

Supporting the idea of governmental money to collect and distribute
information about Texas, King went on to decry any attempt to place the majority
report resolution into the Constitution.

[A]dopt such a declaration in your organic law, and what does
it announce to the world? Why that Texas has departed from its
traditional policy; and you may say to the stranger,..."We do not want
you in Texas, stay where you are, or go elsewhere for a home." I hope
this Convention will not place the State in such an attitude before
Christendom!

He later ended his speech on the note, "We will commit a grave blunder if we place
the State in an attitude of hostility to immigration."

Other delegates spoke to the issue. George McCormick, a lawyer from
Colorado County, supported a competent and complete Bureau of Immigration, but
noting the resistance to such a full-scale continuation, endorsed Waelder's newer
combined agency with its emphasis on dispensing information. W. B. Wright, a
lawyer of Lamar County, expressed the belief that most Texans were opposed to any
support of an immigration bureau in the constitution. He sensed that people in
Texas worried over such a bureau expanding the potential for wasteful
expenditures. J. W. Whitfield, a farmer and Grange member from Lavaca County, spoke out in praise for the German people who had chosen to make Texas their home, but strongly opposed the use of tax money to help bring immigrants of any kind to the state.\textsuperscript{42}

Sometimes the debate, as happens in many committee or convention debates, seemed to be talking about two different things, unfortunately mixing them and muddying the issue. While the Bureau of Immigration as set up by the 1869 Constitution allowed for the expenditure of state money to actually assist in transporting immigrants into and around the state, such moneys were never appropriated or used in that way. Tax money was spent to collect information and publish it, as well as to provide expenses for Texas immigration agents in the United States and in Europe. This distinction about the past workings of the Texas Bureau of Immigration got lost amid the emotion of convention debate. Thus sometimes delegates seem to be talking about two separate things, assuming them as one. Money to encourage immigration through the written word seemed acceptable to many; money for any other purpose to assist immigration drew a large majority "NO" vote.

The last extended speech before the final vote count came from W. T. G. Weaver of Gainesville, Texas. He resided in Cooke County, which is located on the far northern border of Texas along the Red River. Weaver was not a Granger but a lawyer who had come to Texas at the age of three from Illinois with his family. His vociferous speech asserted "there never was a day when the people of Texas were not ready with open arms to welcome immigrants without reference to their nationality." In glowing political tones he spoke of the "liberal spirited people of Texas" and boldly pronounced, "It is not foreign immigration they oppose--it is the institution created by the Constitution of 1869, known as the Bureau of
Immigration." Then chronicling the salaries of Bureau employees, Weaver stated that Texans did not want to pull that kind of money "out of their pockets...to hire immigrants to come here."\textsuperscript{43}

In passionate overtones he claimed to be at that moment preaching at the funeral of the Bureau of Immigration. Then in a much louder voice, which we can surely imagine, he said,

But again we are told that it will advertise Texas. \textit{Advertise Texas!}
Why, sir, her name, fame, and territory are parts of the world's greatest history; her natural resources, her fertility,...are known wherever civilization extends....Why sir, you might as well talk of sending a dispatch to China, that gold has been discovered in California. It is known in all Christian lands, and Stanley is telling it today, perhaps, in Central Africa that Texas has more wealth in her bosom than a hundred Californias.

Weaver praised all those immigrants who had come before, especially pointing to the industrious, hardworking Germans in the middle portion of the state. But he went on to say that these same immigrants would do a better job of encouraging further immigration among their fellow countrymen through the sending of their letters or newspapers, land agents' circulars, and \textit{Almanacs}. For Weaver the task of Texans was to

"stand in the Gulf shores and say, welcome to this Canaan of fair and happy lands. We say that millions of hospitable homes and rich acres are waiting for your hands without price when you come, \textit{but not one cent to hire you to do so.}"\textsuperscript{[Italics in original]}

A few moments later the proposal to accept Waelder's ideas as amended by Reagan was defeated by a vote of 33 yeas and 47 nays.\textsuperscript{44} The convention thus accepted the full majority report\textsuperscript{45} and moved on to the next day's business.

The issue still sputtered for a few more times on the convention floor. F. S. Stockdale, a lawyer and stock raiser from Calhoun County,\textsuperscript{46} moved on October 20, 1875, to reconsider the vote of the previous day concerning immigration. There
seems to have been lengthy but unrecorded debate, and a decision was made to place the issue on the calendar for October 27, one week later. Due to other debate, the immigration discussion was postponed one more day and the motion to reconsider was taken up on October 28. The motion lost by a vote of 45 to 31.47 So the October 19 decision stood. The Texas Constitution formulated in 1875 and finally ratified in 1876 contained Section 56 prohibiting the expenditure of any taxes for a Bureau of Immigration "or for any purpose of bringing immigrants to the State."

It is time to return to the questions raised at the beginning of this narrative. Who supported this major change in outlook? Was the discussion over immigration a debate involving ethnic hatreds? party politics? black vs. white viewpoints? Or was it a case of Grange opposition to newcomers in Texas? A definite "NO" must be registered against the idea that farmers who formally shared concerns over their agricultural livelihood through Grange membership were against immigration. Grangers, both individually and collectively, were openly against expenses entailed in attracting immigrants. Debate on the convention floor reflects this. But no portion of the recorded debate, whether by a Granger or not, expressed any negative attitudes towards those who might be considered "others."

It might prove helpful to buttress this point by going outside the Constitutional Convention itself and look at some Grange activities of the time period and near future. In August, just one month before the Constitutional Convention met, the Patrons of Husbandry held their second annual state meeting in Dallas, Texas. Their elected leader was William W. Lang, whose title within the organization was Worthy Master. His address to the assembled group, reported in full in the published Proceedings, did not make any specific reference to immigration
or immigrants, but it did state clearly, "Greater economy in all national and State expenditures is imperatively demanded."\textsuperscript{48}

Those same \textit{Proceedings}, however, included a fascinating submission by A. B. Kerr, a Texas Grange member from Fayette County. In a letter addressed to the Worthy Master and Grange Members, Kerr reported his activities during the past year over the signature, "A. B. Kerr, Immigration Agent." His report to fellow Grange members bubbled with enthusiasm, both for the Grange and for his perceived mission representing that group. He documented his appointment by Governor Coke on the recommendation of the Superintendent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration to the position of immigration agent for the state and the beginning of his travels east.\textsuperscript{49} He wrote, "I did this the more cheerfully, without fee or reward, save an interest in common with every true Patron in the State, believing that great benefits would result both to our people and those coming among us." Then in true booster fashion he spoke of the great land resources of "our great empire State" envisioning them cultivated and contributing to the economic growth of the state. Seeing Grange interests as synonymous with the state's growth, he viewed the influx of these farmers as inaugurating "a scene of prosperity without parallel in the annals of this Republic."\textsuperscript{50}

Then this state-certified Immigration Agent and Grange Member chronicled his work on the east coast.

I set about making arrangements for immigrants to reach our borders with as little expense as possible, and first tried to negotiate terms with the different railroads leading North and East, and I am happy to say, found them wide awake to their own interest and disposed to make the very best terms in their power.

Kerr thus negotiated for lower fares on the road from Richmond, Virginia to Galveston. He also issued a circular which he "distributed through the Grange organizations, and otherwise, in several States." His advertising announcement
included the statement, "having all the facilities offered by the State, the Texas State Grange, and the Railroads leading to Texas, I am prepared to transport emigrants upon better terms than ever heretofore offered, and furnish land for rent or purchase in any county desired; or give them 160 acres of public land." His circular gave a Virginia address with the promise that immigration certificates, instructions, and information would be forthcoming anyone who wrote. According to Kerr, this published notice "had the desired effect, creating a heavy correspondence" which Kerr claimed he was continuing to respond to.\textsuperscript{51}

With all the enthusiasm of a neophyte, Kerr then urged the state Grange to support this work financially. He wrote, "my belief is that a small amount of money could not be better appropriated by the organization, than in sending out labor in this prolific field; say, sufficient to pay the board bill of the agent, the agent volunteering his time free, while the railroads would meet him with free passes." Kerr's report reflects his early successes and his opinion that the Grange as an association shared his opinion on immigration to Texas. His encouragement to send agents out among those living on "old worn out farms" and bring them to Texas resonates throughout his report. He translated that influx of people into the erection of looms and tanneries and grain mills in Texas all aiding farmers in their agricultural pursuits. His report expressed the essence of cooperation that so epitomized the visionary work of the Grange and the later Farmer's Alliance.\textsuperscript{52}

No further comment is made regarding immigration in those published Proceedings of 1875. And there is no indication of Kerr's work on behalf of and in cooperation with the Texas Bureau of Immigration in the records of the Bureau. But Kerr's report to his fellow Grange members surely indicates at least some positive interest on the part of the Grange in bringing immigrants to Texas—and in the case of Agent Kerr, a willingness to put his pocketbook where his ideals stood.
A review of later yearly meetings of the Patrons of Husbandry indicates the existence of a Committee on Immigration during many years of its formal organization. In addition, elected leaders of the organization addressed the Patrons over the years in support of attracting immigrants to Texas. Prominent Grange members belonged to various other organizations supportive of attracting immigrants to Texas. For example, William Lang, who long served as the statewide Grange leader, resigned his position within the Grange in July 1880 to take the presidency of the Southwestern Immigration Company and then began extensive involvement through a private corporation to secure people for Texas.\(^{53}\)

All in all, such circumstantial evidence strongly suggests an attitude of support for immigration per se by Grange men and women. It is clearly unfair to make any blanket statement attributing to the Grangers responsibility for the debated provision concerning immigration that became Section 56 of the Texas State Constitution of 1876. Historical assessments concerning the Texas Bureau of Immigration that make statements like, "Republican delegates to the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1876 [sic] fought to retain the Bureau, but the powerful Grange opposed it" just do not accurately reflect the realities of the event.\(^{54}\)

The Grange clearly and openly stated that it wanted a reduction in taxes or what they called "retrenchment" in government. Frequently Grangers as delegates on the floor of the convention sought to reduce programs or budgetary allowances as a way of accomplishing that goal. While a Granger-dominated Constitutional Convention voted to prohibit the expenditures of state money to entice immigrants to Texas, Grangers were not saying "no" to immigrants whether foreign-born or second-hand.

No only can we dispense with Grange hatred for immigrants or immigration in general, but the argument that blacks participated in this official endeavor to eliminate state support of immigration must also be laid to rest. Documentation for
such a position is, however, much more slender in size. First, it can be noted that of
the four black delegates at the Convention, only one voted to eliminate state support
for a Bureau of Immigration. Secondly, no black delegates took the opportunity to
speak before the assembly either for or against this issue. The mere fact that blacks
had such small representation in the Convention meant that whatever their voice
might have been, it was not going to be heard very loudly, if at all. Thirdly, it is
worthy of note that the Committee on Immigration did have one black delegate,
Bird Davis, and he went on record as not supporting the majority report as it was
presented to the assembly.

One final tangential bit of evidence comes from outside the Convention
records themselves. In the decade after the Civil War, blacks held various meetings
and conventions around the state. Topics for discussion included concerns over
violence against blacks, restrictions to black suffrage, and difficulties providing for
education for all Texas citizens. At one such convention held in Brenham, Texas, on
July 3-4, 1873, several of these topics were discussed and a final address printed for
public distribution. Along with other statements, this convention placed itself in
solid support of internal improvements and then wrote into its document the
following statement.

This we also consider an appropriate occasion to disabuse the
minds of our fellow-citizens of foreign birth, of the desire that has been
attributed to us to lay obstacles in the way of the immigration of their
brethren in Europe to this State. We indignantly deny that we
cherish any so unworthy or selfish feeling. We look on the Americans
as the trustees of this soil for the oppressed of all nations, and we
welcome the downtrodden immigrant from wherever he may come
with open arms.55

Such support of immigration was surely not embraced by the entire black population
of Texas. Possibly further research into newspapers of the time period might reveal
incidents of animosity or troublesome tension between blacks and immigrants. But
to date no such evidence has been unearthed and there is nothing in the recorded
events of the Constitutional Convention itself to indicate black vs. white antagonism
on the subject of immigration.

The debate over what became Section 56 of the constitution represented a
spectrum of concerns. As the narrative demonstrates, many viewpoints were
expressed and a variety of proposals came before the delegates. However, the clear,
main focus of almost all the debate was government spending and taxation. The
record shows no evidence of ethnic hatred. It gives no hint of black animosity
toward the immigrant to Texas. The very overwhelmingly Democratic make-up of
the Convention almost precludes any suggestion that this issue was one that pit the
Republican Party against the Democratic Party. And an overview of party
allegiance by those who spoke on the convention floor sustains the assessment that
this issue reflects an all Democratic Party squabble. See Table Two below. By
process of elimination and a preponderance of evidence for the argument supporting
financial retrenchment as the issue of the hour in 1875, it can be asserted that
concerns over money propelled the inclusion of Section 56 into the 1876
Constitution.

Other means of analyzing this concern over immigration exist. One way is to
view a tally of the October 19, 1875, convention vote on making the majority report
of the Committee on Immigration a part of the proposed constitution. The vote
count by itself gives us no real knowledge of whether the participants themselves
supported the idea of encouraging immigration to the state. But it does give a clear
picture of who voted to prohibit governmental expenditures to carry out that
possible goal. As stated before, the final vote was 44 Yea, and 39 Nays. In
actuality the vote was fairly close. If a two-thirds or three-fourths vote had been
necessary, Section 56 as presented would not have passed. Among those voting in
the affirmative, i.e. to prohibit establishment of a Bureau and expenditure of state money, Grangers contributed 28 votes of the total 44. Only one Republican voted "yes," and he was a black delegate from Harrison County, David Abner. Listed among those voting against the measure were 7 Grange members. Out of the 39 "no" votes, 11 were Republican Party members and of those 11, three were black delegates. Thus 26 Democrats voted against the measure while 43 Democrats voted in the affirmative.66

Another interesting way to view the final vote tally is to assess those who spoke on the convention floor regarding the measure. Table Two indicates those who spoke and their votes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delegate</th>
<th>Grange Membership</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waelder</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erhard</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McLean</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sansom</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCormick</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitfield</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether looking at tally votes or speeches on the floor of the convention, the final result proclaimed loud and clear was that taxpayer's money was not to be spent in any effort to attract people to Texas.

The Constitutional Convention adjourned on November 24, 1875. The date set for voter ratification of this new constitution was the third Tuesday of February, 1876. If it met voter approval, the proposed constitution was to become the basic
law of the land on the third Tuesday in April. Thus a battle for ratification began around the state over the winter months. Many portions of the proposed Constitution presented by this very dollar-conscious delegation were debated in the newspapers, at political party gatherings, and in speeches around the state by prominent Texans.\(^57\) Fortunately for the democratic process, copies of the proposed constitution flooded the state because the convention made provision for over 49,000 printed copies, including 3,000 in the German language, 3,000 in Spanish, and 1,000 in Bohemian.\(^58\)

In addition to providing copies for distribution, the Constitutional Convention also appointed a group of twelve delegates to prepare a special address explaining to the people in Texas the motives of the signers. This address was published across the state as well. Again, as the weeks moved closer to the February polling date, all the different issues debated on the floor of the convention were pulled out and debated through the media and through word of mouth. The concern over Section 56 did not attract nearly the attention of the other provisions, but it did elicit some response. Interestingly, the "Address" submitted by the Convention made no mention at all about the immigration section. It did note that the final document was not perfect, but submitted it as "a vast improvement on the present one" and a document that "will bring great relief to the people."\(^59\)

The state-wide debate over ratification of the 1876 Constitution reflected a continuation of the debate that had been going on during Convention deliberations. Newspapers around the state had been keeping Texans aware of the issues. Local discussions in political meetings, in the bar room, and over evening meals around the state are long lost to recorded history. Some hint of those words shared among Texans, however, remain in a few sources. Concerning the immigration debate, one historian records that most of the newspapers around the state "with a few
exceptions, condemned the action of the convention in refusing to permit further aid to immigration."\(^{60}\)

Sampling material in the *Dallas Weekly Herald* for October 23, 1875 provides one example of a single paper's multiple coverage of the issue of immigration. In one article that day they reported in outline format the accomplishments of the convention and its actions during the preceding week, including reference to the passage of the immigration provision. In another article entitled, "Brief Comments on 'Texas Notes'" the journalist announced the arrival of several families to Collin County, Texas. According to the writer, "these intelligent farmers from Illinois" contribute a fresh spirit "which is everywhere infused by the example they set before the Texas farmer." With such praise for newcomers, the news article optimistically portrayed the potential for growth in northern Texas. Then, in an editorial article on the constitutional convention's activity, the paper's editor objected to the total prohibition against money to encourage immigration. The writer stood in favor of "some method by which the markits [sic] of Texas should be thrown broadcast over the whole country, to let people in the older states and Europe who are seeking new homes, know the character of our country and the inviting field for the immigrant." The editor made reference to the multiple letters which this Dallas newspaper had been receiving requesting information about Texas. He saw this as a clear rationale for encouragement of state-wide efforts to respond to such interest in Texas. Then again attacking the decision to include Section 56 in the Constitution, the editor wrote that it would be a mistake to "wholly ignore the subject, and say in effect that we do not want emigrants, would be, in our opinion, unwise and suicidal. We have a vast territory to people."\(^{61}\)

Some other papers were not unhappy about the proposed section in the Constitution. The *State Gazette* in Austin supported the provision. The *Jefferson*
Jimplecute "heartily approved the decision" according to one reference, saying that expenditures for a bureau were not productive for Texas. But other views were also printed in other areas of the state. The Houston Age saw decisions on the immigration issue as just one more "parsimonious policy" that would ultimately destroy the chances for ratification of the final document. The Mexia Ledger seemed to voice the same opinion in regards to potential ratification.62

The state-wide debate continued after the formal November 24, 1875, vote supporting the constitution as a total package. The Republican Party State Convention met in Houston, January 12-14, 1876, and came out clearly against the document. Their resolution stated, "we denounce the Constitution framed by the late convention at Austin...(it) is unfriendly to immigration, so much needed to develop the great natural resources of our young and fertile State."63 The Democratic Party convention, held a week earlier in Galveston, adopted a platform in 1876 omitting earlier planks from previous years that had supported immigration and state support for internal improvements. They also did not officially endorse the constitution and thus officially side-stepped the issue all together.64

The Galveston Daily News included a variety of articles informing their readership about the issue. On December 19, 1875, they reported a interview with Webster Flanagan, an important politician in the Republican party. When asked about the new constitution he said, "as a citizen I am against it. I think it cripples immigration, education and internal improvements." While no editorial comment was then directed at Flanagan, the paper that same day included a front page article lauding the new constitution. They specifically pointed to the inclusion of the Homestead Exemption that helped those economically able enough to purchase property and to a new clause "exempting current wages from garnishment" for the daily laborer. In supporting this last provision the paper saw the poorer classes of
people given a measure of security formerly only available to the more well-to-do. Then it added that this clause "will give a strong impulse to the immigration of journeyman mechanics and every description of productive laborers, exactly the kind of population that is now most wanted...". Also, the paper felt the clause "will go far toward removing the regrets of those who are disappointed and vexed at the failure of the convention to provide expressly for a distinct immigration bureau." A later article by the Galveston Daily News reported opinion from the Fredericksburg Sentinel which was vehemently opposed to ratification. In part, the hill country newspaper was quoted saying, "As an advocate of the development of the resources of the State, we condemn the stingy, picayunish policy that prohibits the expenditure of a few thousand dollars per year for the support of an honest and efficient bureau of immigration;" and proceeded to refer to the "petty, mean, beggarly spirit" displayed by the results of the convention.65

A study of the ratification process, across all subjects relating to the Constitution of 1876, deserves the attention of a qualified scholar. This paper's emphasis on immigration as one of the issues before the delegates and the ratifying citizens just scratches the surface of the political atmosphere in Texas at the time. A research net cast to all the newspapers of the state and their reporting of the debate would be fascinating, but entail comprehensive compilation and analysis. This author feels safe in noting that the issue of immigration to Texas and government financial support of that movement was one part of the entire process of the time. And research suggests the debate revolved around money issues. The voters in Texas adopted the Constitution "by a landslide margin of 136,000 votes to 56,652,"66 and as noted earlier Section 56 thus became the law of the land in the state.
An epilogue to this story exists and deserves to be noted by scholars, for it gives us an inkling of the future direction of Texas in relation to any formal efforts to attract immigration. Of first note is the passage of Joint Resolution No. 9 by the houses of the Texas legislature on August 28, 1876. The resolution in its entirety is reproduced below, for it conveys the message more succinctly and clearly than any overview could possibly do.

Whereas, The Constitution inhibits this State from expending money in the interest of immigration, and whereas an impression prevails that the people of this State are indifferent or opposed to immigration from the older States of the Union, and from foreign nations, and whereas the Texas Land and Immigration Company of St. Louis, a corporation organized under the general statutes of the State of Missouri, composed of men of known integrity of character, business reputation, possessing ample means, have undertaken to carry on a free communication with the other States of the Union, and with foreign countries, furnishing information of the great resources of the State of Texas, her climate, soil, minerals, and advantages presented for the investment of capital in manufactures, and other advantages to the immigrant; therefore,

Section 1. Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Texas, That the people of Texas extend a cordial invitation to the good and industrious immigrant to come and make his home among us, and that we will extend to him a hearty welcome, and that the State officers are authorized and requested to furnish the agents and officers of said company such official documents at their disposal as will aid the said company in the work of securing immigration to this State; provided, the same be done without any cost to the State.[Italics in the original]67

A second event to be recognized is a later legislative decision. The Sixteenth Legislature, meeting in 1879, utilized Article Twelve of the 1876 Constitution for authority to pass several laws relative to private corporations in Texas, i.e. their creation and regulation. In part, the law lists over twenty-seven "purposes for which private corporations may be formed" and number twenty-two reads, "The promotion of immigration."68 These two acts by the Texas Legislature— one a joint resolution in
1876 and the other a representative law passed in 1879--point to the direction of
future state efforts to attract immigration.

While the 1876 Constitution made an absolute prohibition, it also created in
some sense a vacuum. By pulling out official government support for the movement
to encourage immigration to Texas, the politicians and citizens of the state claimed
agreement with at least one of two assumptions. Some believed nothing needed to
be done to attract people to Texas. They felt immigrants would come of their own
accord. Others believed that concerted effort of some kind, independent of direct
government support, was necessary. Among these groups were business enterprises
such as railroads, real estate agents, land developers, and various entrepreneurial
industries, as well as booster organizations touting the claims of their community,
town, or city. The activity of these many groups makes an interesting web of
projects, programs, and publications that fit into the ongoing story of Texas' efforts
to attract people to the possibilities available within her borders.

2The 1869 Texas state constitution received a great deal of criticism as did the reconstruction government controlled by Republicans in the state. As the years passed and local political units, predominately lead by the Democratic Party, developed strength, a movement for revision of the state constitution took hold. One spur to such a revision was the so-called 'Tax-Payers' Convention of 1871.' This convention was held on September 22, 23, and 25, 1871. Ex-Governor Pease was elected presiding officer and ninety-four counties were represented through various delegations. Their debates and resolutions emphatically denounced the current legislature and government for excessive spending and for perpetuating the restriction of the people's rights. A multitude of grievances stimulated the calling of the Tax-Payers' Convention, but most complaints dealt with budget and money concerns. One outcome of the convention was a resolution to send a committee of seven to meet with Governor Davis and encourage a reduction in state expenditures. The Tax-Payers' Convention abused Governor Davis as the despotic manifestation of executive power in the state. They viewed him as instrumental in putting Texas under a cloud of uncertainty in regard to constitutional government and taxation by the state. While there was a heavy emphasis coming from the Convention on curtailing government spending, there was no specific grievance calling for the dismemberment of the Bureau of Immigration or for the exclusion of foreign-born from the state's borders. Since the convention was attended by many leading citizens of the state it did seem to speak for a large constituency and it probably influenced Governor Davis and his supportive Republican Party leaders to some extent. However, any connection between efforts of the Tax-Payers' Convention of 1871 and later restriction of governmental money for immigration would be far too tenuous to assert. See Dudley G. Wooten, ed. A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685 to 1897, Volume 2 (Dallas: William G. Scarff, 1898), 193; Proceedings of the Tax-Payers' Convention of the State of Texas, held at the City of Austin, Sept. 22d, 23d, and 25th, 1871 (Galveston: News Steam Book and Job Office, 1871); James A. Baggett, "The Rise and Fall of the Texas Radicals, 1867-1883" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1972), 169-171.

3Seth Shepard McKay, Seven Decades of the Texas Constitution of 1876 (N.p., 1942), 48. A very thorough economic analysis of Texas during the period of reconstruction can be found in Larry Earl Adams "Economic Development in Texas During Reconstruction, 1865-1875" (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1980). His tables and charts list government expenditures by year and by government entity, and help justify his thesis that the Davis governorship was not as blameworthy of wasteful taxation as history books seem to have recorded it. If
the main issue of contention with the constitution was the way it encouraged too much government expenditure, Adams shows that neither the Republican administration nor its fundamental law of the land was to blame for this. Adams' analysis also makes comparisons with other southern states working their way through the changes of Reconstruction. He documents the fact that Texas' level of taxation and/or wasteful spending was not as high in relation to other Southern states with far worse records. However, while I agree with Adams' analysis of the realities of the situation, it is important to note that people living at that time did not perceive it in that way. Their view, immediate though it was, was probably skewed most by political emotionalism and their fears for the future.

4John Walker Mauer, "Southern State Constitutions in the 1870's, A Case Study of Texas" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1982), 108-109; Ernest Wallace, Charles DeMorse, Pioneer Editor and Statesman (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1943), 176; "Governor Coke's Message to Texas Senate and House of Representatives, March 16, 1874," Governor's Messages, Coke to Ross, Edited by and for the Archive & History Department of the Texas State Library, 1916, p. 43. Future references to this volume will be by title, speaker, date of address, and page number in volume.

It would seem that the Republicans were also unsure about the value of holding a separate constitutional convention. On the whole they opposed such an endeavor. One scholar suggests that Ex-Governor Davis wavered in his support of calling a convention, but finally concluded that the potential in the 1869 Constitution concerning "the colored people, condemning Secession, establishing Schools, encouraging immigration &c &c will continue a dead letter" unless the Democrats are forced to make a clear statement of their commitments and philosophy of government. See Lawrence D. Rice, The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 17-18, for this argument and quote.

5Mauer, "Southern State Constitutions," p. 134; "Governor Coke's Message to the Texas Legislature, January 12, 1876," Governor's Messages, pp. 73-74. Coke had earlier expressed some concern about future constitution-making. In a letter to Judge Bonner in October of 1874 he wrote, "I am very clear in one opinion, however, and that is, that the Constitution should not be too restrictive in establishing any system. A great deal should be left to the discretion of the Legislature, to enable them to profit by experience, as well as to meet the rapidly changing conditions of society in Texas. I think this idea should pervade our entire Constitution. Too much Constitution, rather than too little, is to be feared."[Italics in original] See Oscar Walter Roberts, ed., "Richard Coke on Constitution-Making" Southwestern Historical Quarterly 78 (July 1974): 73. Maybe a fear or premonition provoked Coke's interaction with Judge Bonner. We have no concrete indication of such. However, twentieth century legal scholars would agree with Coke's view and would lament the 1876 Texas Constitution as the perfect example of "too much Constitution."
Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Texas, begun and held at the City of Austin, September 6th, 1875 (Galveston: Printed for the Convention at the "News" Office, 1875), 15-16 and 21; Walsh & Pilgrim’s Directory of the Officers and Members of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Texas, A.D. 1875 (Austin: Democratic Statesman Office, 1875), 1-6. Another scholar of the era identifies six black delegates to the 1875 Constitutional Convention and places B. B. Davis on the Immigration Committee. She does not suggest that any of the black members participated on the floor debate concerning the constitutional provision over immigration and the Journal of the proceedings does not suggest that either. We remain completely uninformed as to the position of the black delegates regarding immigration to the state and state support of that enticement effort. See Merline Pitre, Through Many Dangers, Toils and Snares: The Black Leadership of Texas 1868-1900 (Austin: Eakin Press, 1985), 210-211.

However, some indication of black interest in immigration does exist for the 12th State Legislature, held in 1871. Senator Gaines, a black member of that body, sought to amend provisions for the soon-to-be established Bureau of Immigration to include an agent for Africa. See Senate Journal of the Twelfth Legislature, State of Texas, First Session (Austin: Tracy, Siemering & Co., State Journal Office, 1870), 657-658, 725, 748, 757, 785-786, 815-816, 1175-1176, 1233; Pitre, Through Many Dangers, 30.

Walsh & Pilgrim, 1-6; J. E. Ericson, "The Delegates to the Convention of 1875: A Reappraisal," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 67 (July 1963): 22-27. This author has not seen the Nat Q. Henderson directory personally and is using information about that work gleaned from Ericson’s analysis. The original work compiled by Henderson was entitled Directory of the Officers and Members of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Texas, A.D. 1875.; McKay, Seven Decades, 75. Yet another source claiming that fully one-half of the Convention members were also members of the Patrons of Husbandry is Ralph A. Smith, "The Grange Movement in Texas 1873-1900," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 42 (April 1939): 310. Smith uses as his source for that conclusion an article in the San Antonio Herald, August 5, 1875.

McKay’s comment in Seven Decades (p. 181) that “it was generally conceded that the new constitution was a Granger product,...” has been the basis for many conclusions including the supposition about anti-immigrant feelings. See Lee Van Zant, Early Economic Policies of the Government of Texas, Monograph No. 14 in Southwestern Studies Series, Volume 4 (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1966), 40 and Harold B. Simpson, Touched with Valor, Civil War Papers and Casualty Reports of Hood’s Texas Brigade (Hillsboro, Texas: Hill Junior College Press, 1964), 20.

McKay, Seven Decades, 69-70.

McKay, Seven Decades, 70. The Grange in Texas deserves greater research both in its political influence and social impact upon the state. At present two articles give some preliminary observations about the activities of the Patrons of

11 Van Zant, Early Economic Policies, 1-48, identifies the Grange and its influence on legislation in Texas though he uses McKay's scholarship to reiterate the statement that many considered the final constitution of 1876 to be a product of Granger power and influence. See especially, p. 40 in Van Zant's work. A more recent and more thorough analysis of the convention also identifies the strong participation of Grange members at the Convention and states that "Grangers, both in reputation and in fact, dominated the convention." See Mauer, "Southern State Constitutions," 212.


13 Mauer's argument on this point describes crisply the political wrangling over the drive in 1873-1874 calling for a new constitution. Most discussions labeled the 1869 constitution in such pejorative terms that it would be difficult for any Democrat to have comfortably said, "let's stay with what we have." Even as anger over reconstruction policies waned in the months before and after the election of Governor Coke, emotional oratory labeled the 1869 constitution as repugnant. A different view emphasizing reaction against the Davis administration and the 1869 Constitution is made by Rice, Negro in Texas, 11.

14 Mauer, "Southern State Constitutions," 203-204 and 210-211, including footnote number one. Mauer also notes the deficit spending patterns maintained by both Davis and Coke with their issuing of bonds to fund expenses. See pages 149-152.

15 Numbers seem to vary slightly depending upon the source. This author has attempted to use the Walsh & Pilgrim information along with the Nat Henderson Directory recorded by Ericson in his article. Mauer seems to accept the Walsh & Pilgrim figures as the best record. In any case, Democratic Party members were overwhelmingly the majority and the Republicans only minimally represented.

16 More detailed analysis of the Convention Proceedings will be included in the body of this chapter. That analysis will come after a recitation of the convention narrative. But it is interesting to note here that the two main historical sources for the floor debate record no Republican voice heard. The identifiable speeches came from Democrats, both those holding Grange Membership and those not members of the Grange.

17 Journal, Convention 1875, p. 44; Walsh & Pilgrim, 3.

18 Governor Coke's support of immigration and state aid to immigration efforts can be clearly documented through his speeches at the time. For example, in Governor's Messages, Coke to Ross, see his Inaugural Address for January 15, 1874, pp. 1-9; Coke's address to both houses of the Legislature on January 26, 1874, pp. 13-26; Address on March 16, 1874, pp. 47-50; Address on January 12, 1875, pp. 68-
140. See Chapter Three of this dissertation for a detailed inclusion of Coke's viewpoint. In an interesting article in the *New York Times*, entitled "The Lone Star State," the northern journalist used Governor Coke's annual message of 1875 as his springboard to describe the "extraordinary flood of immigration now pouring into Texas." The article spoke of "the tide of incoming Germans and sturdy Northwestern folk" who were accomplishing much at settling the wide open spaces of Texas. *New York Times*, January 25, 1875, p. 4.


20Sadly, this statement on his behalf may have been ineffectual, since it is probable that the majority of convention delegates had never visited another country nor experienced the problems associated with a foreign language.

21*Journal*, Convention 1875, pp. 240-241. The portion of the Declaration of Independence to which Erhard referred reads: "He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands."

22*Journal*, Convention 1875, p. 275; *Walsh & Pilgrim*, 1-3.

23McKay, whose work on the Constitutional Convention is the classic reference, asserts, "No journal was kept of the proceedings of the committees, and very little is known of their work." See, *Seven Decades*, 77.

24*Journal*, Convention 1875. Quotation comes from page 289, while the whole minority report submitted by Waelder is found on pages 288-290.


26*Journal*, Convention 1875, p. 300. Concern for taxation permeated the entire convention proceedings. On the very extensive debate over funding for the educational system, one minority report submitted by E. S. C. Robertson, made partial reference to the linkage between immigration and education. He suggested that the state was caught in the pinch between numbers coming into the state and sufficient numbers already here to support the school systems. Robertson represented Bell County. He had been in Texas since 1832, was a Granger, a merchant, and farmer. He wrote in his report, "That a large proportion of the immigration to the country that will aid in increasing the scholastic population of the State will add but little, if anything, for many years to the taxable values of the State." The immigration issue must have been debated at other times during the weeks of deliberation by the Constitutional Convention, as this excerpt about the educational debate would suggest. Immigration was not a subject that stood compartmentalized from all other concerns of convention delegates. The influx of people to the state must have influenced discussions of taxes, internal improvements, potential for Homestead Provisions, education, and other concerns related to potential immigration. Our narrow focus on the few days of debate over Section 56 of the final Constitution does not mean to discount other potential
discussion of immigration as a subject of interest to convention delegates. Frederick Eby, comp., *Education in Texas: Source Materials*. University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1824. (Austin: The University, 1918), 644-648 for entire minority report. Quotation is from page 645. Robertson's biographical information is from *Walsh and Pilgrim*, p. 3.

27*Journal*, Convention 1875, p. 300.


31*Journal*, Convention 1875, p. 401-402.

32Biographical information comes from *Walsh and Pilgrim*, p. 2; *Journal*, Convention 1875, p. 402.

33Rupert N. Richardson, Ernest Wallace, and Adrian Anderson, *Texas, The Lone Star State*, Fifth Edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988), 251. John Henninger Reagan lived in Palestine, Texas, and represented that community, at the time of the Convention. He was scheduled to serve in the Forty-Fourth Congress in Washington, D.C. Since it did not convene until December 6, 1875, he had almost a year between election and sitting in the federal congress. The thorough biography of Reagan by Ben C. Proctor states that Reagan used some of this time during the summer of 1875 to make "an extensive speaking tour throughout the state...to inform all Texans of the issues and to find out what their reactions were to them." It is possible that Reagan arrived at the Convention with the best general state-wide perspective of any of the delegates. For biographical information see *The Handbook of Texas*, pp. 443-444 and Ben H. Proctor, *Not Without Honor, The Life of John H. Reagan* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), passim and especially pp. 208-210 concerning the 1876 Constitution.

34*Walsh & Pilgrim*, 2; McKay, *Debates*, 274.


37*Walsh & Pilgrim*, 1; McKay, *Debates*, 276.

38Henry King was a forty-five year old lawyer who arrived in Texas in 1859 from Georgia. How long he had lived in Kendall County is not known. He was married, but did not hold Grange membership. *Walsh & Pilgrim*, p. 2.
39McKay, Debates, 276, 277, 278. McKay notes his source for King's speech as the version published in the Austin paper, the State Gazette, for October 31, 1875.

40McKay, Debates, 278-279.

41McKay, Debates, 279-280.

42Walsh & Pilgrim, 2-3; McKay, Debates, 281-283.

43Walsh & Pilgrim, 3; McKay, Debates, 283. While proudly asserting his allegiance to the Democratic Party, Weavers' impassioned speech also clearly claimed that the immigration issue "is no party question...I repeat this is no partisan issue."[Italics in the original.] See McKay, Debates, 284.


45Journal, Convention 1875, p. 403.

46Stockdale was originally from Kentucky. He was not a Grange member and was aged forty-eight at the time of the Convention. Walsh & Pilgrim, p. 3.

47Journal, Convention 1875, October 20, 1875, p. 424; October 27, 1875, pp. 501-502; October 28, 1875, p. 510. The second and third readings of the provision came on November 1, 1875 (Journal, p. 531) and November 5, 1875 (Journal, p. 571). The final vote on the Constitution en toto came on November 24, 1875. Only sixty-four of the potential total of ninety delegates registered their votes. The result was 53 yea's, and 11 nays (Journal, p. 818).


49The 1874 Superintendent's Report for the Bureau of Immigration does not specifically cite A. B. Kerr as one of its agents. However, it does identify Robertson's appointment of twelve unpaid agents for the bureau. Kerr's report to the Grange suggests therefore that he was one of those appointees of the Texas Bureau of Immigration who did not receive a salary for their work. See Reports, Bureau of Immigration, 1875, p. 9.

50Proceedings... Texas State Grange, 1875, pp. 31-33.

51Proceedings... Texas State Grange, 1875, pp. 31-33.

52Proceedings... Texas State Grange, 1875, pp. 31-33.

53See Proceedings... Texas State Grange for the years 1876-1881 as documentation on official Grange interest in immigration. Also see, Martin, "The Grange," 382 and Smith, "The Grange Movement," 301 and 313.

54Simpson, Touched with Valor, 20.

55Claude Hunter Nolen, "Aftermath of Slavery: Southern Attitudes Toward Negroes, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963), 189; "Colored Men's
Convention, July 3-4, 1873” in Frederick Eby, comp., Education in Texas: Source Materials. University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1824 (Austin: The University, 1918), 584.

56 This analysis depends upon integration of two sources: The final vote as listed in the Journal of the Constitutional Convention, 1875, p. 403 and the biographical information furnished in the Walsh & Pilgrim Directory, pp. 1-3.

57 McKay, Seven Decades, 135. For example, Governor Coke spoke out in support of ratification but specifically suggested amendments that ought to be added as soon as possible, i.e. better provision for public schools and an immigration bureau. See McKay, Seven Decades, 198.

58 McKay, Seven Decades, 135, 147-148. The designation "Bohemian" leaves us unsure as to what language or dialect is being identified. The Journal of the Constitutional Convention makes no explanation of the geographic origin or relationship of this language.

59 McKay, Seven Decades, 134; Ernest William Winkler, ed., Platforms of Political Parties in Texas. Bulletin of the University of Texas, No. 51 (Austin: The University, 1916), 163-172 for complete address. Quotations are from p. 172.

60 McKay, Seven Decades, 108. It is interesting to note that the Texas New Yorker did not have comprehensive coverage of the Texas Constitutional Convention in its pages. A review of this monthly periodical produced in New York with the professed goal of "making known to the Capitalist, Merchant, Mechanic, and Emigrant, the Agricultural, Horticultural, Stock-raising, Manufacturing, Railroading, and other Latent Wealth of Texas," shows no articles or editorials dealing with the debate over the Texas Bureau of Immigration. The closest it comes to any comment is in its March 1876 issue. Under the title, "Texas State Finances" (p. 204.) The paper said in reference to the constitution that it "was objectionable in some important features....But Democrats promise to amend it and bring it up to the full requirements of this progressive age." Editor Sweet also quoted in his Texas New Yorker a statement from a Houston newspaper, "Although the new Constitution is silent on the subject of immigration, and is calculated to retard it, yet some will come to our State."(p. 200) Three months later, in a comment about the latest election and the constitutional ratification, the Texas New Yorker said, "But we expect to modify it, and elevate it up to the best State Constitution yet in America." (May, 1876, p. 268.) The failure to mention political activities in Texas might suggest the aim of the paper's editor to always place a positive image before its readers. One way to do that would be to leave out any discussion of negative decisions by the constitutional convention or state legislatures.

61 Dallas Weekly Herald, October 23, 1875, pp. 1 and 2.

62 Newspaper information found in McKay, Seven Decades, 108-109.

63 Winkler, ed., Platforms of Political Parties, 177.

65*Galveston Daily News*, December 19, 1875, p. 1; January 4, 1876, p. 4. Newspapers were not the only source of negative comment. *Bryant's Railroad Guide: a Literary and Informational Work*, published quarterly stated in 1875[?], "The Constitutional Convention which has been incubating for 'wise laws (?) and modern instances'--has brought forth probably one of the most conglomerate masses of mux--to be called a 'constitution' that any body of men ever had the temerity to try to palm off..." and the "recent Constitutional Convention has shackled that benificent institution--the Bureau of Immigration, so that they cannot help themselves and certainly nobody else." See page 16 and 8 of the undated, 1875[?], work. This author is not sure how many volumes of this work were issued. This copy is at the DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University.


67Original manuscript copy in Texas State Archives, Joint Resolution, July 5, 1876 #382; also in *General Laws of the State of Texas, passed at the Session of the Fifteenth Legislature* (Galveston: Shaw & Blaylock, 1876), 317.

68*Revised Statutes of Texas: Adopted by the Regular Session of the Sixteenth Legislature, A.D. 1879*, Published by the Authority of the State of Texas, pp. 95-97.
Chapter Eight -- The Message Continues to Go Out: Government Efforts

Texas was a huge territory in 1876 with immense resources and millions of acres of land that beckoned agriculturists. People heard about the potential of Texas through a variety of written mediums such as personal letters, newspaper articles, journals, almanacs, booster pamphlets, and railroad brochures. This enticement literature literally shouted out a message of welcome to any reader willing to give Texas a second thought. Between 1865 and 1876 state governmental agencies as well as private enterprises participated in this effort to attract people to the awaiting land.

The population of Texas shot upwards from 604,215 in 1860 to 818,579 in 1870 and then onward to 1,591,749 by 1880, a 163 percent increase in two decades. Whether people came to Texas because of the written words or not, citizens in Texas believed that such publications were essential in peopling the state. Lines, paragraphs, pamphlets, and books sent out the message and were issued prolifically at the time. Volumes and volumes described Texas. The variety was endless and the approaches taken were numerous. These publications by private individuals, various business enterprises, or governmental agencies held in common an interest in bringing people to Texas--in suggesting that Texas had something to offer that no other state in the Union could provide.

Eighteen seventy-six was a pivotal year in this movement to attract newcomers to Texas. Texans ratified a new constitution that included a prohibition against the expenditure of "any of the public money for the establishment and maintenance of a Bureau of Immigration, or for any purpose of bringing immigrants to the State." Political leaders at that juncture in the state's history had voted against using any public money to encourage or support any state endeavor to
attract immigrants. The existence of this succinct and clear statement influenced the immigration movement in Texas for the next eighty years. The significance of this short constitutional provision was remarkable. Perceptions about the clause and its potential impact on future immigration propelled, as well as modified, a wide range of activities on the part of many Texans.

People did not stop moving to Texas after the death of the Bureau of Immigration nor because of the 1876 constitutional prohibition. Foreign-born and American-born migrants continued to arrive in Texas. The key point in this and the next chapter is to document the sustained interest in publishing information to speed up that process of population growth—interest by state agencies in spite of the state prohibition and interest by private enterprises because of the prohibition. Two major avenues existed for Texans working toward the ultimate goal of increased population in Texas. Private business efforts moved down one pathway in a complex but on-going parade of multiple endeavors. They sought to broadcast information about the riches and resources of Texas. Another avenue involved surreptitious efforts to utilize persons within the state bureaucracy to accomplish the very goals to which Section 56 of the Constitution expressly forbid the spending of Texas’ tax dollars. From 1876 through the turn of the twentieth century, these two somewhat parallel undertakings can be documented. The stronger effort—the more complex mix of individual exertions and the most prolific venture—existed in the realm of private enterprise. A weaker effort, pushed underground by the 1876 constitutional prohibition, was continued by the state government. These chapters will chronicle both avenues: undercover efforts by the state government as well as bold, forceful work through organizations of private citizens.

What was the public perception of the Section 56 constitutional prohibition? An overview of written responses will help set the stage for describing activity
during the last quarter of the nineteenth century on behalf of attracting immigrants.\textsuperscript{3} One of the more casual histories of Texas comes from the pen of Alexander Sweet. In his 1883 book entitled, \textit{On a Mexican Mustang. Through Texas. From the Gulf to the Rio Grande}, Sweet included a full quote of Section 56 of the constitution. Then he wrote,

It is currently believed that the framers of the Texas constitution had moss two feet in length growing on their backs.

That such a provision as that quoted is to be found in the constitution of the State, is a disgrace to the people of Texas, and a painful commentary on their intelligence. I was gratified to learn that fifty-six thousand voters cast their votes against the adoption of the constitution containing the anti-immigration clause.

Texas needs immigration,—there can be no question about that,—and the kind of immigrants Texas wants are men who will produce something,—....

Sweet then launched into multiple paragraphs describing the resources in Texas and the kind of people needed to develop that potential.\textsuperscript{4}

Hubert Howe Bancroft published a much more formal history of the state that he included as two volumes of his thirty-nine volume set, \textit{History of the Pacific States}. With an 1889 publication date, one volume dealt with the reconstruction of Texas government after the Civil War. The text pointed to what it called "defects in [the] constitution." The book said, "Provision was made that separate schools should be provided for the white and colored children; and foreign immigration was discountenanced." This statement was footnoted and the author quoted verbatim Article 16, Section 56 of the state constitution, which appeared at the bottom of the same page.\textsuperscript{5}

Research indicates that these written responses by Sweet and Bancroft were typical of the time. People inside Texas’ borders, in addition to those looking at Texas from the outside, ascribed a heavy influence to that short constitutional
provision. George Sweet in his March 1876 edition of the *Texas New Yorker* headlined an article "Immigration still pouring into Texas" and then quoted material excerpted from the *Houston Telegraph* which said, "Although the new Constitution is silent on the subject of immigration, and is calculated to retard it, yet some will come to our State." The use of the term "silent" is an intriguing way for a booster medium like the *Houston Telegraph* to downplay the absolute prohibition stated in the constitution itself. Yet the newspaper is clearly aware of the impact of the constitution upon immigration, when it writes that the constitution "is calculated to retard it."6

A sense of general wonderment about any government refusal to help finance the immigration movement comes through the correspondence of B. J. Gautier, the Spanish Consulate in Galveston in 1889. Gautier wrote on May 17, 1889, to the Commissioner of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History (D.A.I.S.H.) with a personal suggestion to the state bureaucrat. Gautier was planning a trip to Europe and wrote that "while there [I] would like to do something for our State, my native home." He knew about the up-coming Paris Exposition and expected that the state legislature would provide for some exhibition representing the state. When he discovered that no such exhibition was planned, he reported that he wrote his Senator "making inquiry and suggesting such actions."7 Reporting the senator's response, Gautier wrote, "but he informed me that it was inhibited by the constitution (?)" Gautier's use of a question mark in parentheses seems to indicate his disbelief that such a prohibition existed. It is almost as if he is asking, "Can this be true?" But he didn't dwell on that point and proceeded to suggest a course of action on the assumption that the senator's information or interpretation was accurate. A real "go-getter" Gautier then said,
I am only sorry that Texas should be behind the times. But we need not remain completely obliterated and out of sight. If we are not there with a display of our national and industrial products, we yet may draw the attention of the World and open the eyes of capitalists with a display of maps, charts, statistical tables, etc. accompanied with reports, circulars and other printed matter, so displayed that, he who passes may read.

Gautier's suggestion, involving written materials, reflects an enthusiastic Texan's interest in "thus inviting immigration and foreign capital to our shores," as he put it. And he saw the D.A.I.S.H. as the state agency that could help in that endeavor. No response is recorded in the files of the department, so we can only wonder if Gautier was left hanging with a great idea but no help in carrying it out, or if the agency did provide some pamphlets, brochures or maps.8

Let us return to the original question. What was the public perception of the Section 56 constitutional prohibition? Sweet's informal history, Bancroft's more voluminous history, the Houston Telegraph via the Texas New Yorker, and at least one state senator--all suggest some general knowledge of Section 56. Those aware of the prohibition often saw it as a detrimental clause hurting state efforts to attract immigrants. They highlight in written form what seemed to be a pervasive sense around the entire state--this constitutional prohibition would influence development in Texas and the way that Texans participated in that development. In the light of Article 16, Section 56, the deliberate actions and persuasive writing of the continuing enticement effort toward bringing immigrants to Texas shines even more clearly. Reviewing actual endeavors in this field shows over and over again a widespread continuing interest in attracting immigrants to Texas.

Gautier's letter referring to a state politician would lead us to believe that people within the state government knew about the constitutional prohibition and interpreted it as a total interdiction against using state money to encourage
newcomers to Texas. But, governmental agencies within Texas participated in the immigration enticement effort both before and after 1876. The government of Texas had a stake in developing its land resources and participated in a concrete way at attempting to attract newcomers to the state. Texas and Texans pursued these enticement efforts throughout the state’s history. The state government’s most momentous and official effort was the establishment of the Bureau of Immigration. It continued in operation from 1871 to 1876 under provisions of the 1869 state constitution.

The Texas Bureau of Immigration during its entire existence had placed primary emphasis on producing written material for distribution. It proudly published its major document, *Texas: The Home for the Emigrant. From Everywhere*. The title page of the 1875 English edition clearly states "Published by the authority of the Legislature and Under the Auspices of the Superintendent of Immigration of the State of Texas." No sketches or photographs graced the forty-three page document. Multiple tables, charts, and testimonials made up its substance. In this format the pamphlet also succeeded in presenting an image of official information, unprejudiced by private business interests or organizations seeking to profit from immigrants. *Texas: The Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere* utilized government statistics and information to make its plea for newcomers. In describing Texas it did not take a county-by-county approach, but collated all its material into an informational brochure designed to whet the appetite of the potential immigrant. It encouraged the immigrant to consider the possibilities and then make choices based upon the best advice that she or he could obtain. The assumption in the brochure was that the state agency was providing just that specific, concrete, and trustworthy advice.
As noted earlier, the 1876 State Constitution brought funding for such endeavors to an abrupt end. In the light of that knowledge, it is fascinating to look at a published document entitled, *The Home for the Emigrant. Texas: Her Vast Extent of Territory, Fertility of Soil, Diversity of Productions, Geniality of Climate, and the Facilities She Affords Emigrants for Acquiring Homes*. While it has a publication date of 1877, it is almost an exact duplicate of the 1875 edition of *Texas: The Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere*. Statistical tables have been removed from the earlier publication or updated into a more compact style. For example, one table dealing with the public free schools was completely reworked in the later publication into paragraph form, using June 1877 as its reference date.\(^{10}\)

In the Bureau of Immigration's pamphlet, the letter format repeatedly introduced specific information addressed to Superintendent Robertson. This led the reader to see the state agency as fostering communication between the bureau and knowledgeable people around the state. It thus reinforced the image of an interactive state agency getting the most up-to-date information available. The earlier 1875 pamphlet also included specific references to services of the Texas bureau. For example it stated, "The best efforts of this Bureau and its agents will be given to aid the immigrant, by giving him information by which can be procured the lowest rates of passage possible,...[the bureau] has nothing to do with buying and selling lands, nor with any other private enterprise."\(^ {11}\) All references to any such state bureau of immigration are excised from the later 1877 pamphlet. Yet, overall, the same information is presented in essentially the same style with presumably the same audience in mind.

So questions arise as to this mysterious pamphlet of thirty-six pages. Who paid for its publication? How was it distributed? How many copies were published? And was it, like the 1873 to 1875 bureau documents, also translated into other
languages? Only two clues exist from which it has been impossible to draw any conclusions. First, in the 1877 document the last two pages include an article entitled "A Model Sheep Ranch" with the byline "From the Corpus Christi Times." It describes with an observer's eye the sheep ranch of a Mr. Reynolds, but draws no concluding statement either about the ranch or about the pamphlet as a whole. Second, the title page of the later document gives the following publication information: "Austin: Institution The For [sic] Deaf and Dumb, 1877." Archival information points to programs designed to help inmates of this and similar institutions develop a skill, thus turning them into productive citizens. Did the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb house printing equipment? Could the publication of this work have been used as part of the learning process for these handicapped students? If so, was not state tax money used to produce a piece of enticement literature in strict defiance of the 1876 constitutional prohibitions? This intriguing document may remain a mystery. It does, however, verify the continued presence of enticement literature aimed at potential immigrants to Texas published in some way with assistance from a state agency.

Turning to actions of the Texas legislature, a chain of events reveals a suggestive narrative in the formation of state agencies to service the needs of the developing state. The Sixteenth Legislature passed enabling laws in 1879 to establish a Commissioner of Insurance, Statistics, and History to oversee an executive office with the stated task,

- to obtain from every available source all reliable information and statistics relating to the population, wealth and general resources of the state, and particularly in regard to agriculture, stock raising, manufactures, mining and other industries; also relating to commerce, exports and imports; also relating to internal improvements of all kinds, public and private, and such other objects as may be of general interest or benefit to the state.
Provision existed for the commissioner to call upon other state officers for such information and then to make available such information "in tabulated or other convenient form, and report the same to the governor, annually." Not only was the commissioner to keep in touch with government officers statewide, but he was also to "keep in constant communication with the department of agriculture of the United States." The emphasis on communication within and without the state is a key to seeing this particular executive bureau (Department of Insurance, Statistics, and History or D.I.S.H.) as an avenue for discreet, if not actually undercover efforts to attract immigrants to Texas.

Various reports emanated from this agency, but an 1882 document best illustrates the information-gathering tasks of this state commission. The work is entitled The Resources, Soil, and Climate of Texas, and includes the phrase "Report of A. W. Spaight, Commissioner of Statistics, Etc."

on the title page. Pages 1 through 360 provide an alphabetical listing of each county in the state, with paragraph descriptions of population totals and figures on assessed value of taxable property of the counties and their activities. Information on railroads, churches, animals, soil, crops, schools, and manufacturing facilities is included as applicable to each county. An "official map" prepared expressly for this report and printed by the Chicago-based Rand, McNally & Company added to the data presented. The only other information or explanation for the report exists in a four-page letter of transmittal from Commissioner Spaight to Governor O. M. Roberts dated December 1, 1882, prefacing the county descriptions.

The letter is essentially an explanation of how Spaight collected the information, in spite of the fact that the legislature failed to appropriate the money necessary to do so. Spaight wrote, "left to my unaided individual efforts, I began the work of collecting, as best as I could, the multifarious statistics" from around the
state. He labored for twenty months on the task, first sending out blank forms and a circular letter to each of the federal congressmen representing Texas and each member of the state legislature. Additional requests for information went to various judges around the state, "and to one or more citizens in each of the fifty-six unorganized-organized counties of the States." As "a month or more had elapsed without bringing forward the looked-for statistical returns," Spaight took further action. He sent out more copies of the blanks and cover letter to "a number of citizens of known competence and character in each of the organized counties" as well as county judges and officials. In this second round of requests Spaight admitted his efforts at spurring action by appealing "to their county pride." Hinting at the bad image that would result from a blank page under a county's name, Spaight worked to coerce from these officials information he could not obtain in any other way.\textsuperscript{15}

The commissioner then described his efforts to edit the obtained information into paragraphs written by himself or by one of his assistants so that everything was "carefully revised and shaped by myself to conform to what I believed to be the actual facts and the proper manner of stating them." He claimed the need to do this in order to minimize any account that had been "colored by the pen of some ready writer inspired by self-interest or local attachment." Concerned that the report be perceived as the most truthful account obtainable, Spaight wrote, "I have endeavored to adhere to the rule, adopted at the outset, of systematic understatement of all the advantages and of explicit mention of whatever of drawbacks might attach to the particular localities outlined."\textsuperscript{16}

It is also interesting that Spaight makes reference to numerous letters received by his department from overseas and from other states requesting information "from official sources, and strongly implying a want of full faith in the
accuracy of representations emanating from private and presumably interested parties." 17 The existence of such letters indicates that an interest in Texas as a place of relocation was already wide-spread. It also reinforces the accepted belief that information from whatever "official" source is perceived as carrying more influence than information obtained in any other manner. Finally, the letters also hint at the potential use that Spaight and others in the state government made of the final report, The Resources, Soil, & Climate of Texas. For as questions were asked about Texas, this document must have served as a primary source of information--both a reference work used by agencies of private enterprise attempting to attract immigrants as well as the "official" government document on resources in Texas for use by state employees.18

The map enclosed in the 1882 report of the D.I.S.H., by the very data it included, gives indirect information as to the motivation of Spaight in his work. It provided a clear representation of the state, with counties and cities listed. Railroad lines, both those "in operation" and those "projected," crisscrossed the map. All of this would be expected on any map of the time period. But in addition Spaight squeezed onto the corners of the map supplementary information not typically incorporated on a map sheet itself. One corner table listed the railroad lines in operation, their company mileage, and the state's total 4,926 miles of track. In the upper left hand corner a square was marked off with the heading, "The Area, Population and Assessed Value of Taxable Property of the State, By Counties." Then 226 counties were listed with data for each. Yet another corner gave information about the annual and monthly rainfall, state finances, and quotations explaining homestead provisions for all settlers.19

The map demonstrates immigration concerns by a state bureaucrat. Spaight, for whatever personal or professional reasons, utilized his position and the task
appointed him by the legislature to disseminate information not only helpful to potential immigrants, but aimed in their direction. The map with its effort at concise information and reference to homestead laws could speak to potential newcomers, in addition to meeting the legislative mandate to provide the state with up-dated statistics.

Battle lines in Texas history have often been drawn between those who value fiscal conservatism and those who strive for progressive reform. Uniforms for those engaged in this struggle have never been distinct. Outward colors, crisp labels, or distinct groupings have not evolved, partly because of the dominance in state politics of the Democratic Party as "the" political party. But concerns over perceived high taxes, government expenditures, and governmental organizations meant to accomplish collective goals have dominated many an election year debate and many a legislative proposal.20

The issue of using some government assistance to encourage immigration to Texas has been one of those topics caught in the midst of this battlefield. Fiscal conservatives, of whatever political persuasion or occupational stripe, have consistently expressed their opposition to governmental expense at enticing newcomers to the state. Debate over the original Bureau of Immigration in 1869-1871 fits this paradigm, as does the continued legislative squabbles over appropriations for that state agency. As the new constitution took form in 1875, this battle was again fought, resulting in Section 16's prohibition against spending any state money on encouraging immigration to the state.

While not as powerful politically, some Texans took a different view of state financing and state budgets. Often labeled "progressives" by the historical community, these people were willing to spend government time and money to accomplish commercial changes and social changes that would be of benefit to people
state-wide. For example, they saw increased money for schools as a boon to the future of Texas and they supported state money to help internal improvements. These same "progressives" saw efforts at encouraging the peopling of Texas's vast lands as essential in the long range for the growth and development of the state.

The dynamics of this struggle can be seen in efforts by state political leaders from 1877 to 1914 to either discourage or encourage the use of governmental agencies to entice immigration to Texas. Since the state constitution expressly forbid use of state money directly to help immigration, the activities of those supporting state development through increased influx of people were forced into a quasi-undercover effort. How did state agencies or officials support or not support government efforts at enticing immigrants to Texas? Statements by political figures of the time provide a window into public perceptions of state involvement in attracting immigrants to Texas.

Oran Milo Roberts became governor of Texas in January 1879 running on a platform of conservative state spending and efficient government. In his inaugural address on January 21, 1879, he stated:

Gradually, and much more in the last ten years, the State has been assuming other and extraneous burdens beyond the capacity of the productive wealth of the country to sustain....Some of these burdens are due to our frontier position in the Union and our extensive territory, and others of them are taken on to an extent not common in young and intrinsically feeble states. Reference is here made to the protection of our frontier and our police force; to the penitentiary and its enlargement; to our free common school system;...to our pensions to Texas veterans and to our immigration bureau, formerly.

Roberts obviously felt the state had overextended itself fiscally and urged more circumspect use of state funds. He called for efforts "to retrench expenses from top to bottom," noting that some believe "this policy will stop immigration." "Not so," he went on, "for the railroad companies owning millions of acres are the best
immigration agents we ever had, and those that buy the lands who are not settlers
will help them." Roberts clearly thought private enterprise was the best source of
energy in attracting newcomers to Texas. At least, that was the view Roberts held
in 1879. Two years later he seemed to hold much the same position, as he praised
the influx of over one-and-a-half million people to the state which he said, "give
promise of three millions of people in the next ten or fifteen years."21

Others in his political party did not share such a conservative fiscal view.
They urged a more aggressive stance on the part of the government. The
Democratic lieutenant governor at the time was Joseph D. Sayers.22 Sayers and
Roberts squared off as opponents for the governor's office in the 1880 election.
Sayers concept of government action is best illustrated in his address of January 11,
1881, to the state senate as the Seventeenth Legislature convened. Sayers pointed
to the great territory and fertile lands within the state's borders, claiming this
natural wealth needed only to be developed to make Texas great. Then he said,

Already, our great railroad companies have taken the matter
in hand, and with commendable enterprise have united their efforts to
attract the immigrant to our borders.

Will not the Senate of Texas also recognize our present great
need of labor, and exert itself to secure such legislation as will relieve
the State government of the inactivity into which it has been forced by
the Constitution?

Sayers did not then suggest exactly what measures should be taken in order either
to amend the constitution or work within its perimeters, but he continued lauding
the potential resources within the state. His one suggestion seems to be a reference
to the need for written information:

Truly, the harvest is great and ready to be reaped, but the
laborers are few; not particularly because immigration is disinclined
to come hither, but rather because our rich, varied and more than
imperial domain is almost a tierra incognita to the thrifty and
energetic peoples of the earth. [Italics in original]
If the land and its potential are unknown, then the solution, Sayers seemed to be suggesting, was to tell the world just what Texas had to offer.\textsuperscript{23}

The political wranglings between Roberts and Sayers also erupted at the State Democratic Convention in Dallas during August 1880. On the issue of immigration, a minority report seeking "the most liberal and active policy to encourage and increase immigration" was voted down in favor of the less aggressive approach reflected in a final plank of the party's platform.

We repudiate as false the charge that the Democratic party of Texas has been opposed to immigration, and, while the constitution prohibits the use of public money for the support of a bureau of immigration, we urge the next legislature to make ample provision for the collection and dissemination of statistics pertaining to our agricultural and other resources, to the end that all seeking new homes, knowing our great advantages, may settle in our midst, extending to them a most cordial welcome.\textsuperscript{24}

This small portion of the party's platform reflects two things. First, there was full knowledge and awareness of the prohibitions in the 1876 constitution. Second, there were at least a large number of people who see the compilation of statistics, if even for the purpose of attracting new settlers, acceptable within those constitutional restraints.

During Roberts' second term as governor, L. J. Storey served as lieutenant governor. In his inaugural address, he expressed sympathies more in keeping with those of Roberts. In part his message read, "And hereto comes a mighty tide of immigration pouring into our State from every land and country,.....These immigrants are not brought here at the expense of the State." He said that Texas welcomed them "with outstretched hands" and encouraged them to "enter the race of life upon equal footing with our own people." These people are pushing back the frontier, claimed Storey, and adding to the state's stability and prosperity. He then
echoed Governor Roberts' belief in private initiative as the best force to entice immigrants to Texas:

Would you increase the volume of this mighty tide without corrupting the purity of its waters, then, let the reading world, through channels opened up by private enterprise and capital, be furnished with correct official information concerning the condition, resources and prosperity of the country;...

Storey's belief in written material coincided with the opinion of most at the time. His belief, shared by Roberts, that this material should not come from government sources was not as universally accepted.25

The Democratic Party dominated Texas politics during this era, but it is significant that other political parties of the time took a variety of stands all supporting immigration. The 1880 State Republican Convention adopted a resolution stating, "We also hold it to be the duty of the State government to invite and encourage immigration to our State." Later in 1882 the same body stated, "We believe that the State ought to promote and foster immigration by all practicable methods." A small but vocal group, the Greenback Labor Party, met in Waco in 1878. While they denounced "the importation of servile labor from Asiatic countries," they stated "that the emigration of the liberty loving from other lands should be encouraged." Two years later, the Greenbackers placed in their platform a statement encouraging more government involvement. They saw an increase in population as a way to insure prosperity and stated, "inducements should be offered to all honest and intelligent immigrants to come and assist in the development of the great State of Texas." They failed to identify the specifics of inducements, but their pro-immigration stance surely sent a message to the powerful Democratic Party of the state.26

Governors and lieutenant governors present one of the most visual expressions of politics. This brief overview of their words through official speeches
suggests the dynamics of the battle fought between those called fiscal conservatives and those labeled progressives. Debates over how the state should spend its tax dollars also reverberated at the official meetings of the various smaller political parties.

Political leaders and political party platforms come and go. Executive bureaucracy tends to persevere throughout those leadership changes. The Department of Insurance, Statistics, and History (D.I.S.H.) continued to function throughout the early 1880s as an executive agency. The 1882 report by Commissioner Spaight illustrates the character of work done by this department. In addition, the legislature charged the commissioner with collecting all kinds of historical material and papers and then serving as a repository for such works. The present state archives owes some of its holdings to the efforts of this agency to obtain or at least to encourage the retention of historical documents for future generations. During this same time period, there was also a growing interest in providing some assistance for a department of agriculture. This was not a new idea. Support for such work had been growing gradually at the federal level. The national government organized a Department of Agriculture in 1862 and elevated it to Cabinet-level status in 1889. Various states organized their own departments of agriculture, although their size, connection to other state agencies, and date of organization varied.²⁷

²⁷ In Texas the Patrons of Husbandry took an early interest in establishing state agencies to support agriculture. They worked for the establishment of a state school to teach farmers the newest and best techniques in agriculture and as early as 1877 included in their state proceedings a resolution aimed at "memorializing the legislature to establish an agricultural department in our State Government."²⁸ The Grange was not the only such voice in Texas, but it was a strong and loud voice.
And ultimately the state legislature heard the message and attached a wing to the older Department of Insurance, Statistics, and History (D.I.S.H.). The enabling legislation, approved April 1, 1887, set in motion the reorganization of the state department. Interestingly, the name change may reflect state priorities since they placed agriculture at the head of the list, creating the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History (D.A.I.S.H.).

The Twentieth Legislature convened in early January 1887 during the last few days of Governor John Ireland's second administration. In his executive address to this body, Ireland noted that "much good has been accomplished to the people" through the D.I.S.H. and pointed to the suggestion by its current commissioner, H. P. Bee, that the agency expand to include the field of agriculture. Ireland said, "I believe this would redound to the great good of the country, and I join in the recommendation." 29

Ireland's successor, Lawrence Sullivan Ross, addressed the same legislature just nine days later on the same topic and made a more forceful argument. First, Governor Ross praised the work of the D.I.S.H., saying that while many regard it "as a useless and merely ornamental adjunct" to state government, he valued its existence. He especially noted the importance of its purpose towards historical preservation and even encouraged the establishment of "an exhibition" of the state's "wonderful and unparalleled growth....Thus inviting the industrious emigrant to settle among us, while, at the same time, we encourage a pride of country in our citizens." It would seem that Ross saw clearly the connection between the agency, its current mission, and the peopling of the state. 30

He then went on to recount the current mandate of D.I.S.H. as well as the failure of successive legislatures to fund its work to appropriate levels. Looking to the future, Governor Ross suggested "a more thorough development of the
agricultural feature" of the existing department. Utilizing an old "push" technique, he plugged into state pride and state competition when he said, "An agricultural bureau on a liberal and comprehensive scale has been organized in nearly every State except Texas." Such a statement often serves to spur Texans on to action. And in this case, Ross seemed to accomplish his ends.31

Bowing to pressure from farmers and from the governor, the Twentieth Legislature in its closing days passed a bill establishing a new government agency to be designated the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History. As with the earlier D.I.S.H., the commissioner was encouraged to maintain communication with the federal agriculture department as well as those in other states and in the territories and "at his option, with those of foreign countries." The object plainly stated was "the promotion of agriculture in any of its branches." Section Five of the enabling statute assigned its primary task. It required the commissioner "to arrange and adopt some plan for collecting and publishing agricultural and farm statistics, in connection with his annual report, in such form and numbers as he may deem best or the condition of the department will permit." The law then proscribed explicitly the process to be followed. The commissioner was to give to each county tax assessor before January 1 of each year "the necessary blanks" and instructions on the procedure to follow. Tax assessors as part of their job in listing property for taxes were charged with questioning each taxpayer "for necessary facts and information for filling out the blanks." Provision also existed for paying each tax assessor for his service, an amount equally shared by the county and the state.32 Thus, the less-than-efficient manner of collecting information utilized by Spaight in his 1882 report for the D.I.S.H. was dumped in favor of greater structure and accountability.
Steps leading up to the formation of D.A.I.S.H. illustrate growing political support for an agency concerned with agriculture. The legislative wranglings over this agricultural addition to the D.I.S.H. is yet another example of the battle between fiscal conservatives and progressive reformers. In this case the decision to spend tax payer's money on such an agency represented the eventual willingness of the politicians to accept expenditure of money because they valued the need for such an agency to help farmers, who made up an overwhelmingly major part of the population. The acceptance by enough fiscal conservatives of a need for an agriculture department allowed them to vote for higher appropriations and greater government expenditure. They had not been willing to do that when the issue was one of facilitating immigration to the state.

The First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau of the D.A.I.S.H. deserves an in-depth analysis. Such an attempt will clearly bolster the contention that this document was in reality and at least in part a government-subsidized effort at producing written information to attract immigrants to Texas. The most outstanding proof exists in the letter of transmittal from Lafayette Lumpkin Foster, Commissioner of the D.A.I.S.H., to Governor Ross, dated December 31, 1888.33 He included three paragraphs under the heading "Scope of the Report" saying he wanted "to offer a word of explanation to any who may not understand why matter unusual in agricultural reports has been incorporated in this [report]." He commented that the enlarged number of questions to his way of thinking added "but little, if anything, to the cost" of the endeavor. Then he noted the continuing stream of letters received by his department over the years asking for just exactly the kinds of information he solicited through the survey by county tax assessors. Finally, he showed his full hand of cards when he wrote,
There is no official literature descriptive of the advantages of Texas and the inducements offered to immigrants, for distribution in reply to these requests, and the greater portion of them are thrown into the waste basket. In attempting to briefly call attention of the overcrowded population of the East, who are eking out a living on the high-priced soils, exhausted by the skill of their forefathers, to our millions of acres of rich virgin soil, which can be had almost for the asking; to direct the attention of the seeker after profitable investments to our splendid industrial achievements and vast undeveloped mineral and other resources yet in reserve, and to convey to the outside world an idea of the character of our State and county governments, our public institutions and the cost of maintaining them, this work has been enlarged beyond the original intention.

His transmittal letter covered seven pages. Then followed a forty-three page summary and overview of the information as collated by Foster and his clerks. And finally 250 pages listed the statistics acquired for each of the counties in the state of Texas with counties listed in alphabetical order.34

Other evidence exists to support the assertion that undercover motives animated this particular agricultural canvas of the state that became the First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau. Governor Ross admitted as much when he said, "In addition to the special information relating to agriculture, the reports contain a vast deal of miscellaneous information in regard to the soil, climate, and resources of the State, presenting its superior advantages to those seeking homes or profitable investments."35 This acknowledgment of peripheral information included in the final report also resulted in a bill during the Twenty-First Legislature clarifying the future boundaries of D.A.I.S.H. tasks. It limited the contents of future "blanks" to be provided yearly to county tax assessors by saying, "such blanks shall contain only such questions as relate to agriculture, horticulture, and stockraising."36

The document also betrays itself upon a perusal of information requested and tabulated for the reader. Yes, counties provided information on the number and
value of livestock and the acreage and value of field crops for the year 1887. Stands of bees, pounds of honey, tons of cotton seed, eggs sold and used, butter produced—all became part of the statistical count. But also included in each county tally were the number of schools and teachers; the presence of mineral wells, springs, or natural resorts; the population by ethnicity; the number of newspapers; and the average wages for farm laborers.\textsuperscript{37}

The files in the D.A.I.S.H. also reveal the impact and extent of distribution of this First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau. They contain letter upon letter requesting a copy of the document or thanking the department for sending the volume while praising its contents. The North Texas National Bank asked for "several copies to send to parties outside the state" and upon receipt of the report sent back a thank-you note. The Fidelity Trust Company of Kansas City, Missouri, requested a copy. The library of an Agricultural College in Michigan thanked the D.A.I.S.H. for a copy of the report. Requests came from such people as a real estate broker in Des Moines, Iowa; a Texas man in Kentucky Town, Texas, who wanted "them to send to acquaintances in Indiana"; the Massachusetts Agricultural College in Amherst, Massachusetts, requested a copy as did a farmer from Cherry creek in White County, Tennessee. The correspondence in D.A.I.S.H. files is extensive and clearly shows interest inside and outside the state of Texas for trustworthy, concrete information. Specific reference in these letters to the Annual Report is frequent. And much of that correspondence relates to people or agencies involved in relocating to Texas.\textsuperscript{38}

The Texas state constitution of 1876 expressly forbade the spending of public money "for any purpose of bringing immigrants to the State." State governors, political leaders, and heads of executive agencies seemed to obey the letter of the law, fully aware of the constitutional prohibition. However, it appears they took
some license in interpretation and did help facilitate the dissemination of the
written word with the underlying motive of encouraging population movement into
the state. The undercover use of this agency to help facilitate immigration was but
one skirmish in the ongoing conflict between fiscal conservatives and progressive
reformers. In this case those working for change financed through government
money won a victory, albeit a small one. The First Annual Report of the
Agricultural Bureau, or what Terry Jordan, the noted geographer, calls the 1887
state census, was the ultimate expression of this undercover effort in the 1880s. It
provides yet one more strand in the complete story of efforts by Texas and Texans to
attract immigrants to the state during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Finally, in reference to official government work to attract immigrants in
spite of Section 56 of the constitution, the on-going work of the D.A.I.S.H. must be
noted. This bureaucracy supported continuing immigration efforts in two specific
ways. They facilitated geological surveys of the state and, once survey work began,
pushed for continuing appropriations to perform that task. And they kept lines of
communication open with people inside and outside the state through extensive
letters and correspondence.

Geological surveys were the scientific movement of the nineteenth century
offering various versions of "gold in them thar hills." As scientific inquiry evolved,
its first step in most fields was observation of noted and natural phenomenon. The
wide open spaces of the West and the various rock formations and outcroppings
spurred this scientific movement on, as also did the discovery of silver and gold and
copper in some of these western states. As these metallurgical discoveries happened
and resulted in great shifts in population, the connection between mineral resources
and peopling of the land encouraged state officials in the South, West, and
Southwest to call for geological surveys of their state. These surveys and the pace
of their development varied from state to state—each story unique to its own locale and the geological formations. Texas, in spite of its extensive territories and unpeopled plains, was slow to participate in this scientific movement.

As Texas politicians debated in the legislature, outside critics called attention to this deficit. For example, one New South booster volume of 1887 gave extensive descriptions of each southern state with the eye to showing "what the South is, how she has progressed, and to conjecture somewhat what she may be." Then in the very first paragraph of the forty pages devoted to Texas, nation-wide audiences could read the statement, "Again, Texas has had no geological survey, and in this regard she has done herself a gross injustice and made a most egregious mistake."

Finally Texans responded and the legislature passed the Geological and Mineralogical Survey Act of 1888. Using existing bureaucracy, they authorized the commissioner of the D.A.I.S.H. to initiate such a scientific study. One scholar has suggested that this renewed interest in a state-supported geological survey unfolded in connection with several events of the 1880s. First, the year 1882 saw the completion of two trans-Texas railroads. The Southern Pacific stretched from Houston through San Antonio to El Paso. Coming from the other direction the Texas and Pacific Railroad rolled across the state from Texarkana through Dallas on to El Paso. Construction of the lines, the transportation routes thus opening up, and the potential for new people coming into the state may have edged legislators to see the value of geological surveys. A second influence may have been the land reform measures pushed by farmers and reformers in the 1880s. The state Land Act of 1887 reorganized supervision of state public lands and the agencies which oversaw their distribution. This piece of legislation encouraged a reclassification of reserved lands, and this interest meshed neatly with calls for an up-to-date geological survey. Yet a third experience that may have induced the state
legislature to finally give at least beginning support to a state survey was the catastrophic drought of 1886. The lack of rain, poor knowledge of irrigation techniques, and crops planted that were unsuited to the climate in the drought areas were all factors calling out for help in understanding how to best utilize the fertile land of west Texas. The Galveston Daily News supported Eastland County citizens in calling for just such a geological survey. The News reported, "The petitioners believe that the appointment of a qualified geologist would do away with experimental farming, such as planting oranges in the Panhandle, and wheat on Galveston Island,..." These west Texans were looking for trustworthy scientific information to help them in pursuing farming in their area of the state. This scholarly assessment, suggesting that several events happening around the same time all contributed to the final legislation for a state-wide geological survey, provides a sound and reasoned explanation for the final state action.41

There was a pressing need for geological research in Texas. It is interesting that the implementation of that research was placed on the shoulders of the Commissioner of the D.A.I.S.H. And it is also obvious that any geological survey could serve multiple purposes—everything from helping investors decide where in the state to explore and try to develop natural resources, helping farmers decide which land would best meet their needs, and helping people outside the state decide on whether to move to Texas. The Texas legislature in 1889 appropriated $35,000 to the D.A.I.S.H budget to fund the geological survey, and the subsequent Twenty-second Legislature continued that same appropriation. Governor Ross supported this endeavor, praising the work of the D.A.I.S.H., and saying that the survey's work had accomplished much "in bringing into notice the resources of our State." Knowing Commissioner Foster's interest at attracting immigrants to the state,
surely he viewed his own work supportive of this geological survey as supportive of his immigration interests as well.42

Another way in which the D.A.I.S.H. assisted immigration interest in Texas was through its function of providing information—a task typical of any and all governmental agencies. While this could be termed a passive function dependent upon incoming mail, the performance of this work can also suggest a state agency interested in actively dispensing information to help potential immigrants. How this agency used the resources at hand to respond to these letters tells us much about the unspoken yet implicit motivation of its leadership. A sampling of letters between 1889 and 1891, while Foster held the administrative reins of the agency, tells their story.

The extant files of the D.A.I.S.H. between the years of 1889 and 1891 suggest an extensive correspondence existed in which this agency responded to letters from everywhere—overseas, other states, and within its own borders. Of course each letter was unique, meeting the needs of specific individuals who took pen in hand and were motivated to find more information. However, a representative letter will allow an overview analysis of the D.A.I.S.H.'s work.

Clawson Ohio 1/22, 1889

Mr. Gov. Sir.

Hoping that I will not be intruding on you I wish to ask concerning your state as I like many other young men here can't think of getting a home here where land is $100 & 150 per acre. And I prefer a warmer climate as the winters are to [sic] severe here & and the farming season is to [sic] short & and the stock feeding season too long. I have been through Ga. but don't like soil & water in the part where I stopped. On what terms can I get government land. What does settled & improved lands sell for? Where is your best land for farming. How about society water Indians & other advantages & disadvantages in general. What are the general products. How many bushels of corn wheat & oats potatoes are considered an averaged crop & what are the average prices for same. They say "go west young man & grow up with the country." But should I make a change I
want to get in a milder climate as I dread the cold winters & there is many more here that will agree with me & have been talking about Texas. If a few from here was to settle in your state and prosper they would have many friends & friends friends that would follow. but they have no leader. Fearing that I may be intruding on your time I will close hoping to hear from you soon. I remain yours

Hiram Clawson
Clawson Ohio.43

Analyzing Hiram Clawson's representative letter provides the opportunity to point to typical aspects of a communication from a potential immigrant. Multiple observations jump out at the reader. Clawson's letter shows an uncertainty in addressing his letter to the governor of the state and "intruding" on his time. Other letters that ended up in the D.A.I.S.H. files were addressed to the Secretary of State or to the land commissioner or as in this case to a governor.44 People did not know who to write to, but they were still writing letters to people in authority looking for specific, believable information. It is intriguing that Hiram Clawson asks for and thus expects the governor to share both advantages and disadvantages with him. Is this merely his naiveté? Or is it his strong assumption that government officials would be the most truthful source of information?

This representative letter notes the northerner's concern with climate, his interest in farming, and his knowledge of northern farming practices. Another typical letter dealing with the cold weather as a push factor came from Conrad Doering of Dakota who wrote, "Many families intend to go away from here because the Winter is too long and too cold."45 The fact that almost all enticement literature emanating from Texas repeatedly praised the mild climate suggests that southern writers knew the lure such information had upon the snow-bound or harsh climate-directed farming of the northerner.

Hiram is also a well-read individual, if we take his reference to the well-publicized injunction to "Go West Young Man..." as any indication. Most potential
immigrants had experienced a relative bombardment of articles in newspapers, journals, and magazines informing readers of opportunities in the southern or western states. Many of these articles resulted from northern journalists traveling the West and sometimes the South, collecting observations, and then filling columns for their editors back in the North.\textsuperscript{46} Letters to the D.A.I.S.H. usually reflect some previous experience with written or verbal information, i.e. the proverbial seed sown in a curious mind that grows to a full idea and sometimes results in physically moving to a new place. In addition to referring to the oft-repeated injunction publicized by Horace Greeley, Clawson wrote of a previous visit to Georgia and his dissatisfaction with what he observed there. It was not unusual for immigrants to "scout out" territory using visits to friends or business trips as a way of seeing for themselves. Others had no such opportunity and depended on the written letter to do such reconnoitering for them. For example, a Missouri man wrote in October 1889 saying, "I wish to settle in Texas. How can I finde out which cos [counties] have State Lands to Homestead or School lands for sale on long time can you give me any information on the subject. It is so expensive to travel and hunt up such places it is not like knowing what counties to go to pleas answer and much oblige."\textsuperscript{47} While Clawson had the means, at least to some extent, to see for himself, others were not as financially able. They depended upon the postage stamp.

Yet another aspect of Clawson's letter to the Texas governor was his mention of friends of friends following in the wake of one leader who makes the initial plunge to settle in Texas. The current term for such a population movement is "chain migration." Hiram clearly understood the process and in mentioning the same to the governor must have touched that Texan's desire to fill up the state with industrious, hard-working farmers. When Hiram speaks of "many more here...that have been talking about Texas," surely Governor Ross at the time saw the value of
fueling such "talk" with good information that would help pull those potential migrants to Texas.

Each letter to the D.A.I.S.H. begs for interpretation by the interested scholar. Trying to imagine more about each writer from the few lines on a letter is an intriguing exercise. It also keeps us in the realm of realizing that immigration as a movement consists of the journey of just one person or family group and then another followed by yet another and then yet another. The cumulative immigration movement reflects individual choices and decisions made one person at a time. The D.A.I.S.H. clerks and commissioner who opened these letters and responded to them must have had a sense of this very individualized process, even though the information they sent out could be very standardized and commonplace to them.

An intriguing fact gleaned from the letters in the D.A.I.S.H. files is the extremely quick turn-around-time on incoming and outgoing mail. In bureaucratic fashion each filed letter has a dated reference to an agent's action in relation to the letter. Sometimes the letters, as Hiram Clawson's letter, were detoured a few extra days once they arrived in Austin. His letter addressed to the governor had to be re-routed to the D.A.I.S.H. and was officially re-addressed to L. L. Foster. This happened frequently, since letter writers often were not knowledgeable about state bureaucracy, something that varied from state to state. But once the letter was at Foster's office, a response usually went out within a day or two. A Fort Worth request dated March 23, 1899, was answered on March 25. A Philadelphia letter dated April 26, 1889, got a response on May 1. A Eureka, Kansas, man sent a letter dated January 15, 1890. Today this letter sits in the D.A.I.S.H. files with the handwritten note, "attended to Jan. 17, 1890." A postcard dated August 29, 1889, from Sioux City, Iowa, requested the Commissioner of Immigration to send their "latest map." Unbelievably in a note dated September 5, 1889, they acknowledged
receipt of same and said thanks. This prompt attention to letter writing could indicate many things: a good appropriation for stationary and postage; clerks with few other tasks to divert their attention; the importance of the postal system in the late nineteenth century and its efficiency; an industrious office complement of busy state employees; an agency head who valued the importance of his office to immigration interest; or many other possibilities. The latter—a bureaucrat with the means and the interest to foster immigration—seems to this writer a definite possibility.

Many letters came into the D.A.I.S.H. and many letters, often with accompanying maps, pamphlets, information, or reports, left the office on a regular basis. Looking at them as a whole, one is struck with the fact that information was dispensed to a wide range of places. Letters went to Texas residents, people from other states in the Union, and to people across the Atlantic Ocean. The files show letters going overseas to such places as Napoli, Italy (1889), Manchester, England (1890), and Hamburg, Germany (1889). They also indicate requests from state-side people for information that they will utilize in their European business connections or they will take or send on to European locations. The American-European Investment Company of Chicago asked for information about Texas for their European buyers (1889). A land and livestock agent in Galveston wrote the D.A.I.S.H saying "The Reports came in good time today[,] the party left for Europe at 3 PM Today. Thanks, Eley, Jackson & Co." Assuming the Galveston Company was involved in overseas business endeavors, they utilized the state agency to obtain information which they then took with them to do business in Europe. The Lombard Investment Company of Dallas Texas requested "at least half a dozen copies" of the agency's last report "to distribute among friends & customers" interested in Texas land. Then the letter noted that the company had just recently
opened new offices in "Berlin, Amsterdam & Frankfurt in addition to our English & American connections." The repetition of such letters in the agency's files reflects some of the avenues to which D.A.I.S.H. information was directed.

Requests from within Texas can also be found in the D.A.I.S.H. files. Many of these directly dealt with immigration. One newly arrived Texan from South Carolina asked for a copy of the 1888 report, saying "I have letters from friends in the old state asking for information all of which I could get from said report." The potential for yet another chain of migration exists in this one letter and in this one person's request to a state agency. W. T. Duncan wrote a letter acknowledging the receipt of the first annual report of the Agricultural Bureau of the D.A.I.S.H. and then added in a P.S., "if you sende these Books out of the state I have two Brothers lives in southwestern part of Arkansas I would be glad if tha could see one" and find some part of the state that they would "Like and emigrate to Texas."

Individuals wrote personal letters to the D.A.I.S.H., but so also did people representing business concerns. The owner of a dry goods store in Plano wrote to the department asking for "one of those books of Statistical information in regard to the resources of Texas." A county assessor solicited the same literature. The Waco Trade Review also requested a copy of the report as did the Texas Advertiser (whose letterhead claimed it had "Consolidated with the Texas Land Immigration Journal"). No doubt both of these newspapers included excerpts from the reports' pages in their own journalistic columns. Inferences can be made that the D.A.I.S.H. report met multiple needs. Obviously not all bureau reports or all bureau letters dealt with concerns for migrating people, but the extent of such letters does indicate a strong component in the agency's work involving quick responses to requests for information on Texas.
Not only did Texans and Europeans write letters asking for written information from the D.A.I.S.H., but people from throughout the United States addressed letters to the Texas agency. A sampling of D.A.I.S.H. files indicates that the public library in Cleveland, Ohio, requested a report and indicated a willingness to pay for it. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology sent a postcard thanking the agency for its second annual report and requesting a copy of the first report as well. The First National Bank of Orwell, Vermont, had requested and received a copy of the agency's annual report. Requests were often very specific: a Kentuckian who wants information "concerning the different counties that would benefit one who proposes to settle in the wheat zone"; a North Carolinian who says please "inform me what counties in your State raise Tobacco?" and later "tell me whether Clover does well in the State"; a Pennsylvania man who says "There is a growing feeling favourable to settleing in Texas" but the people want to "know more of the State especialy of its laws"; and a man from Oakland California who was happy with that state's climate but said "land is out of my reach What I want is a home" where I can afford to buy the property.

Other letters reflect an intense desire to make the best choice among options available. One poignant letter from a Minneapolis man desiring to go into stock raising emits a real caring farmer weighing the advantages and disadvantages of Montana and Texas for that pursuit. This potential Texan wrote to the "Immigration Bureau, Austin, Texas" saying,

I desire to post myself ...as to the advantages you can offer one to locate in your State...I want to embark in stock raising and do not know as yet where to locate. There being many things to be considered. Montana with its cold winters and liability to loss in consequence, I do not like. but its nearness to market salubrity of climate and free pasturage are a great argument in its favor, yet I would not like to see my stock drifted up against a wire fence freezing and starving to death. On the other hand I do not wish to see stock...
perishing for lack of water to drink or food to eat from drouth but would like to locate where I can find a happy medium, hence my wish to investigate before moving in any direction. Any information you may place in my hands will be duly appreciated.54

One can only wonder where this man finally relocated or if he actually did move. He was definitely the thoughtful, caring, industrious farmer Texas would have been glad to receive.

Still other requests filtered into the D.A.I.S.H. Land companies and real estate agencies within the state utilized the state agency. And there were a wide variety of such businesses. The Texas Real Estate Association with headquarters in Waco asked for back copies of state reports because their "mission" was "to advertise and develop the resources of Texas and promote immigration to same." The Southwest Texas Immigration Association had offices in San Antonio and on company letter head requested information. They already had extensive statistics listing railroad mileage and telegraph lines and acres planted in various crops which they used on their printed stationary proclaiming "Come to Southwest Texas." A Houston real estate agent by the name of F. W. Colby wrote requesting information. Thus, formal corporations as well as individual entrepreneurs sought government help.55

The activity of state companies was reflected also in the work of similar enterprises outside state borders. The D.A.I.S.H. files show letters from bankers, brokers, and investment agents in New York. Several companies, headquartered in Kansas such as the Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas Immigration Company, the J.H. Brady & Co. specializing in real estate, loans, and insurance, and the L. R. Elliott General Land Agency of Manhattan, Kansas, wrote to the Texas agency. The Mineral and Timber Land Company of the South, based in Nashville, Tennessee, requested maps and information due to their losses at a recent fire. An Iowa firm
said it could disburse 500 copies of the Texas report into Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois, if only the Texas agency would send them. Another Iowan said, "Some of our Citizens have the Texas fever" and requested information to share with them.\footnote{56}

This extensive sampling of the D.A.I.S.H. files over a three year period is meant to suggest the influence that the department had upon immigration to Texas. The distances which its outgoing letters traveled were extensive. The incoming letters by their very request and number suggest other people perceiving Texas as an opportunity waiting to blossom. The letters reflect both individual interests as well as investment or company interests in Texas land. The ongoing effort by the department to collect and collate statistics kept feeding this outside hunger for authoritative governmental information. The work of the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History produced the 1887 Texas state census, alias the First Annual Report of the Bureau of Agriculture. This form of published information provided a significant written document that set the tone for continuing involvement in the publication of authoritative information about the state. The work of this same department in responding to letters from everywhere also served to further interest in moving to Texas and living on Texas land. As this state agency remained active, it continued to provide the state with concrete statistical information for home use and for use dispensing information elsewhere.\footnote{57}

While the work of this agency and its predecessor D.I.S.H. was neither flashy in presentation nor as extensive as attempts by private enterprise, the efforts do demonstrate official governmental involvement in the immigration movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.


3Chapter Seven documents the debate on a state-wide level during the meeting of the Constitutional Convention and the months afterwards as ratification was debated in the newspapers. A review of those newspapers indicates a clear awareness on the part of the journalists and then to their readers that Section 56 was meant to be a very restrictive clause. Editorials pointed very plainly to the impact they perceived such a prohibition would have on the efforts of Texas to obtain newcomers.

4Alex E. Sweet and J. Armory Knox, *On a Mexican Mustang, Through Texas, From the Gulf to the Rio Grande* (Hartford, Conn.: S.S. Scranton & Company, 1883), 666-669. Sweet, an immigrant Texan who trained as a lawyer and had served in the Confederacy, turned to journalism as a career. After the war he edited newspapers in San Antonio and in Austin, but was best known and liberally acknowledged around the state for his sarcastic columns called "Texas Sittings." That title and his humor followed him to New York where he published a weekly paper from 1884 to 1896. Early in his journalistic career he took on the name of "The Sifter." One analyst of his work claims that he "may have done more for immigration than all the fairy tales put out by the land-rich, passenger-poor railroads of the Lone Star State." See Alex Sweet's *Texas, the Lighter Side of Lone Star History*, edited by Virginia Eisenhour, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), xi.

5Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America*, Volume XI: Texas Vol. II--1801-1889 (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1889), 516. Another formal history of the state made the exact same analysis. This time the book, entitled *History of Texas, Together with a Biographical History of the Cities of Houston and Galveston*, described the 1876 constitution in reference to the earlier constitution of 1869. The statement read, "The article of the old constitution respecting suffrage was so changed as to make no reference to 'race, color or former condition.' Foreign immigration was discountenanced." See page 102 of this work produced in Chicago by the Lewis Publishing Company in 1895.

6*Texas New Yorker*, March 1876, p. 200.

7According to *Members of the Texas Legislature, 1846-1980* (N.p., n.d.) the state senator for District Ten (which included the city of Galveston and Galveston
County) from January, 1887 through April 6, 1889 would have been John M. Claiborne. Gautier does not name the person in his letter to Foster.

Further research into additional D.A.I.S.H. files or other state agencies of the time period might provide some information on the result of Gautier's efforts. To date this has not been done. Letter from B. J. Gautier to L. L. Foster, May 17, 1889 in Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History Files, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas. File Number 001-1, Statistics, Files 8-14; File Number 001-2, Statistics, Files 1-3. Letters are arranged alphabetically by first initial of surname or name of institution and the bulk of this correspondence is dated from January 1889 to December 1891. Further references to letters in these files will be listed by letter writer followed by D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

A. C. Hamilton of Waco also wrote a letter to Foster in 1889 noting his own appointment as a commissioner to the Paris Exposition and requesting "printed documents" that would help him be knowledgeable about the state hoping they "might enable me to do Texas Justice in Foreign lands." His letter points to the expectation by Texans that the D.A.I.S.H. would have the information on hand and in readily accessible written form. See Letter from A. C. Hamilton to L. L. Foster, April 10, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File.

[Texas Bureau of Immigration]., Texas: The Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere (Houston: A.C. Gray, State Printer, 1875).


Examples of these incorporated letters can be found on pages 22-23 and 24-25 of Texas: Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere. The quotation about bureau activities comes from page 37 of the same document. This type of material (i.e. letters and references to the Bureau of Immigration) does not appear in the 1877 publication re-titled The Home for the Emigrant. This author estimates that the later publication is a 95% direct copy of the earlier document.

The Home for the Emigrant. 1877, pp. 35-36 and title page.

The Revised Statutes of Texas: Adopted by the Regular Session of the Sixteenth Legislature, A.D. 1879, Published by the Authority of the State of Texas, pp. 653-654.

An interesting connection exists concerning the initial legislative work for this government agency. The chair of the Sixteenth Legislature's Committee on Insurance, Statistics, and History was Dr. Ashbel Smith. Smith's reputation over the years put him squarely on the side of any effort to encourage immigration to the state. He had written extensively on the subject and personally helped many in moving to the state. His influence must have been substantial in the formation of D.I.S.H. and suggestions directing its initial work. Elizabeth Silverthorne, Ashbel
Smith of Texas, Pioneer, Patriot, Statesman, 1805-1886 (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1982), 205.

14A. W. Spaight, The Resources, Soil, and Climate of Texas (Galveston: A. H. Belo & Co., Printers, 1882). Ashley W. Spaight was born in Alabama in 1821. He went to school at the University of North Carolina and trained as a lawyer. In 1860, he and his wife Victoria moved to Galveston as well as purchased land at Liberty. Spaight served in the Confederacy and also served as a member of the 1866 constitutional convention for Texas. He was an Episcopalian and active as a member at Trinity Church in Galveston where he retired after serving as D.I.S.H. head. See William Manning Morgan, Trinity, Protestant Episcopal Church, Galveston, Texas, 1841-1953. A Memorial History (Houston: The Anson Jones Press, 1954), 397-398.


17Spaight, The Resources, v. The importance of letters and letter writing in the whole story of enticement movements in the late nineteenth century cannot be over-estimated. But that, too, is another story for another time.

18Spaight’s report was officially handed over to Governor Roberts who in an address to the Eighteenth Legislature praised it as "the most accurate and extensive information of all parts of Texas that has ever been embodied and furnished to the public." See ‘Governor Roberts Message, January 10, 1883,” Governors' Messages, Coke to Ross, Edited by and for the Archive & History Department of the Texas State Library, 1916, p. 436. Future references to this volume will be by title, speaker, date of address, and page number in volume.

19This fold-out map was found loose between the pages of the Spaight Report, located in the Masterson Collection, Fondren Library, Rice University.


Second Inaugural Address, January 18, 1881, pp. 138-145, especially p. 139. A fascinating side story exists here in the publication of a book by Governor Roberts while he was still serving as governor and espousing such views encouraging the state government not to spend money for attracting immigrants. See O. M. Roberts, A Description of Texas, Its Advantages and Resources, with Some Account of Their Development, Past, Present and Future (St. Louis: Gilbert Book Co., 1881). A broad theme throughout the 133 page volume is diversity—diversity in crops, resources, land, people, and history. It included five colorful maps inside the back cover containing geological and geographical information and according to a newspaper clipping pasted in one copy of the book, it sold for $1.00. Roberts’s style is very personal with frequent use of “I” and “we” in referring to his forty years of travels around the state and experience meeting many Texans. He writes in one chapter, “The governments, under which Texas has existed, have done much to encourage the increase of its population, the settlement, and the development of the resources of the country.”(pp. 25-26) Then he tells his readers about state efforts to explore and record geological information about the state’s agricultural and mineral resources. Finally he comments that “We have had, also, an Immigration Department, with its officers, which has lately been abolished.”(p. 26) This last statement stands out as lone acknowledgment of the bureau of immigration. Why did he include the statement, when he politically spoke of not supporting such government involvement? Yet another interesting aspect to the book is the front cover. The state seal of Texas is displayed boldly and enhances the official looking appearance of the book with its lettering “Governor Roberts’ Texas.”

22Alwyn Barr, Reconstruction to Reform: Texas Politics, 1876-1906 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 58-59. Oran Milo Roberts was born in South Carolina, grew up in Alabama, and moved to Texas in 1841 where he practiced law in San Augustine. As president of the Texas Secession Convention of 1861 he lead the state out of the Union and later served in the Confederate Army. He also held positions as judge and teacher, as well as governor of Texas from 1879 to 1883. For more biographical information, see DeBoer, Destiny by Choice, 123 and Governors’ Messages. 213, Joseph Draper Sayers was born in Mississippi and moved to Texas in 1851 with his father. He served the confederacy and after the war returned to Bastrop, Texas and practiced law there. He represented Bastrop County in the state’s Thirteenth Legislature (1873) and also chaired the Democratic state executive committee from 1875 to 1878. His term as Lieutenant Governor extended from January, 1879 to January, 1881. In addition to a wide variety of governmental positions, he spent thirteen years representing Texas in Washington, D.C. and eventually returned to serve as governor of Texas for four years, 1899 to 1903. For more biographical information on Sayers see Handbook of Texas, Volume II, p. 576 and Volume III, p. 858.


25Governor's Messages. Lieutenant Governor L. J. Storey, Inaugural Address, January 18, 1881, 348-357, especially 351 and 352. Leonidas Jefferson Storey was born in Georgia and moved as a youngster with his family to Texas in 1845. He practiced law in Lockhart, served in the Confederate Army, and after the war was a state congressman representing Caldwell County. Later he served his state for seventeen years on its Railroad Commission. For more biographical information see Handbook of Texas, Volume II, 676.

26Winkler, Platforms, 196, 214, 188, 199.

27The subject of state agencies in support of agriculture deserves some in-depth research. Comparisons among the many states, especially the southern states as they evolved after the Civil War, would be interesting. Preliminary research in a few select states suggests the potential in such a study. For example, the first and second reports of the Tennessee Bureau of Agriculture constituted 1193 pages in 1874 and dealt with the subject of immigration as it related to the development of the state's lands. Tennessee had earlier in 1868 published The Tennessee Hand-Book and Immigrant's Guide: Giving a description of the State of Tennessee. The need to see if a connection existed here, or if one publication helped evolve into the other, could produce some possibly interesting comparisons with Texas. Two resources on Tennessee history are Hermann Bokum, The Tennessee Hand-Book and Immigrant's Guide: Giving a Description of the State of Tennessee (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868) and J. B. Killebrew, Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee (1874, reprint; Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1974).

Alabama, too, had a commissioner of immigration assisted by a board of directors. An 1875 Legislative Act provided for this bureaucracy, but did not support the work with state funding. Alabama, later in 1883, established a department of agriculture and stepped more aggressively into the realm of helping the farmers in their state. Again, a connection between the immigration effort and the department of agriculture may or may not have existed, but further work in this field of research is very practicable. For secondary sources on Alabama's development, see Allen Johnston Going, Bourbon Democracy in Alabama, 1874-1890 (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1951), especially pp. 95-99, 102-108, 114-115, 121-125; and Katharine M. Pruett and John D. Fair "Promoting a New South: Immigration, Racism, and 'Alabama on Wheels,'" Agricultural History 66 (Winter 1992): 19-41. Also see B. F. Riley, Alabama As It Is: or, The Immigrants' and Capitalist's Guide Book to Alabama (Montgomery, Alabama: W. C. Holt, 1887).


29 *Governors' Messages*. Governor John Ireland. January 11, 1887, pp. 528-553. See especially, p. 552. John Ireland was born in Kentucky where he studied law, while serving there as constable and deputy sheriff. He moved to Seguin, Texas in 1853, served as a delegate to the 1861 Secession Convention, and later joined the Confederate Army. He served as state representative, state senator, and judge on the Texas Supreme Court. His two terms as governor covered the years 1883 to 1887. For more biographical information, see DeBoer, *Destiny By Choice*, 149 and *Governors' Messages*, 469-470.

30 *Governors' Messages*. Governor Ross. January 20, 1887, pp. 574-595, especially, pp. 586-587. Governor Ross was born in Iowa, moving to Texas as an infant with his family in 1839. His family finally settled in Waco. He served for a time as a Texas Ranger and then during the war rose in the ranks of the Confederate Army. He participated in the assembly that wrote the 1876 State Constitution and also served in the state Senate for four years. His two terms as governor lasted from 1887 to 1891. After that time he served until his death in 1898 as president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Bryan, Texas. For more biographical information, see DeBoer, *Destiny by Choice*, 163 and *Governors' Messages*, 555-556.

31 *Governors' Messages*. Governor Ross. January 20, 1887, pp. 586-587. Just exactly where Governor Ross actually stood in relation to the issue of government support for immigration efforts is somewhat ambiguous. During the fall of 1875 when the Constitutional Convention met and debated Section 56 of the final constitution, Ross was a convention member. His voting record during the debate is mixed. He supported efforts to fund a bureau for immigration, if that agency was limited to disseminating information rather than actually assisting immigrants financially. When no specific limits were adopted, he voted against such a state agency, but later the same day stood on the side of those who did not want a stated prohibition against appropriation of state money included in the constitution. On two later dates (October 28, 1875 and November 5, 1875) and two later roll call votes, Ross supported the wording of the final version of Section 56. He also joined the final delegate vote for the constitution in toto on November 24, 1875. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Texas*, begun and held at the City of Austin, September 6th, 1875 (Galveston: Printed for the Convention at the "News" Office, 1875), 403, 510, 571, 818.

33L. L. Foster was a Georgian by birth who came to Texas in 1869, settling in Limestone County. He attended Waco University for a time and then published the *Limestone New Era* in Groesbeck. He served in the Texas Legislature beginning in 1880 and in 1884 was selected speaker of the House. Governor Ross appointed him to the commissioner's job of the D.I.S.H., and he continued in that position as it expanded to the D.A.I.S.H. Governor Hogg re-appointed him to that position, but later in 1891 appointed him to the state's first railroad commission. Later service to the state included serving as president of Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. See *The Handbook of Texas*, Vol. I (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1952-1976), 636-637. Additional biographical information can be found in Raines, *Yearbook for Texas*, Volume 1, pp. 156-157.

34*First Annual Report of the Agricultural Bureau*, 1889, transmittal letter is on pp. v-xi; the long quote is from pp. vii-viii.


36*Gammel's Laws*, Volume 9, p. 54. This legislative decision suggests a pulling back on the reins of budgeting by those concerned with governmental expenses. It represents a skirmish won by the fiscal conservatives.


38Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History Files, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.


41Walter Keene Ferguson, *Geology and Politics in Frontier Texas, 1845-1909* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), 178-180; 75-80; 82. (Ferguson quotes the *Galveston Daily News*, February 3, 1887, p. 5)


43Letter from Hiram Clawson to Governor, January 22, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

44See for example other letters such as: Letter from American Land and Trust Co. of Kansas City, Kansas, to Secretary of State, December 5, 1889; Letter from J. W. Dodson of Jacksonville, Arkansas, to Secretary of State, August 21, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

45Letter from Conrad Doering of Davison County, Dakota, to "Dear Sir" June 23, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.
46 One such letter from a Canadian started with, "I have read several works on your Empire State...." We can only guess at just what material he had read, but he still felt the need to write directly to the state government, in this case to the governor, for more information. See Letter from C. D. Lockyer of Toronto, Canada, to the Governor, n.d. but placed in 1889 D.A.I.S.H. Statistics Files, TSL.

This national literature deserves a place in any explanation of population movement within the United States. The extent of such material however, precludes inclusion or analysis of it for this study. To see a few examples of such work check: L. P. Brockett, Our Western Empire, or the New West Beyond the Mississippi (Philadelphia: Bradley, Garretson & Co., 1882); Edward King, The Southern States of North America (London: Blackie & Son, 1875); H. F. McDaniell and N. A. Taylor, The Coming Empire; or, Two Thousand Miles in Texas on Horseback (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1877); Frank H. Taylor, "Through Texas," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 59 (October 1879): 703-718.

47 Letter from W. S. Chapin of Montgomery City, Missouri, to "Dear Sir" October 19, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

48 Letter from G. W. Alexander to L. L. Foster, March 23, 1889; Letter from Nicholas Baggs to L. L. Foster, April 26, 1889; Letter from A. P. Cogswell & Son to Secy of the State Board of Agriculture, January 15, 1890; postcard and note between the Office of Clark Bros. Real Estate Dealers and the Commissioner of Immigration, August 29, 1889 and September 5, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

49 Postcard from Borsari of Napoli, Italy, to Secretary of the Texas Agricultural Bureau, November 8, 1889; Letter from En. D. Desi of Manchester England to "Gentlemen," December 24, 1890; Letter from Wm. W. Lang of Hamburg, Germany, to L. L. Foster, January 24, 1889; Letter from J. Bartlett Cooke of Chicago to Secretary of State of Texas, May 25, 1889; Note from Eley, Jackson & Co. of Galveston to "Dr Sir," May 1, 1890; Letter from John W. Gish of Dallas to L. L. Foster, March 3, 1891, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.


52 Letter from Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio, to D.A.I.S.H., June 14, 1889; postcard from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Massachusetts, to D.A.I.S.H., August 19, 1890; Letter from C. E. Bush of Orwell, Vermont, to L. L. Foster, February 9, 1899[?], D.A.I.S.H. Statistics Files, TSL.

Letter from L. Mowry of Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Immigration Bureau, August 20, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

Letter from C. S. Hardy of Waco, Texas, to L. L. Foster, December 31, 1890; Letter from L. M. Gregory of San Antonio to Commissioner of Agriculture, January 21, 1889; Letter from F. W. Colby of Houston, Texas, to "Commissioner" Foster, February 1, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

For examples of correspondence from New York businessmen see Letter from H. K. Enos & Co., Bankers and Brokers, New York to D.A.I.S.H, October 14, 1889; Letter from Fatman & Schwarz, Commission Merchants, New York to Phil T. Allan, September 26, 1891; Letter from Griswold & Gillett, Investment Securities, New York to Secretary of State, April 26, 1889. Letter from A. P. Cogswell of Kansas City, Missouri, to L. L. Foster, April 9, 1890; Two letters from J. H. Brady & Co. of Abilene, Kansas, to L. L. Foster, November 6, 1889 and November 12, 1889; Letter from L. R. Elliott of Manhattan, Kansas, to L. L. Foster, March 3, 1891; Letter from Martin & Company of Davenport, Iowa, to L. L. Foster, June 15, 1890; Letter from F. E. Albright of Sioux City, Iowa, to "My Dear Sir," May 11, 1889, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics Files, TSL.

Subsequent reports of this agency show growth in the size of their publications and the implementation of new ideas such as the purchase of display cases for exhibits at the state capital. Commissioner Hollingsworth in his 1891-1892 report also tried a unique addenda to his volume. The last few pages were filled with testimonial letters that demonstrated a wide variety of uses for the D.A.I.S.H. report by people from within the state and people outside its borders. See D.A.I.S.H. Reports: Fourth Report, 1890-91; Fifth Report, 1891-92, John E. Hollingsworth Commissioner.
Tucked away in "General Provisions" Article 16 of Texas's 1876 constitution was a statement prohibiting the use of "any of the public money for the establishment and maintenance of a Bureau of Immigration, or for any purpose of bringing immigrants to the State." Realizing the full impact of such a restriction on state government, a multitude of separate business enterprises moved aggressively into the perceived vacuum. They initiated new endeavors or re-energized earlier enticement efforts with the ultimate goal of peopling the vast lands within the state's borders. Once this tradition was in place, private enterprise continued to push programs influencing population movement into Texas.

The variety of such endeavors reflects the dynamics inherent in a state with tremendous untapped land resources and people willing to work at developing those assets. Human energy and commitment of time fueled the efforts of corporations that dealt with land development. Newspapers and journalists continued to present Texas and its many communities in glowing terms. State pride propelled formation of a State Immigration Committee as the outgrowth of an 1887 conference in Dallas. Counties and cities published booster literature pointing to their locale as the ideal spot for the Texans of the future. The multiple railroad systems traversing the state added to this immigration movement with their diverse maps, pamphlets, and programs to help immigrants settle in Texas.

Many Texans, both of the newly arrived and the pre-Civil War variety, participated in this immigration movement that loosely filled the years from 1876 to 1914. Private citizens, for a multitude of personal reasons, joined in the efforts to attract more people to Texas. While everyone seemed interested in bringing newcomers to Texas, their personal motivation varied widely. People wanted
different things: to make money from the sale of land as a realtor or as a lawyer handling the legal paperwork; to earn a salary as an employee of a company such as a dry good's store or a railroad; to encourage the development of one's town so that more businesses would be available for the consumer and more people would be there to contribute to schools, churches, and social life; to share in the loyalty and pride that comes from identification as a "Texan" or a Southerner; to bring other people of their own ethnic origins or religious background to participate in the growth of their community. Such lists can be endless and often tend to overlook the fact that motives overlap as well. No matter what the motivation, the handiwork of individuals and various associations left an imprint on the state's development.

This chapter seeks to document such activity—to demonstrate its energy, to show its interaction with other organizations, and to note the diversity within the movement. Eighteen seventy-six, with its institution of the constitutional prohibition of state activity, will serve as the springboard year for the description of these vigorous private efforts. The intensity of the immigration movement varied from year to year. Yet, continuity clearly exists in the mental climate of people encouraging such immigration and in the existence of many distinct enterprises producing written publications.

Central to all the activity focused on attracting immigrants to Texas was a continuing belief in the efficacy of the written word. Those sending out the message "Come to Texas!" believed in the need for written publications. Those interested in relocating also believed in and desired written materials. The words put on paper met the needs of both those wanting to proclaim the resources of Texas and those wanting to know more about the state. This investigation of efforts to induce immigration to Texas during the years after 1876 centers not on analyzing motivations, or evaluating the success of each endeavor, or developing in-depth the
individual stories of each enterprise. Rather the focus is on the production of the written material, and by implication, the energy, interaction, and diversity of the immigration movement. Throughout the period there was a sustained belief in the need to encourage immigrants and the written word was seen as central to that goal.

One cannot tell the story of immigration into Texas without noting the impress of the railroads on that story. Where the rail routes went, people went. Construction crews, maintenance teams, ticket agents, immigration agents, railroad land sales representatives worked for the railroads. Their efforts served to pull people into the area crossed by the roads. This work by the railroads was inherent at every stage of rail development in the country, from the 1850s well into the twentieth century. While the railroad publications of the 1860s cannot match the sophistication of the brochures of the 1890s, the continual outpouring of advertising media from the railroad is a given within this tale. The approaches used by the railroads in the 1870s and 1880s to attract immigration differed from their work in the first decade of the 1900s. That change over time can be documented through an overview of their published enticement literature. However, since the focus of this current chapter is the energy and diversity of efforts as responses to the 1876 constitutional prohibition, the story of the railroads will be reserved for a later chapter. Railroad efforts may be mentioned or included here but will be done so with the aim of clarifying the main focus of this chapter’s analysis: publicity endeavors by private enterprise in response to the constitutional prohibition of 1876.

Private agencies employed a variety of initiatives between 1876 and 1914 to attract immigration to Texas. One very aggressive organization in Texas was the South Western Immigration Company. Their publication of 1881 boldly asserted their position and rationale for existence. First, they took their readership back to
the 1876 Constitution and quoted Section 56 verbatim. Claiming that this provision "has been construed abroad as an evidence of hostility on the part of the people of Texas to those coming among us seeking homes," the company felt compelled to redress this perception. The group incorporated under the laws of Texas stating "it is the purpose of this company to supply the needs of a State Bureau of Immigration." "Collecting, collating and disseminating correct information" was their stated goal and to that end they "earnestly solicited" help "from all corporations, enterprises and individuals who desire to hasten the development of our country." One of their first publications was a 253 page document entitled Texas: Her Resources and Capabilities. Its opening eight pages were a cheerleading effort at encouraging participation in their work. The rest covered a broad spectrum of information gleaned from multiple, often previously published, sources.3

As with most enticement literature, this book included statements referring to its trustworthiness and veracity. Loud and clear, it said,

To sum up: this company has no lands and will acquire none. It has nothing to sell; nothing to buy. It has no interest, directly or indirectly with the land department of any railroad, nor with any private land agency, nor other business or speculative enterprise...our only object is to aid immigrants in every possible way to acquire trustworthy and intelligent information about the country we represent.4

One would naturally ask then, "Where did they get the money to publish such material?" and they very openly reported, "Certain railroads have gratuitously placed a large sum of money at the company's disposal, to be expended in the accomplishment of this object."5

The material presented by the South Western Immigration Company provides a real muddle for the researcher to try to unscramble. It demonstrates
clearly the interconnectedness of any immigration effort. The company overtly sought help from everyone interested, plus openly admitted to having already accepted financial assistance from some railroad systems. The president of the company was William W. Lang, a most powerful and influential farmer, and late Master of the Texas State Grange. The front page of *Texas: Her Resources and Capabilities* bears a rough facsimile of the Texas state seal, yet the document was definitely not a government one. The overlapping of various energetic aspects of the immigration movement are thus reflected in this one company alone. It remains difficult to compartmentalize such organizations or to neatly analyze each part of the company. This brings us again to the realization that motivations varied. Participation in a company such as this could include a broad spectrum of people, ideas, and intensity of effort. But the constant thread remained individuals with a single goal—that of peopling Texas.

*Texas: Her Resources and Capabilities* clearly demonstrates the double goal of the South Western Immigration Company: to encourage Texans to take up the challenge of becoming involved in the immigration movement and to provide concrete trustworthy information for "those seeking homes in a new country." To meet the first goal, the company encouraged counties to form immigration societies and collect data that "will set forth the advantages of their respective counties as fit homes for immigrants." Then the company saw a cooperative effort evolving, as they would publish such county descriptions along with postal information that would ultimately put the potential immigrant in contact with the county representatives. The South Western Immigration Company even suggested the erection by counties of homes or way stations at convenient railroad connections to be used by immigrants in their travel to new destinations in the state.
In addition to these ideas, the company's book also encouraged awareness of how manners and kindness influence people.

A civil word, a little politeness, or an act of kindness, costing nothing, may be the means of favorably impressing a stranger, who, in turn, may be the cause of turning hundreds of immigrants in this direction. On the other hand, a short, uncivil answer and gruff manners will, in a measure, confirm the unfavorable reports given him by the enemies of Texas, and he returns or goes, disgusted, to other portions of the country and uses his influence against us.⁹

Such practical observations interwoven into the informational aspects of the book demonstrate unmistakably the two-prong approach of this particular publication.

The book presented extensive knowledge about the state. One long portion gives a quick overview of the railroads in the state and then almost eighty pages of county sketches for those areas through which the trains traveled. Climate, newspapers, crops typically grown, city names, and population statistics, were just some of the subjects included.¹⁰ More typically throughout the book were multiple, short sections with intriguing headings, like "Is Texas a Land of Lawlessness?...What Can an Immigrant Do In Texas?...What Conditions Immigrant Farmers from Great Britain May Find in Texas...Healthfulness...When to Go to Texas."¹¹

Characteristic of the enticement literature of this era, publishing agencies would pick and choose or cut and paste a volume together. This publication fits that genre of writing. For example, the issue of Texas as a healthy place for families remained a top priority in most booster publications throughout the era. This company’s attempt to meet those concerns utilized the expertise of a special man, Jerome Bonaparte Robertson. They quoted excerpts from a speech he made to the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Texas State Medical Association. The passages show a man clearly praising Texas' climate and healthfulness. The use of Robertson's
endorsement illustrates again the interconnectedness of immigration efforts of the time. Robertson had served as the government's second superintendent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration from 1874 to 1876. He later worked for a railroad company as an immigration agent and throughout this time maintained connections based on his professional experience as a physician. In using Robertson's words in such "cut and paste" fashion, the South Western Immigration Company drew inexpensively on some of the best talent in the state.\textsuperscript{12}

Serving as president for the South Western Immigration Company, William W. Lang was also one of Texas' most pre-eminent citizens. His many years' involvement in the state Grange gave him intimate experience with the needs of farmers. The company published one document presenting a speech that Lang made in March 1881 to the Farmer's Club of the American Institute at the Cooper Union in New York. A portion of this transcribed speech demonstrates the hard-hitting, practical nature of this farmer-turned-corporate-spokesperson. He said, \begin{quote}
Let me warn you in advance that my dealing to-day will not be with either elegant description or poetic imagery, but with hard facts and dry figures--facts and figures necessary to the comprehension of that mighty movement of population, which is now flowing southwestward.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}

Lang learned to be a salesman for Texas through his speeches, writings, and travels. At one point he represented the company by traveling to England, helping to facilitate the immigration of over 800 German immigrants via the North German Lloyd Steamship line direct to Galveston.\textsuperscript{14} The publication of Lang's speech served to validate the importance of the company which he represented. It also gave easy material to the printing arm of the South Western Immigration Company in meeting its goal of publicizing Texas.

The South Western Immigration Company was but one of many business endeavors that worked to attract immigrants to Texas. However, it was one of the
earliest to respond directly to the constitution's prohibition against using public funds for any kind of publicity purposes. Another early response in this immigration movement was actually the continuation of a previous journalistic effort. The Texas New Yorker had opened their New York offices in 1870 printing their first edition in September of that year. Their goal of publicizing Texas continued throughout the period of the 1875 constitutional convention and on until 1878. The pages of their paper suggest a subdued response to the constitutional prohibition, for while they followed the debates and reported on them, they made only minor comments about the convention in their pages. In effect, their response to the passage of Article 16, Section 56 was to ignore it. Such an approach can be seen as their way of minimizing the impact of the debates and the final outcome upon their own endeavors to encourage immigration.

Before 1876 the Texas New Yorker, under the leadership of George Sweet, called itself the "Official Organ of the Texas Bureau of Immigration, Without Pay" and routinely included information about the doings of the bureau. For example, when the 1875 edition of Texas the Home for the Emigrant, from Everywhere came out, Sweet wrote that while "we have not yet seen [it], we understand [it] contains much valuable information for those who contemplate settling in our State." Then he noted that such a brochure would be supplied free if the reader would only write to Robertson the immigration bureau's head.

Articles by Sweet did not gloss over the lack of funds for the bureau nor its inability to capitalize on innovative ideas. In September 1875 excerpts from a letter by Dr. W. G. Kingsbury, a bureau agent located in St. Louis, appeared in the Texas New Yorker.

There seems to be tremendous fever in regard to Texas in all quarters. Little colonies are forming and going from nearly every county....Last fall I conceived the idea of increasing the immigration to Texas by
obtaining the names of all the Texas farmers who wished to rent their lands to good Northern and Western farmers. I expected the cooperation of Gen. Robertson in this so far as the publishing of a card in Texas was concerned but for some reason he did not do it and I suppose it was for the want of means.

In this way, Kingsbury expressed his willingness to serve as a liaison employment agency, putting Texas land owners in contact with potential immigrants. He expressed his frustrations and disappointment when he added, "In short, if I could get a fair list from all the counties in the State and publish it we could have almost doubled the population, and brought millions of money into the State."18

Other columns in the Texas New Yorker broadcast city and county information. In December 1875 Mexia, Texas, received national exposure through a full page article signed by J. B. Tyus, President of the Immigration Aid Association of Limestone County, Texas. In April 1876 Sweet gave coverage to the Clear Fork of the Brazos Immigration Association, which provided columns of information describing "Shackleford [sic], Stephens, Throckmorton and Adjoining Counties." This organization promised "All letters of inquiry promptly answered," thus encouraging the person-to-person contact that had always been a strong avenue inducing immigration.19

Sweet also promoted obvious private business enterprises, if they were aimed at helping immigration. James Plant, as manager of what he called the "Bureau of Information Concerning Texas," received column space to announce his services as land salesman, employment agent, and money lender. Plant viewed the future of Texans with great optimism.

An industrious emigrant, thrown out of employment or broken in purse by the effects of the late panic, no matter how poor he now is, if he can raise the means to get to Texas, has the opportunity of immediately recuperating his shattered fortunes.20
Plant's headquarters were in New York City, and he addressed the local New York audience. Sweet also promoted those back in Texas doing similar work. In February 1876 he headlined the "Lone Star State Immigration Labor Bureau and Real Estate Trust Company" located in Houston. "Write to them for circular." declared the Texas New Yorker. Opportunities to rent land or work on contract seemed to be their specialties.21

Sweet was best when proclaiming the value of his own work in bringing immigrants to Texas. In April 1876 (two months after ratification of the Texas constitution) an extensive self-advertisement included reason after reason for a subscriber to "Take the Texas New Yorker!"

--It is the spiciest, jolliest, and newsiest monthly in America.

--The "Texas Farmer, Gardener and House-wife's Page," and the "Historical, Education, and Scientific Department," are alone features of the paper worth more than its subscription price.

--The map is printed fresh every month...and kept corrected right up to date with regard to railroad extensions and the organization of new counties. The best immigrant's guide to Texas ever published...

--It is non-partisan, unsectarian, independent, frank and outspoken on all the live questions of the time.

Then identifying a branch office to his newspaper as Montgomery County, Texas, he also added, "Take the Texas New Yorker!--if a toiling Granger, and aid me in proclaiming the advantages of Texas, and thus attracting to your farms more intelligent laborers, men of muscle and mind, who are not afraid to pull off their coats and sweat for good pay."22

Entrepreneurs in St. Louis initiated their own version of enticement literature, using the heartland of America's transportation and food growing area as their base of operations. James L. Rock and W. I. Smith attempted the publication of the St. Louis Texan in 1878, claiming it to be an "independent, vigorous, weekly
newspaper, devoted to a more intimate relationship between the North and East and the great Southwest, especially the State of Texas." They asserted absolute truthfulness to their work and promised "a full and reliable description of the country in which more than a quarter of a million are annually finding new homes." 23

In February the St. Louis Texan wrote, "It is enough to make one's mouth water to know that at Galveston, Houston and San Antonio, they are luxuriating on fresh strawberries. Let's immigrate." The weekly four-page newspaper had a fair sampling of diverse articles. They noted the establishment of a Land Emigration office by the St. Louis, Iron Mountain, and Southern railroad. This office reportedly would assist immigrants in selecting homes and had samples "of all kinds of grain, fruit, cotton, grasses, vegetables and woods" obtained from land along the rail's route. Another article identified San Antonio as an "oriental city" set down in the expanses of southwest Texas and then proceeded to identify some of the unique aspects of that community. They quoted in full the Homestead Laws of Texas, obviously believing them to be a distinct attraction for the potential immigration; and they did this in subsequent issues as well. In an interesting column entitled "Answers to Correspondents" the St. Louis Texan included the following:

F. W. writes from eastern New York, wanting to know the best way to go to Texas, and if it is a good place for a person without money. In answer to the first inquiry we send him a specimen copy of the TEXAN, and refer him to our railroad time tables. To his second inquiry we would say no. If you have no means to help yourself with, stay at home.

We can only wonder how such straight-forwardness was accepted by the readership of the paper, whether in Texas, Missouri, or New York. 24

"We are sending several thousand copies of THE TEXAN into the State of Texas each week" claimed the editors, Rock and Smith. They asked each reader
who received one of those copies to correspond with them and provide truthful
information for possible settlers. What we want, said the editors, are "all of the bad
characteristics of the state as well as the good, and no fancy pictures either way."
Their positioning on the issue of veracity continued. By announcing their mailings
"each week to every County Clerk in the state of Texas," asking for reliable
descriptions, they unmistakably pointed to their efforts at getting reliable
information.25 How did they support their journalistic undertaking? No clear
statement exists, but apparently the newspaper depended heavily on the railroads,
because a full page of each four-page issue contained time schedules and rate tables
from at least ten different rail lines.26 St. Louis, Missouri, was unquestionably a
railroad hub in the midwest. The Texas editors may have hoped their connections to
the various railroads would sustain their publication until it blossomed in size and
distribution. Many things factor into the success or failure of any journalistic
endeavor. Reasons for the demise of the St. Louis Texan after only a short run
remain clouded in the past. Considering the railroad support of their endeavors, it is
surprising that the paper did not have a longer life.

Most enticement literature of whatever persuasion often directly addressed
negative publicity circulating about Texas. The St. Louis Texan was no exception to
this approach. And it decried such negativism forcefully with such advice as the
following:

The readers of the TEXAN should take the criminal reports
from Texas, which are being written up and telegraphed over the
country, with a large amount of salt. It is only a system of "artful
dodging" in the interest of immigration. Not that Texas is free from
crime but because every incident of that character is magnified into an
hundred.

Obviously angry at what they labeled "truth-killers," the editors claimed such
negative publicists were manufacturing "falsehoods enough each week to construct a
double track railway four times around the globe."27 A week later the paper defended Texas by saying,

"A terrible tragedy in Texas," is now the standing headline of several papers which would divert immigration from that state. Every casualty upon the frontier and along the border of the Rio Grande is sufficiently magnified to cover the whole [of] the state. No state in the Union has more wholesome laws and more vigorously executed than Texas.28

Their editors' intense loyalty to Texas' interests was woven into and throughout their regular as well as editorial columns.

Another technique often used by enticement literature was the pull on family heartstrings and sense of responsibility. One rather long article in the March 16, 1878, edition of the St. Louis Texan utilized this approach to the fullest. The writer of the article noted the large numbers of "old farmers from the east and north" who are considering their options in order to provide future homes for their children. Praising such concern, he related the recent visit to the newspaper offices of an Ohioan. This "gentleman" seeking information about lands in southwestern Texas had lived in Ohio all his life and had a "fine farm of 220 acres." Asked for his motivation in traveling to Texas, he responded, that he was going to buy land to eventually divide among his six children.

You see...I have four sons and two daughters, and they have arrived at that age when they should commence to "shift" for themselves. The old homestead ain't big enough for us, so I am going to do by my children as my father done for me--give each of them 200 acres of as good farming lands as I can buy in Texas, and let them make for themselves and children, as I have made for myself and them--a home.

With great praise for such a caring father, the journalist called him "sound to the core" and encouraged other fathers to follow this perfect model. Give them their inheritance and then say, "there is your natural mother embrace her, and obey her demands, and her ever fruitful breast will always sustain and nourish you." The
article ended with a rousing call, "'Go west' old man and buy that son of yours a farm."\textsuperscript{29}

Such enthusiasm often came from newspaper editors. One critic of western newspapers said they were "shrill, intense, promotional, and numerous."\textsuperscript{30} That assessment of journalism in the West could just as easily be applied to the newspapers dealing with Texas. The out-of-state versions, such as the \textit{St. Louis Texan} and the \textit{Texas New Yorker}, shared with in-state papers the intense promotional nature of boosters for their subject. In-state papers were definitely more "numerous." One of the first requirements, it seems, of any progressive growing town in Texas was the presence of a newspaper. Such a business signified the town had "arrived," and the editor of these papers became each city's primary booster.

A systematic study of newspapers statewide would be both enlightening and fascinating, since boosterism was prominent in their pages and inducements meant to lure people to the community fit that schema perfectly. Such research and work lies in the future or for another scholar.\textsuperscript{31} For the moment, it is necessary merely to point to the existence of those efforts to attract immigrants. A hint of newspaper activism for immigration exists in the concise, positive report of the \textit{Fort Griffin Echo} for February 3, 1881, "The woods are full of immigrants."\textsuperscript{32} Similar statements peppered newspaper columns.

Newspapers had always viewed themselves as boosters of their communities and they continued to do so before and after the constitutional prohibition. The \textit{Galveston Daily News} serves as one example. With the widest circulation in the state, this newspaper also saw itself as a booster for Texas from border to border. For many years it published an annual summary of the state's activity. It was a full edition reminiscent of the discontinued \textit{Texas Almanac} published in earlier years by
the *News* editor. While the *Galveston Daily News* single issue could not be as comprehensive as a volume of hundreds of pages, the attempt to survey the state and represent its potential mirrored the work of the earlier *Almanacs*. Headlines in that special edition reflect this emphasis: "Texas, What It Is and What It May Become," "Growth, Power and Influence of Texas," "Our Lands and Their Adaptability," and "What Can an Immigrant Do in Western Texas?" Efforts by such private enterprises as newspapers remained within the on-going effort to attract immigration to the state.33

A more focused effort to entice immigration to Texas evolved in the course of the 1880s and culminated in what one writer of the time called the "Immigrant Movement." Interest developed state-wide in a cooperative agency to coordinate efforts at bringing newcomers to settle in Texas. The excitement in all this activity is marvelously conveyed in a textbook written for the school children of Texas by Anna J. Hardwicke Pennybacker. Published at Tyler, Texas, in 1888, the text recounted the events of each governor's administration and then inserted under material dealing with the then current Governor Lawrence Sullivan Ross, the following:

**Immigration Movement.**--Strong efforts are now being made (August, 1888) to bring more immigrants into Texas. Clubs are being organized all over the State, whose duty it is to arouse public interest, to scatter abroad literature showing the advantages of Texas, to send out speakers to other States; in short, to do every thing to make the movement a success. The railroads have promised to give reduced rates, and to extensively advertise "Texas Excursions." The probabilities are that 1888 will bring to our State more people than any previous year.34

The enthusiasm jumps off the pages of this textbook. This excitement is all the more compelling since it is not the boosterism typically directed at the immigrant from outside, but is instead a teaching paragraph for young Texans. The textbook
quote suggests the pervasiveness of the feeling in Texas during the 1880s that immigrants were wanted and needed. It also suggests the belief that deliberate efforts were required to accomplish those ends and that personal activism can influence in a decisive way the history of one's own state and neighborhood.

Several occurrences may have served as the catalyst for this so called Immigration Movement of 1888. One experience of many Texas counties during 1886 and 1887 was a terrible drought. News of the hardships endured by Texas farmers traveled throughout the state, leaping into national headlines as well. This negative publicity intensified booster fears that immigration would come to a halt or at the very best only trickle into the state. Countering this negative publicity for Texas was the growth of railroad lines penetrating further and further into west, west-central, far southern, and pan-handle counties. As the overall mileage of railroads increased, the ease of transporting people became more and more obvious, and the need for people to become residents became a more pronounced concern. Still yet another factor was the knowledge in Texas, through the expanding news structure of the United States, of competing interests around the country all seeking in their own way to attract immigration to their state or their territory. In this climate of competition some Texans took it upon themselves to call a state-wide convention to pull together people wanting "to encourage immigration and capital to come to our State."

Over 850 people served as delegates to that convention, testifying to the wide interest at that time in doing something to attract people to Texas. A group of seven Dallas businessmen had met on December 3, 1887, and issued an invitation to interested people across the state to meet in Dallas later that month. The newspapers took up the call, spreading the idea throughout the state. Communities selected representatives and the newspapers duly noted the interest and activity.
Large and small communities responded. The Galveston Cotton Exchange met on December 9, selected a delegation of eight men, and heartily endorsed the idea. Their committee included such prominent men as William L. Moody and Henry M. Trueheart. Smaller towns held meetings and shared their deliberations with newspapers across the state adding fuel to the growing excitement and activity. The Galveston paper on December 13 noted the formation of delegations from Terrell, Weatherford, and Athens, commenting that this movement offered help "not for any particular section, but for the common good of the state at large."  

A rousing address by J. S. Daugherty opened the proceedings on December 20 and set the tone for the two-day event. Pleased with the "hearty response" from around the state to the convention call, Daugherty then said there were three questions for their consideration:

1. Is an increased flow of law-abiding, industrious immigration and capital to our State desirable?
2. Can we, as citizens, bring it about?
3. How best to do it?

The first two questions were obviously rhetorical and led naturally to the chair's extensive remarks on his vision for the future. Calling the assembled group "a committee of the whole on the condition of our State," Daugherty acknowledged the state's prosperity but questioned "whether it is [in] the best possible condition that we as citizens can, by our united efforts, make it."  

The phrase "united efforts" reveals much about Daugherty's vision and the feeling in the hall that cooperation could yield results. This was to be a "citizen's meeting," a voluntary collaboration destined to stimulate people all over the state to take action. After listing the advantages of living in Texas, Daugherty then used a standard tactic--comparison with another state. He pointed to California as the
current recipient of the largest number of immigrants among the many states. Utilizing federal census statistics from 1880, Daugherty painted a picture of California's economy, proceeding to show how Texas bested California in all categories. Could not Texas benefit from newcomers? Would they not find life better in the Lone Star State? These were the questions Daugherty raised and to which he received great applause.39

The convention delegates, invigorated by the morning's speech, then met in the afternoon and heard a letter from Governor Sul Ross expressing his hope "that success may crown your labors." While expressing interest in the Dallas meeting, Ross made a subtle allusion to the official separation of government involvement from the convention's work. The convention heard these words read from the pages of his letter.

And while I am denied the privilege of joining in your laudable enterprise, yet, with a deep sense of its magnitude and importance, I beg to assure you that I am ready and willing to heartily and sincerely unite in every lawful way to throw our State open to the influx of honest industry and capital.40

Ross knew that government expenditures to attract immigrants to Texas were expressly forbidden in the state's constitution. Lawful ways to support the work of the convention were few. The convention delegates thus also knew that the task devolved upon them to develop a program and push for its application. This was not going to be a government effort.

Convention delegates realized the importance of the railroads to the success of their endeavor, and much of the floor discussion revolved around the best way to meet with and discuss options with the owners of railroads servicing the state. Among their final decisions was one setting up a committee to meet with representatives of the railways with the aim of improving relations and initiating a cooperative effort to induce people to travel to Texas and settle there. Other more
structural decisions had to be made, and the accepted plan called for a committee of thirty-one with one delegate from each senatorial district, in addition to the smaller executive committee.\textsuperscript{41}

The executive committee told the convention that it was "the sense of the committee that the success of the movement would rest with local organizations." With that in mind, the committee members encouraged formation of city and county immigration committees whose purpose would be two-fold. First, they were to collect and prepare data about their locale for publication to meet the eyes and ears of potential immigrants. In addition, they were to raise money locally so that each senatorial district would have $500 to contribute to the collective work of the state-wide committee. Dollars and information were seen as essential to accomplishing the stated goals. All money and data would then meet "to the end that every county in the State contributing to the immigration fund shall receive its equitable share in all advertisements, statistical reports or other printed matter published by or with the authority of said committee."\textsuperscript{42}

The emphasis on written material returns again and again when any organization or business saw the peopling of Texas as a goal worthy of hard work and energy. The ultimate vision for each group seemed to be the compilation of that special document which would catch the hopes of individuals wanting a change in their lives and help persuade those people to see Texas as the best destination. It is interesting that this specific organization of Texas citizens did not produce any such volume of work--at least any one publication with which this author is acquainted.

The administrative arm of the committee established an office in Austin, facilitated by the donation of office space and equipment by Austin citizens.\textsuperscript{43} Meetings were held by the smaller committees, both with railroad officials and with federal government representatives. The committee printed stationery, picturing
the capitol building in Austin, on the letterhead. The heading read, "Office of the State Immigration Committee of Texas," and the stationery listed the seven executive committee members in 1888 with D. C. Giddings of Brenham identified as the chair.⁴⁴

Little is known about the continuing viability of this specific organization. Even less can be concretely assumed about what activities evolved in the cities and counties throughout the state as a direct result of the 1887 meeting in Dallas. A few remnants of county booster publications exist and will be discussed later. Thus, a few direct links can be illustrated between the 1887 meeting and more local initiatives. In a more concrete way, the push toward developing Galveston, Texas, as a deep water port on the Gulf of Mexico can directly be placed on the doorstep of the 1887 convention. That story will be told in a subsequent chapter dealing specifically with the development of Galveston's port, because the Immigration Convention in Dallas did serve as a catalyst for later conventions concerned with transportation into and through the state.

What can be ascertained about the accomplishments of this 1887 convention at enticing immigration to Texas? The answer to this question is far less tangible. A few additional tidbits of information can be gleaned from the convention's proceedings. First, negotiations with the railroads did result in the institution of special excursion fares or tickets. These tickets would allow a potential settler a round-trip fare to Texas for the price of a one-way ticket with the option of staying in the state for sixty days maximum. The railroad had turned down the idea of emigrant rates across the board for any traveler at any time. With the first of these excursion options available in January 1888, and two per month to continue in February, March, April, and May, a seemingly equitable compromise had been reached. These semi-monthly excursion rates remained a fixture of railroad efforts
on through the turn of the century, although specific implementation varied over the years for different railroads. Another note of cooperation with the railroads was the offer by rail representatives to help in distributing any printed material developed by the State Immigration Committee.45

Second, the convention did not discourage supplemental efforts by local communities. The 1887 Immigration Convention had encouraged formation of county and local organizations to help funnel information and money to the state organization. This idea has already been identified. An interesting addenda to that suggestion was included in a single sentence statement in the proceedings record that, "This is not intended to preclude any district, county or other sub-division of territory from advertising its resources to any extent it may deem proper."46 All indications exist that the 1887 convention was encouraging state-wide cooperation in efforts to attract immigrants. Yet it obviously acknowledged that different levels of interest around the state had already resulted in published material by local communities and would probably continue to do so in the future.

Support for a state geological survey also came from those attending the 1887 convention. Farmers and business people around the state had earlier lobbied the state government to conduct such a survey. Enough of those at the immigration conference spoke up for such interest and obtained from the assembled delegates unanimous adoption of a resolution addressed to the next state legislature. That resolution urged the establishment of a State geological department which would then direct "a full examination" of the state's resources. As noted earlier, this eventually became a reality when the Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History received legislative approval in 1889 to conduct such a geological survey.47
In review it should be noted that people from all over the state convened in Dallas on December twentieth and twenty-first to discuss ways to bring immigrants to Texas. They debated programs, selected a course of action, and elected men to lead the organization in accomplishing its goals. Their common goal propelled them to try cooperative measures with the hope of launching long-term results and extended interaction within communities in the state. All of this activity happened outside any governmental structure or without any government help--federal or state. While the convention proceedings make no direct remark about Section 56 of the 1876 state constitution, all the activity and action of the convention reflects a belief that individual citizens needed to band together and spend money together in such a way as to publicize Texas as a home for the immigrant.

What happened in Texas after the December 1887 meeting in Dallas? Enthusiasm blossomed in a way that had not existed for many years. The Pennybacker textbook article on the "Immigration Movement" illustrates that sense of wholehearted co-operation that either existed in reality or stood as a goal to be reached. Statistics, numerical graphs, and population estimates cannot, even if they did exist, provide an understanding of the spirit of the times. Texas was far enough away from Civil War dislocation and frontier violence to see peace and prosperity in their future. Texans, at least a fair number of them, saw cooperative efforts as a pathway to that steady growth they admired. The 1887 convention gave many of them a focus for that energy--energy seemingly loose and unstructured in many places throughout the state. No overwhelming revolution took place. No major reversal in previous activity happened. Instead, many Texans, individually and in groups, took the peopling of the state as a valid objective and worked to facilitate that movement.
This activity took many forms. Some of these efforts were already in place before the 1887 conference but received a bold stimulus to re-energize their work. Other organizational structures began anew. Among the agencies that began to take shape were many city or county immigration societies bent on meeting the call of the 1887 conference for local organization. These post-1887 agencies followed in a train of earlier efforts by Texas towns and counties. Another path to peopling the state was taken by those who felt cooperation with other southern states could provide the biggest yield in newcomers to Texas. Inter-state conferences and participation by Texas took place in the years between 1884 and 1914. A uniquely different effort at publicizing Texas and its opportunities came as Texas was invited to participate in the World's Columbian Exposition slated for Chicago in 1893. In this instance, the constitutional prohibition in Section 16, Article 56 was interpreted to exclude the use of any state money to erect a building or provide an exhibit at the Exposition. This set the stage for a wide variety of fund raising efforts by citizens of the state in order to make sure Texas would be represented in Chicago and thus noticed by the rest of the world. Real Estate development, small urban commercial clubs, and activity by business leaders produced other examples of public participation in the effort to encourage movement to Texas.

Of these many collective projects, the city and county booster clubs saw written material as the main way in which to make their community known to others and this therefore became a major thrust of their work. The 1887 conference spurred several into immediate activity. Galveston took action on January 12, 1888, and established the Galveston County Immigration Association, which according to the paper was "to act in concert with the present state immigration movement." The Cooke County Immigration Association formed on January 10 and promptly collected $1,000 from interested citizens of Gainesville and the surrounding area.
Hayes County published information about its resources for local newspaper distribution, saying, "Hays county invites inspection. The recent movement to promote immigration will meet with hearty cooperation here." Then they offered names for correspondence with residents of the county. By March 1, 1888, twenty of the thirty-one state districts had established within their boundaries some organ for coordinating that area’s immigration work.48

Sometimes these local organizations began work immediately to collect information for publication and distribution. A group of citizens in Navarro County took up the challenge without delay and by February 1888 had an official seal of approval to their document entitled, Texas. Description of Navarro County, Her Resources, and Inducements Offered to Immigrants. The thirty-two page pamphlet, written by R. S. Neblett, a self-labeled land lawyer, contained extensive statistics and information. It also had numerous advertisements and a business directory listing enterprises in the city of Corsicana. As with most enticement literature of the time, it contained the required claims of veracity. Neblett wrote, "I regret that I have been unable to elaborate more—a kindly regard for truth, has held me down."

Yet on the next page he could claim, "Navarro County offers the cheapest and best lands in the State and furnishes the cheapest material for building and fencing." The pamphlet claimed "the drouth has never blighted her crops nor dried her streams," and "her tax levy is the lowest in the State." Woodcuts of the county court house and a public school graced the pages.49

The clear connection of this document to the State Immigration Committee is demonstrated by the printed note on page twenty-nine signed by the state committee’s secretary, Frank B. Chilton, stating that the publication was "hereby approved." It is also interesting to note that the first person listed as a member of
the Navarro County executive committee was also a member of the executive state committee and its committee of thirty-one, Bryan T. Barry.\textsuperscript{50}

Other county promotional brochures suggest the influence of the 1887 Convention and 1888 movement. R. W. Haltom, editor of The Leader in Lufkin, Texas, published a hundred-page tract, dated October 1, 1888. There were a full sixty-six pages of information plus another thirty-two pages of advertisements. So many advertisements, as compared to the thirteen in the Navarro County pamphlet, suggest the influence of Haltom and his experience in newspaper work. The description of Angelina County emphasized its timber resources, thus promoting their trees as a possible asset, not a liability. Fruit production and stock raising also received high praise as county specialties. Portraying that sense of optimism evident in all booster literature, Haltom could paint a picture reflecting the vision of most immigrants of the era:

No man has come here, no matter how poor, if willing to work and of good moral habits, but found encouragement, and in a few years was the owner of a homestead, saw his family growing around him blessed with all the advantages that follow attendance at schools and churches, found himself doing well and growing, if not rich, what is far more satisfactory, independent and contented.

Haltom also noted the existence of a spirit of tolerance among Lufkin residents, for his tract included the assurance that, "In this county the democrats are largely in the majority, but the republican, union laborite, waman [sic] suffragist or follower of any political belief or party, expresses his opinion as freely as if his own party were in the ascendency [sic]." While no clear announcement about the 1887 convention or the subsequent state committee exists within its pages, Haltom's History and Description of Angelina County, Texas boldly met all the qualifications of a brochure meant to entice newcomers to the state.\textsuperscript{51}
One joint effort by city and county illustrates the possibilities that could come from such cooperation. Entitled Facts for Immigrants, this thirty-two page brochure was evenly divided between "truthful" descriptions of Palestine and of Anderson County. These boosters proudly stated on their title page, "Homes for Thousands in one of the Best Counties in Texas" while beckoning the holder, "Read and Hand to your Neighbor." The preface explains that a "mass-meeting of the citizens of the town and county" had resolved on December 10, 1887, to publish an article written by "many citizens." Included within the pages of the brochure itself are two distinct references to the state-wide immigration movement. One is a listing of members on the executive committee of the Immigration Association of Anderson County, Texas which included the warning, "but we wish it distinctly understood that the pauper, criminal, or law-breaking man is not desired as an immigrant to this county." The other reference was a long excerpt from the resolutions adopted by the December 20-21, 1887, Texas State Immigration Convention, which they said "we heartily endorse and gladly give them a place in this pamphlet." The same page included information on excursion railroad rates and ended with the phrase, "Come and see us." 52

How many of these pamphlets were printed, how they were distributed, or who read them are questions for which there are no answers. That they were published at all, reflects widespread involvement in the immigration movement of the 1880s. It also reflects the way in which some portions of the state jumped on the bandwagon of opportunity presented by a state-wide organization meant to attract settlers to Texas. In the absence of reports and files of the State Immigration Committee, it is also impossible to know how many county or city or local organizations existed. When the Missouri Pacific Railway Company published their complimentary brochure entitled, Statistics and Information Concerning the State of
Texas, they included an interesting listing. Under the heading, "County Organizations of the State Bureau of Immigration," sixty-three counties presented their post office location and leadership names. The book states, "The State Bureau of Immigration of Texas is thoroughly organized, and has officials appointed in every county of the State. These can be addressed relative to lands and any other information valuable to the settler." While there might seem to be some confusion as to name of the organization, this directory is obviously not a governmental one but refers to the 1888 voluntary immigration movement. It is also interesting that Anderson County and Angelina County are not included in the list, although Galveston and Cooke County are. The structure and hierarchy of a volunteer organization lends itself to rather loose definitions of membership and may account for the ambiguous listing.53

County brochures were not unique to this 1888 movement. Specimens of similar pamphlets can be found in the 1870s and well into the 1900s. The call for written material by local organizations may have been heeded at this time by more locales, but the idea had been around for quite some time. An important point of these documents is their tremendous diversity and their obvious promotional nature with the intent of attracting new citizens to Texas. Individual citizens entered into the movement frequently in the compilation of such material, whether actually writing paragraphs, soliciting ads, or funding the publication. Some other examples of city and county publications demonstrate the wide assortment of such booster publications.

"Cities, Like Men Shape Their Own Destiny" proclaimed the people of Marshall, Texas, in their 1879 booklet, A Pen Picture of the City of Marshall and Harrison County. Their thirty-six page pamphlet actively demonstrates their belief that results come as people aim for a goal. This brochure represented a cooperative
effort of county and town. Harrison County, lying next to the eastern border of the state, had long been a busy part of east Texas development. Cotton was grown on plantations by slaves in the antebellum era, and that agricultural pattern continued with a heavy black population sharecropping or living as tenants. Both the county and the city emphasized the importance of the railroad to their development. They told prospective immigrants that the Texas and Pacific Railroad was the "most important enterprise" in the area, claiming it was responsible for thousands of dollars in commerce and trade. In fact their book was meant to attract capital and enterprise in addition to immigration. They stated as much on their title page.\(^{54}\)

Like Marshall, Waco early on saw the value of publishing information for the potential settler. Citizens in that community formed the Waco Immigration Society and published a thirty-four page brochure entitled, *The Immigrant's Guide to Waco and McLennan County, Texas*. Also like Marshall, they saw transportation as central to their development, for the title page included an illustration of the newly built suspension bridge at Waco. Then the first paragraph proclaimed that they were "the only county in the state bisected by four great rival and competing lines of railway."\(^{55}\) What did the Waco Immigration Society think was the kind of information potential settlers wanted? The pamphlet speaks of the 102 schools in the county including their major university. It identified 99 white churches with a membership of 10,835 and 48 "colored" churches with 4,720 members. They trumpeted their low taxes, valuable timber, newspapers, and the state's Homestead Laws. Under the specific heading of "Facts for Immigrants" they provided suggested travel routes, advised procuring "emigrant tickets" in order to travel most cheaply, and included current rental rates in the city. In a very interesting attempt at truthfulness they also said, "Our roads in the summer and fall are magnificent, in
the winter are bad, heavy." Advertisements also rounded out the information within
the covers of the booklet.56

Booster literature came in many shapes and sizes. One booklet, authored by
the editor of a weekly newspaper published in Midland, was a jumble of short
assorted articles. Notations about railroads traversing the area were numerous.
References to these "Staked Plains" as a health resort were included as was a
comparison of this territory with California.57 In that same year of 1886 the
Midland Townsite Company employed the same author to print 50,000 copies of a
pamphlet entitled Garden of the Southwest, Midland County on the Staked Plains of
West Texas, The Most Desirable Locality on the Continent for Homeseekers.58 Its
publication by a real estate firm suggests yet another type of publication meant to
attract immigrants.

These examples of pre-1887 county and city booster literature reinforce the
statement that throughout the period of 1865 to 1914, Texans spent time and
energy seeking to attract immigrants. This interest continued beyond the period of
intense activity of 1887 and 1888. Examples of this post-1888 time frame illustrate
again the great diversity of such booster literature. In 1891 the New Birmingham
Development Company published a fifty-six page booklet claiming, "large and
valuable iron ore deposits" in the area. Located close to Rusk, Texas, in Cherokee
County, New Birmingham developed a reputation later as one of Texas' ghost cities.
But the promotional literature of the boom time expressed only optimism for
newcomers to the area.59

In December 1887 Cooke County had reportedly formed a society in support
of the immigration movement state-wide. Whether that organization continued to
exist throughout the century has not been ascertained. But in 1898 a nineteen-page
pamphlet entitled Cooke County: Its People, Productions and Resources appeared
stating it was "now the fashion" for areas to proclaim their advantages and "invite immigration." Their introductory statement suggests the recent formation of an "Immigration Society" with the goal of setting forth "its claims to a portion of the immigration that seems to be ready to pour into the Lone Star State." Whatever the immediate spur for this particular document, it too fits comfortably in the long line of typical booster literature by counties and cities.

The Cooke County pamphlet demonstrates a unique flair in producing enticement literature. Common to other booster efforts, this booklet laid claim to complete truthfulness. Then they took a slightly different tack and referred to their pamphlet, saying, "We know that it will be considered very tame when compared with many of the immigration documents that are flooding the country. But Cooke county is no such paradise as is described in many of these publications, hence we cannot put forth such gorgeous descriptions as some of them do." Their approach thus presented a folksy or homey face. All enticement literature tried to explain the mildness of the climate in Texas. Cooke County put it this way, "While the climate does not equal that of Italy, still it is far ahead of many favored parts of our own country." Their seeming self put-down thus emerges in a positive light. Knowing potential settlers care about their future neighbors, this subject was addressed as well.

Our population is made up of people from all parts of the world, but the greater part of the people are native Americans,...The proud southerner, the polished and shrewd Yankee and the sturdy western man, all mingle and blend into a society unlike that to which either was accustomed before coming here.

Thinking the future Texan would be interested in politics, the pamphlet noted that most voters in the county, as most voters in the state, were "democratic in politics." Then in their casual tone they wrote, "But politics is not often talked of, and in local
affairs the people vote for the man, and pay no attention to parties....No man is ever questioned about his politics and no political disturbances ever take place."\textsuperscript{64}

The many topics covered in the pamphlet reflect the multiple interests of potential settlers. Nine of the nineteen pages were filled with illustrations of buildings and people in Gainesville. A disclaimer in the section entitled, "The Kind of People We Want," read, "We do not need population badly enough to invite anybody who may want to come, but every decent, law-abiding man is welcome to Cooke county....we have no place for tramps and sharpers." The town must have been in great need of a tannery, for they spent a full paragraph describing the potential for such a business. They claimed that, "A rich reward awaits the man who will inaugurate such an enterprise." Once all the information and statistics were presented, the brochure ended with the following statement, "Now, reader, if you think from what we have said you would like to come to Cooke county, we shall be glad to give you a hearty welcome and have you share in the good things which its future has in store." The down-home flavor of this short brochure by Cooke County represents just one of many approaches utilized to attract immigrants to Texas.\textsuperscript{65}

Some booster literature put their intent in their title such as the Waco Immigration Society's \textit{Immigrant's Guide}. Other publications made more oblique statements, rather hinting at their desire for more population. One title page read, \textit{Smith County, Texas: The Land of Diversified Farms and the HEART [in symbol form] of the Great Fruit and Truck Belt}. At the top of the page was the statement in quotes, "Quit Growing $20 Crops on $100 Land--Grow $100 Crops on $20 Land."\textsuperscript{66} Another document that by its title would not give notice it meant to attract immigration was the \textit{Grimes County Directory}. Yet on the preface page, it claimed that its object was to tell "the outside world" about the county and do it in a truthful
way. Then they added, "It is to be hoped that many of these books will find their way to people who are seeking homes in some good, healthy, fertile country; also that Immigration and Land agents will use it as a medium of developing one of the best counties in the state." The Grimes County Record, the local newspaper, was assigned the task of distributing the proposed 5,000 copies "in a judicious manner" to all requesting a copy.67

County brochures, including those with a heavy emphasis on the urban communities within their spheres, presented an attractive picture of Texas to the outside world. Their descriptive nature meant to encourage people to live on the land available in that county. Although Texas remained predominately an agricultural state, cities gradually grew in size and population during the late nineteenth century. Frequently these cities felt the need to advertise themselves. In doing this they produced a fair amount of enticement literature that must have influenced capital investment and the movement of people. Since urbanization happened rather slowly, most of the city brochures date from the tail end of the nineteenth century or early years of the twentieth century. One interesting example of early-twentieth century city boosterism is a sixteen-page pamphlet entitled, Kerrville, U.S.A. It was written by the editor of the local newspaper, J. E. Grinstead, who claimed to be "Artistic Illustrator, Advertising Architect, and Builder for Publicity." Knowing change was difficult and striving to reassure his readers as to the quality of Kerrville's citizens, he wrote,

The people of Kerrville are Texans and their adopted brothers. There is a broad-minded air of tolerance among the people that smacks of the "old west."...Coming from all parts of the continent, the people of this city form, if such a thing may be said of a people who were chiefly born in the same nation, a cosmopolitan population. Each one brought some new and good idea and upon arriving imparted it to others. The result is we have a wide-awake, progressive, enterprising and highly prosperous people.68
Each city brochure, whether published by a booster club, an individual, or an
immigration society, presented its own unique perspective of their community as
part of the wide open spaces of Texas.

City enticement literature often emphasized the need for capital investment
and pointed to industrial growth. The capital city of Texas was the subject of an
1885 book that looked very much like an expanded city directory of commercial
enterprises. According to its title page, the *Industries of Austin* emphasized "Facts,
Figures & Illustrations" relating to "Industry, Improvement, Enterprise." A parallel
book of about the same length and same approach was *The Industries of Dallas, Her
Relations as a Center of Trade* (1887).69

Other cities featured prominently in a wide variety of promotional books or
pamphlets. Galveston had an active city booster group and typically spoke highly of
their port facilities in published material advertising their town.70 San Antonio,
with a thriving mix of Hispanics, Germans, and Anglos, frequently spoke of their
community as a resort area for invalids. In their written material they capitalized
on the transportation connections that made possible ease of travel for those seeking
health cures.71 A unique effort by a U.S. Army Lieutenant to promote south Texas
was entitled *The Twin Cities of the Border and the Country of the Lower Rio
Grande*. Published in 1893 as a booster brochure for Brownsville, Texas, and
Matamoros, Mexico, the compiler used collated newspaper articles to present the
opportunities of this far southern region of the state.72 Some cities, either joined
with railroad publication companies to produce city enticement literature or
benefited from brochures put together by railroad companies looking to increase
freight and passenger service to certain urban locations. San Antonio and El Paso
are two places that were publicized in this way.73
One truly unique effort to promote a town and its advantages was the production of a drama entitled *The Capitalist; or, The City of Fort Worth*. Subtitled the "Texas Mikado," this play was performed to audiences in the Fort Worth area. But it also reached a much larger audience since printed copies of the play were distributed for reading elsewhere. Included among the list of characters was "The Capitalist," "Yankee-Doo" who was the Capitalist's son, and "Push-Much," identified as "A real estate dealer." The play was a mix of drama and comedy, including songs with lyrics like the following:

Our former Governor, virtuous man,
When he to rule this State began,
    Resolved to try
    A plan whereby
    We'd not in the sea be elbowed.
So he decreed the Immigrant
Should not his feet on our soil plant.
But all the State at this did rant,
    And the Governor was well-blowed.74

Obviously literary license allowed some straying from the exact historical account, inasmuch as the producers portrayed their characters either good for Fort Worth or bad for the city. Creating entertainment was part of the endeavor, but this was very definitely enticement literature at its fullest. The printed version of the play provided at the bottom of each page several lines of statistics or information about Fort Worth. Whether population numbers, tax information, or stock yard descriptions, the addenda to each page was placed there to "sell" the city.

While not every city went to the extremes of producing a play in order to promote their community, many cities joined in the state-wide effort to attract newcomers. Small towns and bigger cities as well as newly platted stops on the rail
line produced written material meant to promote their town as the place for the hard-working, industrious immigrant. The variety of such enticement literature was as widely different as the towns in Texas.

Private initiatives with the goal of attracting people to Texas were numerous in the period from 1865 to 1914. Corporations, newspapers, immigration societies, and county or city booster organizations all added written material to the growing stream of material sent outside the state's borders to encourage settlers to the state. The 1887 Immigration Convention, held in Dallas, served as a stimulus for some of this activity. It clearly spurred some cities and counties into publishing written material promoting their location. The convention resulted in the formation of a state-wide committee with offices in Austin. With the task of co-ordinating immigration enticement efforts, this State Immigration Committee functioned throughout 1888.

A second immigration convention was in the planning stages for December 3, 1888, according to the Galveston Daily News. They reported on November 2, 1888, that, "This convention promises to give a renewed impetus to the Texas immigration movement, which, for a time has appeared to be dormant." It would seem the enthusiasm generated the previous year had fizzled some, at least in the eyes of the Galveston editor. For whatever reasons, the convention project was scaled down to merely a meeting of the State Immigration Committee in Austin. As the Galveston paper reported that event, they noted the "limited results--limited owing to apathy in many counties." They also announced to their readers that they would "file the proceedings" for the moment and wait for reports on the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention scheduled to open December 13 in Montgomery, Alabama. The short shrift given the state organization's meeting seems to
indicate a judgment on the part of the Galveston editors as to the committee's success.

The failure of that group to capitalize on the 1887 convention's energy and enthusiasm seems evident in the small number of written publications and the way counties failed to send in their assessed dollars for the financial maintenance of the endeavor. In spite of such a bleak picture, the secretary of the State Immigration Committee kept up a positive attitude. His report included the statement that "The state immigration movement has been a success beyond the hopes of the most sanguine." He noted the inexperience that hampered the committee's work, as well as the scarcity of financial support, but ended on a positive note by saying, "The immigration outlook for Texas could not be better." While the outlook might be bright for immigration, the future of the organization meant to facilitate that movement seemed dismal.

Almost hidden within the proceedings of that December third meeting is a tip-off as to the committee's inability to persevere. They resolved to set up a committee of twenty men with the goal of memorializing the state legislature to establish a "bureau of general information for the purpose of developing and making known the resources of the state of Texas." The resolution also requested that "at least $100,000 be appropriated" for such a bureau. Money was unmistakably one of the major problems in sustaining the drive behind the volunteer state immigration agency. Also, it is interesting that the memorial made no mention of immigration as a stated goal for this proposal. The committee definitely knew about the state constitutional prohibition against spending public money on "bringing immigrants to the State." Their request of the legislature appears to be a more back-handed approach to getting information about Texas out and about, since they did not state immigration as their goal. In a very pragmatic way, they may have
sensed the reality of the political situation and tried to accomplish their ultimate ends by developing a different path to the state pocketbook. How much this pressure may have influenced D.I.S.H. or D.A.I.S.H. budget allotments by the state legislature is difficult to know.

One outgrowth of the State Immigration Committee's work was participation in the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention of 1888. When that convention met in Montgomery, Alabama, on December 12, 1888, Frank B. Chilton, a Texan and secretary of the State Immigration Committee of Texas, called the meeting to order and made the first address. When the convention closed, this same Texan had been selected as the General Manager of the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau.80 Just as Texans had felt the need for concerted effort to attract immigration to their state and called a convention in 1887, other southern states expressed interest in a cooperative venture among themselves and responded to an 1888 call to meet in Montgomery, Alabama.81

Postbellum southern interest in immigration had always existed. Some of the states had held immigration conventions. Newspapers across the South in booster tradition had written of the value of bringing fresh settlers to the South's agricultural domain. Some states established government sponsored immigration bureaus or agencies, like the 1870-1876 Texas Bureau of Immigration. Even joint efforts across the entire south had been attempted.82 But the 1888 Montgomery Convention expressed region-wide southern interest in immigration better than anything that had gone before.

The Galveston Daily News called it the "most important convention in many respects that has assembled in the south for many years." Frank B. Chilton as presiding officer expected it to be "the meeting of the largest and most influential Convention ever held in the South."83 The Alabama convention did not fulfill the
dreams of these optimistic statements. But it did offer Texans in the late 1880s one more opportunity to work at developing a program of attracting immigration. By participating in this united effort of southern states, Texans hoped to benefit from help that comes from numbers.

Journalistic estimates of the convention attendance ranged from the Galveston Daily News' statement that "About 600 delegates are present," to the much more conservative 200 delegates reported by the Associated Press. Delegate names familiar to any Texan busy supporting the immigration impulse in Texas included those of J. S. Daugherty, Frank B. Chilton, and Robert A. Cameron. In typical booster tradition, the Galveston Daily News said, "The Texas delegation is considered the brainiest and hardest workers in the convention, and really accomplished more for the great Lone Star state than any other state delegation."84

The kind of enthusiasm generated by this convention is best illustrated by an opening speech of Gen. Robert A. Cameron, a Texan from the Panhandle region of the state. He began with reference to the Civil War saying, "We now present to the people of the North the olive branch of peace, and open wide our arms to welcome them to homes in our midst." He went on to say, "We want immigration, and to get it must organize in the States and towns and cities, and go to work for it....The day will come when churches and school houses will rise on every hand and the people will thank God for the meeting of the Southern Immigration Convention at Montgomery."85

Many delegates may have seen their work as a religious mission to be accomplished. The opening prayer was printed in full in the published proceedings. And it too, like Cameron's later address, invoked God's blessings on the work of the conference. In part the convention attendants heard a preacher intone in a prayer,
"The plow stands still in the field of promise, and briars cumber the garden of beauty. We beseech thee to send us immigration."\textsuperscript{86}

On a more practical level most delegates encouraged cooperation and discussion with the railroads and transportation systems needed to facilitate the flow of people to southern areas. Castle Garden was mentioned more than once. Castle Garden was the New York State immigration station located on the waterfront of the harbor. It began operation in 1855 and was viewed as the main entry for immigrants to the United States until 1891 when Ellis Island in New York harbor became the Federal detention point and immigration center of New York. Envy for this northern immigrant port was expressed several times as southerners felt their region deserved better. Many of the delegates called for a southern port to service immigrants direct from Europe. In fact, a final resolution asked for the establishment of southern ports of entry at New Orleans and Savannah. Calls for a "Solid South" came from representative Chilton, as well as his injunction to be "up and doing."\textsuperscript{87}

While Chilton emphasized the opportunity that this be a joint task of all southern states, each state was allowed time to express their own state perspective. Most of these speeches also called for cooperation and spoke optimistically of the future.\textsuperscript{88} Cameron was able to address the convention a second time, as the representative from Texas, and when he did, state patriotism and eagerness was apparent. In part he spoke out,

But gentlemen, we of Texas are enlisted for the war, and Texas proposes to do more in the future than we have done in the past....Texas wants immigrants, and she is going to get them, no matter what the cost may be.\textsuperscript{89}
The warfare imagery and the vigor of his address were obvious. It can be assumed he was carrying to Alabama much of the enthusiasm that had been generated back in Texas in 1887 and 1888.

After the close of the convention early in December, the executive committee met and formulated its plan of action. This detailed approach to region-wide efforts was presented in a written address by Chilton in his position as General Manager of the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau. The extensive plans of this bureau included an advertising department and land department, both of which would utilize rolling railroad cars. These cars were to be boldly labeled as representing the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau and to travel the North. The land department car would say it was a special car "for Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia." Chilton also foresaw an editorial department and a transportation department. Producing the written word and then distributing it was central to the focus of the organization.90

Little is known about the ultimate fate of the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau. Big beginnings sometimes fade into nothingness as months and years pass, and this bureau seems to fit that pattern. A tangential relationship of the interstate bureau with agencies in Texas did exist. The Texas Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History received a letter from Arthur Arrington, chief secretary of the Department of Organization and Improvement Associations of the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau. Arrington requested "a large wall map" to place along with maps from all the other states in their bureau's office. He also asked for "printed matter in the way of Guide Books, geological reports, etc." for use by the regional office. The letter pointed to plans for a number of northern fairs in which southern resources would be highlighted and
then "we will want you to send us a lot of advertising matter for distribution," said secretary Arrington. 91

General Manager Chilton requested of Foster, when he served the D.A.I.S.H., copies of the agency's report, so that he could supply "each one of my agents and offices in the different states." He specifically asked for twelve copies, but the files of D.A.I.S.H. do not indicate whether they were shipped. On March 11, 1891, Chilton used official bureau stationary from Raleigh, North Carolina, to write Foster in Texas, making yet another request of the D.A.I.S.H. administrator. The existence of this letter would indicate some activity by the regional organization at least as late as 1891. It also shows efforts of the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau to serve as a liaison between those seeking information and the various state agencies which might produce such data. Chilton requested a copy of the agency's 1890 report because it "is of course accepted as standard authority everywhere." Recognizing the value of such official material, Chilton sought to make that information available to others. 92

To succeed the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau needed financial support on a regional basis. What this group of New South businessmen hoped to achieve--regional cooperation for the benefit of all--was a concept many would suggest was way ahead of its time. Voluntary efforts to unite have had a poor track record of success. In the twentieth century cooperation across state borders developed in some fields of endeavor. But a southern cooperative effort to attract immigrants was not to succeed or really influence to any great extent the flow of immigrants to the United States, either in the nineteenth or the twentieth century. 93

It is significant that this Southern Interstate Immigration Convention was heartily endorsed by businessmen of Texas. The state was well represented in the
deliberations. And the chosen leader of the ultimate bureau formed was a Texan—Frank B. Chilton. Many hoped his experience in trying to develop a volunteer bureau of immigration in Texas would carry over to the regional effort. While other southern states may have helped in an official capacity to support the work of the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau, such as through their departments of agriculture or immigration, the Texas government remained uninvolved due to their constitutional prohibition. Participation in the convention and then in the bureau by individual citizens of Texas demonstrates the energy and enthusiasm some private individuals exhibited in the late 1880s at procuring new citizens for their state.

Non-governmental attempts to increase the population of Texas proliferated throughout the forty years after the institution of the 1876 Texas constitution. A variety of private corporations and businesses publicized Texas. Newspapers continued to serve as primary boosters for their communities. The formation of immigration societies in various places around the state encouraged the influx of newcomers. Cities and counties published pamphlets advertising their resources. And various Texans participated in conventions with the hope of accomplishing through concerted action what sometimes seemed overwhelming on a smaller scale.

At least three other separate examples of determined efforts to attract immigrants to Texas can be documented. These attempts by volunteers all had as their goal the desire to entice new people to settle in homes in Texas. One such volunteer undertaking coordinated mainly by women was the participation by Texas in the Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893. Another example of volunteer energy would be the evolving organizations of business people from 1880 onward that culminated ultimately in the 1930s with the Chamber of Commerce organization. And thirdly, a short-lived program called the Five Million Club
demonstrates the eagerness Texans exhibited in the first decade of the twentieth century, showing that the interest in immigration spanned a broad time period. All three of these endeavors illustrate private initiative. All three of these efforts accomplished whatever moderate success they had through the work of volunteers who had a vision of a growing state. Because of governmental prohibitions on spending tax money for publicizing Texas, these individuals took it upon themselves to do the task the state government rejected.

A truly profound example of volunteer energy expended for the purpose of advertising Texas was the erection of the Texas building for the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The state government spent no money on the building's erection. The legislative and executive branches of the state government interpreted Section 56 of Article 16 in the 1876 state constitution as prohibiting the use of any public money in participation of the fair. The news was out—state-wide and across the country—that a constitutional prohibition would keep Texas from full involvement.

Readers of the Chicago Tribune on June 16, 1893, would have seen a sketch of the Texas State Building as it was finally erected. And if they read the accompanying article, they must have chuckled to themselves, wondering just what Texas laws were all about. According to the article, a man sat at the doorway to the building all day June fifteenth collaring people and encouraging them to return next week when the building would be open and they would be welcome. Then he delivered the following message announcing that the governor of Texas would not be in attendance,

*We don't want him. If he comes we will throw him out. He vetoed the appropriation, and as that was against the will of the people of Texas the Gove'nor is not expected here, and if he understands it, which I think he does, he will keep away.*94
It is hard to imagine such theatricals on the part of fair-goers, but it seems at least one Texan wanted to make a statement as to his perception of Texas government.

September 17, 1893, was Texas Day at the fair. The building was primped and polished. Longhorns hung over the entrance. Inside were two notable paintings, one an equestrian portrait of Sam Houston by Stephen Seymour Thomas and another entitled, "The Speech of Travis to His Men at the Alamo" executed by Louis Eyth. Elizabet Ney, the adopted Texas sculptress, under commission by the state organizing committee, contributed a statue of Sam Houston. An additional one by her of Stephen F. Austin was not completed in time, but later graced the Texas Capitol building.85

The schedule of activities included various musical presentations before, during, and after a number of speeches. Mrs. Benedette B. Tobin as the executive director of the Texas Women's World's Fair Exhibit Association made an opening address with a response by ex-Governor John Ireland. Then the main address of the day came from ex-Governor Richard B. Hubbard. In his speech, entitled "The Women of Texas," Hubbard went to profuse lengths at praising the work of the women in making the Texas building a reality. He noted the fact that Texas had "no exhibit" outside the building itself. Calling this a "misfortune," he then launched into a long outpouring of facts and figures about Texas as if he were reading copy from one of the many forms of enticement brochures common in Texas at the time. Lumber, cotton, wool, Texas ports, and transportation systems received due credit for the economic prosperity of the state. In a reference to laying aside all the bitterness of the blue and gray struggle of the 1860s, Hubbard welcomed all to see Texas as a full sister state sending greetings to all. After Hubbard's address, medal presentations were made and floral arrangements given to those
instrumental in the building's erection. That same evening a grand ball was held to culminate the day's celebration. 96

A building at a world's fair seems hardly to matter much in a discussion of efforts to attract immigrants to Texas. But to Texans in 1892 and 1893 this building provided a rallying point around which much activity took place. Efforts to get the state to financially support such Texas involvement in the Chicago extravaganza had continued for some time. Finally two private organizations took the lead and produced a fund raising venture that resulted ultimately in collecting about $30,000. The two organizations were the Gentlemen's World's Fair Association of Texas and the Texas Women's World's Fair Exhibit Association. The later, according to an 1895 history of Texas, shouldered the vast majority of the responsibility and work, under the leadership of Mrs. Benedette B. Tobin. Tobin lived in Austin and developed an extensive organization within the state, including a Board of Directors with nine members and an additional fourteen vice presidents at large around the state. 97

Hubert Bancroft's classic three-volume account of the Fair, published in 1895, gave credit to these women in the vast undertaking of urging state-wide participation. He wrote, "The school children contributed their pennies, and the corporations their dollars, church sociables and fairs, private theatricals, and a score of other devices being kept in motion to collect the fund." Bancroft also recorded a speech made at the world's fair by Texas superintendent of schools, Alexander Hogg. A portion of his address gives a slightly different twist to the state-wide support.

Texas is not here as a state, sustained and backed by the strong and efficient aid of her treasury. She is here through the generosity, the pride, and the patriotism of her women and school children, and through the substantial assistance afforded by three of her railroads.
One can only wonder as to the ratio of contributions from individuals and from businesses like the railroads.98

The full story of this women's work has not yet been told, but they held teas, meetings, and local fundraising events in small and big communities around the state. The final building cost $28,000 and reportedly the Texas volunteer effort raised the $30,000 to cover expenses. A key point to all this expended energy on the part of citizens in Texas was that it was a direct response to the 1876 constitutional prohibition. When the campaign began for a Texas building and exhibit in Chicago, pressure and petitions were laid at the door of the Texas legislature. The assumption held by most was that such a project required state government money. As days and months passed, it became known that the state government interpreted the constitutional prohibition against spending public funds for the purpose of encouraging immigration to the state as a prohibition against spending state funds for a building or an exhibit at an international exposition. This message gradually aroused private citizens to initiate multiple efforts to raise the necessary money and to coordinate the required activity.99

One part of this activity included the visit to Texas of Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer, active leaders in the Chicago Exposition administration. They toured the state, attending a Dallas convention in October 1891, and visiting Galveston, Austin, and San Antonio in their efforts to drum up Texas interest in the Chicago's fair. Mrs. Potter headed up the national board of women directors to the fair. In that capacity she especially encouraged women's involvement in the exhibits for the women's building. Her speeches and informal discussions stimulated the Texas women to see a wider vision for their work, both for the fair and for their personal lives.100 With all the entertaining of these out-of-state guests, the Texas women became more knowledgeable and confident of their potential. The women were
probably torn between the need to contribute to the women's building with its vision of showing the world what women had already accomplished and making sure Texas had a representative building at the fair. In the long run they made a contribution to both, succeeding in erecting the Texas building as well as adding modest exhibits to the women's building. Rosine Ryan as the Texas representative to the Chicago board saw that literary works by Texas' female authors were included in the woman's building library, and it was reported that Galveston women at some point in the fair gave sprigs of jasmine to each visitor of the woman's building as a way of advertising their flower farms.  

Throughout the 1891-1893 movement to fund Texas' participation in the Chicago Fair, Texans were clearly aware of the 1876 prohibition and referred to it often as instrumental in pushing private citizens to participate in this unique event at advertising Texas to the world and thus ultimately attracting new people to the state. On April 12, 1892, a concurrent resolution passed the Texas House and Senate and stated the issue clearly,

Whereas, the constitution of this State prohibits the legislature from making an appropriation out of the State treasury for such an exhibit; and,

Whereas, it is important that the resources of this great State should be exhibited...

Resolved,...that the efforts of said committee...are commended, and the citizens of Texas, individually and collectively, are urged and requested to co-operate with and lend all aid to said committee....

Later the same month Texas veterans heard at their annual reunion a speech by ex-governor Lubbock. In response to the school children of Lampasas paying tribute to the survivors of the Civil War, Lubbock praised and encouraged their efforts. Then he continued to cheer on their efforts to collect and present an educational exhibit for the Chicago fair. He said, "you can make such a display for a young State that it
will astonish the world." Such belief in the efficacy of pennies, children, and the private citizen seemed to be motivating Lubbock's words.104

One other official voice stated the government's position on this issue. Governor James S. Hogg in his January 12, 1893, message to the 23rd legislature mentioned the fair. He noted the hope on the part of many that the government would fund and spearhead association with the fair and then stated, "but an investigation of the Constitution prohibiting the like has dispelled every hope in that direction." As chief executive he expressed his regret for that situation, but then lauded enthusiastically "the grander element of pride" which propelled many in the state to take up the reins of the task. "Too much praise can not be offered in honor of such patriotism." Hogg said. He did suggest that while no direct appropriations could be made, it would be legal for the legislature to pass a law directing the Commissioner of the D.A.I.S.H. "to loan, on sufficient guarantee of their return, such exhibits, relics and articles of interest as may be within his department." No indication exists that the state congress implemented the governor's idea. If they had, it would be interesting to see what was selected or shipped as representative of the state's resources.105

Hogg knew the value of publicizing the state and as the state's chief cheerleader he felt the state had much to offer, but his interpretation of the 1876 constitution clearly restricted Texas' participation to that of an active volunteer group.106 That the Texas Building in Chicago did not have extensive exhibits of the state's resources indicates an opportunity missed, but the mere building of the structure represented a hard fought effort by the people of Texas to publicize their state and attract settlers to it.

One final note about the Texas building. One wing of the building did have numerous rooms identified as housing a "bureau of information, register, messenger,
telephone, telegraphy, directors, Texas Press Association headquarters, commissioners, historical museum and library, toilet rooms, county collective exhibits, etc." One source identifies two pieces of written material expressly published for the Chicago World's Fair: 1) a pamphlet labeled, San Antonio and put out by the San Antonio Bureau of Information, and 2) an eighty-page document entitled, The City of Houston and Harris County Texas. World's Columbian Exposition Souvenir. This later city/county brochure has all the earmarks of Texas booster literature, but takes an unprecedented approach. Illustrations and photographs of young people and babies dot the entire pamphlet, and one especially compelling section was subtitled, "Our Babies." There the fair-goer who picked up the pamphlet, read, "Talk about fine climate for growing pears and strawberries and grapes and vegetables all you please, but don't leave out the babies." The infant pictures and toddling children flavored the pamphlet with the image of expansion and development that only growing children can convey. It was definitely a unique publication tool.

Other written material may have made it to the fair—possibly real estate pamphlets, railroad schedules and time tables, county enticement literature and such. With minimal formal exhibits and much open space, the appearance and distribution of such written material seems highly likely. A coordinated effort at publication, however, did not exist. The energy expended in making the building a reality taxed the volunteer efforts to their limit. Considering their work and the final outcome, they had reason to be proud of even their modest success. In addition, the volunteer workers perceived their task as valuable. They saw a vision of a more prosperous state with a greater population and to them, participation in the fair meant a strong step in that direction. For those Texas boosters who participated in the drive to erect a Texas building at the Chicago World's Fair, the
building itself spoke to the world about Texas. Ideally they would have also had profuse exhibits and thousands of pamphlets for distribution proclaiming the advantages of living in Texas.

A different organizational drive began to develop strength in the last decade of the nineteenth century and on into the first ten years of the twentieth. Their primary goal was publication of information publicizing Texas. In order to facilitate that work they developed local business groups and held periodic meetings to develop business networks and to fund such cooperative ventures. Known by various names, these commercial clubs depended upon urban or community leaders. Much like the goals of state leaders in the immediate civil war years, these business owners wanted capital and people to come to Texas. They wanted money to be invested in the state. They wanted workers, farmers, consumers, and crafts people to settle in Texas and participate in the state's growth. Due to the ensuing urbanization in the later quarter of the nineteenth century, the emphasis on agriculture, however, slightly diminished. Thus these business clubs published material referring to newcomers in a general way, rather than the earlier constant call for "farmers to till the land." They wrote about the potential for industrial development. And they drew a picture of transportation links across the state facilitating that development.

Tracing the development of these commercial clubs, especially the Texas Commercial Secretaries' Association, is a task worthy of interested scholarship. But this current look at such business alignments focuses more narrowly on the direct efforts to attract attention to the need for more immigration to the state. Their written materials addressed this issue quite openly and specifically, and it is to those materials that we now turn. Their publications were of two kinds: 1) to stimulate interest in cooperative work among commercial interests, and 2) material
to put in the hands of the potential investor or settler. A 32-page pamphlet in 1910 entitled, Industrial Texas fit this first category. Utilizing words like "prosperity of the community" and "adding value to property," the business group believed in progress, development, and income growth. Sprinkled throughout the pamphlet were references to population growth. Patting themselves on the back, the booklet proclaimed, "The Commercial Clubs of the State have rendered valuable service in advertising the resources and advantages of their respective communities and have turned the tide of immigration toward Texas." They concept of bending the stream of population movement south and southwestward had been a major theme of almost all enticement literature in Texas of the late nineteenth century. Jealousy toward northern or western states that had relatively greater growth in population size peaked Texas interest in getting a portion of that stream.

Another publication meant to encourage membership in the association was The Master Builder. This was a 20-page pamphlet that outlined the work of the organization. By labeling themselves The Master Builder, the Texas Commercial Secretaries' Association saw themselves as instrumental in changing the face of their state. In this overview they emphasized two educational arms of the association: its available lecturers and its publications. Recognizing the importance of people-to-people contact, they showed the importance of visual aids, noting their inventory of "some fifty charts" to be used by those telling others about Texas. Then next to a page illustrating the covers of six of their pamphlets they explained their position. They valued the "printer's art" with its "charms and the skillful portraiture of opportunities." They called their work "high grade literature" that they were furnishing "at cost to any one desiring it." Seeing themselves as a central service agency for any group in Texas wanting to develop its own locale or region, they offered their services to one and all.
In the Commercial Club approach, new imagery joined the campaign to attract people to Texas. Pencil line sketches and circle graphs gave visual impact to the words. "Bigger Men Wanted" was one subtitle over a likeness of a farmer in jeans, boots, and scarf. The copy read in part,

...we must increase the size of the Texas farmer. We can't pass a law that will increase the production per acre; we can't pass a law that will increase the price of land; we can't pass a law that will increase the price of products. The increase must be made by the immigration agent bringing men and money into Texas; by the agricultural department increasing the production per acre, and by the Commercial Clubs bringing the factories to the farms.\textsuperscript{111}

Obviously "bigger men" meant more men who are productive. Another unique image was that of a spindly-legged bird in the marshes. The same pamphlet said, "The stork is a splendid bird, but too slow for Commercial Club work." Business people must turn with hope to the immigration agent, said the club, for "we cannot populate Texas rapidly with home people." The key word here was "rapidly" because the literature admitted that Texas as a state had the "largest families of any State in the Union."\textsuperscript{112} In another pamphlet issued by this association they put that statistic at 5.25 people in the average Texas family compared to 4.75 as the average across the United States. Again praising the activity of the stork in all cases, they added that he was "too slow for empire building."\textsuperscript{113}

Since the stork couldn't work fast enough, the Commercial Secretaries' Association had confidence in the immigration agent. Looking to the real estate industry, the railroads, and immigration agents, the commercial club lifted such people up for emulation. They called the land agent "a most useful citizen" who provides customers for merchants and is an empire builder who helps locate new farmers. The emphasis on bringing new people to the state came from the
association's stated assumption that the current Texas farmer was already "trying to do too much" cultivating more land than can be done properly by one person.\textsuperscript{114}

The Texas Commercial Secretaries' Association was fairly prolific in its publishing endeavors. The \textit{Industrial Texas} pamphlet grew in size from its thirty-two pages in 1910 to thirty-five pages in 1912 to 123 pages for the 1913 edition. It was packed full of information about crops, transportation, and statistics covering a wide variety of subjects and served as a valuable reference work for commercially oriented speakers and club members. In addition to this book which seemed to be the standard text for the organization, a multitude of much smaller highly illustrated pamphlets saw publication. Most of these smaller works were meant to be handed directly to the potential newcomer and investor. Titles give us just a hint of the pictures and text inside. One sixteen-page work was called \textit{The Texas Barnyard} and illustrated the many animals of the state. \textit{The Door of Opportunity}, only fourteen pages long, used a front cover showing Uncle Sam pointing through the barn door at a lush landscape labeled "Texas Opportunities." A small globe-headed man looked across the threshold to that potential. \textit{The Development Dollar} (fourteen pages), \textit{King Cotton} (fifteen pages), and \textit{Transportation} (thirty-two pages) were yet other examples of their work.

But the emphasis remained on men and money. This could clearly be seen in the work titled, \textit{The People, Population 3,896,542} (sixteen pages). The advertising copy in this work was more animated than most previous booster literature. On page one they wrote of the people and property sweeping "Texasward." Then, "Along this roadstead of nations there passes annually 69,000 homeseekers and $123,000,000 of property. In this moving van of civilization can be heard the accents of every nation and the jostle of prosperity from every clime." The immigration agent and the stork came in for comparison and the stork lost the
contest. The Texan was described as "by nature an architect and by practice a builder." Family values received attention with the statement, "The Texas fireside is the bulwark of our civilization. We discuss our economic, religious and social problems in the home, and questions that are talked across the Texas fireside are settled right." Claims of veracity were included in this booklet, as with most enticement literature. Statistics and tables filled many of the pages.¹¹⁵

Other pamphlets also emphasized the importance of people to the state. **Texas Needs Great Men** proclaimed a 101-page booklet that used examples to convey their message. They picked men like Napoleon as illustrative of the person who takes advantage of opportunity, Appius Claudius, the leader who pushed the building of roadways in the Roman Empire, and Alexander the Great whose crowning achievements were a direct result of his organizational skills. Reference to these leaders of the past helped the commercial club demonstrate the qualities that made great men and thus the qualities needed in future Texans.

The Texas Commercial Secretaries' Association served a coordinating function in the years at the turn of the century. The association envisioned a network of related business people addressing similar goals such as encouraging population growth and developing industries around the state. The club also saw itself as the source of tools to be used in such promotions—thus, their publications advertising their publications bent on getting the message out about Texas. All this energy emanated from citizens throughout Texas. It was not government subsidized, nor explicitly government encouraged.

While showcasing this one business association, it is important to realize there were multiple organizations around the state doing similar work. Their names and activities varied over the years as well. Houston and Galveston each had a chamber of commerce in the 1860s. Austin in 1877 and Fort Worth in 1882
organized their commercial clubs and called them Boards of Trade. Gainesville established its City Commerce Club in 1888. The Waco Business Men's Club organized in 1899 and a chamber of commerce came into being in 1899 in El Paso.\textsuperscript{116} Advertising pages of the 1912 \textit{Texas Almanac} give just a hint of the multiplication of such organizations. Ads describing particular locales encouraged people to contact the Pecos Commercial Club, the Young Men's Business League in Winnsboro, the Tyler Commercial Club, the Board of Trade in Paris, Texas, and the Cass County Industrial League of Atlanta, Texas among others.\textsuperscript{117} Most of these prolific town clubs joined ultimately in the 1930s as part of the larger organization today known as the Chamber of Commerce.

The commercial associations in Texas were numerous and varied. One writer calls their work the ultimate "quest for payrolls and population." When many formally united in 1906 under the umbrella label of Texas Commercial Secretaries' Association, they were inaugurating the first such permanent statewide association in the United States.\textsuperscript{118} Some communities maintained their independent status but followed in the same path of booster clubs seeking to increase their own prosperity and development.\textsuperscript{119}

Such efforts by the business communities in Texas served to keep a focus upon attracting new people to the state. The booster mentality and the "get-up-and-go" energy served to maintain an ongoing interest in enticement literature. One rather unusual project in this vein undertaken through private initiative was the Five Million Club. In this case the stimulus was the upcoming 1910 federal census. The leaders defined their goal as a total population of 5,000,000 people in Texas by 1910. The means to achieve such a goal involved publication of enticement literature emphasizing the advantages of Texas to all. The Five Million Club reflects a clear continuation in the belief that written material is extremely
valuable, but this time with a specific end product--five million Texans. Removing the ambiguity of the "we want more people" phraseology, the club's leaders hoped to motivate the average citizen to get involved.

The idea was to focus on the census as a specific goal. One might ask, why seize the 1910 census as a focal point? The simple answer was political clout. The task of the census is to determine population totals in order to apportion congressional representatives in Washington, D.C. The obvious argument ran, if there are more people in Texas, there will be greater representation by Texas in the halls of Congress. Greater representation means a heavier influence on national legislation. More people means the legislative voice of Texas will be proportionately louder.120

While this argument sustained the basic energy of those working within the Five Million Club, it was only the symbolic end product of such efforts. Anything done along the way would by carry-over enhance the economic growth and development of the state. The minor themes presented by the Five Million Club spoke of more production, more consumers, more taxpayers, and more neighbors. The Club spoke to small and large communities alike. Hearkening back to post Civil War cooperative efforts to attract people to Texas, the Five Million Club implored each citizen to join in working together. Everything from letter writing campaigns to donations of money for the publication of appropriate literature were suggested as ways to support the club's work.

The Five Million Club actively sought people involvement. The club organized in October 1906, officially developing a charter on December 1, 1906. Initially they worked to raise funds by subscribing members at $10.00 per person. By July 31, 1907, they had a total of 840 paid members and were in the final stages
of planning their first major convention to be held in El Paso. George H. Rockwell held the position of General Manager of the club.\textsuperscript{121}

Rockwell's report to the attendees in El Paso pointed to the extensive advertising work already in place. Rockwell noted the printing of stationery for official business of the club and the "handsome certificate" of membership prepared for each club member. Also, the publicity bureau was in full swing with the printing of a four-page pamphlet, "5,000,000 for Texas--A Short Article for Texans Only." Dredging up an old technique, this brochure pointed to the percentage of population increase for other states as compared to Texas. At the bottom of the list stood Texas with 18 percent compared to California's 34 percent increase and Oklahoma's 77 percent jump since 1900. Enjoining Texans to get involved, the leaflet said, "It is time for Texas to quit being 'wild and woolly' and try being 'populous and busy.'" How to do this? Join the Five Million Club. "Don't KNOCK but HUSTLE" said the brochure. Another small flier aimed at the Texas reader used the argument that Canadian immigration efforts were luring people of the North and East away from potentially settling in Texas. The Five Million Club "needs the help of every man, woman and child in the State, so that Greater Texas may become a reality," exclaimed the pamphlet.\textsuperscript{122}

These brochures nourished the first aim of the Club, i.e. raise membership and interest. The next goal of the Five Million Club was addressed by the publication of enticement literature meant for the potential immigrant. This purpose was met by the publication of a extraordinary advertising brochure entitled, \textit{Texas from A to Z, A Compendium of Information}. The usual claims of truthfulness were included in the Foreword, as was the encouragement to write to the Texas Five Million Club, in Houston, Texas, for any further information. Much like a children's alphabet book, this forty-three page brochure utilized the structure of letters
introducing short sentences or paragraphs. "A" began with "Agriculture." This section included entries under apples, asparagus, and asphalt. "Z" had the lonely entry of zinc, which claimed large but undeveloped quantities of the mineral in the state. A walk through the booklet suggests a Texas in which almost anything could be found or anything could grow. Bananas and pineapples were grown in the state, according to the booklet. Cattle, carrots, and cantaloupes were all raised here as well. Figs, horseradish, mangoes, and mulberries required entries also. Under the letter "H" the entry "Holidays" told future Texans that two days unique to the state were Texas Independence Day on March 2, and "April 21, the anniversary of the battle of San Jacinto, when the final blow for Texas independence was struck."

Although information on transportation, minerals, and manufacturing was also included, the emphasis on crops and animals reflects the continuing expectation that settlers in Texas would most commonly be rural land dwellers. A second edition of Texas from A to Z was also coming soon from the presses, according to Rockwell.

In addition to pamphlets, the club utilized a new technique never before tried in the immigration movement. Red, white, and blue medallions stating, "I'm from Texas--Talk to me," had already been used successfully by those traveling outside the state to conventions or on business trips to other cities. Proudly, Rockwell reported the success of these medallions which he said have "been called the finest piece of advertising Texas has had in years. We have barely been able to keep a supply of these on hand, so great has been the demand." More were being produced to be used for those attending conventions soon in Tennessee and in Atlanta.

Pamphlets with the same labeling as the medallions were being printed up for circulation and mailings went out continually, according to this club administrator.
The convention in El Paso was itself a publicity event of major magnitude. The local paper devoted pages and pages to its coverage, and it was hoped the statewide press was following suit. Calling themselves boosters for the state, people arrived by railroad, many coming in special excursion trains scheduled for specific entourages and city delegations. The city of El Paso created a festive occasion by decorating the buildings in the business district, scheduling a post-convention trip to a nearby highland resort area, and presenting special badges to the general manager and president of the Club.  

The general manager of the Five Million Club was George I. Rockwell, but the impetus and popular force in the organization was John H. Kirby of Houston who served as the president. Kirby was a native Texan of English ancestry who moved quickly into Texas business after first educating himself as a lawyer. He had lived in Houston since 1890 and was a major influence in the lumber, oil, and banking businesses in the state. He had previously served his state in a non-political way in the early 1900s by being president of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress and President of the Texas World's Fair Commission. Whatever was good for business was good for Kirby, and it appears that the Five Million Club owed its birth to his influential adoption of the idea.

The convention itself was one long rallying cry for the Five Million Club. The biggest order of business seemed to be the decision on where to hold the next year's conference, although competition over the location of the proposed Diamond Jubilee for Texas in 1911 was also debated in earnest. Austin, Amarillo, Arlington, and Mineral Wells entered the race for such a selection. Dallas finally won the nod for the 1908 convention, while the plans for the Jubilee remained undecided.

The issue of money kept coming up in floor discussion with the administrative members of the organization waving a warning flag that financial
commitment was essential for the ultimate success of the Club. Talk of money concerns, however, seemed to be drowned out by the booster speeches and reverie of the delegates. The words of Major Will A. Miller, Jr., head of the fifty-member delegation from Amarillo, when he had an opportunity to speak reflect this undampened enthusiasm. Miller said, "The Five Million club is doing great good for the state. It is advertising it and the population is on the increase. Get a man to stay in Texas six months and you can't drive him out." With such absolute assurance he went on to pronounce that "The people are happy and making money. You can't get one to leave. The man who moves to the Panhandle country never moves away." 129

Boosterism was central to Five Million Club activity. Enthusiasm sparked with energy was necessary to keep the organization going. These qualities the club members seemed to have in abundance. As the delegates left the El Paso Convention their spirits were high. Financial resources are also a necessary ingredient for success. But this, the club did not have. As the nation's economy stumbled so did Texas, and in the process the Five Million Club faded out of existence. To what extent their message influenced population movement cannot be documented. The existence of thousands of leaflets and pamphlets surely indicates an educational interest on the part of many Texans in increasing state population. Not as tangible to the eye of the researcher is the change in attitude or persistence of attitude on the part of the common people of Texas that they believed Texas needed more people. Simple examples of this attitude exist. For example, some of the communities around the state gave their local commercial associations names reflecting their population goal. There was the Childress 50,000 Club, the Abilene 25,000 Club, and the Smithville 10,000 Club for example. Goal setting and goal reaching involves an inward decision with a stated up-front object. The naming of
their business associations put their label where their new perspective directed them.\(^{130}\)

One other example of this less tangible accomplishment of the Five Million Club concept can be seen in looking at a single small community. The editor of the local paper in Huntsville made use of the idea to "boost" the town. The small community of Huntsville in Walker County had its One Hundred Club strongly supported by the local paper. As the Huntsville Post-Item pushed the idea to its readers, the newspaper's message must have made real sense to this little town struggling to grow. In November of 1906 the newspaper columns asked "Have you been thinking of becoming a member of that 100 Club? It is time to wake up and get busy." The argument drove home its own logic. More people in the community helps improve property values. More people distributes the tax load. More people means larger and better schools; bigger and better church services. In addition, the effort to convince said that making the direct effort to encourage settlers also meant current residents might have some influence on the kinds of new neighbors that might arrive.\(^{131}\) Carrying that argument a little further, a later edition of the paper made this suggestion: "Find some family who is seeking a home and get busy to locate them here. If we can gather in a few Georgians, some Tennesseans, a start of Alabamians, a lot of Carolinians, some from Arkansas, Missouri and Mississippi we will have a county of the right kind of people and it will be a hummer."\(^{132}\)

The newspaper kept up the campaign with later articles. They noted that one family serves as a "magnet to draw other people. It means that once the tide of immigration sets in that the work will be easier and faster." Their key suggestion was letter writing. Select a family and then write them about Walker County and its advantages, the editor advised. Then the paper suggested sharing the return letters with the paper, so that answers and future publicity could appear in the
columns of the Huntsville Post-Item. The editor repeatedly pushed the message. "Fall in line and get to work as a hustler for the 100 club. Good farmers from any old section, especially from "back east," are the ones to work on," he wrote.

The kind of enthusiasm presented by this local paper probably existed in many communities around the state. The composite whole of the immigration movement was made up of many single parts: One letter written here. Or one response to a letter there. A small meeting of interested citizens. Or a larger meeting of commercial businesses. The publication of a pamphlet extolling the virtues of a particular locale. The donation of money to see that the larger organization, be it Five Million Club or state-wide commercial association, distributed the latest information about Texas. The contribution of pennies by women and children to erect a building in Chicago. Any one of these or combination surely influenced people outside the state to think about Texas as possibly being their new home.

The activity in Texas between 1876 and 1914 to attract newcomers to the state followed an up and down course of varying intensity. Once the 1876 constitution was ratified, official state financial support of immigration efforts ceased. But into that vacuum moved many individual and community efforts to attract immigrants to Texas. Formal corporations developed. Land offices and real estate businesses advertised. Newspapers, inside and outside the state, acted as primary boosters of Texas. A state-wide convention sparked renewed interest in bringing people within the borders. Participation in great expositions and fairs kept the idea before Texans of the need to advertise their state's potential. Business clubs and commercial organizations also contributed to the on-going interest in bringing people to Texas. Once the assumption was in place---the assumption that private initiative would be necessary if Texas were to overcome the restrictions built
into her constitution--Texans by the thousands took the challenge and worked actively to bring others to Texas.

2Documents list this company in a variety of ways, using South and Western as separate words, or sometimes as one hyphenated word, or sometimes as a single compound word. No clear delineation seems to exist, but this author will uniformly refer to the organization as the South Western Immigration Company.

3South Western Immigration Company, Texas: Her Resources and Capabilities (New York: E. D. Slater, General Book and Jobbing Printer, 1881), 3-5.

4SW Immigration Co., Texas, 6.

5SW Immigration Co., Texas, 4.

6In fact the book itself demonstrates its relationship to the government of the time. They include a reference to their belief that the fiscal condition of the state was quickly improving and identified the hope that the next state legislature would take "active measures" to use public money to compile and disseminate "statistical information" as a help to informing potential newcomers. See SW Immigration Co., Texas, title page and 8.

7It is important to remember that this was not an original idea. It had been encouraged by various individuals and groups since the years immediately following the Civil War. Every so often, some person or some organization would resurrect the idea and present it, almost as if it were a new thought.

8SW Immigration Co., Texas, title page and 5-6.

9SW Immigration Co., Texas, 10.

10SW Immigration Co., Texas, 159-246.

11SW Immigration Co., Texas, 68, 247, 249, 66, 154.

12SW Immigration Co., Texas, 67-68.


14GDN, September 21, 1883.

15The Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History files at the Texas State Library, contain an interesting facsimile of a certificate awarded to the Southwest Texas Immigration Association of San Antonio in 1888. It seems this company entered an exhibit at a National Exposition in Kansas City and was awarded $500, for the "Best State Exhibit, embracing Products of the Soil, and other
resources illustrative of the wealth of that State." While it has not been definitively ascertained that this company was the same as the South Western Immigration Company, the effort on the part of the private company to advertise Texas is remarkable. It illustrates their involvement in a variety of projects, many of which the state government felt it was constitutionally prohibited from doing. See D.A.I.S.H. File, Number 001-1, Letter to Comm. L. L. Foster in Austin, from J. M. Gregory, San Antonio, Texas, June 7, 1889.

16 Texas New Yorker, September 1875, p. 8; November 1875, p. 72. Hereinafter this publication will be referred to with the initials TNY.


19 TNY, December 1875, p. 97; April 1876, p. 232.

20 TNY, March 1876, p. 208.

21 TNY, February 1876, p. 167.

22 TNY, April 1876, p. 254.

23 This information is from an advertisement in the back pages of a book entitled Southern and Western Texas Guide (St. Louis: A. H. Granger, 1878). The work was authored by James L. Rock and W. I. Smith, proprietors of the St. Louis Texan. This author has knowledge of only three extant issues of this paper published during the spring of 1878. They are currently located in the Center for American History's Newspaper Collection, Austin, Texas. The copy presented in those three issues shows the enthusiasm about life in Texas that the editors hoped would be contagious.

24 St. Louis Texan, February 9, 1878, p. 2 and 1; Homestead Laws repeated in February 9, 1878, p. 4; March 9, 1878, p. 4; and March 16, 1878, p. 4; response to New Yorker's inquiry in March 16, 1878, p. 4. Hereinafter this publication will be referred to as SLT.

25 SLT, February 9, 1878, p. 2.

26 SLT, February 9, 1878, p. 3; March 9, 1878, p. 3; March 16, 1878, p. 3. Some of the railroad advertisements listed emigrant rates, others only their first-class ticket rates.

27 SLT, March 9, 1878, p. 2.

28 SLT, March 16, 1878, p. 1.

29 SLT, March 16, 1878, p. 1.

One interesting effort at using newspapers to document life in a west Texas town is the Ph.D. dissertation by Warren K. Agee for the University of Minnesota (1955) entitled "A Study of Small-Town Life in the Texas Cattle Country, 1880-1890, As Reflected in the Press of the Area and Period." Examples from the newspapers illustrate just how much the newspaper served as a booster element for town growth and development. His study covered Jones and Shackelford County, both predominately cattle counties at that time.

As quoted by Naomi Kincaid, "The Founding of Abilene, The 'Future Great' of the Texas and Pacific Railway," West Texas Historical Association Year Book 22 (October 1946), 20.

GDN, September 1, 1880, entire issue. The GDN frequently advertised itself as a means of distributing information about the state. For example, the June 22, 1878 issue (page 4), claimed the paper was "in daily receipt of letters" requesting information on Texas. They suggested that such persons subscribe "to the Daily or Weekly News" and thus "obtain all they require."

Almanacs had served as a primary means of getting information to potential immigrants during the 1865-1876 period. This activity continued in the late nineteenth century, in a more sporadic way. One example is The People's Illustrated Almanac written by Homer S. Thrall, a Methodist minister, (St. Louis, Mo.: N. D. Thompson & Co., 1880). This 201 page book was not a county by county description of the state, but contained short subject articles such as one entitled "Homes for the Homeless." The book also included an attached map. Thrall's approach to writing an almanac shows his bent at producing histories of the state. He also published A Pictorial History of Texas, From the Earliest Visits of European Adventurers, to A.D. 1879 (St. Louis, Mo.: N. D. Thompson & Co., 1879) and A History of Texas, From the Earliest settlements to the Year 1885: With an appendix containing the Constitution of the State of Texas, adopted November, 1875, and the Amendments of 1883 (New York: University Publishing Company, 1885).

Another almanac of the era claimed thirteen years of publication. Entitled Bryant's Texas Almanac and Railway Guide (Trenton, New Jersey: MacCrellish & Quigley, 1882), it sold for twenty-five cents and contained a great deal of information about the railroads, while labeling itself a "Reliable Reference Book for the Immigrant and Tourist."

Burke's Texas Almanac and Immigrant's Handbook, obviously looked to the potential immigrant as part of their reading public. The 1881 edition sold for fifty cents and included a map. The book identified itself as the result of merging Hanford's Texas State Register in its twenty-fifth year with Burke's Almanac in its sixth year. The 1883 edition claimed publication of 10,000 copies as did the 1885 edition. Burke's Almanac was published in Houston by J. Burke, Jr.

Foreign language almanacs also existed. Albert Schutze produced Schutze's Jahrbuck fur Texas und Volks-Kalender fur 1884. Published by Schutze in Lufkin, Texas, this 200 page book included Land Office Information, mileage's within the
state, and advertisements for such transportation companies as the Mallory
Steamship lines, the Kauffman & Runge offices in Galveston, and the International
and Great Northern Railroad.

34Anna J. Hardwicke Pennybacker, A New History of Texas for Schools
(Tyler, Texas: Published for the Author, 1888), 165. A later edition of this text
continued to include the "Immigration Movement" as a significant event during the
administration of Governor Ross. The verb tense shifted from present to past
stating, "Strong efforts were made during 1888 to bring more immigrants into
Texas" and then concluding the paragraph with "The movement was a success."
However one judges the movement itself, the author of this textbook very obviously
felt as strongly about it in 1908 as she had when writing the 1888 edition. See
Anna J. Hardwicke Pennybacker, A History of Texas for Schools, Rev. Ed. (Austin:
Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker Publisher, 1908), 261.

35The drought was extensive, but affected certain portions of the state more
severely than others. Two sources for an overview of the 1886-1887 drought include,
W. C. Holden, "West Texas Drouths," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 32
(October 1928): 103-123 and J. W. Williams, "A Statistical Study of the Drouth of

36Proceedings of the Immigration Convention of Texas, Convened in Dallas,
Texas, December 20-21, 1887, and the State Immigration Committee of Texas,
Convened in Dallas, Texas, December 29, 1887 (Dallas: A. D. Aldridge & Co., 1888),
4.

37The statistics as to delegation size were gleaned from a vote taken on the
floor and recorded in the official proceedings. The vote had included 689 ayes and
181 noes, thus identifying a total of 870 participants in that portion of the
convention. See Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 23. Also, the early
December meeting in Dallas produced resolutions and notes that were read into the
minutes of the December 20-21st meeting and thus these also can be read in the
Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, pp. 3-7; GDN, December 10, 1887, p. 8
and December 13, 1887, p. 2.

38Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, pp. 7-15.

39Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888. Specific references to
California can be found on pages 12 through 14.

40Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888. The Governor's letter can be
found on pages 16-18 with specific quotes coming from pages 18 and 17 respectively.

41Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, passim.

42Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, pp. 24, 25-26, 28.

43Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, pp. 24 and 47. A variety of
names were used to identify this organization. The convention was held in
December of 1887 and after that organizational meeting newspapers, media, and
people variously used such labels as State Bureau of Immigration, State Immigration Committee, Committee for Immigration to Texas, and Executive Committee on Immigration. Since no official governmental body existed at the time, all these labels referred to the organization that evolved from the 1887 convention which included numerous smaller committees within the association. For example, one journalist reported on the visit of John F. Elliott, "secretary of the State Immigration society" to Galveston in January, 1888. See GDN, January 16, 1888, p. 1. For standardization purposes, the name on the stationery printed by the agency will be used for these references: State Immigration Committee.

44The first meeting with the railroad representatives took place on December 29, 1887 and minutes are included in the Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, pp. 34-48. This document also includes the final recommendations of the executive committee after meeting with the railroad men. One example of representatives from the State Immigration Committee meeting with federal officeholders is recorded in the personal papers of William L. Moody of Galveston. Letters indicate he was appointed to a "Committee of Eleven" by the Executive Committee of the State Immigration Committee of Texas and sent to Washington, D.C. "to lay before the Texas delegation in Congress" concerns about Galveston's need for deep water over the bar in Galveston Bay. See Wm. L. Moody Papers at the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. File Number 70-0200, various papers in Box 2, folders 28-33. Some of these letters were written on the printed stationery described above as representing the Office of the State Immigration Committee.

45Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, pp. 24 and 39.

46Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 29.

47Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 30.

48GDN, January 13, 1888, p. 8; January 12, 1888, p. 2; January 12, 1888, p. 4; March 1, 1888, p. 8.

49[R.S. Neblett], Texas. Description of Navarro County. Her Resources, and Inducements Offered to Immigrants (Corsicana, Texas: Observer Steam Printing House, 1888), 2, 3, 8, 9, 7, 13.


51R. W. Haltom, History and Description of Angelina County, Texas (1888, reprint; Austin: The Pemberton Press, 1969), 41 and 44.

52Facts for Immigrants. A Truthful Description of the Town of Palestine and Anderson County, Texas, Published by the Citizens of the County ([Palestine]: Palestine Advocate Job Printing Office, 1888), title page, preface page, pp. 30 and 24.

53Statistics and Information concerning the State of Texas, With Its Millions of Acres of Unoccupied Lands....With the compliments of the General Passenger...
Department of the Missouri Pacific R'y Co., n.d. This copy is part of the archives at the Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

54This information comes from a reproduction of the 1879 document. The reproduction has been distributed by the Harrison County Historical Commission as promotional literature for its own present day tourism. A copy of this work was given the author by Audrey D. Kariel, a Commissioner for the City of Marshall, 1994. A Pen Picture of the City of Marshall and Harrison County. Their Present and Future (Marshall, Texas: Tri-Weekly Herald Book and Job Print, 1879).


57John C. Rathbun, The "Cephalanographissement" or a Truthful Description of the Staked Plain (Midland, Texas: Staked Plain Job Print., 1886), 4, 5, 6.


59New Birmingham, Texas [New Birmingham, Texas: New Birmingham Development Co., 1891]. Document studied by this author at Houston Metropolitan Archives stated on the front cover "Reproduced 1973 as Souvenir" and identified a price of ten cents.

60[Immigration Society of Cooke County, Texas], Cooke County: Its People, Productions and Resources (Gainesville, Texas: n.p., 1898), page 2 of an unpagedinated document.

61[Immigration Society], Cooke County, p. 2 of unpagedinated document.

62[Immigration Society], Cooke County, p. 3 of unpagedinated document.

63[Immigration Society], Cooke County, p. 4 of unpagedinated document.

64[Immigration Society], Cooke County, p. 5 of unpagedinated document.

65[Immigration Society], Cooke County, pp. 13 and 19 of an unpagedinated document.

66Reproduction of this seventeen page document originally compiled by Charles Herndon in 1908 can be found under the title, "Come and share our plenty" Chronicles of Smith County, Texas 9 (Fall 1970): 29-46.


The Industries of Austin, Texas (Philadelphia: Levy Type Co., 1885); The Industries of Dallas, Her Relations as a Center of Trade (Galveston: M. Strickland & Co., 1887).

See for example, [Andrew Morrison], The Port of Galveston and the State of Texas (St. Louis: Geo. W. Engelhardt & Co., 1890); [Galveston Evening Tribune], A Souvenir of Galveston (Galveston: Galveston Evening Tribune, 1893); Galveston, Texas, B.P.O.E., No. 126, n.d., a pamphlet in archival collection at Center for American History, Austin, Texas.

San Antonio, Texas: The City of Missions (St. Louis, Mo.: Woodward & Tiernan Printing Co., 1894), 66; San Antonio as a Health and Pleasure Resort, Climatic Conditions Which have Made this City the Health Seekers Earthly Paradise (St. Louis: Woodward & Tiernan Printing Company, n.d.).


The Capitalist: or The City of Fort Worth (n.p., n.d.), p. 6. List of characters is on page 4. A copy of this drama is in the ephemera file of the archival collection at Southern Methodist University. It is stamped, "Compliments of Caswell Bros. Real Estate Dealers and Loan Negotiators, Fort Worth, Tex." The stamped note might indicate that they were originators of the production and the distributors of the printed play or they may have been one of many commercial establishments involved. One scholar has suggested that the play was staged by the Fort Worth Board of Trade as a way to help publicize the 1889 opening of the Spring Palace in Fort Worth. This exposition was an effort by Fort Worth to advertise the products and communities of West Texas. See Sandra L. Myres, "Fort Worth, 1870-1900," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 72 (October 1968): 200-206.

One example of a small railroad town seeking growth can be seen in a newspaper that had at least one issue printed. The Radium Record was published on October 15, 1911. Vol. I. No. 1 of its paper carried the headline, "Radium--The Newest Town in Texas, is Located in the "Jersey Cream Section" of the Great County of Jones." A true booster publication it announced a big auction of city land to be held on November 2, 1911. One included article claimed Texas was "now the homesseekers' Mecca."

GDN, November 2, 1888, p. 8.

GDN, December 12, 1888.

GDN, December 12, 1888.

80 Extensive biographical information is available on Captain Frank Bowden Chilton through material published by Lewis E. Daniell in *Types of Successful Men of Texas* (Austin, Texas: E. Von Boeckman, 1890); in a set of bound "Advance Sheets" of the aforementioned book listed as "Biography of Captain Frank Bowden Chilton" (n.p., n.d.), pp. 257-288; and in *Personnel of the Texas State Government, with Sketches of Distinguished Texans, embracing the Executive and Staff, Heads of the Departments, United States Senators and Representatives, Members of the Twenty-first Legislature* (Austin: Smith, Hicks & Jones, State Printers, 1889), pp. 28-67. Chilton was born in 1845 in Alabama of Kentucky parents. His family moved to Houston and eventually to Montgomery, Texas, in 1853. He was educated to the law, served in the Confederacy, and promoted to a Captaincy by Jerome B. Robertson. He lived in Ft. Bend County and Falls County much of his life. As a member of the Democratic Party he served on their 1878 platform committee. He also served as State Commissioner to the 1885 New Orleans Exposition, later attending the Paris Exposition as a State Commissioner.


82 South Carolina was the location for one of these state conventions. See *Proceedings of the Immigration Convention*, held at the Academy of Music, Charleston, S.C., on 3d, 4th and 5th of May, 1870 (Charleston, S. C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1870).

An example of newspaper editorializing in support of efforts to attract immigration, can be found in the *Greensboro Patriot* of North Carolina. See August 24, 1871, p. 2; November 30, 1871, pp. 1 and 2; December 7, 1871, p. 2.


An early attempt at joint efforts to attract immigrants to the South took place in 1884. The organization established was called the Southern Immigration Association. Tennessee was the state which served as the stimulus for the calling of this convention. Texas was asked to participate. Although the *Proceedings* indicate they were not in attendance, two Texans were listed as officers: Gen. J. B. Robertson of Waco as a vice-president and W. H. Abrams from Dallas as a director. See Southern Immigration Association, of America, *Address of A. J. McWhirter, Pres't, at Vicksburg, Miss., November 21st, 1883* (Nashville: Albert B. Tavel, [1883]) and *Proceedings of the First Annual Session of the Southern Immigration Association of America, held at Nashville, on., March 11, 12 and 13, 1884* (Nashville: R. H. Howell & Co., 1884).
83GDN, December 13, 1888, p. 1; Four days later in an editorial the Galveston paper went on record as saying that the convention "ought to have met twenty years ago." See December 17, 1888, p. 2; Proceedings...Southern Interstate Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 10.

84GDN, December 13, 1888, p. 1; December 14, 1888, p. 2.

85Proceedings...Southern Interstate Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 17.

86Proceedings...Southern Interstate Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 3.

87Proceedings...Southern Interstate Immigration Convention, 1888, pp. 4 and 11 for Chilton quotes. See all of fifty pages of the Proceedings for an overview of the transportation issue.

88See pp. 31-34 for separate addresses from state representatives, Proceedings...Southern Interstate Immigration Convention, 1888.

89Proceedings...Southern Interstate Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 34.

90Chilton's address, dated December 20, 1888, was printed as the final pages in the Proceedings volume of the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention, 1888. See pp. 43-50.

91Letter from Arthur Arrington, Raleigh, North Carolina, to R. M. Hall, August 28, 1889, Austin, Texas, in Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History Files, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas. File Number 001-1, Statistics, Files 8-14; File Number 001-2, Statistics, Files 1-3. Letters are arranged alphabetically by first initial of surname or name of institution. Further references to letters in these files will be listed by letter writer followed by D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

92Letter from F. B. Chilton, Austin, Texas to L. L. Foster, Austin, Texas, March 5, 1890 [?], D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL; Letter from F. B. Chilton, Raleigh, North Carolina, to L. L. Foster, Austin, Texas, March 11, 1891, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL. The activity of the Southern Interstate Immigration Bureau at distributing information about the various states can be documented by another letter in D.A.I.S.H. Files. A Mr. Holzapfel in Salem, Ohio wrote to F. R. Lubbock, a congressman in Texas, requesting a copy of a pamphlet entitled "All About Texas" for a friend. Mr. Holzapfel claimed he had received a "copy with other matter" from the Southern Immigration Bureau, but since he no longer had that address he was requesting help from Texas directly. Congressman Lubbock referred the letter to the D.A.I.S.H. where it was handled by a clerk. Letter from K.[?] M. Holzapfel, Salem, Ohio to F. R. Lubbock, Austin, Texas, February 3, 1890, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics File, TSL.

93Another example of a joint southern endeavor to develop the South can be seen in the Proceedings. Third Annual Convention, Southern Commercial Congress. Atlanta, Ga., March, 1911. The title page reads, The South's Physical Recovery Described in One Hundred Addresses by National Leaders [Washington, D.C.:
Southern Building], 1911. The enormous book included several speeches on immigration including one by Terence V. Powderly, entitled "Southern Immigration." Texans participated in this commercial congress and usually attended similar events when they happened in the South.

94Chicago Tribune, June 16, 1893, p. 12.
96Chicago Tribune, September 16, 1893, p. 4; September 17, 1893, p. 8. Hubbard’s address sounded very reminiscent of his 1876 address at the Philadelphia exposition when he was governor of Texas. See R. B. Hubbard, Centennial Oration of Governor R. B. Hubbard, of Texas. Delivered at the National Exposition, September 11, 1876. Copy at Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.
97History of Texas, Together with a Biographical History of the Cities of Houston and Galveston (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1895), 244-245. Mrs. Tobin successfully coordinated the Texas effort, but little is known about the woman. Elizabeth Brooks in Prominent Women of Texas (Akron, Ohio: The Werner Company, n.d.), p. 202 says that she had lived in Austin since her marriage in 1871, but no mention of her husband or his work is included. Benedette was born in Camden, Arkansas, and then attended schools in New Orleans before finally coming to Texas.
98Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Book of the Fair, an Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World’s Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, Publishers, 1895), 797 and 796.
99Some correspondence between the World’s Columbian Exposition committee in Chicago and the Texas D.A.I.S.H. exists, indicating early communication meant to encourage Texas participation in the planned fair. During these preliminary planning stages there seems to be no immediate rejection by Texas of involvement in the fair. See Letter from Benjamin Butterworth, Chicago, Illinois, to L. L. Foster, November 11, 1890; Letter from W. I. Buchanan, Chicago, Illinois, to L. L. Foster, January 9, 1891; Letter from W. I. Buchanan, Chicago, Illinois, to L. L. Foster, March 14, 1891; Letter from W. I. Buchanan, Chicago, Illinois, to L. L. Foster, March 27, 1891; Letter from W. I. Buchanan, Chicago, Illinois, to L. L. Foster, September 3, 1891, D.A.I.S.H. Statistics Files, TSL.

A variety of schemes, plans, or ideas circulated in Texas during the years of planning for the 1893 event. One extensive effort involved the city of Galveston and the attempt to sell real estate to raise funds. These funds would then be used to build an exhibition hall on the southern part of the island with the idea of collecting samples and exhibits from around the state. These would be on display from November 5, 1892 to January 9, 1893 and then sent on to Chicago. Protracted community debate and involvement caused quite a stir in the city of Galveston, but implementation of the plan seems not to have materialized. See Texas World’s Fair
Exhibition Association, Galveston Auxiliary, Programme, Texas Auxiliary to the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in the City of Galveston in 1892 and a long run of coverage in the Galveston Daily News, February 19, 1892, p. 8; February 26, 1892, p. 8; March 2, 1892, p. 8; March 6, 1892, p. 12; March 9, 1892, p. 8; March 10, 1892, p. 8; March 13, 1892, p. 16; April 3, 1892, p. 4; April 10, 1892, p. 16; April 17, 1892, p. 12; April 19, 1892, p. 8.

100 GDN, October 31, 1891, p. 2; November 1, 191, p. 4; November 2, 1891, p. 3.


102 It is not clear exactly how the state constitutional prohibition factored into other state-wide efforts to participate in various expositions and fairs in the United States and abroad. One scholarly attempt to provide some overview of the state's participation in fairs is the Phillips article "Texas and the World Fairs" in East Texas Historical Journal.

The 1904 St. Louis Fair, for whatever reasons, seemed to benefit from a more generous approach to the constitutional prohibition. Some sources to study for that story include, W. W. Dexter, Texas, Imperial State of America, With Her Diadem of Cities (St. Louis: Sam'l F. Myerson Printing Co., [1904]); short articles in State Topics (Austin, Texas), I, No. 17 (March 6, 1904), 11 and No. 20 (March 27, 1904), 4; The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at Saint Louis, 1904 (Boston: Rand Avery Supply Co., 1904); C. W. Raines, ed., Year Book for Texas (Austin: Gammel-Statesman Publishing Company, 1902-1903), Volume 2, pp. 216-227 and 355-359.

103 As quoted in Programme, Texas Auxiliary to the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in the City of Galveston in 1892.

104 Proceedings of the Texas Veteran Association at the Annual Re-Union, Held at Lampasas, Texas, April 20 and 21, 1892 (Austin: Eugene Von Boeckman, Printer, 1892), 21-22.


106 It should be noted that not all the states contributed to the Columbian Exposition through the erection of representative buildings. George, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee had no state buildings. See Ben C. Truman, History of the World's Fair, Being a Complete and authentic Description of the Columbian Exposition from its Inception, (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 479. This is a reprint of a book originally published in 1893. Women were active in the fund raising and administration of many respective state buildings or in state exhibits. Arkansas, for example, voted against appropriating funds and its display depended upon a women's organization much like Texas. So women's involvement in and of itself was not unique. Also some states, like Texas did not use any public money in financing their buildings. Florida contributed both a building and exhibits all provided
through private enterprise. See Bancroft, *Book of the Fair*, pp. 795 and 797. The significant point about Texas' approach to the fair was the existence of Article 16, Section 56 of the 1876 constitution and the interpretation made of that document by state legislators.


108 G. L. Dybwad and Joy V. Bliss, *Annotated Bibliography: World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: The Book Stops Here, 1992), 347. *The City of Houston and Harris County, Texas. World's Columbian Exposition Souvenir* (Houston, Texas: Cumming & Sons, Printers, 1893), photographs throughout the unpaginated document. Title page states volume published by Charles F. Morse, "Under the Auspices of the Post Engraving Company" which would indicate a relationship between the *Houston Post*, a newspaper in the city and the promotional effort. This would be verified by the last page of the document which appears as a slightly disguised advertisement for the newspaper.


114 Texas Commercial Secretaries' Association, *Industrial Texas*, 4-5.


It is interesting to note the title change of the Texas Almanac since its 1860-1870s run as the *Texas Almanac and Immigrant's Guide*. While the title changed on the front cover, inside the 1912 edition the preface still boldly proclaimed, "The end in view [through publishing this Almanac] is to not only attract intelligent and progressive homeseekers to Texas, but to furnish the means whereby citizens of Texas may become better informed concerning the opportunities existing in their own State." As urbanization and industrialization influenced the state's development at the turn of the century, emphasis shifted for the Almanac. There had been no *Texas Almanacs* of the *Galveston Daily News* variety between 1873 and

118Blasig, Building Texas, 30 and 43. See also GDN, August 18, 1907, p. 7 for information on early meetings.

119Examples of simple publications produced by small Texas towns of the time include a twenty-four page pamphlet entitled, A Few Facts About Pampa (Gray County, Texas: n.p., 1910) and Marshall, Harrison County, Texas (Houston: Cumming & Sons, Printers, n.d.). Internal evidence suggests a date of 1911.

120This was not a particularly new idea within the immigration movement in Texas during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At other times reference to the relationship between national political power and population growth had been noted. See William Brady, Glimpses of Texas: Its Divisions, Resources, Development and Prospects (Houston: A.C. Gray & Co., 1871), 6-7; Proceedings...Immigration Convention, 1888, p. 15. However, this was the first effort to place the connection as the pre-eminent purpose for efforts to entice immigrants to the state.


122EPH, August 17, 1907, p. 2. Copies of these membership-oriented leaflets were found glued inside the pages of the Five Million Club document entitled Texas from A to Z, located in the Texas State Library, Austin, Texas. Quotes from those small leaflets were obtained from that source.

123Texas Five Million Club, Texas from A to Z, A Compendium of Information (n.p., 1907).

124GDN, August 17, 1907, p. 8.

125GDN, August 17, 1907, p. 8.

126EPH, August 16, 1907, front page; August 15, 1907, p. 1; August 19, 1907, p. 6; August 16, 1907, p. 2.

127For biographical information on Kirby see, entry in Raines, Yearbook for Texas, Volume 2, pp. 345-351; Mary Laasswell, John Henry Kirby, Prince of the Pines (Austin: The Encino Press, 1967); Timber Resources of East Texas, Their Recognition and Development by John H. Kirby, Through the Inception and Organization of the Kirby Lumber Company of Houston, Texas (n.p., n.d.).

128EPH, August 15, 1907, p. 3; August 15, 1907, p. 1; August 16, 1907, p. 2; August 17, 1907, p. 1.

129EPH, August 16, 1907, p. 3
130 Blasig, Building Texas, 55.


133 Huntsville Post-Item, January 4, 1907, p. 1.

134 Huntsville Post-Item, February 1, 1907, p. 2.
Chapter Ten -- The Railroads Have Always Advertised Texas

Railroads need people. They need people to construct the roadways, people to ride the rails and consume products shipped to them, and people to produce the goods for the railway to transport. In the settlement of the western and southern portions of the United States, the interconnection between population movement and the growth of the railroads is integral and obvious. Since farming seemed the best possible use of western and southern territory, these agricultural pursuits were touted by the railroads in their effort to lure people onto these lands. Texas, with its huge tracts of land and fertile soil, was "a product to be sold." Texas became for the railroads an object to be advertised, both abroad and throughout the rest of the United States. Texas was the "Empire State," the "Winter Garden," the land of the Homestead Exemption, and the "Eldorado" for farmers, according to the railroad brochures produced in abundance to market Texas.¹

This activity by the railroads continued throughout the history of railroad growth in the state. From the 1870s to the mid-twentieth century, advertising media by the railroads can be found exclaiming the benefits of going to Texas. The railroads did not perceive the 1876 state constitution as a catalyst for involvement in this selling of Texas. They had always been "selling" Texas to anyone who would read their written material. Unlike such business-initiated efforts as the Commercial Secretaries Clubs, or town booster organizations, or immigration societies which were literally energized by the official state pull-out of promotional work, the railroads seemed merely to keep producing written information that best met the needs of their companies as they grew in size and influence across the state. They built new track, platted new towns, sold railroad lands, and offered their services as "the" transportation link in the state.
Quite bold claims have been made about the impact of railroads upon settlement and development. One American scholar called railroads "the most important single factor in the development of the Trans-Mississippi country." If we translate "development" as "enticement of people and capital," the observation rings true. Railroads--their construction and their use--have tremendously influenced the history of the United States. When looking at the single picture of one state's growth, the same assertion applies to Texas. The very size of the state, its lack of navigable waterways as a means of transportation, and its growth period coinciding with the heyday of railroad construction--all these factors suggest the relationship of the railroads to population growth in Texas.

How much credit should go to the railroads? A speaker at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 said in reference to his native state, "The truth is, Texas is what her railroads have made her." While this is much too comprehensive a statement, the oratory suggests the symbiotic relationship that existed between the railroads and the many promotional efforts to entice newcomers to the state between 1865 and 1914. It also reflects the perception on the part of influential Texans that this connection was both positive and effective.

It is critical, in trying to view the influence of railroads upon population growth in Texas, that railroads not be seen as a monolithic whole. The railroad industry was just that--an industry composed of multiple corporations with each company out to make a profit. Various roadways in competition with each other looked to take advantage of the state's natural resources and the human demand for good transportation. The complete story of the railroads in Texas would include a study of appropriate legislation, corporate mergers, leadership styles, the engineering tales of construction, plus much, much more. The developing narrative would be a tangled web of small and large companies, rural and urban interests,
competition resulting gradually in merged lines, as well as claims of monopolistic 
exploitation of the people.⁴

Buried within that larger story is the smaller story of efforts by different 
railroad systems in Texas to entice immigrants to the land. These promotional 
campaigns mirrored other efforts by immigration societies, real estate agencies, and 
city or county booster clubs to attract people to the state. The railroads shared with 
these other organizations a belief in the value of the written word. Prodigious 
amounts of printed pages were produced—for all these organizations had a stake in 
peopling the vast lands of Texas with industrious, hard-working citizens.

The promotional literature published by the railroads changed some over the 
years. The geographical emphasis and the content of the message, via pamphlets, 
time tables, maps, and books, shifted some as the demographics and development of 
the state altered. But constant to all their work was the goal of bringing more 
people to Texas. This chapter seeks to profile the railroad picture in its relationship 
to immigration movements in Texas. The story includes both the constants within 
the narrative and the changes that took place. Newer and different techniques in 
technology and in farming resulted in variations in the promotional material 
presented by the railroads. These modifications, however, took place within certain 
unchanging patterns of railroad development. First, let us look at some of the 
similarities down through the years from 1865 to 1914.

There is a rhythm to railroad development—a rhythm that parallels 
population shifts. A pattern evolves when describing a railroad's movement through 
any territory. First came the surveying parties followed by the larger numbers of 
workers in the construction crews. This initial stage involved the pulling of 
relatively small numbers of people into a location for a relatively short period of 
time. Once that portion of the roadway was built, some maintenance crews must
remain along the line at convenient locations. Railroads utilized a few depots at critical spots along their routes for repair supplies and boarding locations. Palestine was a main terminal in this regard for the International & Great Northern line (I&GN). Denison served a similar purpose for the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (MK&T) line moving into Texas from St. Louis. Once these ribbons of steel were in place, traffic obviously increased and the rails facilitated the sustained flow of people along the line. At various junctures small towns developed, often growing gradually in size as commerce increased. Depending upon the location of the town, its possible position as a hub for several rail lines, and the energy of its citizens, growth in population followed upon the heels of the steel rails on wooden ties. Just as the construction crews continued laying steel, the process repeated itself as the roadbed moved across previously under-utilized land. The railroads thus served as a pull factor during the early settlement phase and continued as a magnet drawing later population to and through the area that the railroad crossed.5

While publications of railroad publicity departments did sometimes include pronouncements of future locations to be reached soon by the line,6 the real publicity endeavors multiplied more typically once the line was in place. Promotional literature then spent pages describing the land through which the road traveled, the resources of the communities along the lines, and frequently such statistical information as rainfall figures, crop production, and population totals.

It must be emphasized, first of all, that the railroads never lost faith in the need to publicize Texas. They, meaning any and all of the railroad companies, produced various written documents meant to attract immigrants to the state. They, like other enticement efforts around the state, assumed that if the best possible correct information about Texas was presented to the potential newcomer, then most would choose to buy land and settle in Texas. As late as 1911, one
pamphlet by the Iron Mountain Route asked itself and its readers why would "intelligent" people living in the northern cold climates not move to Southwest Texas? In answer they excerpted material from a newspaper in Dimmit County that read,

The only feasible conclusion we can draw is ignorance, the lack of knowledge of what Southwest Texas has to offer them. So it behooves us to employ every honest and honorable agency at our disposal to convey this great knowledge to those who would seek homes in other climes.8

Tell people about Texas and they will come. Describe the advantages and benefits and they will see the value in moving. This remained the rationale behind such comprehensive publication.

As part of this "telling" people about Texas, the railroad brochures freely appropriated written material from a multitude of sources such as the above quote from a newspaper in Carrizo Springs. Similar to other enticement literature, railroads often produced volumes through the "cut and paste" method. This approach accomplished at least two things. First, it made publication faster and easier, since original copy usually takes more time to produce. Second, the final document could thus present the appearance of being a compilation of opinions, not just a reflection of the desire by railroad people to market land or sell tickets. The extensive use of testimonials fit well within this basic structure. Letters written to the company or elicited through circulars were frequently excerpted and thus gave a personal touch to the pamphlet or the brochure.9 Quotes from newspapers, which were usually a community's biggest booster voice, lent a aura of stability to the message. A newspaper in a town meant a community with literate, energetic, and thoughtful people--and thus a place that one might like to move to.10 Speeches by government officials or messages from prominent citizens were liberally appropriated for this use. Governor Hubbard's entire speech at the Philadelphia
Exposition of 1876 was printed by the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad (GH&SA), for the railroad felt it summarized, from an authoritative person, all the best that could be said about Texas.\textsuperscript{11}

In presenting information to the potential migrant, railroads utilized extensively and continually the three fairly common enticement tactics elaborated on in chapter six of this dissertation. They attempted to lay to rest fears that outsiders might have had about Texas. They pointed their message to the family unit, thinking in terms of families settling on the land and farming crops. And they addressed the various hopes and dreams of potential immigrants by often meshing descriptions of the present with pictures of what would be in the near future.

Many other aspects of their publicity efforts remained constant throughout the years. For example, the publication of excerpts from the Texas constitution highlighting homestead provisions continued to be a mainstay of almost all railroad enticement literature.\textsuperscript{12} The assurance that one's home could not be sold for debt presented a special opportunity to provide for one's family, giving them a sense of security not available everywhere. Whether published in 1876 or 1892 or 1911, these Texas laws were used by the publicity departments of the railroads as a lure and as an emphasis on the family nature of immigration to Texas.

Consistency of approach can be seen through a number of other techniques that deserve description. 1) Railroads very obviously retained an interest in publishing their rates favorable to immigrant travel. Thus fares for individuals and groups were common inclusions. 2) Railways also worked throughout these years to speak to foreign-born immigrants. Sometimes, full brochures were printed in a European language. Other times references to European immigration were enmeshed in a more general way with references to migrants from within the United States. 3) Suggestions relating to various colonization schemes can be found
throughout this era. While never minimizing the migration of single families, many railroads encouraged the settlement of newcomers in colonies or helped facilitate such development.

**Rates/Fares**

The cost of travel has always been a central concern for any person contemplating relocation. Railroads were very aware of these matters and made continuous efforts to court the business of immigrants. The idea behind such lowered emigrant fares resided in the belief that once a person settled on the lands in Texas, new consumers would be in place. Buying products delivered by the railroads, these families would also produce crops that needed to be delivered to markets at other locations along the railroad line. The extra bonus would be the additional people who would come in time, as chain migration took place or community growth encouraged newcomers to the area. Since each railroad was a corporate entity of its own, they each approached reduced fares in their own unique way. But the existence of reduced fares can be documented throughout the later part of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century.

Some railroads offered simple, reduced rates to immigrants. The Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio Railroad (GH&SA) actively worked for the influx of foreign-born immigrants. In that scheme of things they offered in the late 1870s a special immigrant fare. New settlers could travel at a rate of 1 and 3/4 cent per mile as compared to the regular rate of 5 cents a mile.\(^{13}\) Other railroads preferred what were called emigrant excursion tickets or land explorer tickets. These were meant to provide the potential settlers a chance to come to Texas and "look-see" for themselves. One railroad, the I&GN, called such enticing fares, "Round Trip Prospector’s Tickets" along the "Lone Star Route." The GH&SA Railroad offered in
the late 1870s what they called "Land Exploring Tickets." The ticket holder could
stop at any station along the railroad's line to examine land. If a purchase of land
was made within sixty days, the ticket cost would be applied to the first payment of
the land.14 The Houston and Texas Central (H&TC) also sold land exploring tickets
that allowed "low rates of fare for emigrants from all parts of the United States,
Canada and Europe" and were available "on sale at prominent northern points."15

This arrangement worked well when the railroad had lands for sale along
their route. This was not always the case for Texas railroads. The MK&T was one
of those roads seeking to encourage traffic more than directly sell land. But they
too, offered a version of the emigrant excursion fare in order to increase traffic over
their lines and help get newcomers settled ultimately along their thoroughfare. In
1877 excursion fares on the MK&T were listed as $14.40 from Hannibal, Missouri,
to Denison, Texas, or a $15.00 charge from St. Louis, Missouri, to the same
destination. Rates, even excursion rates, varied up and down. The MK&T in 1879
offered a forty-day fare of $27 for trips from Hannibal, Missouri, to Denison, Texas,
or a $28 fare for the same privileges from St. Louis. This railroad advertised a rate
break to children as well, in case the whole family came to scout out the possibilities
or eventually settle. Children under five were allowed free passage and those
between the ages of five and twelve could come half fare. By 1901 this same
railroad still offered special rates, but by 1906 the 40-day limit had been scaled back
to 21 days. In 1911 a similar program by the Southern Pacific--Sunset Route asked
$31.50 for a trip from St. Louis to Houston. These fares allowed for "liberal
stopovers" on the straight line and encouraged side trips at the rate of a one-way
fare for the round-trip ticket. Earlier terminology had shifted from emigrant
excursion tickets or land explorer tickets to homeseeker's fares, but the intent was
identical.16
Most frequently excursion fares were limited to certain days in the month, with the first and third Tuesdays typically designated as departure times. Commonly, interest in an area was sparked by newspaper articles copied or sent outside the state. Then potential settlers used the rail lines as the best inexpensive way of checking out the possibilities. For example, Dalhart in Dallam county recorded over 400 homeseekers during just one week in December 1910. They all arrived by excursion train, visited various local land companies, while many bought land with the plan of returning with their families.\(^{17}\)

Real estate companies also worked directly in conjunction with the railroads servicing their areas, often providing excursion cars with special rates for their customers. The Standard Land Company, with headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri, owned land in Sherman County, Texas, along the northern border of Texas with Oklahoma. Between 1904 and 1909 they regularly ran from one to three cars to Sherman County. Their advertising copy proclaimed, "Berths in these cars are free, both going and returning, for all Standard Land customers. Our customers also use these cars to sleep in while at Stratford, thus saving hotel bills." The company also offered meals at their large dining room for twenty-five cents and "three large automobiles" were available "for the special use" of their customers. The Soash Company of the panhandle also used this technique for bringing potential buyers to their land. They most frequently pulled together whole trains of seventy-five to 150 travelers. People from throughout the midwest would congregate in such departure cities as Chicago, Detroit, and Minneapolis, and then travel with a sales agent on the train to the Soash lands for a complete sales pitch. Often the agreement stated that special excursion rates would be refunded if the homeseeker purchased land from the real estate company. Such accommodations depended upon the land companies and their arrangements with the respective railroads.\(^{18}\)
One possibility for handling transportation costs is illustrated in a pamphlet by the Houston and Texas Central Railway Company. In a full page advertisement they list seven different steamship lines with which they make connections.

**AS AN INDUCEMENT TO IMMIGRATION, For the purpose of settling up the State of Texas, the HOUSTON & TEXAS CENTRAL RAILWAY COMPANY has, in connection with the above named Steamship Companies, placed in effect greatly reduced rates from all prominent places in GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND and CONTINENTAL EUROPE, to ALL POINTS IN TEXAS to which this Railway is tributary.** [Boldface in original]

Then the rail company suggested the purchase of prepaid tickets to be sent to family and friends overseas to help facilitate their travel to Texas. The ad identified J. Waldo, general passenger and freight agent in Houston, as the individual who could provide further information. This railroad saw immigration in terms of the overall picture of transportation and tried to capitalize on that.10

Yet another aspect of moving expenses involved costs of the final move as distinct from earlier charges in scouting out a new home. As late as 1926, the phrase "Emigrant movables" was used in connection with land sales by the Atcheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad. The company defined this term as applying "to property of an intending settler only and will include second-hand (used) household goods or personal effects such as clothing, furniture or furnishings for residences,..." The list allowed farming tools, supplies such as fence posts, mechanical equipment, livestock "not to exceed ten head," and seeds. One person was usually allowed to ride in the car in order to manage any livestock. Special rates would be applied to those fitting this category. The number of immigrants using this means to transport their family goods would be very difficult to determine. But an idea of the extensiveness of the practice is indicated by a Santa Fe Railroad report. The company recorded arrangements for 1,340 cars, each
shared by two families, traveling to Amarillo, Texas. This activity took place in the first three months of 1907.\textsuperscript{20}

One Texas settler who moved about the panhandle and across the border to Oklahoma recorded in his diary a 1918 entry describing his experience with an "immigrant car." He wrote, "We shipped out of Roaring Springs about 3 o'clock, getting to Quanah 8 or 9 P.M. Unloaded stock. Cold as the devil. Hid the boys in the car. Saved $7.50 by doing so." The entry reflects the tight finances of most farming emigrants and the common practice of traveling during the off-season of the winter months. One historian suggests that these trips "remained a nightmare in the mind of the farmer as long as he lived."\textsuperscript{21}

Transportation costs were an integral factor for potential migration anywhere. In Texas the railroads used tactics employed throughout the rest of the United States. They offered special through-fare rates to emigrants. The excursion or land exploring ticket was another way to encourage the potential settler to make a move. Discounts on final relocation costs for furniture and farm equipment also helped ease the concerns for the family considering a move to Texas. In addition, as time evolved railroads developed an awareness of the importance of connecting transportation patterns, and spent some energy developing enticement literature emphasizing railroad and steamship combinations. The publication of fares in their enticement brochures served to act as an attraction, in and of itself, to the potential Texan, so the various railroads continued to include such information in their advertising.

**Targeting the Foreign-born**

Railroads addressed their message to both foreign-born and native-born immigrants. While Europeans remained a small percentage of the total number of
people moving to Texas, the railroads still tried to speak to that segment of society. One such example was entitled *Sud und Sudwest Texas* [South and Southwest Texas] and published by the passenger department of the Sunset Route.°° This 127-page booster brochure for Texas included the typical statistics, city and county information, and articles on climate, dry farming, mining, and stock raising among others. Two pages of the brochure were a map of the railroad line, a feature that was common in most railroad promotional literature. The only English in the document was a translation of the table of contents and one advertisement for the railroad itself. The message in German and English was the same, "Texas is Today the Best Field for the Rich Man, the Man of Moderate Means, and the Man who is anxious to acquire a Home and Future for Himself and Family." Internal evidence suggests a publication date of circa 1906.°°

Both earlier and later publications also tried to meet the needs of the foreign-born persons considering emigration. The H&TC RR included in their booklet, *Texas*, a page encouraging anyone to write for more information to Robert M. Elgin, land commissioner of the road in Houston. This publication of the mid-1880s offered maps as well as other pamphlets sent "Postage prepaid" to anyone requesting information. They noted that editions of their brochure were available in English, German, Swedish, and Norwegian. A 1909 Southern Pacific time table of sixty-two pages tried a new approach to easing newcomer stress at migrating by publishing the pictures of the passenger agents who would greet the traveler upon arrival in New York or New Orleans. Paragraphs in French and in German were included, encouraging the foreigner to look for the Southern Pacific name. Still yet another approach taken by Texas railroads was to advertise in foreign language books or newspapers. One such example is in the 1907 publication, *Texas Voran! Handbuch von Texas*. This privately published book was completely in German. The back
cover had a full page advertisement for the Sunset Route, including names and addresses of railroad agents for prospective newcomers to write.24

Efforts to lure foreign-born immigrants to Texas were as varied as the railroads and their brochures. One approach was to bury their overtures within the more general statements of the state's growth and continuing prosperity. The H&TC RR tried to appeal to newcomers in this way as they described Texas.

There are large areas of fertile districts upon which Colonies may be located--land of reasonable valuation, and well positioned as to water and timber....There is ample room for an almost unlimited number of energetic people....Although for a number of years there has been a steady emigration to Texas of people from the older States..., the residents of foreign countries are apparently becoming better alive to, and more fully appreciative of, the innumerable advantages this State offers intending settlers...steadily increasing volume...from all ports of the Old Country. Germany, Poland, Scandinavia and other nations of Europe are furnishing their quotas.25

Such general statements assumed assimilation of all groups of people. In their inclusive language they presented a positive image of Texas as the place for Europeans to settle. Another pamphlet by the MK&T put it simply, "Texas is essentially cosmopolitan. Her inhabitants come from every country, State, and Clime."26

Colonies

The settlement of Texas by colonies was consistently a minor theme in railroad promotional material. They shared this approach with some of the real estate ventures that saw greater profits in large numbers. Railroads never overemphasized this idea but kept it routinely before the eye of the potential emigrant. One way of presenting the idea was to list the advantages of colonies. The discussion of colonies would proceed something along these lines: A group of people could select one representative person to travel to Texas. This person would
examine the possibilities and select land for all—land which would receive a concession on price because of the large acreage sold. Once in Texas these colonists would be able to buy, through their agent, lumber and supplies at "car-load rates." They could make co-operative purchases of livestock in this way as well. Brochures pointed also to the quick formation of schools and churches because of the fair number of people congregated in one area. Noting the influence of chain migration, one pamphlet pointed out that "They will have a society of their own, and be the nucleus of population that will flock to them to enjoy the advantages they possess." This same brochure then listed some "prosperous" European settlements in Texas among the Polish, Germans, French, Swedish, Norwegians, and Scandinavians.27

Colonies were presented as a possibility for ethnic groups. But they were also encouraged as a way to stave off the loneliness that comes from leaving family and friends behind in another part of the country.28 The potential for one religious group to begin a town or plant a community was also presented by some brochures. Colonies were thus an option for any group, whether set apart by religion, birthplace, family relations, or current residence in a previous state.29 Sometimes the colony might develop right on the railroad line, while others existed further into the hinterlands. Historians have referred to some of the resulting communities as "folk islands." In a way, they provided all the positive aspects that ghettos in the northern cities provided for ethnic or religious groups. Some fifty different "folk islands" have been identified in the northwestern portion of Texas alone, including such diverse ethnic groups as German, Polish, Italian, Wends, Swedish, Norwegian, and Czech. While not all these communities began as a deliberate colonization plan, many of them did and many of them prospered.30
Railroads were selling two items in the late 1800s and early 1900s: land and service. Sometimes a rail line had been given land grants, either along their road or elsewhere within the state's borders. As they sold these lands, they then increased their capital to invest in other parts of the railroad or to provide stockholder's profits. If the rail company was not in the business of actually selling land, they were in the business of generating on-line customers. Thus they sometimes offered services to facilitate ease of travel. Two of these have already been mentioned: excursion fares or lower rates and pamphlets with information about crops and community development. Two other services provided by railroads included "immigrant homes" and knowledgeable people to help the settler during the transition.

**Immigrant Homes**

In the twentieth century hotels and motels are commonplace and easily accessible with a wide range of prices and accommodations for families. This was not the case in the nineteenth century well before the paved roadways that accompanied the proliferation of automobiles. So in a few cases railroads stepped in the breach offering help to the cost-conscious farmer considering a move to new agricultural lands. In Texas, at least three different railroad lines built immigrant homes for the use of their passengers.

One such home was on the Texas and Pacific (T&P) line. The company built an "Immigrant Home" in Baird, a city in Callahan County, located on their right of way. The home was erected in the midst of the land which the company had for sale. Thus emigrants could travel along the roadway, settle into the home for a couple days, while they toured the area looking for land they wished to purchase. The "Immigrant Home" coincided with the location of the railroad's branch office, so
company personnel probably maintained the boarding facility. According to a T&P brochure of 1883, it was a "large and commodious two-story immigration house where families and baggage can be comfortably left while the head of the family is looking for a permanent home." One scholar claims that a colony of Portuguese settlers from Fresno, California used the home in 1881 before selecting land nearby in Clyde, Texas. The same railroad reportedly built another such home in Midland. This home was described in booster literature of the time as "pleasant, neat and comfortable. Five or six families can reside therein at a time, each keeping house by itself. A thrifty and well kept garden is in connection, from which the occupants may purchase vegetables at very reasonable prices. A pump driven by a windmill affords an abundance of water."

The Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway maintained several such immigrant homes along their route between Galveston and San Antonio. In the early years of the GH&SA, home locations included New Philadelphia, Converse, and Luling. Thomas Wilson, an immigration agent for the railroad, maintained the Luling home during his tenure from 1877 to 1883 as part of his job. In fact, he was responsible for the building of a second larger home to replace the earlier two room structure. Wilson's family including wife and ultimately twelve children lived in the building and presumably helped maintain it. The same railroad advertised in the 1882 Bryant's Almanac:

HOMES FOR EMIGRANTS have been erected at Luling, Sequin and San Antonio, where the emigrant's family can stay until he has provided for the location of his family. They will be supplied, free of cost, with rooms, lights and firewood, and provisions can be purchased at reasonable prices from neighboring storekeepers.

The railroad seemed to believe that such facilities encouraged immigrants to travel on their road and purchase land offered by the company.
The International and Great Northern Railroad with its north/south line through eastern Texas publicized its "Immigrant's Home" in several brochures. In advertising the services of their line, they encouraged the immigrant family to purchase tickets to Palestine, the location of the company's headquarters and its Land and Immigration Department. There, pamphlets stated, the company would furnish "a neat and comfortable house." The immigrant family had only to bring their own provisions and bedding. Families could "rest after their journey" and use the "Immigrants' Home" as "an inexpensive stopping place." The I&GN proudly proclaimed, that the home, "is under the exclusive control of the Railroad Company, is for the benefit of emigrants and their families only, and is under strict order and sanitary regulations." A map for the I&GN included a woodcut of the home with front verandahs of the two-story building filled with people, young and old, under the heading, "Comfort, Free of Charge." Fathers were encouraged to "leave their families for a reasonable time in comfort and under protection, while making their locations." Agents H. M. Hoxie and J. H. Page were listed as the contact people for the Palestine boarders. The I&GN by the late 1870s had a full through line from Longview near the northeast corner of the state to Houston in the south, a distance of 235 miles. They actively cooperated with land dealers in the area to encourage the settlement of the area and the sale of farms. The "Immigrants' Home" was one service they provided future Texans.34

Yet another publication by this company also used a woodcut to give the potential customer an idea of the facilities available to the traveler. In this brochure the "Immigrants Home" has a slightly different look. This woodcut shows a two-story building with a front porch only on the bottom level and a sign on the lower roof stating "Office of the Immigration Agent." However the building looked, the rail company proudly proclaimed its existence and the fact that it offered "free of all cost"
to travelers—"lodgings, fuel, lights, water, cooking stove and utensils." The city of Palestine also must have been proud of this facility, for in booster material for their community they said this home "is especially commended, as it relieves them [immigrants] from the immediate necessity of seeking shelter for their families."35

Not every railroad in Texas built or tried to utilize a special home for emigrants as an inducement to increase their traffic or their land sales. Evidence exists for such immigrant homes by other railroads developing the mid-west in the 1870s.36 Although extensive use by all the railroads is doubtful, the T&P, GH&SA, and I&GN each tried immigrant homes as an enticement practice. If records were kept of the boarders in these many immigrant homes, they have not survived to give us an indication of how many people used the free service or for how long the railroads offered the lodgings to travelers. The provision of free lodgings for immigrants traveling to Texas in search of a new home represents a unique marketing approach used by the railroad.

**Railroad Personnel**

In our effort to define the "constants" in the railroad attempts to attract immigration to Texas, it is important that the individual railroad employee receive mention. An intriguing aspect of this population development into Texas would be the story of the railroad employees who serviced the roads. They worked under a variety of labels: Land Agent, Passenger Agent, Colonization Agent, Immigration Agent, and others. Unfortunately in the lives of big corporations the story of the relatively insignificant employee often gets lost. There is a dearth of information about the agents themselves. To the incoming settler, though, the railroad agent could be and probably was a very significant individual. As in any company, some employees are more accessible and friendly than others. Surely the immigrant came
in contact with all kinds. But the human connection in the railroad story had to be part of the bigger picture.

The various representatives working for the railroad did so for numerous motives, but the bottom line for most must have been salary. These transportation companies needed employees to do the nitty-gritty paper work at the home offices. They needed people at each depot to help coordinate the local business of the road.37 In addition to train personnel such as conductor, engineer, and fireman, railroads employed maintenance teams to keep the trains rolling. Many of these employees were also interested in encouraging the settlement of Texas.

For others their job was specifically to lure immigrants to Texas. As the companies grew in size and administrative need, publicity departments with writers, editors, and secretaries developed. Hundreds of brochures emanating from the many companies were issued from such departments as these. Often railroad enticement literature did not list a specific author. Individual credit for railroad publications was rare.38 A more typical credit for a leaflet or brochure merely read, "Passenger Department of the Santa Fe Railroad" or "Publicity Department of the MKT." But there were people behind the lines of those documents. Their decisions of what to include in copy influenced the shape of those brochures over the years, since literally they provided volumes of written material for potential immigrants to read.

Serving as yet another source of information for immigrants were the individual agents each railroad listed in their many brochures. Over and over again railroads published the names of their agents and then added some phrase encouraging the reader to write a letter to obtain more specific, concrete information. Did potential immigrants ever take this suggestion to heart and write to a railroad agent? We really don't know if this happened frequently. The
persistence by the railroad companies in using brochure or pamphlet space to list such people seems to suggest some success at putting people in contact with people. Maybe however, the technique was included in all these brochures as a ploy to suggest that person-to-person relationship was possible with such a large corporation as a railroad, but that in reality immigrants seldom took the opportunity to write. We can only speculate as to this letter-writing activity. There is some documentation that newspaper editors and booster club people received letters from inquiring individuals. These Texans often reported that they had written people in response to their letters. Whether this happened to any great extent for the railroad agent, historical sources reveal little. Actual letters that might document this activity must have been routinely discarded, if received.

Who worked as an agent for the railroad? What would such a person be like? One recent family history chronicles the life of Thomas Wilson, an English immigrant, who came, lived, and eventually died as an adopted Texan. Interestingly, for a portion of his life Thomas Wilson worked for the GH&SA RR as an immigration agent. While his life may not fit whatever makes up the pattern of a typical railroad immigration agent, his history illustrates some of the activities of such agents for railroads in Texas. Thomas was born in Rosedale, Yorkshire, England in 1846. He worked as a youth in the Rosedale brickyard, was placed with a farmer's family for a time, and eventually entered an apprenticeship in order to learn cabinet making. By 1866 he was in business for himself operating a mercantile store. About this time he took a wife and began raising a family. He and Mary Magson had seven children in the years from 1872 to 1879. Those same years found Thomas questioning the future, as the economy of Rosedale grew weaker and weaker. Rosedale was the location of ironstone mining and smelting, but the exhaustion of the mines gradually diminished opportunities for local residents.39
For whatever reason, about this time Thomas contacted a railroad immigration agent in London, England. That man was Dr. William C. Kingsbury, an agent for the GH&SA RR. Whether Kingsbury made the suggestion or not, about this time Wilson also began his subscription to the *San Antonio Express*. Wilson was looking to his future and seeing Texas as having a part in it. Eventually the GH&SA RR hired him as an agent. Col. Thomas Wentworth Peirce, president of the railroad, interviewed him in New York, and after that December 1877 meeting Wilson traveled to Texas. There he settled first at Eagle Lake, but eventually at Luling on the rail line. His job was to oversee the portion of the roadway from Columbus, Texas, to Kingsbury, Texas, with other agents handling the line to its terminus in Galveston.40

Wilson's biographer suggests that Thomas came to this country with some finances derived from the sale of his business back in England. He received a salary based upon commissions. The fact that when he resigned from the company he owned thirteen farms would indicate he was an energetic worker, both for the railroad and for himself. In 1879 he returned to England on railroad business and at that time gathered up his family, which by now included his eighth child, for the trip to Texas. While Thomas traveled first class for the company, his wife and children made the trip to America in steerage. They left Liverpool for Galveston and then on by rail to Luling.41

The Wilson family began life in Texas as occupants and operators of the "Immigrant House" established by the GH&SA RR. The company had already built such homes at New Philadelphia and Converse in addition to the one in Luling. The Wilson family utilized this home to house their family as well as offering the place as a stop-over for the immigrants. It would seem very likely that Mary Wilson emerged as the "unofficial" operator of the House, since it was in effect a short term
boarding house for rail travelers. She and her older children undoubtedly worked at maintaining the place and providing meals for weary travelers.42

Little else is known about Wilson's job for the railroad. He resigned in 1883, moved his family into a newly built permanent home in Luling, and went into business for himself. He developed several commercial enterprises with the help of his children, including at least two general stores, a furniture store, a real estate business, and a hotel. His experience as a public relations person for the railroad and operator of the immigrant house surely served to help this move into his later personal business life.43

While not much is known about his specific duties for the GH&SA RR, several experiences recorded by his biographer give us an insight into this immigrant-turned-Texan as representative of other immigrants to the state. Early on, Thomas kept in contact with family and friends back in England, both by personal letters and published letters in English papers. Family letters were not frequent, but an 1884 letter from his father Joseph Wilson announced the death of Thomas's mother. The letter included a lock of her hair, other family news, and Joseph's report that "I dreamed on last Saturday night I was at Texas and saw your new house and other houses also so you may know my mind is unsettled but I hope to live in the Lord." But Joseph never came to Texas. No other Wilson family members from Rosedale emigrated to Texas, suggesting that chain migration did not always occur. As immigration agent, Thomas also wrote letters that eventually got published in such papers as the Malton Messenger in England. He kept in contact with Dr. Kingsbury, the GH&SA agent working in England at the time. Also, his public relations work for the railroad meshed with his booster efforts for Caldwell County and Luling, Texas. One of his articles, "Hunting in West Texas," was published in an English journal entitled The Field, on December 6, 1879. His
description of the potential for hunters in Texas has all the earmarks of booster
literature of the time, plus the encouragement that the reader contact W. G.
Kingsbury in London for further information and passage arrangements. A
written connection with others overseas was a common experience for immigrants to
Texas. Sometimes this took the form of personal letters. Sometimes as in the case
of this employee for the railroad, the letters were published for a wider audience.

Other experiences in Thomas Wilson's life tell us something about the
immigrant in Texas. Thomas, although a prominent supporter of Luling and Texas,
also experienced the doubts familiar to most people who make such major changes
in their lives. Questioning his decision to relocate and settle in Texas, a trip to
California helped him quell those fears. While traveling to California he recorded
his observations from Luling to San Francisco. In part his trip was a visit to see his
daughter Mary Ellen Ure and his son-in-law. Also, he wove business into the
experience by noting comparisons between California land and Texas opportunities
and by distributing leaflets extolling some of the land he had available in Texas.
His experience convinced him that Texas was the state in which he wanted to
remain. This view was probably re-enforced when Thomas and Mary traveled back
to England in 1893, visiting friends and familiar places. The trip helped them
ultimately to solidify their decision to remain Texans.

The trip to California may have reinforced all his previous inclinations to
encourage immigration to Texas. On March 21, 1891, the Luling Herald published a
letter from Thomas Wilson under the heading "Immigration to Caldwell County."
He refers to his work at "managing the immigration movement" for the GH&SA RR
in years past and shares his current interest in helping residents of the county
mount a concerted effort to attract newcomers to the county. With continued
optimism about his adopted land, Thomas wrote, "A well directed immigration
movement would bring into our midst a better class of renters, who would arouse to
more activity those already here, and cause them to quit renting and purchase for
themselves homes." Clearly a person who valued real estate ownership, Wilson saw
the importance of cooperative efforts to sell land in the county and improve the
area's economy. Earlier, when fellow Luling businessmen failed to join him, he
published his own circular explaining his lands. That was the circular he
distributed during his California trip. Wilson had always and throughout his career
believed the printed word to be valuable. Back in Luling, he utilized the local paper
to boost the city and its advantages as he proceeded to point to his specific land sales
opportunities. He wrote, "All good people who desire to come here, and make their
homes with us, will find a hearty welcome; but to worthless people seeking a
community to support them in idleness, we will say your room is preferred to your
presence. Stay away." Then adding specifics about the lands he had for sale, he
ended with the encouragement to write him for details. "Never wait until tomorrow
what you can do today," Thomas wrote. Such words reveal clearly his philosophy of
life and his willingness to share that view with others.\textsuperscript{46}

The life history of Thomas Wilson demonstrates an energetic immigrant who
utilized personal skills to encourage other people to move to Texas. He originally did
that work as a paid employee of an aggressive railroad company. Seeing real estate
as a potential money-making endeavor, he then supported his large family through
a multitude of business enterprises. Each one of those attempts, except maybe for
his ill-timed venture into the oil business, in one way or another supported the
continuing movement to attract people to settle in Texas. Obviously not all railroad
agents accomplished what Thomas Wilson was able to do. But then again, most
agents were in a position to make similar contributions to the peopling of Texas. As
more of their stories come to be told, their contribution to the population growth of Texas will be seen.

Railroad employees, in their multiple capacities, helped to populate Texas. Writers and publicity departments issued a constant stream of short pamphlets, maps, and brochures proclaiming the benefits of living in Texas. Construction squads built roadways and maintenance crews kept the lines in shape to conduct business. Conductors met the people and provided positive people-to-people contact. And land or passenger agents worked by mail, brochure, and in-person to coordinate this people movement. While Thomas Wilson serves as an example of this last described railroad worker, Dr. William G. Kingsbury gives us one other picture of a representative immigration agent for the railroad.

Kingsbury may have begun his career as an immigration agent in the official capacity as Commissioner of Immigration in the Texas Bureau of Immigration. In 1874 the bureau's superintendent, Jerome B. Robertson, identified Kingsbury as Robertson's choice for a bureau position. Saying that his "ability, long residence in, and familiarity with the climate, soil and products of the Western portion of the State, qualified him for the duty," Robertson announced Kingsbury's appointment to the bureau's office in St. Louis, Missouri. Others spoke highly of Kingsbury's enthusiasm and hard work. The Texas New Yorker in 1875 called him "the active and efficient agent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration" who "has been the means of distributing information, printed, written and oral, which has been the cause of swelling our population several thousands." George Sweet as editor of the paper gave Kingsbury credit for developing a rapport with the railroads based both in St. Louis and in Texas saying that the roads were "in hearty co-operation with Dr. Kingsbury."47
When the Texas Bureau of Immigration died due to lack of funding, Kingsbury used his connections with the railroads and his developed enthusiasm for immigration to move on to another career in private enterprise. He became an agent for the GH&SA RR, spending much of his time based in London, England. Kingsbury believed in the power of the written word and was prolific at writing letters for publication and communicating with Europeans and Texans alike. Information he provided to the Anglo-American Times in London became an article in the St. Louis Texan when the editors of the later newspaper lifted the earlier article. Thus by his industry, he could turn one moment's work into information for many, varied readers. The Galveston Daily News was a frequent recipient of letters or announcements from Kingsbury. And they used his copy to fill their columns, for his boosterism complemented the newspaper's agenda. One interesting Kingsbury letter was published under the heading "Immigration Work in Europe." Boldly, Kingsbury said in his published letter, "Inasmuch as the railroads of Texas have been often charged with doing little or nothing in support of immigration, I wish to let your readers know what one at least has done...". Sounding a bit defensive, Kingsbury then pointed to his instrumental work at getting over 600 immigrants to travel direct from Bremen to Galveston. He also bragged about his distribution of over 45,000 copies of a pamphlet and map "descriptive of Texas" in Germany, Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Holland. Calling upon Texans to support this effort, he optimistically wrote, "if the citizens of Texas will lend a helping hand by attentions and encouraging the new arrivals, strangers at your gates, and getting them to write good letters home, we shall make it a grand success."48

Using another publicity approach, Kingsbury took the written words of others and collated them for publication by his railroad. About 1878 his company published a fifty-three page pamphlet entitled The State of Texas under his
signature. In reality it was a combination of letters, articles, testimonials, and statistics proclaiming the glories of life in Texas for the industrious immigrant. Kingsbury was also responsible for the publication in toto of Governor Hubbard's 1876 address at the Philadelphia Exposition. His railroad covered the cost of that publication, thus using the words of an authority figure to convey all the positives which the railroad wanted said anyway.⁴⁹

Kingsbury's enthusiastic portrayal of Texas' potential was latched onto by booster publications of endless variety. One of the most intriguing uses of Kingsbury and his railroad work was by Alexander Edwin Sweet. Sweet was a journalist from San Antonio, who in the late 1870s under the name "the sifter" started publishing columns heavily laced with sarcasm. Immigration agent Kingsbury came under criticism several times in Sweet's invectives. Hinting that Kingsbury could stretch the truth, Sweet acknowledged the influence Kingsbury had on immigration. At one point Sweet wrote, "When you see an Englishman in Texas, who looks as if he needed medicine, you may be sure he is one of [immigration agent] Dr. Kingsbury's patients. At least, that is what all sick Englishmen in Texas claim." Sweet went on to write that one Englishman reported Kingsbury giving "a florid description of Texas, how pine apples grew on the prickly pear bushes, and boxes of oranges dropping ripe from the trees encumbered the sidewalks."

Kingsbury's reputation was so solid that a satirist could use his name and know it would be recognized almost state-wide.⁵⁰

Kingsbury and Wilson are but two of the many railroad agents who worked to encourage immigration into Texas. One other name deserves notice here, Jerome B. Robertson. Robertson has already been identified as the second superintendent of the Texas Bureau of Immigration (1874-1876). But evidence supports the fact that he also served as a "Passenger and Emigration Agent" for the H&TC RR for several
years in the late 1870s and that he worked as a land or real estate agent and railroad promoter in Waco from 1880 until his death in 1890. All three men suggest an intimate connection between railroad work and immigration promotion.

Railroads actively advertised Texas as the home for the immigrant. Throughout the fifty years after the Civil War, these transportation companies consistently worked to lure people to Texas. In this chapter an effort has been made to document the work of railroads which can be called "constant" throughout the time frame identified. Several points have been made. First, the railroads believed in the power of the written word and produced large amounts of promotional literature. These brochures often and handily used the "cut and paste" method of construction. Letters, newspapers, and official speeches found their way onto the pages of railroad leaflets. Repeatedly the railroads reported on the existence of state laws affecting homesteads and assumed this would serve to lure people to Texas. In addition they consistently published rate and fare information, included enticements aimed at foreign-born immigrants as well as native-born immigrants and suggested the potential in settling in Texas as part of a colony of like-minded individuals. Their written publications worked constantly to "sell" Texas. Second, the railroads had a huge corp of laborers in the fields, so to speak, people who by doing their salaried job for the railroad worked actively to attract immigration to Texas. Those employees included maintenance crews, depot officials, conductors on the train, publicists with the passenger department, and variously titled immigration or emigration agents, such as Dr. Kingsbury, Thomas Wilson, and Jerome Robertson.

While the railroads presented a clearly focused plan to attract immigration to Texas, their geographical emphasis and the content of their message did change
some over time. Inside the pages of the brochures, pamphlets, fliers, and leaflets, new messages were included for the future Texan. 1) Enticement literature later in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century discussed irrigation and climate in a way quite different than earlier works. 2) The use of experts as knowledgeable helpers in the settlement process became part and parcel of the shift to railroads looking at themselves as educators of farmers in the new procedures for successful farming. Enticement brochures reflect that shift in management's way of seeing their company's work. 3) Interest in gaining a part of the healthseeker's and the tourist trade produced a number of written works aimed at this more exclusive consumer. 4) A more visual change in railroad promotional literature was their greater inclusion of photography to illustrate their work and thus help the potential settler "see" what the railroad and the state of Texas had to offer.

In addition to the new messages inside the covers of the brochures was the newer effort to "sell" portions of Texas not promoted as aggressively in the 1870s and 1880s, i.e. the panhandle, the far western, and the far southern portions of the state. First, let us look at the shift in geographical emphasis and then look at the message inside those new brochures.

The early Anglo-settlement of Texas moved across the land from east to west, also pushing slightly northwestward. Both the antebellum and postwar migrations of people fit this standard trend. Transportation to the state was easiest by water through the Galveston port, although overland trails from Louisiana complemented those transportation pathways. Thus, the lower southeastern portion of the state received most of the immigration, while the eastern counties along the Louisiana border also grew in population. Before railroads, travel by cart and wagon was the standard. As people moved into the state and railroad technology improved, the ties and track of the train companies followed a similar model. As the chaos and
confusion of the Civil War and Reconstruction era faded, the railroad companies then pushed to expand their track throughout the state. In these early postwar years, this expansion meant movement from Galveston inland to San Antonio and towards Houston. It also meant growth of north/south lines like the I&GN through east Texas. Gradually connections were made with St. Louis and there began a profitable two-way trade between Texas and Missouri to the north.52

The 1870s and 1880s were years in which much of this sustained growth occurred. Multiple small lines and spurs complemented and connected other mainline roadways to form crisscross patterns, but most roads were still heavily involved in the eastern half of the state. As population moved into the state and the railroads added track mileage, towns on the fringes were planted and grew, often with the hope that the railroad would soon come to them. Fort Worth and Dallas are examples of these towns. The Houston and Texas Central RR moving northward reached Dallas in 1872, while Fort Worth had to wait until 1876 for the arrival of the Texas and Pacific Railway to their community. The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway reached the north border of Texas in late 1872 with a terminus at Denison. The arrival of the MK&T expanded options in Texas for through travel north/south to St. Louis and Chicago, providing an option to the Galveston route southward.53

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the western portions of Texas opened up to a major influx of ranchers and farmers. The stage for this movement had been set in 1876, when the Texas state legislature took the last remaining territorial portions of the state land and carved it up into fifty-four counties.54 Images of buffalo and Indians yielding to the power of civilized government come out of this one legislative act. And the act did serve to stimulate to some extent movement into the area. In the beginning mostly ranchers pushed into this land
with their herds, but as the years passed more and more farmers sought the fertile land of the panhandle and west plains regions.

This bare overview of railroad development in the 1870s and early 1880s is meant to point to the primarily eastern development of the state and the eastern growth of the roadways. In reality, much Texas land throughout the state still remained to be settled and to be reached by the tracks of steel on wood. Early enticement literature published by the various railroad companies reflects this emphasis on east Texas and also on the east/west dimension of travel from Galveston or Houston to San Antonio. Railroad publications of this time period worked to lure newcomers to those areas of the state where the track already existed. Then a slight shift took place. Railroad publications dated 1888, 1896, 1903, 1908, and 1911 more often than not proclaimed the benefits of farming and settling in the relatively unsettled portions of the state: the panhandle, lands west of San Antonio toward El Paso, the plains west of Fort Worth but south of the panhandle, as well as lands on the far south border of Texas near Brownsville. These places in Texas had far fewer people per square mile than the eastern half of the state. Yet these wide open spaces also had fertile soil and real potential for ranching and farming. In addition to efforts at settling these relatively unpeopled lands, a decided outpouring of publications served to proclaim the advantages for farmers moving to the coastal lands of Texas or back to the eastern counties of the state. The railroads decided to take the message about these places and spread it far and wide. They published a multitude of brochures meant to enhance their railroad's productivity and to depict Texas as the land of the future for the farmer.

Sometimes railroads produced books or pamphlets that were booster publications for Texas in general. Titles like "Eden," An Excursion from New Orleans to the Pacific by Rail, Through Texas & Mexico Via the "Star & Crescent"
and "Sunset" Route and Texas, Empire State of the Southwest and Texas: Her Resources and Attractive Features presented a positive message about Texas without directing the eye of the reader to only one particular spot in the state.56

One transitional leaflet was the above named Texas: Her Resources and Attractive Features. It described various cities along the line of the Missouri Pacific (which at the time included leased lines of the Texas and Pacific Railway among others.) Galveston, San Antonio, and Austin received coverage. These cities were often described in early railroad enticement literature. But then this brochure moved on with various other vignettes of less commonly advertised cities. Weatherford in Parker County received attention for its healthfulness, its wool trade, and its flour mills. In addition the accompanying woodcut showed a farmer on the land with the caption, "January Plowing near Weatherford." Such visuals enhanced the readability of the pamphlet, plus in this case suggested the mild climate to be found in Texas. Abilene, first platted when the Texas & Pacific Railroad reached there in early 1881, was touted by this pamphlet as secure in its existence with population and trade statistics offered as proof. Two far western towns were publicized also. Big Springs was advertised as located near "two great natural wells." A young town only two years old, the railroad brochure praised it for its 1,800 inhabitants and "the best hotel on the line." Colorado City, located 232 miles west of Fort Worth, was described as a tent city in 1881, but a prosperous cattle shipping center three years later. Also, in this far west town, "Agriculture was not thought of at first, but the experiments of two years have been eminently successful, and have proven beyond all question that the soil of Northern Texas is as good as that of Kansas for wheat or any other crop."56 The copy in this railroad brochure clearly suggests the early stages of west Texas development, as agriculture came to be seen as a possibility for land which had been assumed a ranching domain
exclusively. The railroads capitalized on this growing awareness and early population movement. Their brochures then used such information to proclaim and thus advance the idea that agricultural opportunities existed in the panhandle and far western Texas.\textsuperscript{57}

One such pamphlet was entitled \textit{Agricultural Resources in the Pan Handle of Texas} and published by the Fort Worth and Denver City line (FW&DC RR) which inaugurated through traffic between those two cities in April 1888. In the beginning, this line used the tag of the Texas Pan Handle Route. Its early booster literature claimed that the "Texas Pan Handle Route is to be a people's railroad, and the plow and the locomotive are to unite in a common purpose for a common end." The railway acknowledged not owning any land in the area, but nevertheless to having organized a "Bureau of Information and Emigration." This transportation company was in the position of having built a "through" line with its primary goal of connecting Denver, Colorado, to Fort Worth and then ultimately on to Galveston. Once that line was in place, they then turned to advertising the intervening land as ideal for farm settlement.\textsuperscript{58} They placed General Robert A. Cameron in charge of the information bureau. He worked under the official title of "Commissioner of Emigration."\textsuperscript{59}

The focus of this pamphlet was clearly agriculture. The railway company utilized a unique approach. They asked the Hon. James Wilson of Tama County, Iowa, who they billed as "an expert and practical farmer of large experience and known integrity," to tour the panhandle of Texas for two months and report on his findings. In letters written by him to the \textit{Iowa State Register} of Des Moines, Wilson then outlined his observations. The idea of having a farmer from a major grain-producing area of the country make judgments about the Texas panhandle was a new one and it aimed at verifying for the "doubting Thomases" of the world, the
agricultural possibilities of the state. Not only did Wilson write for the audience of the Iowa newspaper, but then of course the republication of those letters in the railroad brochure gave them wider coverage. This fascinating pamphlet ends with the concluding sentence from Wilson. "The farm is the natural place for the family, and Iowa people who will go south for a warmer climate can get homes in the Pan Handle, where conditions for growing what it pays the farmer to raise are favorable."  

West Texas, as exemplified in panhandle Texas, was the object of both railroad enticement literature and booster literature from the people and places in that part of Texas. Ideally the study of a particular area would incorporate the multiple factors contributing to the territory's development and the interaction among those factors. Such interaction and influence upon each other would tend to create a "multiplier effect" making each individual endeavor that much more successful. Jan Blodgett has created just such an excellent analysis which is entitled, Land of Bright Promise, Advertising the Texas Panhandle and South Plains, 1870-1917. She notes the work of the land agents and colonizers issuing forth a stream of advertising meant to lure newcomers into the region. She also gives extensive coverage to the local community boosters as they operated cooperatively to put their town or city before the eyes of others afar away. In addition she credits the ranchers with producing material meant to advertise their lands as they slowly broke up much of their holdings and offered them to agriculturists. The railroads also come due for their share of analysis, because they too participated in this process of advertising the Texas panhandle and plains. Blodgett's work tells the story best and does not need repeating in this pages.  

The activity aimed at advertising West Texas was extensive, as Blodgett portrays in her book. The many railroad systems that slowly but gradually added
mileage in this western portion of the state participated in that advertising. Other railroad companies turned to emphasizing their own particular areas of the state. By the turn of the century the Texas southwest became a target for special publication efforts. The Southern Pacific, utilizing their image-making label--the Sunset Route, published the work Southwest Texas, From San Antonio to El Paso. In this short leaflet, circa 1908, they noted the development in this area saying that as "the older sections of the State become settled up homeseekers and investors are rapidly pushing south and west in Texas." Then they added acknowledgment that there exists "a great demand for reliable information." The railroads saw themselves as dispensers of that knowledge.

They followed this smaller pamphlet with a longer thirty-two page booklet demonstrating excessive booster optimism on its title page. "It offers a man a man's share of prosperity" and "Your opportunity is here, the time is now" were slogans which followed the simple title, Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire. Beekeeping, goat, sheep, and stock raising, as well as dry land farming and irrigation projects were only some of the topics discussed. A trek from El Paso to San Antonio was then described as the traveler viewed the opportunities in Marfa, Alpine, Uvalde, and Lacoste. "Sunshine does it all. Sunshine all the year!" and "In Southwest Texas winter is almost winterless." were statements meant to lure northerners. Putting it another way, the writer claimed Texans in the southwest don't have to "farm against climate" anymore. "Southwest Texas is a land of surprises," stated the publicist, suggesting that if the reader only kept an open mind, he or she would discover the perfect place to build a home.

This same pamphlet tackled the issue of irrigation head on. The topic had divided earlier publicists of the more arid or semi-arid portions of Texas. To acknowledge the use of irrigation was to admit the land was less than a paradise for
farmers. To discuss the potential use of windmills and irrigation could drive away
the person unfamiliar with those newer technologies. Yet to not discuss the value of
irrigation was to doom to failure many farming ventures and thus turn off or turn
away many good farmers. In this particular publication, the railroad defined
"irrigation" in two way. First, they noted very scientifically that irrigation was the
"conveyance of moisture to the soil by artificial means." But then they put it in
human emotional terms by saying, "Irrigation means simply this: The farmer
controls his own rainfall." The ability to plug into the feelings of the farmer, as well
as his rational, statistical side may well have helped the railroad to lure people to
southwest Texas. As they put it in this 1911 brochure, "Southwest Texas Beckons
to the Lover of Growing Things."65

Just exactly what constituted "Southwest Texas" varied depending upon the
writer. One journalist in Kerrville, Texas, used the title for a 1904 brochure of
almost seventy pages. While a private individual published the work, its
descriptions follow the line of the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railway, more
commonly referred to as the "SAP" or the "Mission Route", and reads like a railroad
enticement piece of literature. Cost of publication was probably met by the many
commercial businessmen listed in its pages as well as the advertisements at the end,
including a full page for the railroad. The author knew keenly the importance of
railroads to population movement and shared that with his readers:

The building of railroads into North and North-east Texas in the 70's
causd the tide of immigration to turn thitherward and the
development of the fertile valleys and plains of that section, and the
building of cities there was the envy of the older states. Later the
railroads pushed south and west, entering San Antonio, and the home
of the sacred Alamo began by rapid strides to outstrip the sister cities
of the State.
Such booster language may overstate the power of this later development, but not
ts its existence. In the brochure as the written descriptions moved from town to town
along the route "From the Mountains to the Sea," readers were encouraged to pick
up pen and paper and write to the various enterprising citizens who would be glad to
correspond with potential settlers.66

While it may not be clear what constitutes the southwest portion of Texas,
the phrase "coast country" is more easily defined. A large number of railroad
pamphlets utilized this label in attempts to encourage immigration to the more
southern region of Texas, and they unanimously meant the land extending along the
Gulf of Mexico from the Sabine River to the Rio Grande to a depth inland of about
100 miles.67 The dates on representative brochures indicate the time period of this
specific drive by the railroads: 1896, 1902, 1903, 1906. Two key themes run
through much of this literature. The writers speak in glowing terms of the climate,
and they extol the potential for irrigated farming.

Warm skies, gentle breezes, moderate temperatures, and pleasant sun--these
are the far superior qualities of nature's gift to the gulf coast of Texas. At least that
is what the railroads kept saying to potential immigrants. They address the
"restless farmer of the north" who can come at any season and begin immediately to
farm some crop. Imagine, says a pamphlet of the Southern Pacific, the "days of
December, January, and February drift by, with perhaps an occasional frost to put a
sauce upon the salad of such living, but no truant month slips past without seeing
some crop confided to the ground or some harvest gathered to add to the abundant
store that fills the land with plenty." To top off this description the writer admits to
being a Yankee turned southerner, maybe in full testimony to the importance of fair
weather on relocation. With northern experience he could also make the argument
for Texas sound plausible, when he said, "The winters being winters in name only,
the stock grower does not labor six months in the year to raise feed with which to "carry his stock through" the other six."

Other pamphlets stressed a variety of issues tangential to the weather. "Here we have a country that requires no expensive buildings, where cold weather is almost unknown..." and "No overcoats; very little fuel needed." Comparisons with the North were common.

When you are frozen up and forced to be idle, the Texas farmer is plowing. When you are still frozen up, his crops are half grown--when you are starting to plow, he is harvesting his first crop and getting the high prices that early products bring.[Italics in original]

Obviously in such comparisons Texas won the contest handily."

Good weather thus offered the first prerequisite for farming such fertile land as the southern and coastal regions of Texas. Abundant water was the next requirement. Artesian wells, ditching, and levees were terms included in these railroad brochures of the later era. The availability of rivers, bayous and lakes where water was also obtainable featured in some promotional literature. Railroad-sponsored booklets built around one crop also reinforced this acceptance of irrigation as a valid means to make Texas land bloom. The Southern Pacific published Sugar Lands in Texas and Texas Rice Book, both with an aim at encouraging farmers to think of crops that could be grown profitably in Texas soil, even though the techniques of growing them might be foreign to many northern or overseas emigrants.

Trains carrying passengers and freight helped open up a new part of the coast country to extensive farming--the far southern lands along the Rio Grande River. The tip of Texas received a great impetus for development when the St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railroad moved down from Corpus Christi through to Brownsville. Commonly called the Gulf Coast Line, this road provided inexpensive
transportation, not available earlier. This activity by the railroad between 1903 and 1904 pulled workers into the area and then helped encourage the irrigation of land and production of a widely diverse number of crops as fresh vegetables and fruit became more and more integral to the American diet.\footnote{71}

Yet another area of Texas that received special publicity efforts in the first decade of the twentieth century, was surprisingly, east Texas. As noted earlier, this portion of Texas had grown tremendously during the early phases of the state's development. Railroads had laid track across the territory, moving typically north and south through the region. The booster publications of the early twentieth century assumed the existence of these various roadways as established means to markets elsewhere. Now they concentrated on suggesting new crops and new ways of thinking about the region's potential. The Cotton Belt Route issued a small leaflet with a positive message sometime about 1910. Entitled \textit{Profitable Products of East Texas}, the material explained, "That E in East Stands for Elbertas; That T in Texas for Tomatoes." Since many may have never thought of peaches and tomatoes as Texas crops, this railroad wanted to help farmers see the potential in previously unassuming fruits and vegetables. Their pamphlet reiterated the typical information about homeseeker excursions available on the first and third Tuesdays of each month saying, "After your season's work is over take a run down to East Texas." Sure that once immigrants saw the land, they would be won over to moving to Texas, the flier projected the future saying, "if he once gets a start in East Texas he is on a swift road to independence." Plugging into the old farmer's dreams of self-sufficiency, the railroads surely lured some farmers who heeded the message and moved to East Texas.\footnote{72}

East Texas was also the emphasis when the Houston, East & West Texas Railway issued a forty-eight page brochure entitled, \textit{Industrial Development}. 
Central East Texas. The Fruit Belt of the State. While the title suggests mechanical factories, the inside copy addresses mostly the agricultural production of the region. Twenty pages sketch the counties along the railroad lines and there is a definite "back to east Texas" flavor in the brochure. Referring to the recent Spindletop discoveries, the writer felt on solid ground when he wrote about tomatoes, fruit and vegetables as "An East Texas Gold Mine" that was "Better than Gushers."  

The Texas and New Orleans Railroad put together a ninety-six page book of collated articles by experts for each of the counties along their line. Again as with other east Texas railroads of the time, emphasis was on seeing other options for the farmer who usually assumed cotton was the only crop to grow in Texas. In East-South-East Texas, the pine forests were touted as a true asset. Often viewed as detours to progress or obstacles to be overcome in tilling soil or planting crops, this publication showed the money to be made in the lumber industry. Logging enterprises and existent saw-mills were listed and described, in order to give the potential newcomer a clear idea of the possibilities. Truck farming and chicken raising came in for their share of the suggestions offered. 

A much shorter document of only fifteen pages was written by Norman G. Kittrell for the Southern Pacific Lines. In East Texas, A Land for Homes and Investment, the message included diversification of agricultural products, the potential in the lumbering industry, and the emphasis on family migration. Kittrell wrote, "Every immigrant, whether from beyond the seas or elsewhere, naturally desires to know what opportunities and facilities he will have for the education of his children," and then he proceeded to praise the Texas school system. Mild climate and abundant underground water also came in for some positive statements. 

A major part of this "back to East Texas" movement was emphasis upon the potential for success in truck farming. As with rice or sugar production in the
coastal areas of Texas, truck farming was a type of agricultural work not familiar to most farmers. To those mid-westerners, typically used to growing grain crops, these must have seemed like new-fangled ways to make an agricultural living. Railroad publications attempted to ease some of this concern with various works directly aimed at the truck farming industry. One such effort by the Southern Pacific was entitled Ten Texas Topics by Texas Tillers and Toilers. Almost fifty pages covered the ten subjects illustrated on the front cover: grapes, pecans, tobacco, alfalfa, bee-keeping, fruits and vegetables, fish and oysters, hogs, rice, and angora goats. A later publication by the same road carried the title, Timely Tips to Texas Truckers. Inside, twenty-one different articles by experts in their field extolled the possibilities in growing everything from English peas, celery, okra, spinach, watermelon, onions, garlic, asparagus, and peppers along with many other suggestions. The existence in 1901 of a journal entitled the Texas Truck Farmer indicates that this industry was growing in Texas. The railroads seemed to be jumping at the chance to support such development in the state.  

While the geographic emphasis of railroad brochures may have shifted some over the course of the fifty years between the Civil War and World War One, the goal of peopling the state of Texas remained a constant. Within that constant, the messages inside these various brochures deserve attention as also showing a slight shift over the years. Four specific items have been identified for some special analysis: 1) discussion of climate and irrigation, 2) the use of experts to write material, 3) aiming the message at new markets represented by healthseekers and tourists, and 4) the use of photography. In describing the increasing tendency for railroad brochures to single out a particular section of the state for coverage in a separate brochure, mention has already been made to some of the subjects that became central to those later brochures. For example, irrigation and climate
became prominent topics in the later-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. As the railroads pushed onto the semi-arid lands of the panhandle, far west, or southwest Texas, dry farming techniques and irrigation procedures were included in the railroad's enticement literature for those areas. Picturing the climate as ideal in either location--far north Texas or far south Texas--typical railroad brochures noted the healthfulness of the climate and how different it was from the land of snow and ice in the northern states. When it spoke about the weather, enticement literature of the period from 1865 to 1876 reassured potential settlers concerning the notorious "Texas Northerns." The later material from 1890 forward never mentioned those cold winds of the Texas "northerns." Rather they pointed to the vast contrast between winters in northern states and the more balmy seasons in Texas.

Experts were important to the pages of railroad enticement literature in this later era. As in earlier days, it was still assumed that some authoritative statement from a government official carried the most weight in the eyes of the potential immigrant. However, the background of such experts changed in this later period. The shift went from messages by politicians and successful farmers to discussions of new agricultural technology from college professors and scientists. The state department of agriculture and the corresponding federal agencies issued material that was liberally quoted by the railroads, giving their presentations that aura of authority the companies desired.77

Often railroads evolved Agricultural Departments to supplement their land or immigration departments. Depending upon the specific railroad, the activities of such departments included establishing demonstration farms at various locations along the roadway, hiring of agronomists to talk with and educate the farmers, and periodically making arrangements for traveling cars on the tracks exhibiting various crops and techniques for planting.78
This educational arm of the railroads received some real praise from the nationally known writer, Theodore Dreiser, in a 1900 magazine article. While pointing to some who saw corporations as "soulless," Dreiser wanted to publicize what he called the new policy of the railroads as conveyors of educational knowledge for westerners. His effort at investigative reporting reflects the fact that he was duly impressed by this program of the railroads. He reported that educational departments,
give lectures on soil-nutrition and vegetable-growing, explain conditions and trade shipments, teach poultry-raising and cattle-feeding, organize creameries for the manufacture of cheese and butter, and explain new business methods to merchants who are slow and ignorant in the matter of conducting their affairs.

Then in a sentence full of sarcasm, he wrote, "A railroad paying for lectures on tomato-growing! Shades of Mark Hopkins and Jay Gould!" Yet Dreiser went on to explain the efforts of a southwestern railroad that worked to help farmers near Denison, Texas, learn about the profit to be obtained from growing tomatoes. As Dreiser reported on the horticultural agent's work, he conveyed real pleasure in seeing corporations in the United States doing something specifically helpful to the farmer. He realistically noted that such energy expended by the railroads had the benefit of increasing their road's freightage and thus their profits, but he saw such work as good for both the railroad and the people.\textsuperscript{79}

Publicity departments for the various railroads primarily worked to encourage movement into Texas in such a way as to increase both their passenger service within the state and their freight trains pulling products into and out of the state. As the last years of the nineteenth century passed and the twentieth century began, the message on the pages of some of these publicity items changed slightly as the railroads labored to seek out and address different audiences for their advertisements. One potential emigrant to Texas was the healthseeker. A typical
brochure with this message was a thirty-eight page pamphlet entitled, *West Texas Beyond the Pecos, Her Health Giving Qualities*. This flier was issued by the Southern Pacific-Sunset Route and consisted mainly of reprinted articles by two medical doctors testifying to the benefits of camping, horseback riding, and the fresh air and water to be found in west Texas.\(^80\) Railroad brochures were only a part of this overall enticement message which was broadcast abroad by city booster organizations and private resorts growing up around mineral springs or watering spots.\(^81\)

Yet another potential candidate for enticement literature by the railroads was the tourist. While tourism could not provide major support for a railroad, it could contribute to the profitability of the road. The emphasis on the healthfulness of Texas and stories of the state's beautiful scenery probably also served to entice some northerners to travel to Texas as a vacation spot. Frequently, pamphlets on San Antonio made reference to this possibility, by emphasizing the Alamo, past Texas history, the cosmopolitan population of the city, and the Hispanic element of architecture and culture. Other more specific brochures were aimed totally at the tourist, like the 1911 publication of the Sunset Route entitled, *Louisiana and Texas for the Winter Tourist* or *Texas Tourist Points and Resorts, Along the Sunset-Central Lines* by the same company.\(^82\)

Galahston, early in the twentieth century, became aware of the tourist potential for their own city. The erection of the Hotel Galvez overlooking the beach stimulated the Galveston economy and encouraged similar efforts at attracting others to this city as a resort destination. The *Galveston Daily News* gave the railroads some credit for this development when they wrote,

> The avidity with which the railroads that enter Texas are encouraging development of the natural resources of various places as tourist resorts has been induced by the great success which has
attended these propositions in all the Southwestern cities where they have been properly promoted.

Galveston saw this tourism as good for the state and good for their city. The newspaper also reported on a visit to the island city from A. A. Allen, President of the MK&T RR. He promised help in advertising Galveston, saying the roadway could thus help encourage further growth of the gulf beach. This message must have been music to the ears of Galveston's boosters, and of course the railroad saw this also as a way to make money for themselves. The editor of the News was also sharp enough to see that tourists often turn into permanent residents--residents with money to invest. The "persons who come to rest and recreate will stay to invest and develop what they might never have appreciated if they had not been induced in the first instance to visit the state for pleasure."\(^3\) The interaction between railroad enticement literature, tourism, city boosters, and population growth reflected good business for all and ultimately an additional boon to the state's population increase.\(^4\)

Railroad enticement literature during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth was significantly different than railroad publications in the 1870s. As already noted, the tendency to specialize on a particular geographic area became more common. The material inside the covers also changed. In this later era, discussions of irrigation and climate peppered enticement literature. The liberal use of information from agricultural experts complemented those discussions for the appearance of technological advances in agriculture spurred the growth of a veritable corp of experts to explain these scientific advances to the average farmer. The railroads used the words of those experts to enrich their publications aimed at new farmers for Texas. The railroads also began to give greater attention to those who could use the trains for other than
agricultural pursuits. Their publicity departments developed campaigns meant to lure people to Texas as a pleasing vacation place or healthful resort area.

Another major change in railroad publications for this later time frame was the introduction of photographs. Advertising brochures or pamphlets of whatever kind in the late nineteenth century almost always used visuals of some sort to help amplify their message. In the early years, closer to 1875, these visuals might be simple line sketches or more intricate woodcuts. The subject matter of these engravings and etchings in railroad brochures most typically were pastoral scenes identifying luxurious tree growth, wide varieties of blossoms, and figures of people engaged at work or play in that energizing atmosphere. The fields demonstrated the productive Texas soil while the range scenes had contented livestock munching fresh grasses. Peaceful and serene was the message sent to the potential newcomer. Sometimes portraits of famous Texans were included with the perennial short history of the state included in many of those early pamphlets. Scenes showing ships or trains also sprinkled in a message of access to markets and ease of transportation. The railroads knew the value of illustrating their brochures. They used visuals to entice the potential migrant to Texas by joining the right words with a vivid visual image.  

As photographic equipment improved and the camera went outside the studio, the railroads industriously appropriated this new technology to help spread their messages. Rather than scenes of the countryside though, the camera most frequently went out to the field to document tall corn, hefty livestock, and busy farmers. The photos showed hogs, cattle, poultry, and horses all in the prime of health. Crops such as alfalfa, corn, cotton, and wheat were shown best row-upon-row as far as the eye could see. Close-ups of figs, oranges, tomatoes, and squash were meant to make the mouth water for fresh fruits and vegetables.
Buildings were pictured in railroad literature as well. Some common portrayals included the state capitol building, the Alamo or other missions, the businesses on main street, and representative churches, schools, or residences. Of course if homes or businesses were photographed, the best each location had to offer were the only ones represented on the pages of the brochures. The tendency to show a palatial home of the town's leading citizen and label it "representative residence" was not uncommon.

It should also be noted that one constant visual in almost every railroad brochure was some kind of map. These really did not develop any special sophistication over the years, but typically located the route of the railroad in question and identified stations and towns along the way. Sometimes connecting lines were included, especially as mergers prevailed and larger and larger railroad "systems" evolved. Sometimes linkages with port transportation in Galveston or New Orleans might be demonstrated, but this was more unusual than common.

A detailed analytical comparison of visuals in railroad brochures between 1876 and 1914 would surely produce far more subtle inferences. Such a study would be both interesting and beneficial, but it deserves greater attention and time than possible for this study of enticement literature. However, it can be said that the railroads remained on the cutting edge of technology, utilizing the latest in advertising techniques. This clearly demonstrates their commitment to "selling" Texas.

Railroads in Texas experienced almost a constant year-by-year increase in track mileage. While construction slowed at times when the nation's economy also slowed, it always picked up quickly as the economy recovered from its downturn. (See accompanying table and chart.)
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<td>1920</td>
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The asterisk signifies a decrease

Source: S. G. Reed, A History of the Texas Railroads (Houston: St. Clair Publishing Co., 1941), 517.
A correlation between increased railroad mileage and population growth in Texas appears clear. The statistics of track mileage and state population both show a steady and constant increase between 1865 and 1914. Representative years suggest this parallel growth:

<table>
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<th>YEAR</th>
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<td>1870</td>
<td>591</td>
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<td>8,710</td>
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<td>9,867</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>13,819</td>
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To what degree the increase in one directly influenced the other has not been the focus of this study. To chronicle the extent to which railroads poured money and personnel into enticing people to Texas has been the main theme of this research. The railroads perceived their task whether collectively or individually as requiring an aggressive publicity campaign. Central to the campaign was the publication of written materials that were meant to be produced and distributed widely. The rail lines were not diverted from that primary approach, for even when they tried such unique endeavors as immigrant homes or demonstration farms, these places in turn became also a distribution spot for that railroad's brochures, pamphlets, maps, leaflets, and fliers. Getting information to the potential immigrant kept railroad companies busy producing the kind of written material they felt would lure new people to Texas.
1Representative examples illustrate this point. For "Empire" see: Texas, Empire State of the Southwest (n.p., 1911) Issued by the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad, Passenger Traffic Department; Texas, Houston and Texas Central Railway (n.p., n.d.). This forty-four page pamphlet written circa 1880 repeatedly uses the phrase "The Empire State" in its headings and in its paragraphs. See especially pp. 1 and 2.; For "Winter Garden" see: Greater Texas and the Coast Country: Houston-Galveston District, the Winter Garden, Fourth Edition (n.p., n.d.), front cover. This pamphlet was published through the joint efforts of three railroads referred to as the "Iron Mountain Route." The back cover had a printed address label which gave the Galveston Commercial Association as the return address suggesting the existence of cooperative efforts between railroads and city booster organizations. Also see A Statement of Facts Concerning the Farming Lands and Gravity Irrigation Canal of the San Benito Land and Water Company Which are Located in the Fertile Lower Rio Grande Valley, Cameron County, Texas, on the Main Line of the Saint Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railway (Houston: Cumming & Sons Printers, n.d.). This enticing effort includes the statement on page 33, "This is the Winter Garden of the nation. The Dried Fruit age is past; the Canned Goods age is passing; the "Green Goods" age is here."); For multiple references to use of Texas homestead exemption laws in railroad brochures, see footnote number 12 in this chapter.; For "Eldorado" see: Southern Pacific--Sunset Route, West Texas, Its Soil, Climate and Possibilities. From San Antonio to El Paso (Houston: n.p., n.d.). This brochure, circa 1903 included the phrase on its title page, "The New Eldorado of North America." Interestingly, the same railroad company used the identical image for another portion of the state when it published The Coast Country of Texas, On the Line of the Southern Pacific-Sunset Route (n.p., n.d.). On the front cover of this brochure the main heading read, The New Eldorado, The Coast Country of Texas.


3Mission Route--The San Antonio and Aransas Pass R'y (St. Louis: Woodward and Tiernan Printing Co., n.d.). This document is a one-sheet map. The backside of the map has multiple sections of information. This quote is from section with heading "Statistics of the Lone Star State."

Different observers might give contrasting answers to the question of just how much the railroads influenced a state's development. In delivering a speech at the Third Annual Convention of the Southern Commercial Congress in Atlanta (March 1911), one railroad agent made two large claims. He first said that the railroads "have been the greatest element or factor in the distribution, or the redistribution, of immigrants and those seeking new locations and homes."(p. 969) Then he ended his speech with the phenomenal yet uncorroborated statistic that the railroads "have originated at least seventy-five to ninety percent of the immigration that has been induced into the Southern territory."(p. 985) See F. H. LaBaume,

Apportioning a number to such endeavors is not the goal of this dissertation. Identifying direct cause and effect appears impossible to accomplish. However, most southerners and most Texans did see a relationship between railroads and population movement. And most believed in the efficacy of written material meant to attract those immigrants, whether that material emanated from a private organization or a public corporation like a railroad.

4The complete story of railroading in Texas has yet to be told. The classic account is by S. G. Reed, A History of the Texas Railroads (Houston: Saint Clair Publishing Co., 1941) and Reed claims to have built upon the research of Charles S. Potts in the University of Texas, Bulletin No. 119 (March 1, 1909) entitled Railroad Transportation in Texas. See also Charles P. Zlatkovich, Texas Railroads, A Record of Construction and Abandonment (Austin: University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1981) for a more recent account of railroad growth and stasis. Lee Van Zant in Early Economic Policies of the Government of Texas ([El Paso: Texas Western Press], 1966), a short monograph in the Southwestern Studies series, does a good job of showing the interaction of state government with the growth of Texas railroads in the early years of the state's history. Kate Allen Batson documents railroad growth decade by decade in her work "Railroad Development in Texas in Relation to Population Trends" (master's thesis, Baylor University, 1936), but fails to prove a connection other than to demonstrate the increase statistically for both railroads and population. Cause and effect are assumed parts of her analysis, but not proven. In her dissertation entitled "A Social and Economic History of Texas in the Civil War and Reconstruction Periods" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1963), Vera Lee Dugas provides a strong narrative of the railroads in Texas between 1865 and 1881. A view of railroad growth as seen in 1910 can be found in Dermot H. Hardy and Ingham S. Roberts, eds., Historical Review of South-East Texas and the Founders, Leaders and Representative Men of Its Commerce, Industry and Civic Affairs (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910). See section entitled, "A Brief History of Railroad Construction," pp. 191-215.


The story of land grants and their relationship to railroad building invites further study. Two sources for information on the public domain in Texas are: G. G. Hazel, Public Land Laws of Texas. An Examination of the History of the Public

5The smaller railroad story of each community along a rail line has not often been documented. One fine effort at describing this rhythm of development is John S. Garner, "The Saga of a Railroad Town: Calvert, Texas (1868-1918)," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 85 (October 1981): 139-160. He notes the pull by the construction efforts for the Houston and Texas Central Railway of approximately 250 Chinese workers into the community for at least a period of time. He also points to a 1870 statistic that seven percent of Calvert's population were foreign-born immigrants who had arrived to work on the railroad or open businesses in town. The presence of a lumber yard is noted as a typical "fixture of the railroad town." See pp. 157 and 149. Further research into other communities would surely demonstrate this pull factor between population growth and railroad development.

6One early example of such railroad literature would be Notes on Texas and the Texas and Pacific Railway (Philadelphia: No. 275 South Fourth Street, 1873), 6-7. A later example of city growth attempted prior to the railroad's coming would be the work of Fort Stockton. A sixteen-page pamphlet extolling "An Opportunity of a Lifetime" and "A Million Dollar Proposition" encouraged investors to buy land in the path of the Kansas City, Mexico & Orient Railway. See Fort Stockton, Illustrated, Orient Railroad's New Townsite in Pecos County, Texas, (N.p.: n.d.).

7The Iron Mountain Route was a label applied to a combined effort by three different railroads: the International & Great Northern (I&GN), the Texas & Pacific (T&P), and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern. By 1911 these three railroad companies made an affiliated effort they called the Joint Texas Immigration Bureau. One of their pamphlets identified T. C. Kimber as their general immigration agent located in St. Louis. See Sunny Southwest Texas, Fourth Edition, Iron Mountain Route (St. Louis: n.p., 1911), front and back cover.

8Sunny Southwest Texas, 18.

9For an example of this technique of inserting letters or portions of them, see H. S. Kneedler, The Coast Country of Texas (Cincinnati: The A. H. Pugh Printing Company, 1896), 40-43. These particular excerpts were letters dated April or July 1895, written in response to a circular sent out by C. C. Gibbs, land commissioner of the Southern Pacific at San Antonio. In another case, two adoptive Texans—one from Austria and the other from Wisconsin—tell their success stories. These can be found in Gulf Coasitings, published by the Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fe Railroad (n.p., n.d.). Internal evidence suggests a date of 1907. Many railroad pamphlets and brochures contain little or no publication information. When internal evidence would suggest a date, hereafter this will be included in the citation followed by a question mark, i.e. [?].
Testimonials from the common people settling the state were numerous in railroad brochures as well. See Immigrants Guide to West Texas by the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway (n.p., 1876[?]), especially pp. 35-42.

A slightly different use of letters is a complete pamphlet assembled from letters written to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat by Walter B. Stevens, one of their journalists. The passenger department of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company in 1892 had these letters bound together, to a total of 102 pages, and published under the title, Through Texas, A Series of Interesting Letters. They prefaced the work by saying that Stevens was "a man who sees everything" and provides "interesting contemporary information." This document represents the ultimate in "cut and paste" or total appropriation of another persons' words.

For examples of excerpts from newspapers see, Texas, Houston and Texas Central Ry (n.p., 1880[?]), p. 12 (Waco Examiner) and (Clarendon News); p. 15 (Morgan Sentinel); p. 16 (Calvert Democrat); p. 19 (Brazoria Independent) and (Cleburne Chronicle); Sunny Southwest Texas, 18.

For examples of excerpts from officials see, James L. Rock and W. I. Smith, Southern and Western Texas Guide (St. Louis: A. H. Granger, 1878). Portions of Governor Hubbard's address were included on p. 259 of this rather long book published for the T&P RR.; See R. B. Hubbard, Centennial Oration of Governor R. B. Hubbard, of Texas, Delivered at the National Exposition, September 11, 1876. A copy of this speech was found at the Texas State library, bound in a volume with multiple printed works. No publication information or title page to the sixteen page pamphlet was included, although a one page preface of explanation for the publication was listed as written by W. G. Kingsbury, London, England. Kingsbury was in England at the time as a representative of the GH&SA RR. An additional brochure published by the GH&SA RR utilized the testimony of Englishmen to make a point to the English people expected to read the pamphlet. A seventeen-year member of the British Parliament, James White, wrote a letter to Colonel Thomas W. Pierce, president of the GH&SA RR and it was published in full. Another Englishman, Colonel John James, who arrived in San Antonio from Nova Scotia around 1838 provided a letter of several pages describing sheep raising as did a Mr. F. E. Burr as well. See W. G. Kingsbury, The State of Texas, 3-4, 23-26, 28-29. No title page is available for this copy which was found at the Texas State Library in a large bound book, including multiple other short pamphlets. Thus no specific date can be identified. Internal evidence suggests strongly the late 1870s.

See M. Whilddin, comp., A Description of Western Texas, published by the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway Company, The Sunset Route (Galveston: "News" Steam Book and Job Office, 1876), 92. The front cover of this document has an illustration of the railroad and the title, Immigrants Guide to Western Texas. The book totaled 120 pages and appears to be a longer version of the fifty-four page document published by the GH&SA RR with a front cover title of Immigrants Guide to Western Texas, Sunset Route; FREE!, Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway (n.p., 1877), 9-10; James L. Rock and W. I. Smith, Southern and
Western Texas Guide (St. Louis: A. H. Granger, 1878), 25. This book was published through the support of the T&P RR.; Homes in Texas, on the Line of the International and Great Northern R.R., 1880-1 (Buffalo, N. Y.: Matthews, Northrup & Co., 1880), 8; [James Wilson], Agricultural Resources in the Pan Handle of Texas on the Line of the Texas Pan Handle Route (n.p., 1888[?]); A Description of the State of Texas Traversed by MK and T (n.p., 1892[?]); Norman G. Kittrell, Texas Illustrated or the Romance, the History and the Resources of a Great State. Issued and Distributed: Sunset-Central Lines (n.p., 1911), 22-23 and 29.

Jan Blodgett, in her excellent book Land of Bright Promise, Advertising the Texas Panhandle and South Plains, 1870-1917 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), p. 66, suggests that the state's homestead laws were used as "a rather novel inducement" in a particular brochure published by the South and West Land Company. While land or real estate companies may not have used this approach to any great extent, it was definitely not a novel idea for the railroads. They had seen this governmental provision as a distinct lure for people searching for a sense of security and used the technique throughout their efforts at publicizing Texas.

13Reed, Texas Railroads, 196. Texas may have been treated differently than other western states in regards to lower fares for immigrants. It was not uncommon for western-directed railroads to put "immigrant cars" on their tracks. These cars were no-frills versions of other passenger cars and varied from company to company. One historian refers to them by saying they "bore the same relationship to Pullman cars that steerage aboard ship bore to first class stateroom accommodations." The trains pulling "immigrant cars" often sat at sidings while express trains pulled through thus helping to justify in the mind of the railroad a lower rate. A comparison of west-bound trains of the 1870s and 1880s with Texas-bound trains might illuminate whether such cars were ever used crossing into and through Texas territory. See Oscar Osburn Winther, The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890 (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 123-125.

14The Lone Star Guide, Descriptive of Counties on the Line of the International and Great Northern Railroad of Texas (St. Louis: Woodward, Tiernan & Hale, Printers, 1878[?]). See advertisement next to map.; Immigrants Guide to Western Texas, 55. "Land exploring tickets" is the terminology also used by the Northern Pacific Railroad in its work colonizing the Minnesota region. See Hedges, "Colonization," MVHR, 320.


16FREE!. 27; The Through Car Line, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway, 1879. This is a one-page time table and map with information on the reverse side.; Numerous time tables, smaller in size with less incidental information, were
published in the early twentieth century by this rail line. Other railroads followed a similar pattern in time. The MK&T 1901 time table was labeled the "Katy Flyer" while the one published for 1906 was called the "Southwest."; Homeseekers' Fares to Texas, 1911. Issued by Passenger Department, Sunset Route (Houston: Cumming & Sons, Printers, 1911). This is a fourteen page leaflet of time tables and fare quotes plus information. See pages 9 and 12 especially.


19 Texas, 44.


22 The label Sunset Route was first applied to the GH&SA RR. When it later became a part of the larger Southern Pacific Line the special route label continued to be applied to this line running through the southern portion of Texas.

23 Sud und Sudwest Texas (Houston: Sunset Route, 1906[?]), table of contents and advertisement on last pages.


25 See Texas Via the H and TC, May, 1890, Houston and Texas Central Railway (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., Printers, 1890). This document provides a time table for the railroad, utilizing one side of the sheet for a map and the other side for information showing a horseshoe and a four leaf clover as illustrative of what they called the "Lucky Route."

26 A Description of the State of Texas Traversed by the MK and T, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway (n.p., 1892[?]), 1.
Texas, 36; Lands Originally Granted to the Houston & Texas Central; Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio; Texas & New Orleans; and Gulf, Western Texas & Pacific Railway Co's in Texas (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1892), 17-18.

See Kneedler, Coast Country, 71. This author noted that colonies are not necessary for mutual protection as they were in earlier settlements in frontier or remote sections of Texas. Rather, he pointed to the advantage of having "old neighbors or people with common ties of blood" so that they can "act in harmony in things that pertain to their welfare."

W. C. Holden, "Immigration and Settlement in West Texas," West Texas Historical Association Year Book 5 (June 1929): 66-66. Holden documents the arrival in 1878 of a group from Pennsylvania to Throckmorton County. By the end of the year the colony included 400 citizens. In an example of what might be called "second-hand" immigration, he notes a group of some 400 Germans that arrived in the late 1870s from Indiana to live in Baylor County. See p. 70 of his article.

See "European Folk Islands in Northwest Texas" in Volume 56 of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Review (1983). This volume contains ten separate articles about representative "folk island" communities in the panhandle region. These multiple articles express the diversity of such streams of migration and highlight an intriguing aspect of the development of far west and far north Texas.


Yet another source for a good overview of the colonization movement can be found in the work by David B. Gracy II, "Survey of Land Colonization," pp. 52-79.

For an idea of how one such religious colony evolved see John R. Hutto, "The German and Catholic Colony of Mariensfeld," West Texas Historical Association Year Book 9 (October 1933): 24-34. Hutto suggests an initial contact was made by John Knox, a German immigrant, with W. H. Abrams, land agent for the T&P RR in 1880. This agent, based in Fort Worth, was handling the railroad's land department as it continued to construct track toward El Paso.


John C. Rathbun, The "Cephallanographissiment" or a Truthful Description of the Staked Plain (Midland: Staked Plain Job Print., 1886), 17.
33Francis W. Wilson, Advocate for Texas, Thomas Wilson (Luling, Texas: F. W. Wilson, 1987), 15, 17-18, 26; Bryant's Texas Almanac, 1882, p. 181; Huff in her work "A Study of Work Done by Texas Railroad Companies to Encourage Immigration into Texas Between 1870 and 1890" mistakenly states that "no mention of an Immigrant's House" exists for the GH&SA RR. See page 73 of her thesis. Published documents suggest a different conclusion. Dr. Kingsbury as agent for the European Land and Emigration Department of the GH&SA RR issued a four page leaflet that included extracts from letters. In one of the letters the president of the line, Thomas Peirce, expressed his plans for the future, including the building of a "temporary Home for Immigrants" in Luling while he noted the existence of one already in New Philadelphia. See leaflet in a multi-volume bound book at the Texas State Library, Austin, Texas. No title page was included and thus no specific publication information was available.

34Homes in Texas, on the Line of the International and Great Northern R.R., 1880-1, 6; Texas, the Short Line to Texas is Via the I&GN RR (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., n.d.). This map folded down to a convenient size for carrying in a pocket and was covered with helpful information and visuals on the opposite side.

35The Lone Star Guide, Descriptive of Counties on the Line of the International and Great Northern Railroad of Texas (St. Louis: Woodward, Tiernan & Hale, n.d.), 2-3. This pamphlet also took note of a group of "Grangers" in Waverly, Texas who "are proposing to erect a building for free use by immigrants."(p. 9) The railroad may have hoped that such endeavors would have grown and multiplied across the state.

There is some indication that a few communities did, for a time, establish immigrant homes to help encourage immigration to their area. Bryan in the Brazos River valley area built an immigrants' home using as part of their money, funds raised at a concert in February of 1875. See Elder Grade Marshall, "The History of Brazos County, Texas" (master's thesis, University of Texas, 1937), 107; Valentine J. Belfiglio, "Italians in Small Town and Rural Texas," in Italian Immigrants in Rural and Small Town America, ed. Rudolph J. Vecoli (Staten Island: The American Italian Historical Association, 1987), 33.

For city booster reference see the Texas State Register for 1878, p. 105, article entitled, "City of Palestine."

36Hedges, "Colonization Work of the Northern Pacific Railroad," MVHR, p. 321. Hedges calls such places "reception houses" noting their erection at Duluth, Brainerd, and Glyndon, Minnesota and their ability to accommodate "several hundred persons." Company hospitals, attached to each home, were also accessible to the travelers.

37One example of such a railroad man was E. M. Moore, agent for the Missouri Pacific Railway at the Nacoma Station on the line. W. H. Abrams had personally arranged for Moore's assignment through correspondence with Abram's supervisor in Palestine, H. G. Fleming. It is interesting that when Abrams wrote
Moore confirming his appointment as "agent for the sale of Town Lot properties" he gave him extensive leeway to "negotiate" the final price on the sale of the lots as long as he never sold "below the Schedule unless specially authorized from this office." This letter is in a dated letterbook of the Missouri Pacific Railway Company in the manuscript collection at the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, Texas.

38A few examples of authors receiving credit for their promotional writing in a railroad publication do exist. See The Coast Country of Texas (Annual), a Wonderland Illustrated by W. W. Dexter for the Southern Pacific in 1903; Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire by Allen Maull for the Sunset-Central Lines [1911(?)]; The Coast Country of Texas by H. S. Kneedler for a joint effort by the H&TC, the Texas and New Orleans (T&NO), and the GH&SA (Cincinnati: A. H. Pugh Printing Company) in 1896; Texas Illustrated by Norman G. Kittrell for the Sunset-Central Lines in 1911. Even though these railroad promotions had listed authors, frequently their content included extensive "cut and paste" material by other writers.

39Wilson, Advocate, 7, 10-12. All the information about this immigration agent comes from this one source, which also includes extensive primary documents as appendices to the written account of Wilson's life.

40Wilson, Advocate, 12, 14-15.

41Wilson, Advocate, 17-18.

42Wilson, Advocate, 15 and 18.

43Wilson, Advocate, 18-19.

44Wilson, Advocate, pp. 8-9 (Father's letter); pp. 88-89 (letter to editor of the Malton Messenger); pp. 83-87 (The Field article).

45Wilson, Advocate, 29, 95-111. Thomas Wilson became a naturalized American citizen in April 1892, after first taking out official papers in 1882. See p. 21 of Wilson biography.

46Wilson, Advocate, pp. 112-113 (1891 article in Luling Herald); pp. 95-111 (California trip); and pp. 92-93 (1890 article in Luling Herald).


48St. Louis Texan, March 9, 1878, p. 2; Galveston Daily News, November 11, 1880, p. 4. Kingsbury deserves a great deal of credit for his prodigious efforts and vigorous energy. One of his other endeavors involved working with a London Land Company to set up immigration to Texas through the Texas Freehold Farm and Emigration Union. Participants were to make a monthly subscription to the organization and as money accrued in the treasury, arrangements would be made for selected individuals (by a lottery-like process) to emigrate to Texas and settle on land arranged for by the company. The detailed prospectus with articles of
association, noted the companies interaction with Kingsbury as a representative for the GH&SA RR. He was even listed as one of the six "directors." See Detailed Prospectus and Memorandum and Articles of Association for the Texas Free Hold Farm & Emigration Union, Limited (London: Waterloo & Sons Limited, 1879).

W. G. Kingsbury, The State of Texas. Hubbard, Centennial Oration. Both items have been identified as resulting from Kingsbury's work as an agent for the GH&SA RR.

Excerpts from the Texas Siftings, December 24, 1881 are quoted in a compiled work by Virginia Eisenhour entitled Alex Sweet's Texas, The Lighter Side of Lone Star History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 119. The book has an excellent introduction giving biographical information on Sweet, a native Canadian, but adopted Texan. Eisenhour suggests that Sweet "may have done more for immigration than all the fairy tales put out by the land-rich, passenger-poor railroads of the Lone Star State." His light-hearted journalism does give one pause today, as it must have then, about the many tall tales circulating about Texas. The book, as a compilation of Sweet's work, makes fascinating reading because "the sifter" loved to use sarcasm as a mainstay of his approach to telling the story of Texas. Alexander Sweet's writing deserves greater investigation as an example of enticement literature of the 1870s and 1880s.

The best source documenting Robertson's involvement with the railroad is the Revised Map of the State of Texas, a one-sheet map published by the H&TC RR in 1876. On the opposite side of the map, Robertson is identified as a former superintendent for the Texas "Bureau of Emigration" and an agent "who will give verbally or by letter, free of charge or postage, every kind of information concerning Texas." A copy of this map is part of the DeGolyer Collection at Southern Methodist University. Other contemporary accounts of Robertson's railroad activity include William S. Speer, ed., The Encyclopedia of the New West (Marshall, Texas: The United States Biographical Publishing Company, 1881), 549 and Homer S. Thrall, A Pictorial History of Texas, from the Earliest Visits of European Adventurers, to A.D. 1879 (St. Louis: N. D. Thompson & Co., 1879), 602. For additional biographical information on Robertson see Harold B. Simpson, Hood's Texas Brigade in Reunion and Memory (Hillsboro, Texas: Hill Jr. College Press, 1974).

A connection can be made and illustrated for figures in political life who also served as agents for the railroad. Hedges in "The Colonization Work of the Northern Pacific Railroad," MVHR (1916), p. 317 makes note of a Colonel Hans Mattson, a Scandinavian who served as secretary of the Minnesota state board of immigration and then later worked as an agent for the Northern Pacific railroad. In Texas, one-time Governor James W. Throckmorton served as general land commissioner for the T&P RR with offices located at Marshall, Texas. See Notes on Texas, p. 32. How widespread this was in Texas or throughout the South is difficult to ascertain. That it happened seems commonsensically appropriate.

that a major shift took place as many Texans began marketing their cotton crops northward through St. Louis and thus on to other ports rather than sending it to Galveston for shipping overseas. The existence of the railroads, the telegraph, and a cable system facilitated such a shift according to Ellis. That Galveston remained the number one exporter of cotton, weakens the argument somewhat, but the opening of choices for Texas farmers did materially happen. In the process, routes for people-travel also had developed and so as cotton could move northward to St. Louis, so also could future Texas settlers move southward from that same area and city into Texas.

The MK&T in a 1945 company promotional pamphlet echoed this thought when they wrote that the "roaring '70s and '80s witnessed veritable millions of settlers funneling down the Katy to the Lone Star State." Their expansive self-credit may be overblown but the movement did exist. See The Opening of the Great Southwest, 1870-1945. A brief history of the origin and development of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway, better known as the Katy lines (n.p., [1945]), p. 26.

53Reed, Texas Railroads, 208-209, 364, 376.


55"Eden," An Excursion from New Orleans to the Pacific by Rail. Through Texas & Mexico Via the "Star & Crescent" and "Sunset" Route (n.p., 1882); Texas, Empire State of the Southwest, Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad (n.p., 1911); Texas: Her Resources and Attractive Features, Missouri Pacific Railroad (n.p., 1883(?)).

56Texas: Her Resources, no pagination.

57The arrival of railroad tracks and the accompanying activity typically spurred land boosterism. The influence of a railroad on town building and land selling was reciprocal with the impact of such activity on the prosperity of the railroad. An interesting article identifying this interdependence is David L. Caffey, "We Have the Land: Now for the People, Boosterism in Frontier West Texas," Permian Historical Annual 21 (December 1981): 49-57.

58James Wilson], Agricultural Resources of the Texas Pan Handle Country on the Line of the Texas Pan Handle Route (n.p., n.d), 4. For a more detailed history of the FW&DC RR, which became part of the Burlington system in later years, see Reed, Texas Railroads, 392-405.

59Cameron is another example of the railroad man who enthusiastically embraced immigration promotion. While serving as the Commissioner of Emigration he helped organize the Texas Spring Palace Exhibition in 1889 and 1890. This effort by Fort Worth involved that city's competition with its neighboring community of Dallas as a location for the state fair. Agricultural exhibits from the western region were on display at this exhibit and were meant to entice settlers.
Cameron negotiated for reduced excursion rates to that Fort Worth extravaganza in order to encourage greater attendance. See Garry L. Nall, "The Farmers' Frontier in the Texas Panhandle," Panhandle-Plains Historical Review 45 (1972): 7; and Michael Quinley Hooks, "The Struggle for Dominance: Urban Rivalry in North Texas, 1870-1910" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Tech University, 1979), 201. Cameron also served as a delegate to the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention held at Montgomery, Alabama in December 1888. He was an active participant, making several speeches before the assembled delegates. His interest in the railroad and its connection between Denver and Galveston must have propelled him to become involved in the great effort of this same time to obtain deep water at the Galveston harbor, since he served as president of the Deep Water Convention held in Fort Worth on July 11, 1888. See Galveston Daily News, July 12, 1888.

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[Wilson], Agricultural Resources of the Texas Pan Handle, 9 and 15. There must have been an Iowa/Texas connection in the land sales business for some time. Charles H. Kent, a realtor in Davenport, Iowa, traveled for four months in Texas and put together a sixty-six page booklet entitled, Texas, Lands and Homes for the Million (Davenport, Iowa: Gazette Company, Printers, 1878). In true "cut and paste" tradition, he utilized his own letters, written to the Davenport Daily Gazette during his tour of Texas, to create the final booklet. He also liberally excerpted Governor Hubbards' 1876 address (pp. 45-56). Maybe the connection resulted from the railroad that ran through Iowa for Kent notes his travel on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway system, praises that rail system, but also notes that he was not the recipient of free railroad passes and thus is a purely objective observer of the roadway and the land it passes through. (p. 65) Included in Kent's booklet is an interesting two page section "Opinions of Texas." It is a collation of observations from thirteen members of the Editorial Association of Iowa which had traveled to Texas at the invitation of the MK&T RR. (pp. 60-61) Of course, gracious in their praise of Texas, the quotations illustrate both Kent's successful use of their quotes to further his own land sales pitch and a tactic employed by railroads to get greater media coverage for their companies.

A later Iowa/Texas connection was the Soash Land Company referred to earlier in this chapter. The W. P. Soash Land Company, doing business in the early twentieth century had its home office in Waterloo, Iowa, along with branch offices in such diverse places as Chicago, Madison, Des Moines, Omaha, and Plain View, Texas. Soash's success at marketing Texas land and utilizing the railroad excursion for that purpose was appropriately noted by a contemporary marketing journal. See "Selling Texas Land at Retail," Judicious Advertising and Advertising Experience 6 (July 1908): 24-28.

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Examples of other railroad brochures dealing with the far west and panhandle Texas include: Resources and Attractions of the Texas Panhandle for the Homeseeker, 3rd ed. (St. Louis: Woodward & Tiernan, 1892) as quoted in Huff, "Word Done by Railroad Companies to Encourage Immigration," p. 91. This pamphlet was published by the Union Pacific Railroad the year after that company acquired the FW&DC RR.; Shallow Water Country of Northwest Texas (n.p.,
1913(?)). This twenty-eight page pamphlet was published by the Atcheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway system. The Santa Fe was also responsible for the monthly publication of a newspaper, entitled The Earth. It ran from April 1904 through at least March 1921, according to Steven F. Mehl’s in his “Garden in the Grasslands Revisited: Railroad Promotional Efforts and the Settlement of the Texas Plains,” *West Texas Historical Association Year Book* 60 (1984): 47-66. Mehl’s uses this newspaper extensively in his research and footnotes document this seventeen year run. The Santa Fe also continued to market this far west Texas with small leaflets well into the 1920s with titles like *Panhandle and South Plains Texas* (n.p., n.d.).

Real estate and land companies had a significant part in the development of the panhandle and west Texas, as Jan Blodgett shows in her research. A few examples of such real estate pamphlets which complemented the railroad’s work in that region include: W. L. Agnew, *All About the Texas Panhandle*, Being a brief statement of the advantages and opportunities of the best part of the great Southwest. Referring especially to the famous XIT Ranch, a choice selected tract of land now on sale by the Capitol Freehold Land and Investment Company (Chicago: n.p., 1906); *The Last of the Great Prairie Farming Lands, South and West Land Co., Chicago, Illinois* (n.p., 1905(?)). This pamphlet noted the excursion trains conducted by the Santa Fe for the benefit of this land company. (p. 10)


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64 *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire, Southern Pacific Railroad* (Houston: n.p., 1911(?)), quotations from title page and pp. 2-3.

65 *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire*, 16, 17, and 2. El Paso also received some attention in this later time period from the railroad brochures. One example would be *Facts About El Paso and Adjacent Country*, Texas and Pacific Railway (El Paso, Texas: Hull’s Printing House, 1899).

66 *South-West Texas, From the Mountains to the Sea* (Kerrville, Texas: Published by J. E. Grinstead, 1904), p. 7 and title page.

67 An interesting example of second-time migration relates to this later railroad effort to lure people southward. Terry Jordan in his research on Germans in Texas in the postbellum period documents the migration of Germans in large
number from more northerly counties like Washington and Fayette to such southern areas as Fort Bend County and Wharton County. These were Germans who had already been part of the Texas quilt of ethnic groups, but who responded to the promotional advertising by the Southern Pacific railroad. See Terry G. Jordan, "The German Settlement of Texas after 1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 73 (October, 1969): 193-212 and especially 201. The documentation of these second moves by the Germans can’t help but make us believe this was more common than typically assumed. The high geographic mobility that pulled many people to Texas in the first place also facilitated the not so uncommon practice of moving once, twice, or three times after first arriving within the state’s borders.

68Kneedler, *Coast Country of Texas*, 74-76 and 44.

69The *Coast Country of Texas* (Annual), A Wonderland, Illustrated (Orange, Texas: Rein Litho Co., 1903), 149. Title page identifies W. W. Dexter as editor, but also notes distribution free of charge by the Southern Pacific Passenger Department; *Gulf Coastings*, Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad (n.p., 1907[?]), no pagination; *Texas, Empire State of the Southwest*, 34.

70Kneedler, *Coast Country of Texas*, 44; *Texas Rice Book*, issued by passenger department of the Southern Pacific (n.p., 1901[?]); *Sugar Lands in Texas*, issued by Passenger Department, Sunset Route (Houston: Cumming & Sons, Printers, 1906[?])

A multitude of pamphlets about the coast country reiterated these themes and encouraged migration southward. Some other examples include, *Greater Texas and the Coast Country: Houston-Galveston District*, the Winter Garden published by the Iron Mountain Route, date unknown, and *The Coast Country of Texas* published by the Southern Pacific (1902).

Just as real estate and land companies published printed material in west and northwest Texas that complemented the efforts of the railroads, so also did land agencies in the southern part of Texas. Some examples include: *Sectional Map of Texas/El Campo*, Traversed by the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway provided by the Gulf Coast Land and Investment Company (1909); *Great Rock Island Frisco Lines Through the “Gulf Coast Line.”* This is a one-sheet pamphlet folded five times published by the Gulf Coast Irrigation Company circa 1908; *Facts Worth Knowing about the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* published by the Rio Grande Land Corporation with offices in Kansas City, Missouri, circa 1913. These three documents are from the special collections, map and railroad, of the DeGolyer Library at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Another fifty page pamphlet identified as a "Fourth Edition" has the very long title, *A Statement of Facts Concerning the Farming Lands and Gravity Irrigation Canal of the San Benito Land and Water Company Which are Located in the Fertile Lower Rio Grande Valley, Cameron County, Texas, on the Main Line of the Saint Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railway* (Houston: Cumming & Sons
Printers, n.d.). The effort to show potential farmers the connection between good farming lands, irrigation, and the railroad was obvious and effective.

A short, but effective explanation of the interaction between diversification of agriculture, boosterism, efforts to attract new immigrants, and development of the coastal region is included in "Innovation, Boosterism, and Agriculture on the Gulf Coast, 1890-1920" by Nancy Hadley and Steven Strom for the Houston Review 14 (1992): 113-124.

If extensive promotional literature by the various extremely southern railroads in Texas still exists, this author has been able to study only one scant example, i.e. a few pages from Volume 3 (April 1908) of the Gulf Coast Magazine (Houston: Cumming & Sons Printers) with William Doherty as editor. A couple articles from that 103 page issue include, "Why the Boy Should Stay on the Farm," "Citrus Fruits Along the Gulf Coast," and "The Climate of Extreme Southern Texas." One scholar notes his research in issues of this magazine dating from 1906 through to July 1911. The magazine was established by the St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railway with its editor residing in Kingsville. See Gary Alan Ratkin, "An Economic History of the Rio Grande Valley Sugar Cane Industry, 1870-1922," (B.A. thesis, Rice University, 1963), 101-102. This journal’s publication also parallels the development by the Santa Fe Railroad of its monthly newspaper, The Earth, with publication concerning panhandle Texas between 1904 and 1921.

Studies of this southern area of Texas and the influence of the railroad reinforce the close connection of the two. See for example, the earlier works by J. L. Allhands, Gringo Builders (Privately Published, 1931); Railroads to the Rio (Salado, Texas: The Anson Jones Press, 1960); and Uriah Lott (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1949). See also J. Lee Stambaugh and Lillian J. Stambaugh, The Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1954). One scholar demonstrates the importance of the sugar industry on valley development. This too depended eventually upon good transportation systems. See Ratkin, "An Economic History of the Rio Grande Valley Sugar Cane Industry." Two more recent studies illuminate the importance of the railroad and its interaction with Blacks, Mexicans, and Anglos. See Armando C. Alonzo, "A History of the Mexicans in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas: Their Role in Land Development and Commercial Agriculture, 1900-1930," (master's thesis, University of Texas--Pan American, 1982) and George O. Coalson, "The Building of the Railroad to Brownsville, 1903-1904," South Texas Studies (1990): 37-53.

Profitable Products of East Texas, Orchards and Gardens, Cotton Belt Route (St. Louis: Security Printing Co., n.d.), p. 3 and inside back cover. The Cotton Belt Route was the common name for the roadway that began in Tyler, Texas and at one time was called the St. Louis Southwestern Railway Company of Texas. Because of its location, it became an important connecting railroad to the Southern Pacific line. See Reed, History of Texas Railroads, 412-422.
Industrial Development, Central East Texas, the Fruit Belt of the State, published by the Passenger Department, Houston East & West Texas Railway (Houston: n.p., 1902), 38.

East-South-East Texas, On Line of the Texas & New Orleans Railroad (n.p., 1906[?]).

Norman G. Kittrell, East Texas, A Land for Homes and Investment, compliments of the Southern Pacific, Texas and Louisiana Lines (Houston: Cumming & Sons, 1915), 12.

Ten Texas Topics by Texas Tillers and Toilers, presented by the Passenger Department of the Southern Pacific--Sunset Route (Houston: n.p., 1903[?]); Timely Tips to Texas Truckers, issued by Passenger Department, Southern Pacific--Sunset Route (Houston: n.p., 1910[?]); C. W. Raines, ed., YearBook for Texas (Austin: Gammel-Statesman Publishing Company, 1902-1903), Volume 1, p. 158.

The Cotton Belt Route published Texas Farm, Fruit and Garden Lands, Opportunities for Homebuilding in the Chosen Field of Diversified Agriculture, Along the Cotton Belt Route (n.p., 1907[?]) This small pamphlet pointed especially to the fact that the potential settler need not wait for a special time of the year to visit because agricultural activity was constantly taking place. They encouraged their readers: "Get Acquainted with Texas."

Sometimes private land companies produced fliers boosting the advantages of homes in their area. Frequently they pointed to the railroads traversing these grounds and thus reinforced the power of the railroads to help pull in settlers. One such flier by the East Texas Land and Immigration Company of Palestine, Texas printed the following phrase on its back cover, "A Home Fit for a King and a Princely Income is in East Texas along the I. & G. N. for You." They stressed that this area was in the "Great Fruit and Truck Belt" of Texas. See Farmer's Dream Realized! (Palestine: Palestine Printing Co., n.d.).

Patrick J. Brunet, "'Can't Hurt and May Do You Good': A Study of the Pamphlets the Southern Pacific Railroad Used to Induce Immigration to Texas, 1880-1930," East Texas Historical Journal 16 (Fall 1978): 38-39. This analysis of brochures specific to the Southern Pacific makes some interesting observations about itsenticement literature. Based upon eighty pamphlets issued by this one railroad, the effort is quite comprehensive. Also, the conclusions that can be drawn from one railroad company's publications fit fairly comfortably when applied to other large rail lines.


Even while railroads published their own brochures, they also advertised in publications meant for the healthseeker audience. For example, the MK&T RR advertised in a 200 page book entitled American Climates and Resorts. This work included articles on such Texas resort cities as Galveston, Kerrville, Austin, Waco, and San Antonio in addition to an article on "The Llano Region, Texas." The placement of the MK&T ad next to the article, "Vacant Lands in Texas" shows excellent marketing skills on the part of the book's editor. See American Climates and Resorts. A Reprint from July, 1893 to July, 1895, Comprising Proceedings of the World's Congress of Medico-Climatology, Held in Chicago, May 29 to June 3, 1893. A. F. McKay, M.D., editor (n.p., 1895).

A good secondary source on the healthseeker movement is Billy M. Jones, Health-Seekers in the Southwest, 1817-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967). This overview of the southwestern region of the United States puts Texas within that overall movement.

Just how successful enticement literature was at attracting healthseekers might be indicated by an 1909 article in the Journal of the American Medical Association entitled "Consumptives Unwelcome in Texas." The article served notice that so many consumptive patients had moved to Texas that the state was "no longer able to cope with the tuberculosis situation" according to Dr. W. M. Brumby, state health officer. See JAMA 52 (April 3, 1909): 1118.

Louisiana and Texas for the Winter Tourist, Sunset Route (n.p., 1911); Texas Tourist Points and Resorts, Along the Sunset-Central Lines (Houston: n.p., n.d.). This second work is a thirty-two page comprehensive listing including such places as Seabrook, Port Lavaca, Del Rio, Fort Davis, El Paso, and Cloudcroft. It also included a list of hotels in those various locations. The front cover illustrated the pamphlets subtitle of "Mountains, Country, Seashore" with a charming image of mountains leading to horse back travelers on the plains, to picnickers on the beach.


A unique effort coordinating a plan by Galveston and the Southern Pacific Railroad was the Northern Settlers' Convention held in Galveston from April 21 to 23, 1905. According to a souvenir programme from that event it was meant to be a yearly meeting and was arranged by the Land and Immigration Department of the Sunset Route. See Programme at the Center for American History, Austin, Texas; at the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; and the Texas Seaport Museum, Galveston, Texas.

Representative pamphlets that best illustrate the use of pre-photographic visuals include: Texas: Her Resources, passim; Texas, passim; Whilldin, A Description of Western Texas, passim; Homes in Texas, on the Line of the International and Great Northern R.R., 1880-1, passim.
For representative pamphlets that illustrate photography of the field see: *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire*, passim; *The Coast Country of Texas*, passim; *Texas, Along the Line of the Texas & Pacific Ry* (Dallas: n.p., n.d.), passim.

Of particular interest to this author are the photographs depicting blacks as workers in the field or as sharing the spotlight with produce of the field. Pictures of Japanese rice farmers and Mexican field workers can also be found in photographs used for railroad brochures. Field pictures also show women as laborers. These groups—women, Mexicans, Blacks—are not represented in the written descriptions nor included in any significant way within the material of enticement. What is their purpose in the brochures? How were they viewed by prospective users of the railroad? Why were the marginalized people included visually, but not in words? These kinds of questions deserve greater research. For representative railroad brochures see: *The Coast Country of Texas*, pp. 3, 9, 37; *Southwest Texas, An Agricultural Empire*, pp. 6, 9, 24; *East-South-East Texas, On Line of the Texas & New Orleans Railroad*, p. 4.

The statistics presented are a combination of track mileage from Reed, *Texas Railroads*, 517 and population numbers from *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Connecticut: Fairfield Publishers, 1965).
Chapter Eleven -- Galveston, Texas: The Development of an Immigrant Port on the Gulf Coast

Galveston has long been an immigrant port. People used the natural harbor on the west side of the island for that purpose throughout the Anglo settlement of Texas, from the period of the Texas Republic onto the statehood era and into the Confederacy. Sometimes the immigrant came by ship directly from Europe. More typically the foreign born arrived second hand, after first stopping at such places as New York, Boston, Baltimore, or New Orleans. Travel by water, the most economical means available, also enticed people living in the other states of the Union. Coast-wise steamships proliferated and entered the market, carrying passengers as well as freight.¹ These ships landed in several places along the Texas coast, but by far the majority used the Galveston harbor as their port of entry.

As Galveston developed into the state's premier port, she publicized to shipping businesses far and wide. Laying heavily upon the back of the cotton bale, traffic grew steadily through the port. As shipping lines vied to service the exporting of cotton, roadways in the water evolved into regular transportation lines with northern ports and European destinations. Their central focus on commerce and transportation linkages propelled the city to seek bigger and better harbor facilities. The marketing associated with the wharves and ships supported movement of "things" in the form of products of the field, raw materials, and manufactured goods. The city's energies catered to the needs of the shipping and receiving of products. Human travel took a back seat to this freightage in terms of volume and in terms of the city's interest. Yet in the larger picture of Galveston's commercial aspirations for its port was the hope to develop its potential as an
immigration destination, a hope that was fulfilled in the decade and a half before World War I.

The movement of people through Galveston contributed to the growth and advancement of Texas as a young state. The use of the preposition "through" is deliberate here, because Galveston did not view itself as a final destination for homeseekers. It was not an industrial city with factories that needed large numbers of laborers. Galveston viewed itself as the funnel for goods and people into and out of the state. It understood its role to be the great transportation and commercial hub of the state. And it worked diligently to be that distribution point. Funneling people and products into and out of the state was her main objective.

"Come to Texas!" the enticement literature from 1865 to 1914 repeated again and again. Pamphlets proclaimed, we have land that needs to be "tickled by the hoe." The sun shines on the hard work of the farmer, said many a booster brochure. How does Galveston fit into this larger picture of efforts to encourage immigration to the state? What specifically did Galveston contribute to this very concerted effort on the part of Texans to bring newcomers to Texas? First, she continued throughout this period to serve as a major access point for newcomers to the state. She did not expend energy on developing specific facilities for disembarking passengers or promoting extensive procedures for moving people across the docks. There was an assumption that the flow of people was a natural, sporadic, and incidental aspect of the port's tremendous activity. Unlike the inland railroad system, which labored long and hard to entice newcomers to fill up the vast spaces of Texas's farm and ranch lands, Galveston and its port businesses did not produce hundreds of pamphlets, maps, and brochures extolling their services for immigrants.

If Galveston did not perceive the need to produce such written material, what approaches to improving their city and Texas did the city's citizens take? Primarily,
they poured their individual and collective energies into exploiting their crucial resource--the natural harbor. To their way of thinking anything helpful to improving the harbor and port would be helpful to everything else they might hope for the city. Thus, the story of encouraging immigration into and through Galveston parallels the development of efforts to obtain deeper harbor channels for ocean-going vessels. As a deep channel became a reality in the mid-1890s and as migration from Europe to the United States reached peak years, then Galveston turned to more focused efforts at improving the city's image as a point of entry for foreign-born immigrants. Those efforts included the building of a federal immigration station and the evolution of citizen-driven organizations to help the newly arrived immigrants during their stay in the city. The story of harbor improvements must be told first, then a narrative of events specifically involving Galveston as an immigrant port can be related. It is essential to keep in mind throughout the chronicling of harbor changes, that a steady stream of individual people arrived at the Galveston wharves and typically moved on to the hinterlands of the state. The movement of people continued throughout all the negotiations, arrangements, and political maneuverings that resulted in improvements aimed at making Galveston a first-class port.

Life in Galveston has always been dominated by its relationship to the ocean. The struggle for deep water in Galveston harbor began early and continued throughout the later half of the nineteenth century. Reaching a channel depth over the bar of twenty-five feet in 1896 finally put Galveston well within the mainstream of ocean-going commerce. Improvements in Galveston's harbor and port depended primarily on the infusion of money from the federal government for its growth. There had been a few times when the city tried to raise funds on its own and implement dredging operations, but these had been stop-gap measures and
unsuccessful in the long range. For example, in 1869 Galveston formed a Board of Harbor Improvements that solicited subscriptions from merchants and businessmen. They raised $15,000 to deepen the channel from nine-and-a-half feet to eleven-and-a-half feet. Understanding their limitations, the fledgling Galveston Chamber of Commerce submitted a Memorial to the Congress of the United States in 1870 begging for help on the improvement of "the Channels, Bars and Harbors of Galveston Bay." Knowingly they addressed their concerns as an unreconstructed state appealing to a Congress "in which Texans have no voice or representation."

But their language reflected the panic they felt at that moment. They stated that there is "great peril to Galveston Harbor, from its tendency to rapid closure" and "earnestly" appealed for an "immediate appropriation." Within the wording of the memorial lay a hint of the future direction of appeals to Washington. They argued that Galveston harbor improvements would benefit all of Texas and indeed all of the trans-Mississippi West. Tucked in one small paragraph was the statement:

In addition to this vast servitude of Galveston Bay, we must add all that portion of the trade of the Rocky Mountain States, soon to teem with population, which is bound across our American desert toward the sea.

The River and Harbors Act of July 11, 1870, provided $25,000 for Galveston's harbor. This was supplemented in subsequent years; for example, an additional $25,000 was provided on March 3, 1871.³

It is important to note that this memorial to Congress and most work in subsequent years was city driven. It was not the state of Texas that pursued deep water, but the local municipal contingent. Galveston and its business leaders provided the driving force for this endeavor. One student of the port's history stated, "In custom, in practice, and in law, the city became caretaker of the port. The port had given rise to the city, and together their fate hung." A variety of publications of
the time reflect this sense of Galveston shouldering the responsibility for growth of the port, in both commercial and immigrant trade.4

The fate of Galveston as a viable commercial port also depended upon the growth of railroads in the state and rail connections with the island. The detailed story of railroad/port interaction has yet to be told, but the citizens of Galveston eagerly anticipated changes in the railroad industry. Railways were a major business investment of the nineteenth century. Galveston investors heard from many would-be railroad men. One civil engineer, Caleb G. Forshey, presented his visions for a Galveston, Houston, and Great Northern Railroad to the mayor of Galveston and others in an 1866 pamphlet. He dreamed of a great system of roads "that shall in time tie together with iron bands the industrial interests of our great trans-Mississippi territory" and, of course, benefit the port city. By 1870 this same Forshey was a member of the Galveston Chamber of Commerce and surely continued to point to the city's railroad needs. In the early 1870s municipal leaders appointed a Citizens' Committee on Internal Improvements. Their chairperson, Colonel J. S. Thrasher, headed a list of prominent Galvestonians that included W. L. Moody, N. B. Yard, W. Jockush, and A. C. McKeen among others. They selected a civil engineer by the name of S. H. Gilman to conduct a study for them. Asking for up-dated facts, their goal was to "enable each individual to judge for himself in what course of action his interest and that of the city at large lays." In seventy-six pages, Gilman strongly encouraged the Galvestonians to act on the issue of railroad development and thus enhance the growth of the city. He saw the interrelationship of port to railroad as well. Gilman's enthusiasm was reflected in one of his concluding statements: "Galveston harbor can, must, and will be opened within three years to admit steamers up to the wharves drawing twenty-five feet of water." Later he wrote, "The interests of every person in the State demand that our harbor
be made as deep, and as cheap in port charges, as any other." What he foresaw as happening in three years did not take place for more than twenty years, but his written treatise did seem to move Galvestonians to interest in railroad building.5

The linking of rail and water routes remained central to Galveston and its business community. This issue came to the fore concretely in the spring of 1882 when C. P. Huntingdon visited the city. He was there checking on possibilities for his huge Southern Pacific railroad system and its Texas and Mexico connections. Competition between New Orleans and Galveston was part of the debate, and Huntingdon in sharp businesslike manner told the Galvestonians that they needed to get twenty-five feet of water over their bar and do it soon to insure excellent rail projections to the island. An earlier letter in November 1881 to William Jones, a Galvestonian, from the president of the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio Railway Company stated flatly, "the only doubt about Galveston being the terminus of the Pacific trade is the question of deep water."6

While railroads and railroad building remained a concern throughout the development of Galveston, the city was primarily interested in its harbor and its facilities. After the 1869-1870 local efforts that eventually resulted in some federal appropriations, Galveston learned to turn to the national government for continuing support. The river and harbor bills down through the years have been the focus of growing lobbying efforts in the federal congress with the expectation of grand, log-rolling rewards. The 1870 bill included separate appropriations for 89 different locations. The next year 112 locations received aid, and in 1872 the number was up to 146. As federal assistance for internal improvements expanded, Galveston's efforts to obtain a portion of that congressional pie continued and intensified.7 She was given money sporadically through the 1870s and into the 1880s. In March and August of 1882 the city benefited from appropriations, but the 1883 river and
harbors bill did not make it through Congress. In response to that perceived crisis resulting in no further moneys for Galveston, a deep water committee formed on the island in October 1883. The Committee began hasty negotiations to get a plan adopted to keep dredging and work on the channel moving along. They succeeded in raising some money, but the channel and bar were not appreciably improved.\(^8\)

The *Galveston Daily News* in true booster tradition always covered port commercial activity with its regular comments on the comings and goings of vessels and freight. The newspaper was the city's most vocal booster. At this critical point in time, the *News* published an exclusive edition supporting harbor interests. In 1884 the paper advertised the coming of a "Special Deep Water Edition" that would be "devoted to the deep water interests of Galveston and of the vast interior trade which naturally seeks an outlet at this port." One of its goals was to "fix attention upon the national character of the deep water problem," claiming it was not a local issue only but a "national question."\(^9\) The special edition came out on December 1, 1884, and was packed with information from over eleven states and the U.S. territories. Each western state and territory had amassed statistics and descriptions of its land that were meant to show their specific needs for a deep water port.

Embedded within all the information of this special edition was editorialized support for a new scheme suggested by Captain James B. Eads--whereby he proposed to deepen the Galveston channel to a full thirty feet, charge the government $7,750,000, and guarantee his work. Despite the newspapers' support through its columns plus positive encouragement throughout Texas, the Eads proposal failed to be approved by Congress.\(^10\) One plus in the congressional debate about Galveston's harbor and the Eads proposal was a report submitted by Joseph Nimmo, Jr., Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Nimmo had been requested by
Secretary of the Treasury Charles J. Folger to provide information about the proposed improvement of the harbor at Galveston. Nimmo submitted an extensive report that concluded the need was great and that Galveston could be a "first-class harbor," though at present it could only handle vessels drawing no more than 13 1/2 feet of water. Included in the appendix to the report were letters written at the request of a Nimmo inquiry from railroad men suggesting the importance of the harbor to the railroads and to immigration. For example, an officer of the Missouri Pacific wrote that "when immigration from Europe to Galveston is made easier by a deep-water channel," our railroad will benefit. And he noted, "Direct immigration from Europe to Texas would be of immense advantage to the development of the State."11 Despite these government reports, suggestive proposals, and boosterism, a la the News, not much was done towards deepening the port channel. Galveston was still left with no money for harbor improvements. Thus there followed a long financial dry spell from 1882 until August 5, 1886, when $300,000 was finally appropriated for "continuing operations at outer bar" in Galveston harbor.

Possibly that dry spell provided the spark to get things moving toward deep water, but there were also a number of other circumstances that seemed to jell at the same time. Commercial activity in the port was increasing.12 Cotton and other crops increasingly found their way to the Texas coast for transport to European markets. A new board of army engineers arrived in Galveston in January 1886 and began to see harbor improvements with a fresh eye. Construction of jetties to help minimize shifting sand had always been part of the overall plan. But now stone in large quantities and at a reasonable cost became available from inland Texas for use on jetty construction.13 The development of the New West with railroad transportation east and west across the expanses to California also entered into the picture at this time. As these new areas opened for settlement, farmers and growing
towns found themselves very concerned about the lack of cheap and fair transportation facilities. Frustrated with eastern and midwestern outlets, they began to look to the Gulf of Mexico and the Texas coastline.\textsuperscript{14}

With all of this in the wind, a December conference held in Dallas in 1887 served as the catalyst for ultimate deep water in Galveston Bay. That assembly had as its stated purpose "to consider means of effecting an influx of immigration and capital to Texas."\textsuperscript{15} A committee of seven had met on December 3, 1887, developed a set of resolutions, and then issued a call through the newspapers of the state for an Immigration Convention of Texas to be held later in the month on the twentieth and twenty-first. Galveston citizens met at their cotton exchange on Friday, December 9, and held an animated discussion about the relevance of Galveston's participation in the convention. Seeing the "importance of immigration to Texas" as a "self-evident proposition," they appointed eight men as a committee to represent the city. The list included R. G. Lowe, W. L. Moody, John D. Rogers, M. Lasker, H. M. Trueheart, John Focke, E. T. Flint, and J. M. Skinner—all businessmen on the island.\textsuperscript{16}

As the date for the convention moved closer, the \textit{News} reported from Dallas that the issue of railroads and some potential conflict between the people of Texas and the railroad men had been rumored. One interviewee discounted this supposed tension by saying that "Cities can not grow nor the population and wealth increase very fast without immigrants and the railroad." The impetus for the immigration convention definitely contained a strong element of railroad men, business interests, and land developers. They held the belief that when their interests were met, all would benefit.\textsuperscript{17}

This same \textit{News} article in the December 13, 1887 issue addressed the problem of false stories that circulated abroad about Texas. Noting that some
people held negative views of Texas due to inaccurate information, the paper pointed to the value of good information from appropriate official individuals. Reference was made to Governor Hubbard's address at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, wherein he dispelled negative criticism and conveyed a "correct impression" of the state. "Some of the biggest railroad officials of the state used it as immigration ammunition, and in a pamphlet form distributed the same all over the eastern and middle portion of the United States and in Europe," according to the News. Written documents were an integral part of railroad endeavors to improve the profitability of their lines. Often "ready made" materials were appropriated and used effectively as in this governor's address. The Galveston Daily News used its columns repeatedly to spur Galveston and communities state-wide to greater activity and involvement in bringing immigration to Texas. The newspaper did this as well by reporting on this special Dallas convention.

The enthusiasm generated by the Convention jumped from the pages of the News in its December twenty-third article. With a headline of "Immigration is Imminent. The Dallas Convention a Success," the paper had only praise for the work of the convention. Prominent Galvestonian W. L. Moody served as Chair of the Committee on Resolutions. Provision was made for a committee of thirty-one members to be known as the State Immigration Committee of Texas. Each senatorial district would have one member who would serve for a year, receive no salary, but have his expenses covered by his district. The duties of the committee included meeting with "railroad authorities of the different systems...having connections into the State of Texas" to arrange for the "best possible rates...for prospectors, excursionists and immigrants into and through Texas in every direction." The committee was also to develop a plan for local organizations in each county of the state. This plan would incorporate equal contribution of funds so
that each county could share "in all advertisements, statistical reports or other printed matter published by or with the authority of said committee." The report stated, "It is the purpose of this organization to induce, by a truthful representation of the advantages and resources of Texas, the investment of capital in the State and the immigration to the State of all law-abiding people who may be seeking new homes,..."22 The report was accepted unanimously by the convention.

The official proceedings of the convention state that after some further business, a Mr. Browning submitted a series of resolutions relating to a seaport. This man was not part of the Galveston delegation. There is no indication anywhere in the proceedings or in the newspaper account of the convention, as to who this man was or what part of the state he represented. The proceedings record only the comment that "Mr. Browning said he had come from a country that needed immigrants...."23 Part of his resolution stated that Texas was "without a seaport[sic] of sufficient magnitude" and that "the agricultural and pastoral interests of the State have been retarded in a very large degree," and "the cotton growers" and "grain growers" had been burdened by the lack of a first class port. He criticized the federal government and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for wasteful and inefficient port efforts in the past. Then restating the purpose of the convention as one of bringing people of "honest labor and honest energy" to Texas, his resolution concluded,

that the Texas delegation in Congress be urgently requested to unite their efforts in that body for the purpose of securing deep water on the Texas coast at one point, that point to be the most available according to the best lights before them and according to their best judgment, but to unite in a common, practical way to attain the desirable end.24

John T. Brady of Houston moved the adoption of these resolutions, saying he had the whole Houston delegation behind him and that they were all tired of "government appropriations by driblets."25 The resolutions were adopted
unanimously. In this fashion concerns for immigration and for a deep water port on the Texas coast joined together.

The Galveston Daily News made several interesting observations after the conclusion of the convention. It reported that many benefits came from the assembly—listing "enthusiasm imparted to each delegate" as one and the "acquaintance made between the sections of the state" as another. When the Galveston delegation returned home its members reported to a citizen's meeting at the cotton exchange. Colonel Moody encouraged the formation of a Galveston Immigration Committee, and this proposal was seconded by Henry Martyn Trueheart. Trueheart was in the real estate business on the island and also the designated representative from the tenth senatorial district to the State Immigration Committee. The participants at this citizens' meeting eventually decided to wait for the formal organization of the county chapter until the executive committee of the State Immigration Committee met in Dallas on December 29, 1887.

The main business of the December 29 executive committee meeting in Dallas was to negotiate with the railroad people for improved transportation accommodations for immigrants. Believing that people would come to look for land and to settle if they had inexpensive rail rates into and through the state, the immigration committee fought for a cheap immigrant rate. The railroads as a group felt that request was asking for too much, but they agreed to set up immigration excursion cars beginning in January. These cars would allow prospective settlers to see the land and then go back and make arrangements to come to Texas "in the fall, which is the season for immigration." This compromise seemed to meet the Texas need expressed by J. P. Smith for "living witnesses" of the greatness of Texas for settlement. The railroad representatives also offered to distribute free of charge any
written material or pamphlets that the immigration committees might produce, thus facilitating the distribution of information on Texas.28

The Galveston people were supportive of the efforts to negotiate with the railroads, but their main interest was rewarded in the work of the following year when deep water conventions were held in Fort Worth and then in Denver, Colorado. The interconnectedness of the deep water and immigration issues is illustrated by a January 10, 1888, meeting in Galveston. Henry Martyn Trueheart was scheduled to present the State Immigration Committee's goals and encourage the establishment of the Galveston County Immigration Committee. He did make his report, but only after playing second place at that citizen's meeting when the chair, Mr. R. S. Willis, said he first wanted to announce the membership of the newly formed deep water executive committee. Among the list of six members on the deep water committee can be found the names of Colonel W. L. Moody and R. G. Lowe, both recent members of the convention in Dallas for immigration.29

A deep water port, somewhere on the Texas coast, thus became during 1888 a major interest state-wide. Federal appropriations had begun again to flow into Galveston harbor, with $500,000 provided for improvement of the entrance to the harbor and another $100,000 for the ship channel in the bay.30 Throughout this time small appropriations had been made for other areas along the Texas coast, and there was some interest by those local communities in developing port facilities to improve their commerce.31 Galveston, of course, saw this as competition for federal moneys. Nonetheless, the island businessmen seemed to feel confident that the physical nature of their harbor and port outdistanced these other contenders and they did not put much energy into addressing these potential rivals.

However, the Galveston Daily News in journalistic fashion set out to take the pulse of the state on the issue. Under the headline, "Deep Water for Texas, What
the People Say on the Subject," they published excerpts from numerous interviews state-wide. They named their interviewees, often adding information on occupations, place of residence, and political persuasion or involvement. The results of their informal survey of the state were mentioned in other issues as the News worked to drive home its campaign for what came to be called "concentration" of money and energy on one major seaport.

The importance of this journalistic endeavor is seen when it is understood that the Galveston Daily News was the premier newspaper in the state with an extensive circulation. It viewed itself, and rightly so, as "the" paper for the state until 1885, when it deliberately split its readership by establishing under its auspices the Dallas Morning News on October 1, 1885. Even after the split both papers as well as other papers in the state liberally borrowed information published in each other's columns. The interviews of spring 1888 about concentration of funds on one seaport were spread far and wide and must have had an impact on subsequent events.

The spring 1888 interviews and newspaper coverage over the summer kept the topic of a deep water port before Texans and Galvestonians. On July 11, 1888, a deep water convention met in Fort Worth. They selected General R. A. Cameron of Denver, Colorado, as the president of the proceedings, and in his speech Cameron declared that "we are here to create enthusiasm, to spread information, to develop inquiry and awaken the attention of the people...to inaugurate a trade between the north and south that will develop the country." The convention resolved to get Denver to hold an interstate deep water convention in August or September, with the aim of involving more people, more land, and more of the territory of the West in the effort to procure a deep water port on the Gulf of Mexico. At the conclusion of the one-day conference the Colorado delegates were invited as guests to visit
Galveston. The businessmen of the island city wanted to improve their image with the western people. Their efforts at good public relations paid off that August in Denver. The News reported that Colorado "proposes to escape from eastern bondage via the Gulf of Mexico." Such anti-Atlantic coast sentiment figured strongly in the August conference in Denver. This negative feeling was shared by many communities in the plains and trans-Mississippi West.35

The Galveston debriefing of the Fort Worth conference took place at a July 19 meeting at the cotton exchange where a large group heard the report of Colonel Gresham and Julius Runge. Gresham announced that the convention adopted essentially what the Galveston delegation had hoped for and presented. He was glad that Kansas, Colorado, and Texas were showing signs of solid cooperation and was pleased with the results. Gresham seemed particularly gratified that the Galveston men had been able to counter some criticism of the Galveston Wharf Company by showing evidence that the Galveston port was "the cheapest port in the world." Various Galveston businessmen responded in the positive to Gresham's report, and Colonel W. B. Denson suggested the formation of a twenty-five member delegation for the Denver Convention. This was adopted.36 Plans were made for the Galveston business community to be represented at this first ever interstate deep water convention.

Hundreds of representatives from all over the West and Southwest met in Denver beginning on August 27, 1888. The official count said there were 644 regular delegates at the convention, of which 341 were from Texas.37 The conference debates were lively and covered a variety of topics tangential to the deep water issue itself. The Associated Press picked up on the event and sent the story across the country, noting that Governor Alva Adams of Colorado had said in his introductory address that "Against us will be arrayed the influence of the ports of
the Atlantic and the many interests of the north and east." The newspaper accounts record a seeming sense of empowerment on the part of the assembled group by virtue of their merely getting together en masse. This is reflected in one address by Dr. Moore, chancellor of Denver State University, when he said,

The idea on which Texas had been working for a score of years had just taken hold of the Rocky Mountain country and he hoped that this consolidation of talent and sentiment here would compel the east to recognize that there is a west and a south, and that state sovereignty and national sovereignty demand a river and harbor appropriation. We are one by the ties of business.

Articles in the Galveston Daily News of September 5 and 9 were positively glowing about the meaning of the deep water convention for Galveston. The newspaper's analysis of the convention was so extensive and optimistic it is hard not to see this August 1888 conference as crucial in Galveston's efforts to be the first-class port on the Gulf of Mexico and a strong contender to be the entry port for immigration destined for much of the West. Concentration of federal moneys for one spot on the Gulf of Mexico remained the assumed endeavor of the convention. Arguments for other ports as worthy of development went unanswered by the Galveston men. While the issue was debated at the convention, Galveston people seemed to step back from the fray only suggesting that the government decide which location would be best. The Galveston Daily News applauded the Galveston people for such an approach, suggesting that this reflected Galvestonian security in the natural advantages of their harbor.

The September 9 issue of the newspaper shared some other tidbits of interest concerning the convention. The article stated that "Dallas, like Kansas, voted for concentration, and Dallas thereby made friends that will aid its growth." Such an obvious suggestion of cooperation between the Texas towns of Galveston and Dallas hints at future developments. Denver's central position in this deep water fight
stood on the influence of Colorado's Governor John Evans. Accorded labels such as "the grand old man of Colorado" and the "Monarch of the Mountains," Evans was given credit for pushing for deep water cooperation with Colorado; he was also a power on the Fort Worth and Denver railway that united those two cities with the iron bands of the roadway.41 Also on hand in Denver was Frank Bowden Chilton, currently secretary of the Texas immigration association. He was there "with four large chests of printed information about Texas." Noting the connection of railway to port as central to would-be immigrants, he pointed to copies of a railroad folder that he said would be "placed in the waiting room of every railway station west of the Mississippi river, whereby home-seekers and capitalists may read and learn to love Texas." Thus the reports of the deep water convention reflect the integration of immigration issues and deep water concerns. The News in referring to the final resolutions at the Denver Convention as "the Dallas immigration convention deep water resolutions" showed this connection. For Galveston the convention meant that "a first-class deep water harbor on the Texas coast is no longer a visionary idea, but an assured event."42

The momentum generated in Denver and in the subsequent deep water convention held in 1889 in Topeka, Kansas, influenced congressional leaders and members to include Galveston in the 1890 River and Harbors Appropriation in a major way. Along with a specific appropriation, a provisional clause required that the work proceed continuously until completed. Thus the old driblet system of appropriations for Galveston was over. A total sum of $6,200,000 was spent on the north and south jetties and in the dredging. As one historian has put it, Galveston thus became "Denver's Deep-Water Port" and in the process western lands in Texas, Kansas, Colorado and the other states of the trans-Mississippi west benefited from deep water.43
Deep water over the bar—a long-standing goal achieved. Galvestonians, with interrelated interests in human cargoes and commercial tonnage, had succeeded in a major accomplishment essential to the survival and growth of their city and their port. Their interest in immigration into Texas had helped fuel their efforts to get deep water, which in turn helped to stimulate immigration into and through the port. No other conference was as crucial to Galveston as the 1887 State Immigration Convention in Dallas or the 1888 Deep Water Convention in Denver. However, the port city continued to participate as a major partner in several conventions over the years.

Business leaders in the Southwest and West maintained other cooperative efforts after the big deep-water conferences of the late 1880s. Galveston continued to ally itself with western states and territories, and served as the location in February 1891 of the Western Congress that saw its task as awakening the rest of the country to the needs and rights of the western part of the United States. It was reported that this congress was "the first step toward a consolidation of western and southern interests and an organization of their forces to be used offensively or defensively as occasion may demand." But in truth southern and western influence had already pushed the federal government to see the need for deep water on the Gulf of Mexico, and thus this congress was merely a continuation of previous collaborative work. Julius Runge of the Kaufmann-Runge firm served as president of the proceedings. The Kaufmann-Runge firm was a Galveston importing company, doing business with various shipping lines, and historically a company interested in immigration.44

The Western Congress transformed itself into the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress on February 7, 1891, and scheduled its next meeting for May in Denver. The delegates to the congress were deepening among themselves the
sense of being a cohesive lobbying group. In Denver Colonel Gresham served as chair of the sub-committee on resolutions and so Galveston was clearly represented. Gresham was a lawyer and railroad executive, later a Congressman, who strongly supported commercial improvements for his adopted city. Concern for the jetties in the Galveston Harbor reflects some of this Galveston influence and reinforces the notion that the needs of this Gulf port and western needs were in reality one concern.\textsuperscript{45}

Two other representative conferences that reflect Galveston's interests in attracting people into the state were the Northern Settler's Convention of 1905, held in Galveston, and the 1911 Southern Commercial Congress, held in Atlanta, Georgia. The Northern Settler's convention was a full-blown public relations event that brought close to 6,000 visitors to the city over the course of four days in April 1905. Carloads of persons arrived by train and the Business League and Chamber of Commerce in Galveston set up an extensive welcoming and a public comfort bureau to facilitate lodgings and activities around the island. Walter Gresham served as chair for this convention, a position of prestige he held in numerous other instances over the years of Galveston's history. Most speeches praised the value of land in Texas and Louisiana, emphasizing the fertility of the soil and the healthy climate. J. C. Barrow of Louisiana cheered on the participants by saying that "the tide of immigration is flowing surely and steadily to the South."\textsuperscript{46}

Comprehensive coverage by the \textit{News} reflects editorial interest in this Northern Settler's convention and fit perfectly with their booster efforts in past years. When Norman G. Kittrell said to the members of the vast audience, "You had just as well now arrange to come back, for Texas has got a cinch on you," the \textit{News} was quick to record it. When he said that it doesn't matter what flag you fought under, "We quit fighting about forty years ago," the columns of the paper recorded
that too. The importance of the railroads, which had obviously brought almost every one of the visitors to Galveston in the first place, was touted long and hard in a very pro-railroad approach. J. W. Riggins shared how he was quite unhappy with the railroads when he first arrived in Texas twenty-six years earlier, but that he now knew the importance of farmer and railroads working together. He also praised the media and was quoted as saying "The newspaper is the great window to let in the light. They tell of the resources of the country. The farmer takes the light shed by the newspaper, and the railroads make it possible to develop." All in all the Galveston newspaper had a field day, knowing that what they reported would be read throughout the state and beyond.47

"Homeseekers Will Come Down South" read the headline in the Galveston Daily News announcing the opening of the Southern Commercial Congress being held in Atlanta, Georgia, in March 1911. Representatives of all the southern states attended in pomp, flag-waving style to proclaim to the country at large that the New South was ready for growth, expansion, development, capital, and immigration. The congress had a number of impressive speakers, including the northerners, Theodore Roosevelt and Terrence V. Powderly. Powderly, who in 1879 had attained recognition as the Grand Master of the Knights of Labor, had been invited to speak in his current capacity as chief of the Division of Information for the United States Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. He reported optimistically on the efforts to divert immigration from northern urban areas to southern agricultural regions and he encouraged state help in trying to influence this tide. Roosevelt, as a former president, spoke in more general terms, but had gone on record in December of 1905 through a congressional message saying "We need more of such immigration for the South; and special effort should be made to secure it."48 Immigration was not the only issue discussed at this southern congress, but its inclusion on the program
spoke to the regional interest in drawing people to the South. The involvement of Texans in an Atlanta immigration event indicated their desire to be included in southern regional planning and commercial activities.

Over the years, Galveston actively worked at regional cooperation in its efforts to secure a viable deep water port and develop its immigrant port potential. By participating in conferences in Fort Worth, Dallas, Denver, Topeka, Montgomery, Galveston, and Atlanta, this island city announced her interests, needs, and willingness to work towards those goals. She also proclaimed her desire to be a part of the larger picture, whether trans-Mississippi or southern in emphasis.

In September 1900 the island sustained the full fury of a gulf hurricane. It picked itself up, dried itself out, and rebuilt an economy and city still based heavily on its commercial outlook and its strong dependence upon the harbor as a natural resource. When the members of the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives visited the island city in June 1901, they were favorably impressed with "the pluck of the Galveston people." They viewed damage to the jetties, but also saw the necessity for keeping the port open and fully accessible to ocean going vessels. Appropriations developed through this committee continued into the twentieth century to help the Galveston channel and harbor keep deep water.49

As stated earlier, Galveston did not see itself as primarily an immigrant port. Yet Galveston did endeavor to develop its immigrant trade as a part of the overall commercial picture. Once deep water was achieved, some of the city's attention shifted to specific efforts related to improving immigration facilities and immigration through the port. By the turn of the century Galveston had become a significant immigrant destination. How did immigrants come to arrive at the port, and how were they treated once there?
"Galveston has shipped her bar. That was Galveston's greatest accomplishment in 1899," stated the Galveston Daily News in its January 1, 1897, edition. Proud of their accomplishment in making their harbor a deep-water port, Galvestonians now expected increased commercial activity at their port, both in freight and human passengers. The North German Lloyd (NGL) Steamship line based in Bremen had always maintained connections with Galveston. She was the mainstay of direct immigration from Europe to Texas. So it was no surprise that the first immigrants to arrive in deep water Galveston were aboard the Halle, an NGL ship that berthed on October 9, 1896. The newspaper recorded that a big crowd "largely composed of curiosity seekers" was on hand to meet her. A crew of government officers from Washington and New Orleans inspected the 116 passengers on board ship. The News labeled the passengers as "a superior looking set" who "looked like the ordinary German farm people, who know how to make a penny do the work of a nickel." Interpreters were present and the passengers were asked questions about their destinations, future occupations, and family. Health inspectors checked each arrival, and then most immigrants headed off to the railroad cars that carried them further inland. This pattern continued in the years to follow until the official immigration station opened in 1913.

In 1896 the fee on the NGL line stood at $38.50 for steerage passage. Many of the future Texas farmers came over on prepaid tickets, attesting to the chain migration that was already in evidence in the United States. Other steamship companies soon noticed the increased availability of deep water at Galveston and responded. Negotiations with the Hamburg-American packet company were quite involved in the fall of 1898 when a representative of the line said, "The Company is anxious to do business at this port and will give their line a fair trial before they
make any decision about the future. Of course the steerage passenger business will
not maintain the line. It only helps to do so. Freights are what count.” 52

In the spring of 1907 the Galveston Tribune ran several articles announcing
two Italian lines that "were coming to Galveston." Their ships would initially land
at New York but in short time begin coming directly to Galveston. The evolution of
Italian shipping and passenger lines was heavily influenced by the visit of the
Italian Ambassador to Galveston in April 1905. Baron Mayor des Planches' visit
was extensively covered by the News with headlines stating "Homes for Italy's
Surplus" and "Visit Significant to Texas." The Ambassador was on an extended
"tour of inspection of the South" and had already stopped at Mobile and New
Orleans as well as the South Atlantic states. Meeting transplanted Italians all
along his journey, he repeatedly seemed impressed with the opportunities that
southern agriculture offered the Italian farmer already in the American South.
Comparisons with congested urban areas in the North were numerous, and the
glories of farm living were extolled by officials everywhere the ambassador went in
the South.53

The stopover in Galveston afforded the city's leaders an opportunity to boast
about Texas and about their harbor. Mayor William T. Austin as well as C. R.
Kitchell, president of the Chamber of Commerce, were among those pointing to
"lands in abundance for industrious immigrants" and to Galveston as "of necessity
one of the most important immigration ports for the South." One interesting
anecdote points to the importance of the written word at communicating information
about Texas. Garrett A. Dobbin, an agent of the Santa Fe Railroad, tried to give the
ambassador a copy of The News Almanac and began explaining the county index,
when the ambassador informed him that he had already obtained his own copy by
sending in 25 cents "some time ago." This story illustrates the influence of Texas
newspapers in promoting the state, as well as the success at getting their information into the hands of people who would use it, even the diplomatic corps of foreign countries. 54

German steamship lines headed the list in offering passenger service to Galveston. But slowly other lines from other countries saw the Galveston potential. In addition to the Italian lines, Scandinavian countries with extensive shipping interests began to show an interest in Galveston and the Gulf of Mexico trade. In July 1907 the Norway-Mexico Gulf Steamship Company announced its interest in passenger service between Christiania, Norway, and the Gulf Coast and its beginning freight service in October. The News predicted that in two years immigrants would arrive in Galveston "from practically every quarter of Europe, from Sunny Italy to Norway." 55

But migrants to Texas did not come only from Europe directly. There was a substantial movement of immigrants via the coastwise trade aboard such carriers as the Mallory and the Morgan Lines among others. A hint of this coastwise business can be seen in a 69-page booklet published by the Southern Manufacturer entitled The Port of Galveston, Texas, U.S.A., 1906-1907. In a first page note this booklet affirmed that it was "Issued as an advertisement of the magnificent Harbor facilities and Phenomenal growth of the Port's Export and Import trade...." According to this source, coastwise steamships of the two major lines "have prospered, for nearly every vessel entering the port or clearing the port has been loaded to the Plimsoll mark, while every available accommodation for passengers has been filled." This same document included an advertisement for the Mexican-American Steam Ship Co. announcing regular service both freight and passenger, from Galveston to Mexico. Trade with neighbors in central and south America was not typically viewed as trans-Atlantic trade. It was seen then as part of the coastwise shipping
trade. This developing southward trade added to the optimism Galvestonians embraced when thinking about their port.\textsuperscript{56}

Although the immigrant trade was a far second in importance to freight and consumer goods in the commerce of the port, the Galveston businessmen worked to develop the city’s potential as an immigration port. Just as deep water over the bar was a major prerequisite for sustained port growth, a solid, separate immigration station was a must in developing Galveston as a landing spot for immigrants. Dialogue between Washington and Galveston continued over many years as arrangements were made for such a building, as well as a new federal quarantine station, to supplement the work of commerce.

Primitive, if often non-existent facilities, greeted earlier arrivals to this Texas port. Those coming in 1880 had to endure transshipment from ocean going vessel to barges or lighters to get to the wharf proper. When forty or so immigrants arrived in 1880, they stayed overnight in "different boarding-houses" and then went by rail inland the following day to Schulenberg, San Antonio, Huntsville, and other Texas locations. The shift from ship to train was typical for most of these immigrants. When 532 steerage passengers arrived on the NGL 
\textit{Hohenstaufen} on September 23, 1882, most headed out on a Santa Fe train, but many had to wait and so "bunked as best they could in the depot building" until morning departures. An October 4, 1885, landing of several hundred immigrants found many of them spending a night in a warehouse on one of the wharves before moving out of Galveston.\textsuperscript{57}

Once deep water was achieved in 1896 the number of immigrants increased, but the facilities did not improve. In May 1906 over one thousand immigrants landed and were processed in a warehouse meant for storage of cargo. Edward Holman, U.S. immigration inspector in charge of the Galveston port, encouraged the Galvestonians to put together plans for building a station and then address their
specific concerns and ideas to F. P. Sargent, Commissioner General of the National Bureau of Immigration. Mayor H. A. Landes sent a telegram to Sargent in February 1906. Signed also by the chair of the Deep Water Committee and presidents of the Chamber of Commerce, the Business League, the Cotton Exchange and Board of Trade, and the Maritime Association, this communication played the supplicant and asked for help. Sargent visited Galveston in June of that same year and was enthusiastically courted by Walter Gresham serving as chair of the reception committee and Secretary Kitchell of the Chamber of Commerce among others. The commissioner used the newly built Honolulu immigration station as a major reference point with the Galvestonians and discussed hopes for cooperation between Galveston and Washington on the building.58

Sargent used his visit to observe the port but also to give some advice to the island's inhabitants and other Texans. He steadfastly encouraged Texas to provide a state commissioner of immigration with the intent of publicizing Texas in Europe and facilitating the easy flow of information.

If the State of Texas, in my judgment, will take this matter up as a State, and establish a State immigration bureau, and spend a little money in advertising under the auspices of the State Bureau, the advantages that Texas offers to settlers, both at home and abroad, it would not be but a little time until we would have a substantial increase of immigration this way, and if the steamers are running direct from the ocean ports to Galveston the people in Europe will know that they can come to Galveston and arrive within a few hours' ride of where they are destined.

Sargent also pointed to the importance of letters written home by those who arrived in the United States.

Another thing, and in connection with having an adequate immigration station here. If you have good facilities for receiving and treating these people, more will naturally follow. In writing home to their friends they will say: "We came to Galveston via the North German Lloyd. We recommend that you come that way." But if you have no facilities here you will get a black eye.
Sargent praised Galveston and Texas for its interest in commerce and shipping of merchandise, but then he added, "I want to see you take a little more interest in humanity."  

The city leaders took Sargent's message to heart. They were unable to get the state government to develop a separate office or bureau to facilitate immigration. But they launched a sustained drive to get adequate immigration facilities. Negotiations went back and forth between Galveston and Washington for several years. The issues were many. A major hitch developed when the powerful Galveston Wharf Company expressed reservations about giving up valuable shipping footage on the wharf to set up what seemed like a less remunerative immigration operation. This obstacle must have been overcome at least momentarily, for three months later detailed architectural plans were shipped to Washington stating that Galveston Wharf Company property between thirty-third and thirty-fourth street would be the site of the station. A processing room large enough for 950 people, plus sleeping quarters for about 300 immigrants, were included in the plans.

Discussions continued for some time over the location of the immigration building—either on the wharves themselves or over on Pelican Spit, a small island in the harbor. The final location on Pelican Spit was facilitated through federal government expenditure, deeding of the island from the state of Texas to the national government, and building of water mains by the Galveston municipal government to supply the island and thus the immigration station. Galvestonians followed the seesaw nature of these continuing negotiations through the pages of their newspapers. In March 1907 the city obtained quick passage in the state legislature of a bill giving Pelican Spit to the federal government. Obviously Galveston Wharf Company leaders were using their influence to select the location
of the future immigration station. However, later in March the Tribune noted Commissioner Sargent's disapproval of the location and reported on yet another option. The municipal committee coordinating Galveston's interests suggested a location on the east end of the island that would be purchased from moneys raised from the railroads. This alternate plan reflects clearly the interaction and dependence of one form of transportation upon another--rail and water. The whole struggle over location also resonates with the value of real estate on the port side of Galveston island.61

Sargent visited Galveston again on June 21, 1907, for a first hand look at the potential use of Pelican Spit. Decisions needed to be made concerning the best use of federal appropriations, i.e., money already designated for the work. Representatives of numerous transportation interests were in town, and the Galveston businessmen agreed verbally to providing light and water for the station on the Spit. Swimming in the afternoon and a fish fry in the evening provided the typical Galveston social ending for a day of business. Rabbi Henry Cohen was reported as attending the evening's entertainments. His interest in immigration through the Jewish Galveston Movement was growing and his work would be influential in the years ahead. The commissioner from Washington told a News reporter that the immigration figures listed 2,000 foreigners as having arrived at the port in May. Then Sargent left the island community with the statement, "Galveston now ranks fifth among the ports in the number of aliens landed annually, and stands at the head of all Gulf ports."62

The June visit by Sargent was followed up with a July visit by Walter Gresham to Washington, D.C. Gresham telegraphed back to the Galveston Chamber of Commerce a jubilant message that he was able to smooth over the differences and that Galveston would come out the winner. The national
bureaucracy would provide for jetty repair and extension, a new dredge, continued construction of the seawall, and a new flash light for the lighthouse. Of course, the big news was that Commissioner Sargent accepted the location of the immigration station on Pelican Spit. Galveston thought it was on its way to first class immigrant port status.63

Unfortunately, things did not proceed that smoothly. Various details needed compromise. Building construction slowed and then halted, though later resumed. Appropriations did not come through on time. Even as late as March 28, 1912, Alfred Holt, an agent for the NGL, stated, "The Present conditions of handling immigrants in Galveston are not all that could be desired. The aliens are landed on a bare freight wharf." Finally, the May 16, 1912, Galveston Tribune announced that the building was erected and ready for business except it had no furniture or fixtures—the appropriation having not been made by Washington.64 Years earlier the deep-water endeavor succeeded because Galveston helped everyone to see that deep water was not just a local issue but a national one. Taking the same tack now, business leaders in Galveston tried to ply a similar argument that a first-rate immigration station in Galveston would affect the whole Southwest and thus the economy of a major part of the United States. The immigration station finally opened in 1913. Little is known about the station from local sources, since the buildings no longer exist. One 1929 newspaper source stated that the immigration station opened in 1913 and was abandoned in 1916. The article identified two reasons for this—first, the extensive damage to the station by the Gulf storm of 1915 and, second, the war raging in Europe had greatly restricted immigration to the United States. The location, buildings, and opening of a federal quarantine station parallels the development of work on the immigration station. They both ended up on Pelican Spit and opened about the same time.65
Throughout this era of station negotiations and construction, immigrants continued to arrive in Galveston. With or without any special facilities, each individual still had to move through the procedure for entry into the country and the state. As this experience repeated itself again and again, the city developed an image of itself as an immigrant port. The pronouncements and judgments in the columns of the Galveston Daily News demonstrate the island's response to the immigration experience.

"Banner Immigrant Day" shouted a special box on the front page of the April 22, 1905, News. With pride and curiosity the paper went on to note that the 9,675 steerage passengers were the "largest number ever passed in quarantine in one day." Exhibiting a full-blown curiosity about these new arrivals, the article went on to record the reporter's impressions. "It was a study to stand near the gangway and watch these prospective American citizens....While undoubtedly of the peasant class, they did not look like the scum of the earth, as immigrants have often been described...a healthy, strong-looking lot of men, women and children...the children jumped and capered around like lambs in a field of clover." The reporter's observations filled the columns of the paper. He pointed out that each person carried bundles of possessions and frequently heavy coats from a much colder climate. All of this had to be moved off the ship and onto waiting railroad cars which "would whirl them further into the new and strange country to which they had come." Some traveled alone.

There were 330 people known as homeseekers, or, in other words, men looking for work. As the demand for labor was greater than the supply, the 330 were placed in an enclosure and the railroad agents and others looking for labor were passed in among them and began a lively bidding for the employment of the men. As fast as an agent secured a set of men they were ushered out and placed in charge of another man who secured railroad tickets for them and
watched over them to see that some other agent did not get them away from his.

Some were detained for a more thorough inspection. One couple began life in their new country together after a marriage aboard the ship. 65

Subsequent arrivals and landings mirrored many of these experiences. Down the gangplank always came the cabin passengers first, then the steerage people with pre-arranged transportation, and lastly the "homeseekers," defined as "not ticketed through to any destination." Class differences existed in treatment both in disembarking and in expectations. Potential brides landing from cabin passage were allowed to travel on inland and marry later. Those coming out of steerage had to be met by a responsible party and married before leaving the ship. 67

In a labeling that would startle us in the late twentieth century, headlines read "Aliens were Landed" and "Thousands of Aliens Come Via Galveston to American Homes." More with a sense of curiosity than fear, these newspaper articles highlighted the growing self-image of the port city. By 1910 Galveston viewed itself more and more as an immigrant disembarking station. The Greater Galveston Publicity Committee issued a 38-page pamphlet proclaiming the pluses of their city, bragging that 4,539 immigrants arrived during 1909 and that construction of both an immigration and a quarantine station were slated for 1910. Yet another Galveston booster organization known as the Commercial Association urgently wrote to their Congressman A. W. Gregg suggesting that he use his "best influences" to see that Galveston obtained the needed appropriations to finish the immigration construction, "for the arrivals of immigrant aliens here are constantly increasing and the importance of Galveston as a port of immigrant entry is constantly growing." 68 A survey of the Galveston City Directory in the first fourteen years of the twentieth century reflects this growing, albeit small, sense of self as an
immigrant port. The list of steamship lines had increased greatly, and many of those reflected passenger service improvements. The federal immigration inspectors maintained an office and residences on the island. And a suggestion of numbers arriving at the port is included.

Proof positive of Galveston's existence as an immigrant port and its potential for expansion in that area was the selection of Galveston for the port of entry by an effort to divert Jewish immigrants coming to the United States from New York to the Southwest and western lands. What came to be called the Galveston Movement was a highly structured and organized program initiated by philanthropic Jews in New York. Using contacts on the European mainland and in England as well as Rabbi Henry Cohen's expertise and interest in Galveston, about 10,000 Jews came through Texas between 1907 and 1914. The intent of the program was to help Jews move into the interior of the United States rather than coming in such large numbers to remain in the ghettos of New York City. Instead they were to arrive at Galveston and then travel by train to a destination where supportive Jewish people or communities would help with jobs and settlement. Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Texas received the majority of these immigrants.69

The Galveston Movement blossomed at a propitious time in this country's history. As more and more immigrants entered the United States, the vast majority of them chose to settle in urban areas of the northeast. This concentration of people resulted in congestion in the cities. Often these cities seemed unable to absorb such large numbers and unable to provide all the services needed by these urban dwellers. One suggestion praised by many reformers of the era was the diversion of some of these people to other parts of the United States. As noted earlier, national leaders such as Terrence Powderly and Theodore Roosevelt had supported such discussions. Talk of labor needs in the developing New South fueled these
suggestions. Expansion into previously unclaimed territory in the western states also stimulated action on these proposals. Galveston's earlier successful drive for a deep water port allowed her to meet these needs very conveniently.70

Into this atmosphere of northeastern frustration with huge numbers of immigrants and various philanthropic or religious groups willing to help change the flow of these people, the Galveston Movement fit snugly. The island city of Galveston seemed to relish its task as port of entry for these people. Just as the New York Jewish leaders viewed the movement as a funneling of their religious compatriots into the hinterlands of the country, so also the Galvestonians saw themselves conveniently as that funnel. The papers' notice of the first arrival of these Jewish Immigrants reflects this sense of serving as a conduit inland. Praising the work of the Jewish Immigration Information Bureau, the reporter stated that through their efforts, "all the Jewish Immigrants arriving on the...steamship...yesterday morning are well on their way to the various destinations assigned them by the bureau, all having left the city on the afternoon and evening trains with the exception of about eight, who will be ticketed to their several destinations this morning."71

Utilizing the NGL lines already in place, the first eighty-six of these immigrants arrived July 1, 1907, on the Cassel. They were met by Rabbi Cohen and helpers of the Jewish Immigration Information Bureau (JIIB). Even Mayor Landes turned out to greet this first contingent of newcomers in the program. Later immigrants arriving through the auspices of the JIIB received similar treatment. Special provisions were made for those arriving on high holy days, for local Galveston Jews worked to minimize the burdens of the new arrivals. The Galveston Daily News continued to chronicle the arrival of these ships over the years as the JIIB remained an active presence on the island. And Rabbi Cohen had only high
praise for the way the media vied "with one another in their enthusiasm" to cover the various arrivals and departures.\textsuperscript{72}

The Galveston Movement officially ended in the fall of 1914. The local office closed and its paid workers moved off to other locations and employment. The Jewish supporters on Galveston Island continued in an informal way to help their co-religionists who arrived on later ships. One sustaining affect of the Galveston Movement was the chain migration it helped set in motion. For once immigrants begin movement toward a location, there is a tendency for that stream to continue even if in smaller numbers.\textsuperscript{73}

Yet another agency assisting immigrants was the Methodist Immigration Information Bureau, which maintained an office and corps of workers like the JIIB. This bureau, also called the "Methodist Mission" or the "Galveston Immigrant's Home," opened its doors in July 1908 with Rev. F. Bruckmann originally in charge and living on the premises with his family. Serving as a mission arm of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, the building provided lodgings, food, and interpreters as needed. Its location was Twenty-first Street and the Strand. The second floor held twenty-four cots for women. Since male immigrants outnumbered women about three to one, they were housed in a larger area on the third floor. Meals cost twenty-five cents and a night's lodging the same amount. Two years later these services were offered more cheaply, with twenty cents for food and fifteen cents for a night's stay. Most immigrants remained in the facilities and on the island for a very short stay, often proceeding via train into the interior within twenty-four hours of landing.\textsuperscript{74}

The goals for both Methodist and Jewish bureaus were similar. As an outgrowth of their respective religious beliefs, these bureaus labored to help people in their adjustment to a new country. Whether language or employment problems,
adjustment to a new culture or basic needs for food, these organizations served a need in an ever growing immigrant port. The initial religious mission became a secular influence upon Galveston as well. Galvestonians individually supported the work of the bureaus and cheered the expansion of these concerns to the sailors in town with the establishment of a Seaman's Home on the Strand as well. Galvestonians had a right to be proud of these agencies and their work. Their newspapers also lauded the endeavors of Albion L. Barkman, a federal agent of the U.S. Department of Immigration with offices in Galveston who set up an "Information Bureau." Barkman's aim was to furnish information about employment for the arriving immigrants.75

The outbreak of warfare in Europe in 1914 constricted immigrant flows to all of the United States, and Galveston experienced that same reduction.76 Sadly their immigration station was in place and able to function efficiently by this time. Businessmen of Galveston spearheaded efforts to improve their port all through the last half of the nineteenth century. Their interest in developing an immigrant port meshed with their efforts for deep water over the sandbar and easy access to the harbor and wharves by ocean-going vessels. While the interest in immigration was secondary, it nonetheless served in the mid-1880s as the catalyst to push for the final accomplishment of deep water, which meant increased commercial activity for Galveston in both freight and human cargo.
Direct foreign immigration into Galveston is more easily documented than the general movement of people into Galveston via water. Travel by water has always been the least expensive mode of travel. It was thus used for freight and passengers along the coast of the United States as a mainstay of transportation. While records were and are kept by the government of the initial arrival of any foreign-born person, their second, third, or subsequent moves are not recorded. Individuals and family units, whether foreign-born or native to the United States, frequently traveled by coast-wise shipping during the entire nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Coastal steamers were not required to provide lists of passengers. Steamship lines frequently did not keep records, or if they did, most do not survive to the present, depriving us of a numerical account of people arriving at any one port. Thus a real void exists in the story of population movement through Galveston. Even material on the major coast-wise shippers like the Mallory and Morgan Lines make little notice of passenger arrivals other than to say that their existence was part of the line's business. See James P. Baughman "The Evolution of Rail-water Systems of Transportation in the Gulf Southwest, 1836-1890," Journal of Southern History 34 (August 1968): 357-381; James P. Baughman, Charles Morgan and the Development of Southern Transportation (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968); Ruth Evelyn Kelly, "Twixt Failure and Success: The Port of Galveston in the 19th Century," (master's thesis, University of Houston, 1975), 71-73, 92; Charles W. Hayes, Galveston, History of the Island and the City, 2 Volumes (Cincinnati, 1879; reprint, Austin: Jenkins Garrett Press, 1974), 773; Galveston Commercial Association, The Port of Galveston, Handbook of Information (Galveston: Galveston Commercial Association, 1918), p. 21-24; E. L. Wall, "Galveston--A Natural Seaport," Bunker's Monthly 1 (February 1928), 270.

For a good short article on direct immigration to Galveston, see Lawrence H. Konceny and Clinton Machann, "German and Czech Immigration to Texas: The Bremen to Galveston Route, 1880-1886," Nebraska History 74 (Fall/Winter 1993): 136-141.


An 1887 book entitled The Industries of Galveston (Galveston: Metropolitan Publishing Company, 1887) in 144 pages lists and describes the industrial complex of the city. The vast majority of companies and businesses dealt with commercial activity and transportation support. The "industries" of Galveston included merchants, cotton factors, wholesalers, shipping firms and lines, port facilities, and a variety of maritime services.

Closing Message of the Hon. Albert Somerville, Mayor of Galveston (Galveston: Galveston News Steam Book and Job Office, 1873), 14-15 in the Manuscript Collection, No. 71-0189 of the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; Memorial of the Galveston Chamber of Commerce to the Congress of the United

"Kathleen E. Lazarou, "A History of the Port of Galveston: A Constitutional-Legal Overview," Houston Review 2 (Summer 1980): 84 (quotation). Newspaper articles and state almanacs often referred to Galveston as the force behind its own destiny. See the Texas State Register of 1877, pp. 94-96, for one such example.

An intriguing suggestion made by "H.S." in an 1880 News article proposed state involvement in this effort to secure deep water in Galveston Harbor. After glowingly describing the potential for Texas with increased immigration and an improved economy through trade and commerce, he writes, "Now our state has been generous in granting State aid to railroads--why should our Legislature not do something for the first seaport in our State? Let an act be passed by the Legislature granting ten sections of land for every inch that our bar may be deepened, and let the fund derived from the sale be used to support the present endeavors of those deepening the channel over the bar. While the rationale behind the plan had merit, the proposal never made it through the Texas legislature, if it was ever introduced there. See article entitled, "How to Raise the Means of Securing Deep Water" in Galveston Daily News, December 23, 1880, p. 4. Hereinafter the newspaper will be cited GDN.

[S. H. Gilman], The Tributary and Economical Relations of the Railway Systems of the United States to the Commerce of Galveston: Considered Geographically, Topographically and Economically. (Galveston: News Steam Book and Job Office, 1871), pp. 1 & 3, and Appendix, pp. 5 & 6.

One installment in the Galveston railroad story was an effort to bypass the influence of Houston as an emerging rail center. Many of Galveston's business leaders and investors developed the Galveston, Harrisburg and San Antonio Railway, which according to the Texas State Register of 1877 was soon to be completed and would open "to the Emigrant one of the finest portions of the Empire State of Texas." The Register ad went on to say that the completion of this "Sunset Route will give an additional impetus to the tide that is already setting that way." Early in its development as a first class port and immigration way station, Galveston understood the importance of rail connections to port facilities and worked to implement their success. See Texas State Register (Galveston: A. Hanford, 1877), 137.

Laws of the United States Relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, 184, 195, 205. This information is also available in United States, Congress, House of Representatives Document No. 1491, 62d Congress, 3d Session.


GDN, November 22, 1884, p. 4.

GDN, December 1, 1884 - 12 pages; One account of the Eads proposal and Galveston's support of it is in Alpern, Custodians, 45-50. A contemporary document praising the Eads proposal and looking to the future with great hope was Galveston: The Commercial Metropolis and Principal Seaport of the Great Southwest (Galveston: Land and Thompson, 1885), 56-60. Just how pivotal the Eads proposal turned out to be is difficult to say. One admirer gave Eads credit for the general plan that was finally adopted by the government ten years later. See GDN, February 18, 1897, p. 5.


U. S. Army. Corps of Engineers. Galveston Harbor, Texas. 61st Congress, 2d Session. H. of R. Document, No. 328. 1909. According to this survey made by Captain John C. Oakes for the Secretary of War, Galveston had a total value of exports and imports, foreign and coastwise in 1867 of $7,449,382. This more than doubled to $15,378,832 by 1870 and was up to $17,858,584 in 1880. Phenomenal growth in the region is indicated by the 1890 statistic that $51,558,115 worth of trade moved through the port in that fiscal year. Galveston was obviously a commercial center of great potential.

Alpern, Custodians, 50.

The standard early history of Galveston is a two volume effort by Charles W. Hayes. For historians today it has become a primary source of information on Galveston. Published in 1879, Hayes noted a visit by some Kansas City businessmen to Galveston and a reciprocal trip by Galvestonians to Kansas city in 1874. As if to test each other out the experience gave each set of citizens a chance to see for themselves the potential for cooperation in developing trade. Hayes credits this 1874 exchange of visits as the push for a grain elevator erected in 1875 and a flour mill built the following year in Galveston. Hayes, Galveston, 800-802. See reference to this exchange also in Galveston: The Commercial Metropolis, 16-17. See GDN, December 24, 1880, p. 2 for information on the Nebraska connection where the paper reports, "The people of the New West want an outlet to the ocean for their products other than that afforded them via the Atlantic seaboard."

GDN, December 10, 1887, p. 8. Biographical information for John D. Rogers can be found in Hayes, Galveston, History of the Island and the City, 968-969 and for M. Lasker in same source, p. 975.

GDN, December 13, 1887, p. 2.

GDN, December 13, 1887, p. 2.

GDN, December 23, 1887, p. 4.

Moody was also a driving force on a later delegation that lobbied in Washington in 1888. He served in this capacity at the request of the Executive Committee of the State Immigration Committee of Texas. Moody's involvement in immigration issues, much like that of the city's, meshed with his business interest in developing deep water in Galveston Harbor. William Lewis Moody Papers, Collection No. 70-0200-70-0418, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. See especially letter to W. L. Moody from John F. Elliott, dated January 26, 1888 and Moody's drafts for presentation to the congressmen of the committees' resolutions.

Proceedings ... Immigration Convention of Texas, 28.

Proceedings ... Immigration Convention of Texas, 28-29.

Proceedings ... Immigration Convention of Texas, 22.

Proceedings ... Immigration Convention of Texas, 31.

Proceedings ... Immigration Convention of Texas, 32.

GDN, December 23, 1887, p. 4.

GDN, December 24, 1887, p. 8.

GDN, December 30, 1887, pp. 1-2.

GDN, January 11, 1888, p. 8. Part of Trueheart's task as a member of the State Immigration Committee was to write letters to prospective Texans who had addressed questions to Secretary Chilton as head of the state organization. See Letter from F. B. Chilton in Austin, Texas to Trueheart, in Galveston, on August 20, [?], Collection No. 78-0014, Box 50, File 67 of H. M. Trueheart papers at the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. Forty-eight names and addresses were listed on this particular letter with the request that Trueheart, "For the benefit of your County, please give attention to the following list of names." If letters were written by Trueheart and/or some other interested Galvestonians, the process would suggest that the late nineteenth century Texans knew the value of writing letters in the process of enticing newcomers to the state. It would also suggest that the state-wide apparatus for encouraging immigration was using this technique and serving as a clearing house for putting people in touch with people.
Laws of the U.S. relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, 489-490.

An excellent listing of all legislation dealing with every United States waterway is found in Laws of the U.S. Relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, from August 11, 1790 to March 4, 1913. Three Volumes. Specific appropriations for each port are listed and quoted in full.

A variety of local Texas efforts involved plans by individuals and sometimes by municipalities as a whole. One alternative to Galveston was Bolivar Point and this was touted by Levi Jones in 1874. See Outlines of the Transcendent Physical Advantages of Bolivar, as the Site for a Great Commercial Emporium (Galveston: Strickland & Clarke, 1874) in Manuscript Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas. Clear Lake was yet another suggestion. See Deep Water for Texas, Something About Texas Harbors and Coast Towns. [n.p.]: 1888, in archival collection at the Texas State Library. Arguments for Aransas Pass were plentiful during the deep water conventions in Fort Worth, Denver, and Topeka. One source among many suggested that competition between the two would be beneficial to both and to the whole state. GDN, July 24, 1888, p. 6. Texas City went through its own boom cycle. Part of that story is documented in Priscilla Benham, "Texas City: Port of Opportunity," Houston Review 10 (1988): 137-158. Houston's efforts to develop deep water are amply documented. See Marilyn McAdams Sibley, The Port of Houston, a History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968) and Alpern, Custodians, especially Chapter four entitled "Buffalo Bayou Bonanza."

GDN, April 28, 1888, p. 8.

GDN, May 15, 1888, p. 2.


GDN, July 12, 1888, p. 1.

GDN, July 20, 1888, p. 8. Biographical information is available for Col. W. B. Denson, a lawyer and native of Alabama, in A Souvenir of Galveston, Galveston: Galveston Evening Tribune, 1893. This unpaginated brochure was published by a local paper and is about 150 pages in length. Copy is in Collection No. 07-0003 at the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

GDN, August 30, 1888, p. 1.

GDN, August 29, 1888, p. 2.

GDN, August 31, 1888, p. 1.

GDN, September 5, 1888, p. 5; September 9, 1888, p. 6. Another contemporary account published by the Missouri Pacific Railway Co. spiritedly referred to the Denver Deep Water Convention with the statement, "The enthusiasm was electric." See Statistics and Information concerning the State of Texas with its Missions of Acres of Unoccupied Lands, for the Farmer and Stock
Raiser. Unlimited Opportunities for the Merchant and Manufacturer. Great
Inducements for the Investment of Capital,... (n.p., n.d.), p. 8 and following, in the
Manuscript Collection of the Texas State Archives.

Frank L. Dana lived in Denver in 1887 and headed up the Real Estate
Exchange in that city. He served as permanent secretary of the Deep Water
convention in August, 1888 and later moved to Galveston. See biographical
information in A Souvenir of Galveston (Galveston: Galveston Evening Tribune,
1893), unpagedinated.

41 The complete story of the railroads and their interaction with the
immigration issue has yet to be told, but it would seem that the connection of Fort
Worth and Denver by rail helped propel Denver to see Galveston as a real possibility
in Colorado's own growth and development. See S. G. Reed, A History of the Texas
Railroads (Houston: St. Clair Publishing Co., 1941), 392-396 for a brief account of
the FW&DC RR.

42 GDN, September 9, 1888, p. 6.

43 Laws of the U.S. relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, 532;
Alpern, Custodians, 53-55; Ruth Evelyn Kelly, "Twixt Failure and Success: The
Port of Galveston in the 19th Century" (master's thesis, University of Houston,
Southwestern Historical Quarterly 70 (October 1966): 217-228. One national
publication of the time picked up on this story and labeled Galveston as "The Great
Seaport of the Southwest," giving it credit for a confidence in the inherent value
of its harbor and noting its involvement with the western states in securing federal
moneys. This article entitled "Galveston Harbor" in Frank Leslie's Illustrated
Newspaper (May 31, 1890): 365-368, reported that the bill to secure full
appropriations had passed the Senate "without a dissenting vote" and was currently
before the House with the full approval of the River and Harbor Committee.

44 GDN, February 7, 1891, p. 8; February 8, 1891, p. 5. The official
Proceedings of the Galveston Meeting in February make no mention of immigration
issues, referring only to the improvements in the Galveston harbor. They expressed
hopes for "reclamation of the arid lands of the west", an opening of Indian territory
to settlement, and discussion of transportation needs. See Proceedings of the
Western Congress, Held in the Rooms of the Galveston Cotton Exchange, February
7th, 1891 (Galveston: Clark & Courts, 1891), 4-5 in Collection No. 77-0005, Box 3,
File 37 of the Manuscript Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.; GDN,
May 22, 1891, p. 1; May 23, 1891, p. 1.; An overview history of Kaufmann-Runge
Firm can be found in the GDN, January 2, 1882, p. 2 and The Industries of
Galveston (n.p.: Metropolitan Publishing Company, 1887), Part III under Kauffman
& Runge.


46 GDN, April 21, 1905, p. 4; April 22, 1905, p. 4; April 23, 1905, pp. 6-7. A
souvenir programme from the Northern Settler's Convention provides titles and
names of speakers for the event. A copy of this programme is at the Center for American History, Austin, Texas; at the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; and at the Texas Seaport Museum, Galveston, Texas.

47GDN, April 23, 1905, pp. 6-7; April 26, 1905, p. 12.


49Clarence Ousley, ed., Galveston in Nineteen Hundred (Atlanta, Georgia: William C. Chase, 1900). This large book-length account of the hurricane and its aftermath written by the editor of the Galveston Tribune provides an extensive contemporary view of the disaster with a positive look to the future. See GDN, June 9, 1901, p. 2 for account of the visit by the Congressional Committee. Laws of the U.S. relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, 963 (1902), 1038 (1903), 1058 (1904).

50GDN, January 1, 1897, p. 6; October 10, 1896. Along with the immigrants, the Halle arrived with a cargo of cement.

51This sum in the fall of 1896 was $2.00 more than the trip from Bremen to New York. Competition between the North Atlantic ports and the Gulf port of Galveston was an issue for the NGL. She had to negotiate with the transportation forces in New York and rescind an earlier offer of a $34.00 trip from Bremen to Galveston. Rates had increased some by 1912 when NGL advertisements hawked a Galveston to Bremen charge of $35.00 steerage or $67.50 cabin and then suggested, "Bring Your Relatives from Europe by the Same Route, $67.50 Cabin, $40.50 Steerage." See GDN, July 9, 1896, p. 10, October 16, 1896, p. 4; December 25, 1896, p. 8; Galveston Tribune, May 16, 1912.

52GDN, September 22, 1898, p. 6.

53Galveston Tribune, May 14, 1907, p. 2; June 3, 1907, p. 7; GDN, April 26, 1905, p. 12; April 27, 1905, p. 12.

54GDN, April 27, 1905, p. 12.

55GDN, July 24, 1907, p. 10.

56The Port of Galveston, Texas. U.S.A. 1906-1907 (New Orleans: The Southern Manufacturer, 1907), p. 33 and back cover. See entire booklet for multiple shipping line ads, as well as advertisements for companies servicing the transportation industry. The extent of Galveston's import/export business is obvious by a perusal through its pages. The booklet included a short, two-page article entitled "Immigration", written by H. H. Haines, then Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. The News, in an article on September 1, 1909, p. 14 mentions this
southerly trade by saying "The lines to Cuba and the Mexican ports brought a few aliens from these countries, and the freighters from various parts of the world have now and then brought a few passengers."

57GDN, November 11, 1880, p. 4; October 7, 1881, p. 4; September 24, 1882, p. 4; October 1, 1884; September 30, 1885, p. 8; October 5, 1885. These ships delivering passengers also carried various other loads. The Hohenstaufen after landing in Galveston continued on to New Orleans where 80 other passengers disembarked. The steamer also sailed for New Orleans with 150 tons of oil cake on board.

The experience of Galveston with immigrant arrivals and of the immigrants with their landing procedure changed with each season and each individual. A good general overview is available in the Sunday Supplement to the GDN on April 10, 1904. Entitled "Arrival of a an Immigrant Ship at Galveston" this informative article describes the process well and includes several photographs.


59GDN, June 11, 1906, p. 4.


61GDN, March 8, 1907, p. 5; Galveston Tribune, May 23, 1907, p. 7; GDN, March 30, 1907, p. 14.

62GDN, June 21, 1907, p. 7.

63GDN, July 23, 1907, p. 1.

64GDN, October 6, 1907, p. 26; October 13, 1907, p. 16; November 1, 1907, p. 12; October 6, 1909, p. 10; May 11, 1910, p. 1; March 28, 1912, p. 12; Galveston Tribune, May 16, 1912. An interesting post-note to the argument over location of the immigration station can be seen in a March 21, 1914 article in the News. According to it, "Immigration Officials Desire a Building located on Galveston Side of Channel." Whatever combination of events resulted in the final closing of the immigration station itself, the city and national government had danced around the issue back and forth for some time.

65GDN, March 28, 1912, p. 12; Galveston Tribune, November 26, 1929; For a fuller story of the quarantine station see Larry J. Wygant, "The Galveston Quarantine Stations, 1853-1950" Texas Medicine 82 (June 1986): 49-52; and GDN, July 11, 1907, p. 14; July 17, 1907, p. 6. Reminiscences of life on the island in the
quarantine station are available in a first person account entitled "Quarantine" by Louise Berthold in the Houston Chronicle, May 10, 1970, Sunday Supplement.

66GDN, April 22, 1906.

67Galveston Tribune, June 10, 1907, p. 8; May 16, 1912; GDN, July 2, 1907, p. 10; December 8, 1907, p. 16; September 18, 1909, p. 10

68GDN, December 8, 1907, p. 16; Galveston Tribune, May 16, 1912; Pamphlet entitled "Galveston" dated 1910, (no publication information and no author) in Manuscript Collection, Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas; GDN, March 28, 1912, p. 12.


70A few selective articles in the newspapers of the time discussed this issue of diverting immigrants southward and identified President Taft's support of such endeavors. See New York Times, August 21, 1910, p. 2 & October 22, 1910, p. 10. For Galveston's look at this issue see Galveston Tribune, May 25, 1907, p. 10; GDN, May 6, 1906, p. 14; January 22, 1908, p. 6; April 25, 1908, p. 12; March 18, 1909, p. 12.

71GDN, July 2, 1907, p. 9. The Galveston Tribune (May 16, 1912) painted a much bleaker picture of life on the island if the various immigrant agencies did not help out in this funneling process. "The result would be a congestion in Galveston; the port of entry would soon be crowded with immigrants who in due course of time would form Hebrew quarters, German quarters, or whatever their nationality would demand, and they would be little if any better off than before they left their old home."

72GDN, July 2, 1907, p. 9; July 2, 1907, p. 10; March 15, 1908, p. 28; Galveston Tribune, October 11, 1913, p. 9. Many articles in Galveston newspapers told the story of this continuing Galveston Movement, of which the following are only representative--GDN, July 2, 1907, p. 9; July 21, 1912 p. 14; October 2, 1914, p. 7; Galveston Tribune, October 11, 1913, p. 9. As this immigrant flow continued, numerous other agencies responded to the need of the immigrants coming through Galveston or settling in the city. One example would be the Council of Jewish Women which organized in February of 1913 with fifty members, some of whom
served as a "department of aid to immigrant girls." See GDN, February 17, 1913, p. 10.

73GDN, September 27, 1914, p. 24; October 2, 1914, p. 7; Axelrod "Rabbi Henry Cohen", 33-34. The American Jewish Historical Society in Waltham, Massachusetts has papers dealing with the Galveston Immigration Plan and the Industrial Removal Office, which kept follow-up records on persons distributed throughout the United States through the efforts of the agency. These follow up letters, Collection I-91, Industrial Removal Office, describe a wide variety of placements in Texas and hints at the work by adopted Texans in helping place immigrants.

74GDN, July 19, 1908, p. 5; September 17, 1908, p. 10; March 15, 1909, p. 10; February 17, 1910, p. 2.

75GDN, February 27, 1910, p. 2; Galveston Tribune, May 16, 1912.

76GDN, January 3, 1915.
Chapter Twelve -- Conclusion

In 1920 Texas boasted a total population of 4,663,228 people, a 19 percent increase over the 1910 figure. Such an increase simply continued the post-Civil War growth of Texas. Between 1860 and 1920 the population increased more than 671 percent.¹ (See accompanying table and chart.) But statistics tell only one part of the development of the state. They do not convey the energy expended by Texans in seeking to encourage people to come to Texas.

Why did people migrate to Texas between 1865 and 1914? What did they hear or see that caused them to consider relocating in Texas rather than somewhere else or anywhere? What enticements held out the strongest appeal? What kind of people came during those years? How were they received by those who had arrived earlier? Did they move in one long-distance jump, or did they move by increments, gradually deciding where to put down roots and settle? The migratory process contains so many aspects that an analysis of the total picture can be overwhelming. But the tremendous increase in population in Texas from 1865 to 1914, justifies an attempt to come to some conclusions about these multiple questions.

This continuity in population growth presents Texas as an "immigrant state" in a way not usually perceived by the public. It is important to keep in mind that the term "immigrant" is being defined in the nineteenth-century way as anyone who moved to Texas, whatever their place of origin. Images of cowboys and oil wells have overwhelmed the image of Texas as an "immigrant state." Yet the reality remains that from its antebellum beginnings until today, Texas has grown and developed as much by the infusion of many, differing peoples as by the lure of its natural resources.
## Southern States Population Growth, 1860 - 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr\State</th>
<th>Alabama</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>Arkansas</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>Florida</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>964,201</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>435,450</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>140,424</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>996,992</td>
<td>3.40%</td>
<td>484,471</td>
<td>11.26%</td>
<td>187,748</td>
<td>33.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,262,505</td>
<td>26.63%</td>
<td>802,525</td>
<td>65.65%</td>
<td>269,493</td>
<td>43.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,513,401</td>
<td>19.87%</td>
<td>1,129,211</td>
<td>40.58%</td>
<td>391,422</td>
<td>45.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,828,692</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
<td>1,311,564</td>
<td>16.25%</td>
<td>528,542</td>
<td>35.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,138,093</td>
<td>16.92%</td>
<td>1,574,449</td>
<td>20.04%</td>
<td>752,619</td>
<td>42.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,348,174</td>
<td>9.83%</td>
<td>1,752,204</td>
<td>11.29%</td>
<td>968,470</td>
<td>28.68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr\State</th>
<th>Georgia</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>Louisiana</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>Mississippi</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,057,286</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>708,002</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>791,305</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,184,109</td>
<td>12.00%</td>
<td>726,915</td>
<td>2.67%</td>
<td>827,922</td>
<td>4.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,542,180</td>
<td>30.24%</td>
<td>939,946</td>
<td>29.31%</td>
<td>1,131,597</td>
<td>36.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,837,353</td>
<td>19.14%</td>
<td>1,118,588</td>
<td>19.01%</td>
<td>1,289,800</td>
<td>13.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,216,331</td>
<td>20.63%</td>
<td>1,381,625</td>
<td>23.52%</td>
<td>1,551,270</td>
<td>20.29%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,609,121</td>
<td>17.72%</td>
<td>1,656,388</td>
<td>19.89%</td>
<td>1,797,114</td>
<td>15.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,895,832</td>
<td>10.99%</td>
<td>1,798,509</td>
<td>8.58%</td>
<td>1,790,618</td>
<td>-0.36%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr\State</th>
<th>N. Carolina</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>Oklahoma</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>S. Carolina</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>992,622</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>703,708</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,071,361</td>
<td>7.93%</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>705,606</td>
<td>0.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,399,750</td>
<td>30.65%</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>995,577</td>
<td>41.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,617,949</td>
<td>15.59%</td>
<td>258,657</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1,151,149</td>
<td>15.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1,893,810</td>
<td>17.05%</td>
<td>790,391</td>
<td>205.57%</td>
<td>1,340,316</td>
<td>16.43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,206,287</td>
<td>16.50%</td>
<td>1,657,155</td>
<td>109.66%</td>
<td>1,515,400</td>
<td>13.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,559,123</td>
<td>15.99%</td>
<td>2,028,283</td>
<td>22.40%</td>
<td>1,683,724</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr\State</th>
<th>Tennessee</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>Virginia</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
<th>W. Virginia</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1,109,801</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1,219,630</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>376,668</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,258,520</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>1,225,163</td>
<td>0.45%</td>
<td>442,014</td>
<td>17.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,542,359</td>
<td>22.55%</td>
<td>1,512,565</td>
<td>23.46%</td>
<td>618,457</td>
<td>39.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,767,518</td>
<td>14.60%</td>
<td>1,655,980</td>
<td>9.48%</td>
<td>762,794</td>
<td>23.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,020,616</td>
<td>14.32%</td>
<td>1,854,184</td>
<td>11.97%</td>
<td>958,800</td>
<td>25.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,184,789</td>
<td>8.12%</td>
<td>2,061,612</td>
<td>11.19%</td>
<td>1,221,119</td>
<td>27.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,337,885</td>
<td>7.01%</td>
<td>2,309,187</td>
<td>12.01%</td>
<td>1,463,701</td>
<td>19.87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr\State</th>
<th>Texas</th>
<th>% Chg</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>604,215</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>818,579</td>
<td>35.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>1,591,749</td>
<td>94.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,235,527</td>
<td>40.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>3,048,710</td>
<td>36.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3,896,542</td>
<td>27.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>4,663,228</td>
<td>19.68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present.
## Southern States Population Growth, 1860 - 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>% Change*</th>
<th>1860 Census</th>
<th>1920 Census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>89.34%</td>
<td>1,219,630</td>
<td>2,309,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Virginia</td>
<td>288.57%</td>
<td>376,688</td>
<td>1,463,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Carolina</td>
<td>157.81%</td>
<td>992,622</td>
<td>2,559,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Carolina</td>
<td>139.26%</td>
<td>703,708</td>
<td>1,683,724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>173.89%</td>
<td>1,057,286</td>
<td>2,895,832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>589.68%</td>
<td>140,424</td>
<td>968,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>110.66%</td>
<td>1,109,801</td>
<td>2,337,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>143.54%</td>
<td>964,201</td>
<td>2,348,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>126.29%</td>
<td>791,305</td>
<td>1,790,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>302.39%</td>
<td>435,450</td>
<td>1,752,204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>154.03%</td>
<td>708,002</td>
<td>1,798,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>671.78%</td>
<td>604,215</td>
<td>4,663,228</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* % Change = 100*((1920 Census/1860 Census)-1)

### Population Growth Over 60 Years

- **Texas**: 4,663,228
- **Louisiana**: 1,798,509
- **Arkansas**: 1,752,204
- **Mississippi**: 1,790,618
- **Alabama**: 2,348,174
- **Tennessee**: 2,337,885
- **Florida**: 968,470
- **Georgia**: 2,895,832
- **S. Carolina**: 1,683,724
- **N. Carolina**: 2,559,123
- **W. Virginia**: 1,463,701
- **Virginia**: 2,309,187

- **1920 Census**
- **1860 Census**
This account has not attempted to tell the complete history of Texas: it does not incorporate major events such as the discoveries at Spindletop, the introduction of the automobile as a new and important means of transportation, the financial Panics of 1873 and the 1890s, or the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The focus here has been on one aspect only of the growth of Texas's population in the half century following the Civil War. This study attempts to tell the story of how Texans, both native and adopted, worked to encourage other people to join them in living in the Lone Star State. Texans did this with a vigor, a persistence, and a creativity not always found in other states or United States territories. Many Texans participated in this activity in response to the state's constitutional prohibition, others out of a desire to have relatives and friendly people as neighbors, still others hoped through immigration to bring increased prosperity to the state. Whatever their motivation, people wrote letters, pamphlets, books, newspapers, and made personal connections in an effort to broadcast their message of enticement. They also worked to improve the transportation systems in the state. The construction and utilization of railways provided an extraordinary impetus toward the peopling of the state. The development of Galveston as a deep water port and immigration station further stimulated the entrance of more people to the shores of the state. Texans, as a whole, put out the welcome mat once they built their own homes and settled in.

When the Civil War ended in 1865, Texas began a new era. Moving actively to restore law and order as well as commerce, her politicians, business leaders, and common people proceeded to turn to home concerns and their personal and collective economic well-being. The displacement caused by war-time mobility brought a sustained effort by individuals to re-unite with loved ones and/or settle in one place with the hope of rebuilding a peacetime existence. Newly freed blacks participated
in this movement. Returning soldiers were part of this migratory stream. Frustrated farmers searched for fertile land to cultivate. Plantation owners looked around for a dependable labor force to till their expansive lands. In the midst of this chaos, Texas sat with tremendous acreage that was rich in nutrients and waiting for development. Using the land as a lure, 8 Texans began to publicize their state as the place of renewal—the place of new beginnings. Plantation owners put together associations bent on importing laborers from Europe. Men like Ashbel Smith and Thomas Affleck participated in organized plans to bring foreign-born workers to plant and reap the cotton crop so prominent in south and east Texas. Newspapers like the Galveston Daily News, the Houston Telegraph, and Flake's Bulletin kept the issue of immigration before their reading public. And in those first five years after Appomattox, Texas reasserted its antebellum message of "Come to Texas."

Re-enforcing this cordial-welcome-image, the state adopted a constitution and then enabling legislation to establish a Bureau of Immigration. Under the early leadership of Gustav Loeffler and later that of General Jerome B. Robertson, Texas set up commissioners with the task of facilitating migration to the state and eventually printed a short pamphlet designed to provide potential immigrants with specific information. Texas, the Home for the Emigrant from Everywhere sought to explain the state's natural resources, its laws, and climate. Statistics provided reassurance that Texas had the commerce, people, and weather to sustain a growing population. Efforts to distribute such written material consumed a great deal of the energy of the Immigration Bureau. Yearly reports of the bureau reflect considerable activity by its agents in Europe and in the United States to help direct immigration to Texas. The respective superintendents spent many hours at establishing good relationships with train and steamship companies in attempts to reduce travel expenses for emigrants. While records indicate this activity, there is no measurable
way of knowing exactly how much influence the bureau actually had upon migration to Texas. Its existence and its activity, though, indicate an interest on the part of Texans at encouraging an influx of newcomers to the state.

Government activity concerning immigration was but one part of the overall endeavor to bring new people to the state. Many private companies, agencies, and organizations constituted an informal network of efforts to write and publish literature intended to attract immigrants.

Newspapers around the state continually printed observations about people moving into their neighborhoods and editorialized about the value of these newcomers to the community. Newspapers served as the ultimate boosters for their locale, and in their specialized efforts at populating the region that supported their readership, they contributed to the overall expansion of the population. Papers like the Galveston Daily News, with a state-wide readership, kept the issue of immigration before their larger audience and often provided a wider perspective about migration and immigration for Texans to ponder. Out-of-state papers like the Texas New Yorker and the St. Louis Texan served to present a Texas point of view to those far from Texas lands. George Sweet in New York kept his monthly paper full of articles about the advantages of living in Texas. He made suggestions to Texans about ways in which they could help bring more people to their state, and he printed many of the multiple letters sent to him. Each month his paper included a new up-dated map of the state, giving readers the latest information in transportation developments and newly settled communities.

Common almanacs served as yet another vehicle for information meant to reach the potential immigrant. A variety of these were published over the years, but almost all contained articles addressed directly to immigrants and aimed at providing concrete, specific information about the process of getting to Texas and
adapting to its environment. The statistics in tables, the advertisements for business concerns, and the testimonials so typical of the genre meant to address the questions most immigrants wanted answered as they contemplated a move.

Other titles existed on the market place with the emphasis on providing current information for immigrants. They included, among many others, *Glimpses of Texas: Its Divisions, Resources, Development and Prospects, A Few Practical Remarks About Texas*, and *Texas, Information for Emigrants*. Growing railroad systems published such works as *Free Guide to Texas, Notes on Texas*, and *Immigrants Guide to Western Texas*—all meant to entice people to check out Texas as a land for agricultural development and the settlement of families upon the land.

Newspapers, almanacs, books, pamphlets, and brochures made up a vast part of the enticement literature of this era. But personal letters, those published in the media and those handed from friend to friend, also had an immeasurable impact upon potential settlers to the state. The links they provided among those far apart from each other often made the move more palatable and also commonly served to encourage the chain migration that contributed significantly to the state's growth. Crucial to understanding the influence of a letter is the realization that most letters typically received more than a "once-over" glance by the reader. As one newly arrived Texan in 1866 wrote to Mississippi relatives, "I have read Tommie's letter over twenty times." Often a letter on the receiving end was shared, in whole or in part, with other family members or friends and was no doubt discussed for days on end. As each person heard or read the words, the influence of the written message multiplied. Both negative and positive responses or impressions could thus develop and in turn cause these readers to rethink their own decision to remain where they were or to relocate.
People of the time were aware of the influence their letters had upon others.

The *Houston Telegraph* told its readers in 1869,

> Let us be alive to our own interest and soon will there be a flood of immigration pouring down upon us to obtain the advantages, which our State and her railroads will offer.

> The Legislature has much to do to foster this matter, but we should not expect it to do the half that may be done. Every citizen can give substantial help with little trouble or expense. Two cents to send a paper or three cents for a letter may bring a dozen good citizens...Let every man and woman in Texas feel that it is a part of his or her duty to induce others to come here...Let us work and do it actively, and within a year we will see very astonishing returns.⁶

Such an admonition demonstrates the value placed upon letters and it also illustrates the involvement and interaction of newspapers in the immigration process.

The written materials of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century addressed a wide and varied audience. The words were addressed to those persons considering a move to a new place. The words were intended for any potential reader with the slightest spark of interest in relocating. The descriptions and explanations of Texas were meant to entice people into making a change in their lives—into leaving whatever place they called home to set up a new home in Texas. A great number of different themes echo and re-echo on the pages of these written documents. Those writing about Texas sought to dispel negative publicity about the state and so worked to reassure their readers of the special attributes of the state. Whether they tackled subjects like supposed lawlessness, cold weather in the form of "northers," or the real need for more workers on the land, the compilers of enticement literature exhibited a positivism meant to overcome all hesitancy. These same writers addressed their message to families, assuming that most people would arrive in the state in familial groupings that would help cushion the adjustment to new surroundings. The family on the farm was the primary object of most
enticement literature of the era. A third tactic used consistently by these writers was the overlapping of current conditions with pictures of what would exist in the near future. This "will be/is" factor of enticement material seemed to be accepted by the readers as they developed their own internal image of what life would be like after their move to the state.

Between 1865 and 1875 a wide variety of published and written documents sent out the message of "Come to Texas." The state government participated in the movement through its Bureau of Immigration. Continually under-funded, the Bureau of Immigration came under heavy fire at the 1875 constitutional convention. The major issues at the convention were education for black and white children of the state, the reduction of taxation for the people, and the potential for splitting the state into several smaller independent states. While not a major subject at the conference, the issue of immigration generated floor debate that questioned government involvement in the efforts at bringing more people to Texas. Anger against foreign-born people was not at the crux of the debate. Although some have suggested that Grangers, a major component of the delegation at the convention, were anti-immigration and thus against any Bureau of Immigration, the record suggests otherwise. Two strong supporters of government encouragement of immigration to Texas were Jacob Waelder of Bexar County and Caton Erhard of Bastrop County. Both men spoke extensively and submitted minority reports against any constitutional section limiting state involvement in the business of encouraging immigration to the state. But the final vote tally saw their argument defeated by a count of 33 to 47.\textsuperscript{7}

Most of the debate on the capitol floor centered around the expenditure of money in the pursuit of immigration. Fiscal conservatism was the vogue of the era. One delegate felt that to "advertise Texas,"\textsuperscript{8} as he put it, was a waste of time and
money. Texas could do that just by its existence and as word spread of its fame and
territory. Enough delegates must have agreed with him, for Section 56 of the
constitution clearly prohibited the spending of any money for such purposes. The
final constitution was ratified by a majority of Texans in February 1876, becoming
the law of the land in April of that same year.

While the constitutional prohibition officially pulled the state government out
of the "immigration business," it also served to inspire public citizens to do their own
work at enticing newcomers to the state. The passage of the constitution with its
prohibition changed the formal nature of work to encourage immigration, but it did
not bring such efforts to a halt. Stepping into the perceived vacuum created by the
constitutional provision, private corporations formed to do some of this work in a
concerted way. Individually, Texans also entered the effort by writing letters,
working for companies like the railroad which encouraged the in-migration of
newcomers, publishing newspapers supportive of a population influx, and forming
immigration aid societies as booster agencies for their community. An 1887
meeting in Dallas of the Immigration Convention brought together people from all
over the state. This convention served ultimately as a catalyst for helping
Galveston develop deep water over its bar, facilitating commerce in freight and
people. But it also sparked various communities to begin thinking in terms of
cooperative efforts at bringing people to the less populated areas of the state, as well
as formulating a State Immigration Committee expressly employed to encourage
such work.

About the same time, Texas participated in the Southern Interstate
Immigration Convention in Montgomery, Alabama. A Texan, Frank B. Chilton,
served as its director and worked to formulate a southern-based effort at
encouraging immigration to the southern states. This activity demonstrates Texas's
sense of belonging to the South and sharing in its vision of the future. At the turn of
the century organizations like the Texas Commercial Secretaries Association and
the Five Million Club also worked collectively to produce written material aimed at
reaching the reading public outside the state and encouraging them to come live in
Texas.

The multiple efforts by private citizens and public organizations produced a
wide variety of written material. The strong belief that concrete, specific
information in the hands of potential migrants would sway their minds and result in
their moving to Texas underlay these many endeavors. Written material remained
the central focus. In spite of the constitutional prohibition established by Section 56
of the constitution, the state government utilized its offices to help meet some of the
needs for written material. By surreptitiously circumventing restraining provisions
of the basic law, state agencies like the Department of Insurance, Statistics, and
History and the later Department of Agriculture, Insurance, Statistics, and History
produced volumes of information gleaned from state-wide surveys. Under the cover
of preparing this information for intrastate use, these agencies published works that
then were used to "get out the message" of what Texas had to offer the potential
emigrant or homeseeker. The information they amassed tells us today much about
the Texas of then, but it also demonstrates clearly the kinds of information deemed
effective at convincing outsiders to opt for Texas.

The many private and public organizations that evolved in Texas over the
years from 1876 to 1914 contributed to this work. In addition, concern for good
transportation also helped to propel energies directed ultimately at facilitating the
movement of people. The continued construction of railroad mileage stimulated
greater ease of travel state-wide. In 1865 the state had 395 miles of track. Ten
years later that total reached 1685, and by 1895 it had climbed to 9291.9 This
transportation web across the state attracted the attention of newcomers, in essence
grabbing them and channeling them into the state where they were magically
released to disperse across the landscape. Areas of the state like the far
northwestern panhandle and plains region found themselves the recipient of many
newcomers as railroad brochures presented information about lands along their
routes, newer technologies such as irrigated farming, and the potential for
diversified crops in the marketplace. Communities grew up at regular intervals
along the track. Various products found their way to markets via the railways. And
throughout this whole time, railroad publicity departments issued forth a steady
stream of written materials.

In advertising Texas, railroads used tactics described earlier that had become
central to all enticement literature: themes of reassurance, encouragement to
family migration, and projections of the future potential inherent in the Texas land.
Other techniques specifically related to the rail industry developed. Railroads
presented and boasted of their fares, especially their emigrant rates for initial travel
and later household moving capabilities. They continued to address some of their
words specifically to the foreign-born migrant, conscious of the potential in luring
increased numbers of people to use steamship and rail lines to arrive in a new home.
Railroads often mentioned in their literature the value of coming to Texas as part of
a colony of people. Their suggestions spoke to the need for cheap travel by those
with finite financial resources and to the human desire of having ready
companionship in a new land. An endeavor unique to some of the Texas railroads
was the erection of "immigrant homes" at special points along their routes. The
Texas and Pacific RR, the Galveston, Harrisburg & San Antonio RR, and the
International and Great Northern RR all provided such buildings as way stations for
the tired immigrant family as they moved to a new land and scouted out a new
home. The railroads by their vast size and organizational scale alone meant large numbers of personnel to service the company's needs. These construction squads, maintenance crews, depot agents, and various department administrators all supported the growth and influence of the railroads in relationship to encouraging immigration.

Galveston as the major commercial port of the state remained an integral part of this peopling of Texas. It early served to funnel people from the coast to the interior. As the rail lines grew and made their connections with the island port, this influence increased. However, Galveston was painfully aware of its limitations. A sandbar kept deep-draught-vessels from coming directly into port. As the steamship era evolved and ships attained greater size, this continued to hurt the potential of Galveston as a port for the state's import/export trade. As early as the 1860s the city worked to deepen their harbor, providing access through that bar. Slowly they grasped the need for utilizing federal financial aid to accomplish their goals. Strongly supportive of this effort was the Galveston Daily News, which published a continuous stream of news articles and editorials about efforts by Galvestonians to improve their harbor and their image as a transportation center. Galveston's participation in the Immigration Convention held in Dallas on December 20 and 21, 1887, illustrates most clearly the overlapping of the city's interest in immigration and in improving their port to facilitate such movement.

In 1896 direct access to Galveston's wharves became a reality as dredging of the sandbar cut a ship's path into the harbor. This accomplishment meant the opportunity for more direct shipping from Europe. It also spurred the increase in ships delivering foreign-born immigrants to the Texas shore. This development, in turn, sparked further efforts by island residents to secure a sizable federal immigration station. Their hope was that such a federal installation would help lure
greater steamship use of the port as an immigrant destination. Transportation
access typically increases people movement. Galveston developed as a potentially
strong immigration destination by 1914. Unfortunately for Galveston's dreams and
hopes of future city growth, a European war stepped onto the world stage. The war
dramatically reduced international shipping and slowed to a trickle the delivery of
immigrants to the United States and Texas. The year, 1914, thus becomes the end
point for this study of immigration and migration to Texas.

EPILOGUE

On December 20, 1956, the public relations firm of Syers, Pickle, and Winn,
Incorporated, presented its findings of a nine-month study to the organizational
committee of the newly founded Texas Tourist Foundation (TTF). The complete
report, which reads like a short history of the organization of the TTF, conveyed its
belief that Texas needed some kind of private agency with the aim of drawing
tourists and "new Texans by adoption" to the state. It also included survey results
obtained by canvassing private state organizations as well as research into the work
of other states in promoting themselves for potential tourism. What were some of
the findings and conclusions?

Most conspicuous in the report were the characterizations of Section 56 of the
state's constitution: "antiquated clause," "eighty-year-old stumbling block," "silly,
horse-and-buggy law," "ridiculous, hampering and long outdated clause," "archaic,
80-year-old Constitutional prohibition." From the very beginnings of the TTF and
the subsequent survey it commissioned, the 1876 prohibition against "selling Texas"
served as a strong focal point of reference.
According to the Syers, Pickle and Winn analysis, a group of interested people met on March 22, 1956, in Austin as an outgrowth of an earlier February meeting held by the Petroleum Marketers Association. This association had a vested interest in procuring a wider market for their products by encouraging tourism. They originally intended to form a Tourist Information Service, but after much discussion and subsequent gatherings they arranged a July 12, 1956, meeting in which the Texas Tourist Foundation became a separate entity. The list of participants at that July meeting reveals much about the support for such an endeavor. Among the over 100 persons present were representatives from: Humble Oil & Refining Company, Texas Motor Bus Association, Magnolia Petroleum Company, The Houston Post, the Texas Historical Foundation, the Associated Texas Service Stations, the Lower Rio Grande Valley Chamber of Commerce, and the Texas Good Roads Association. Not surprisingly, the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Burlington Railway had delegates at the meeting, thus reflecting a continued interest on the part of the railroads in helping develop the state's economic growth. But somewhat surprising was the presence of the Director of Information of the Texas Highway Department and the Director of the Texas State Parks Board. One wonders if they attended as interested observers or as formal representatives of their state agencies? The person holding the reins of this not-for-profit organization was F. W. Burton, who was also serving as the current president of the Petroleum Marketers Association. The listing of meeting participants and later nominations for the advisory board reinforces the statement by Syers, Pickle and Winn that the TTF's "support and leadership is drawn equally from all groups concerned with bringing more people to Texas, temporarily or permanently."

A reading of the final report by this Austin-based public relations firm shows the evolution of a program from an original effort to provide information about
Texas through private business means to a formal foundation tackling a major constitutional prohibition. By December 1956 the TTF looked to 1957 as the beginning of a three-year campaign in which its "Number One Project" was to change Texas laws. As it projected the near future, the organization would expend its energies at pushing for an amendment to the state constitution in 1958. Then it would lobby in 1959 for enabling legislation to authorize the expenditure of state money to attract people to Texas. In 1960, TTF expected in the government to establish a "State Development Commission" to carry out the goal of continually advertising Texas.¹⁶

The fight to allow the state to invest in tourism and immigration ultimately succeeded, for on November 4, 1958, Texas voters accepted the argument of the TTF and changed the 1876 constitution. The new provision read:

Sec. 56. The Legislature of the State of Texas shall have the power to appropriate money and establish the procedure necessary to expend such money for the purpose of developing information about the historical, natural, agricultural, industrial, educational, marketing, recreational and living resources of Texas, and for the purpose of informing persons and corporations of other states through advertising in periodicals having national circulation, and the dissemination of factual information about the advantages and economic resources offered by the State of Texas;...¹⁷

With this constitutional amendment, Texas moved into a new era. She dramatically increased her promotional power to draw more and more people to Texas. Private companies, businesses, city and county chambers of commerce, and booster organizations continued to convey their individualized information. But now once again the state government could move aggressively into a campaign saying to people far and wide, "Come to Texas."
1These computer-generated statistics are based upon the census data published in The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present (Stamford, Connecticut: Fairfield Publishers, Inc., 1965), 12-13. If 1850 (the first federal census to include Texas) instead of 1860 were used as the base line for this analysis of population growth in Texas, the increase in population between 1850 and 1920 would represent a 2093 percent change. The counted population in 1850 was 212,592, while the 1920 figure was 4,663,228.

2This, too, is an area deserving of greater study. A comparison of the various states and their efforts to induce people to migrate there, would surely bring some interesting conclusions to light. This would be especially true for a comparison of efforts by the individual southern states in the postbellum era, since some historians assume that whatever efforts southerners made were ineffectual. Before such conclusions can be drawn, some effort at comparative analysis is necessary. Laws formulated by each state would be a good beginning point for such comparative work. But as with the Texas story, the need to go beyond efforts by official state government agencies to look at work by the private sphere is essential.

3The title of a recently published series of Texas county maps expresses just that connection. In 1988 Joe B. Frantz and Mike Cox pulled together a wide variety of maps, mostly from the Texas Land Office collection, and published Lure of the Land, Texas County Maps and the History of Settlement (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1988). The vast majority of these maps came into existence in the 1870s and 1880s when Texas experienced the boom time of county formation.

Accurate cartography is one element of the immigration story that also needs investigation and analysis. Most railroad brochures included some type of map indicating their lines' location in Texas. Communities, as well, often utilized map sketches in their brochures. Almanacs always included some kind of map, often a large fold-out version, as part of its reference material. The story of migration in Texas would be augmented by developing the relationship of maps to immigration and their potential influence on such movement.

4People of the 1880s in Texas knew the influence of these newspapers. The 1882 Texas Almanac under the title, "Why Texas Prospers," (p. 76) included the following about Texas newspapers.

Then, too her newspapers are the most determined and persistent advocates of home interests. They stand up for their State against all assailants, with unsurpassed devotion and fury. They are continually printing broadside reviews of the agriculture, the manufactures, and the trade and commerce of Texas, demonstrating her incomparable resources for feeding and enriching the starved millions of older and more crowded communities. These glowing statistics are scattered all over the universe, wherever mails and
telegraphs go, and undoubtedly do have a great effect in attracting emigrants to Texas."

5Letter from Martha Ann Otey in Washington County, Texas, to her mother, Mary Frances Nolley in Mississippi, June 29, 1866. Letter is part of a collection at the Sam Houston State University Library, combined under the title, "A Journey from Mississippi to Texas 1866."

6Houston Telegraph, November 6, 1869, p. 4.

7Seth Shepard McKay, ed., Debates in the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1875 (Austin: The University of Texas, 1930), 286.

8These words came from W. T. G. Weaver of Gainesville, Texas. McKay, Debates, 285.

9S. G. Reed, A History of the Texas Railroads (Houston: St. Clair Publishing Co., 1941), 517.

10Texas Tourist Foundation, Final Report of the Texas Tourist Committee, Unpublished mimeographed copy with cover letters dated December 20, 1956. Material is located at the Texas State Library in Austin, Texas, in Miscellany File, 2-23/1056. The document consists of three portions: Section A - Letter of Introduction; Section B - Part One, "Organization" and Part Two, "Research"; Section C - Conclusions and Recommendations. Since pagination is divided by Section, footnotes will reflect section and page number in that fashion and will hereafter be listed under TTF.

11TTF, Section A, p. 3.

12TTF, Section B, Part One, p. 36. Section B, Part Two included the results of eight separate surveys. For example, Texas' advertising in Texas newspapers received attention in a separate survey as did the opinions of various travel agents. Collecting representative public opinion about Texas nationwide was yet another of the tasks performed by this public relations firm.

Fascinating statistics concerning promotional budgets for other states and United States territories were also a part of this study. According to Syers, Pickle, and Winn material, Florida lead the pack with a recent yearly expenditure of $1,000,000 in state funds. Hawaii came in second with an advertising budget of $649,000. North Carolina spent $293,484, Tennessee $162,000, and Alabama $110,000. Texas with its state constitutional prohibition could not even be included on the list. These representative figures helped lead the study organizers to draw the conclusion that "All of the 47 other States now have statewide development programs....Texas alone has NONE." TTF, Section B, Part One, p. 36 and Section C, p. 1.

13TTF, Section B, Part One, pp. 6, 24, 26; Section C, p. 5.

14TTF, Section B - Part One, pp. 9, 11-17.

15TTF, Section A, p. 1.
16 TTF, Section C, pp. 5-8.

17 Vernon’s Annotated Constitution of the State of Texas, Volume 3: Constitution, Articles 13 to End (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1993), 399. According to one analyst of this amendment, section 56 "now states in substance what the minority wanted to say in 1875." The efforts by a minority voted down in the 1875 constitutional convention thus were vindicated nearly eighty years later by the ratification of the new amendment in 1958. See George D. Braden, The Constitution of the State of Texas: An Annotated and Comparative Analysis ([Austin: Texas Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 1977]), 798.

An interesting sidelight to this constitutional provision is the difference between the 1955 proposed amendment to Section 56 and the final one passed in 1958. The addition of the word "historical" at the head of the listing about information to be developed indicates an awareness on the part of lawmakers of the chances for exploiting the state’s historical past as a way to lure more people to visit Texas. Enticement literature of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century overwhelmingly included references to Texas history as part of their message. This later twentieth century effort thus clearly follows in the footsteps of earlier enticement literature.

It is also important to see the emphasis on tourism as having ultimately a two-fold goal. First, it brings visitors to the state. This means money spent on travel, lodgings, food, and entertainment. Money spent in this way enriched the state’s economic growth. Second, the hope existed in a vision of "once a visitor, later a resident." The earlier attempts by railroad brochures to suggest a visit to the state by a farmer to see for himself or herself the potential in Texas are thus paralleled by the later efforts to get people to see Texas for themselves and thus plant the seed in their minds that this might be the place to which they want to move permanently.
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1) Dates determined by internal evidence are followed by a question mark in brackets, i.e. [?].
2) If document has an author, this is used as primary reference.
3) If no author is identified, then document is alphabetized in list by title.
4) Information on the title page identifying the railroad responsible for the publication will be included with other publication information from the title page.
5) If railroad can be identified from subsequent pages of the text, that information will be included in brackets behind the title.
6) Railroads merge and change their names frequently, so no attempt has been made to seek standardized names for the railroads. Only material used on the title page or from the document is used.
7) The length of the railroad document has no relevance to its inclusion on the list. Documents vary from one-sheet maps to twenty-page brochures to documents over 200 pages long.


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