

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY SURROUNDING THE
ESTABLISHMENT AND LIFE OF THE
STONEWALL SALOON (HISTORICAL MUSEUM)
CIRCA 1873

A THESIS
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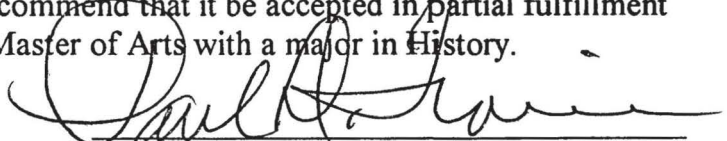
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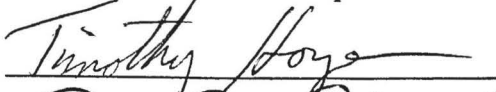
To the Dean of Graduate Studies and Research:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Reta Oliver-Muller entitled "A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY SURROUNDING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND LIFE OF THE STONEWALL SALOON (HISTORICAL MUSEUM) CIRCA 1873." I have examined this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in History.

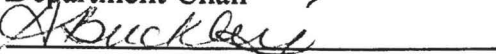


Paul D. Travis, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:



Department Chair



Dean of College/School

Accepted:



Dean of Graduate Studies and Research

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I want to acknowledge my obligation to the members of my family and friends who have given their full cooperation and assistance in support of this project. Most especially I want to thank my husband for assisting with the research of the cowboys and the cattle trails, along with his advice and interest. To my mother and father and closest friend, Debbie, for their consistent support of my efforts and for always believing that I could do this and encouraging me along the way.

This endeavor is an historical review of the history surrounding the establishment and life of the Stonewall Saloon, circa 1873, now known as the Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum.

We must acknowledge the pioneers who came before us for their determination to tame and settle a dangerous wilderness on the frontier plains of north central Texas. These sturdy people gave us a legacy that we should endeavor to preserve, protect, and respect. In the words of Berta Hart Nance,

*Other states were carved or born;
Texas grew from hide and horn.¹*

In an effort to secure a more intimate understanding of their lives and surroundings, this scholarly study reviewed the politics, economy, society, and daily lifetime activities of various groups whose cumulative contributions assisted in the

¹ Wayne Gard, The Chisholm Trail, (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press), 1954, 20.

establishment of a front line of civilization in the untamed wilderness of this part of Texas in the late 1800s. Their contributions have enriched our heritage beyond words.

I also want to express my appreciation to Dr. Paul Travis for his critical examination of the manuscript and valuable suggestions and for his unfaltering good humor despite the impossible deadlines I set for myself; to Dr. Jim Alexander for his insistence that I pursue a Masters degree; to my friends and ardent proofreaders Jackie Nye and Terry Welker; to my enthusiastic support group and close friends through this whole educational process; to Sherry, Ernie, Jerrie, Willie, Lisa, and others for being a cheering section; and to the numerous staff and classmates in the History and Government Department at Texas Woman's University for their support and encouragement.

Any misinterpretations or errors are, of course, solely my own.

ABSTRACT

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY SURROUNDING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND LIFE OF THE STONEWALL SALOON HISTORICAL MUSEUM, CIRCA 1873

Reta Oliver-Muller
AUGUST 2001

After the Civil War many cattle trails crossed North Texas. Jesse Chisholm, for example, transformed a buffalo trail, one that extended from Texas to Kansas, into the Chisholm Trail. Over this trail millions of Texas cattle were driven to the railhead in Abilene, Kansas, for shipment to eastern markets. Most of the cattle crossed the Red River near Red River Station in Montague County, Texas, entering Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma. While cattle were driven north over this trail, settlers and adventurers headed west on the California Trail to seek gold in the fields of California. These trails crossed at the settlement known as Head of Elm in what is now Montague County, Texas. This frontier settlement is the site where “Captain” Irby Holt Boggess settled after migrating from Tennessee. In 1873, he built the first permanent structure in Montague County, the Stonewall Saloon¹. He chose native stone construction because it was readily available. He served cowboys on the Chisholm Trail cattle drives, as well as pioneers traveling west seeking their bonanza in California. Of historical importance, this structure

¹ Melvin Fenoglio, The Story of Montague County Texas, Its Past and Present, (Dallas, TX. Curtis Media, 1989). Page 88-89. However, further research of public records at the Montague County Courthouse reveal that Boggess and Joseph Andrew Howell were originally partners on their real estate and business ventures until Howell’s untimely death. Disposition of joint real estate and business holdings did not occur for several years following Howell’s death.

was only one of two² surviving saloons in Texas that dated their existence from the cattle drive era. Now, the Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum is the only one still standing that dates its existence from the Chisholm Trail era.³

Interestingly, the residents of Head of Elm/Saint Jo knew Boggess as “Captain.” Research, however, conducted at the National Archives in the Compiled Military Service Records of Confederate Soldiers, reveals him to be a Private, not a Captain. These records also note his absence without leave for over four months (December 10, 1862 through April 1863 roll-call) from military duty with a bounty of \$50 posted for his return.⁴

The history of the saloon, and the legend of Boggess are linked to the temperance movement in parts of Texas, and specifically in Montague County. The saloon closed in 1897. It is unclear what, if any, business the building housed from 1897 until 1907. From 1907 until 1942, the building housed the Citizens National Bank. In 1942, the Citizens National Bank merged with the Saint Jo National Bank and moved into their building across the street. From 1942 until 1957, the building housed the Kingery Drilling and Production Company. Over the years, the former saloon/bank housed a variety of businesses on the second floor. The last known use of the second floor was as a doctor’s office in the 1940s. H. D. Field, Jr. established a Saloon Museum in the building for the Montague County Centennial Celebration in 1958.

² According to the Texas Historical Commission in the early 1990s.

³ On site research conducted in San Antonio, Texas concerning the new location of the Buckhorn Saloon. The prior location that had a Texas Historical Commission Subject marker no longer exists.

⁴ National Archives, Compiled Military Service Records for Confederate Soldiers, Drawer 1, Roll #41 (Bofard-Bolt) Company E, 5 (McKenzie’s) Tennessee Cavalry.

In 1996, Johnny Muller purchased the building and its contents. His boyhood dream was to someday own the building and to retain its authenticity. Now, the museum is the passion of its present owners.

Restoration continues on the second floor to accommodate the growing collection of western and frontier memorabilia typical of the late 1800s. Future plans include educational programs for the public along with the expansion of displays and reference materials on the history of the cowboy and the impact cattle drives have had on American culture. Future plans include applying for the Texas Historical Commission Building Marker and for National Register of Historic Places designation.

Western lore shelves of libraries groan with the weight of “cowboy books” depicting their picturesque lifestyle and marvelous skill while driving herds of wild cattle across a great expanse of unsettled and untamed land. The intention of this writer is to review this information and use as appropriate while utilizing primary and secondary sources to compile a history of the saloon as well as the history of the “life and times” responsible for its creation.⁵

⁵ Teresa Jordan, Cowgirls, Women of the American West. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), 1982, 147-149.

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**The Changing Social, Political, and Economic Climate
of the
United States and its Impact and Influence on North Central Texas
from the
Civil War Period to the Turn of the Century**

The Civil War consisted of four long years of fighting over slavery and states' rights. Once the actual physical fighting was over on the battlefields, the fight continued in the halls of Congress. Theoretically slavery had ended but the issues behind the Civil War had not been settled. These issues would determine what our country stood for. Blacks were free from slavery, but many realized that true freedom encompassed many personal rights that they were being denied. The unalienable¹ rights of blacks were being thwarted by 'black codes.'² The Radical Republicans took control over Reconstruction in an attempt to constructively deal with abolishing slavery and other the problems left by the Civil War. In 1866, the Radical Republicans passed the Civil Rights Act, the purpose of which was to nullify these 'black codes' and to attempt to rebuild the society and economy of the South and the nation. President Andrew Johnson vetoed the Civil Rights Act; the 'black codes' were finally overturned in 1867; the rebuilding of the society and economy of the South proved to be much more difficult. President Johnson was a former

¹ *Webster's* defines unalienable (inalienable) as incapable of being alienated, surrendered, or transferred (~rights). Blacks were denied equal participation in civil and political activities.

² Black codes were the name given to laws, mainly in the Southern states, imposing restrictions on freed slaves. Many of the black codes were actually economic legal servitude in an attempt to force unjust terms of working conditions on the freedmen due to southern paranoia rooted in their white supremacy beliefs.

slave owner, but he no longer believed in slavery. He did not, however, believe in equality. He also felt that the states, not the central government, should protect individual rights, thus supporting the states' rights argument. The battle over these issues was fierce. Following the veto of the Civil Rights Act, in 1868, the Radical Republicans introduced the 14th Amendment... *"No state shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."* The 14th Amendment gave power to the federal government to protect all of its citizens, even against the states. The 14th Amendment also gave power to the Supreme Court. In 1867, Congress introduced the Reconstruction Act, President Johnson vetoed it, but Congress had enough votes to pass the Act over his veto. Ahead of its time, the 14th Amendment was supposed to be a weapon against bigotry and injustice. It was not until the middle of the 20th century that civil rights laws were passed and implemented that made a big difference in a better life for blacks and all peoples' unalienable rights.

In 1866, Texas' Governor James W. Throckmorton opposed black suffrage³ in any form. He also refused to take action on the 13th Amendment [abolishing slavery, 1865]. Governor Throckmorton also rejected the 15th Amendment [black suffrage] when it was introduced. The Texas Senate endorsed a resolution stating that any further action was "surplusage"⁴ if not intrusive" and the 15th Amendment was deemed unconstitutional

³ According to *American Constitutional Law*, blacks were given the right to vote in 1870 with the passage of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

⁴ *Webster's* defines surplusage as excessive or nonessential matter; matter introduced in legal pleading which is not necessary or relevant to the case.

and impractical.⁵ Though by 1867, Governor Throckmorton expressed in a letter to Ashbel Smith that ‘no impediment’ should stand in the way of the newly-enfranchised class.⁶

Radical Republicans passed the Tenure of Office Bill in 1867 that prevented the President from firing his own cabinet members. Union soldiers were sent south to ensure the newly created Reconstruction laws were observed and enforced. This period of time [1867-1876] is referred to as congressional or military Reconstruction during which time laws were changed and freedoms were lost. In 1877, Federal troops were removed from the South. As with any issue, people tired of hearing about the injustices in southern states and the need for a just society. Civil rights concerns were forgotten in the struggle to survive and make a living for their families. The issue of slavery and related issues that had been on the American agenda for over 100 years began to be over-shadowed with concerns about the depressed economy, Indian wars, the growth of industrialization, the exploding immigrant population, and westward expansion.⁷

Redeemer Democrats [former Confederates] were gaining a foothold in the South, one state at a time. Redeemer Democrats sought to bring back the ‘old South,’ and had no concern for Civil Rights, unalienable rights, or any rights except their own and white supremacy. Democrats regained dominance in Texas in 1873. By the late 1870s

⁵ Patsy McDonald Spaw, The Texas Senate, Vol. II – Civil War to the Eve of Reform, 1861-1889, (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press) 1999, 68.

⁶ Louis J. Wortham, The History of Texas, From Wilderness to Commonwealth, vol. v. (Fort Worth, TX: Wortham-Molyneaux Company). 1924, 49.

⁷ Readings in Hakim’s Reconstruction and Reform; Wortham’s The History of Texas, From Wilderness to Commonwealth, vol. v.; Spaw’s The Texas Senate, Vol. II – Civil War to the Eve of Reform, 1861-1889; and Mason and Stephenson’s American Constitutional Law, Introductory Essays and Select Cases, 12th Edition.

Reconstruction was over in Texas, although military Reconstruction officially ended when Texas was readmitted to the Union in 1870.⁸

Meanwhile, after the Civil War, the western frontier in America was exploding with new settlers, Indian wars, buffalo hunting, cattle drives, gold strikes, and the ever-expanding railroad [Pacific Railroad Act, signed by Lincoln on July 1, 1862].

Industrialization made an entrance on the national scene like a firestorm and people were hungry for a better life. Towns and cities were springing up everywhere, previously isolated areas were being settled, and new states were being formed. The old issues of slavery and states' rights that had played such a strong role in the Civil War were still influencing and impacting the newly formed state governments. The United States was fast becoming an industrial and agricultural giant.

With the renewed beginning of the building of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1868 and its completion in 1869, people were soon traveling across the United States from coast to coast in 10 days. Both people and merchandise were moved by rail and although some still chose to use covered wagons for the journey, the day of the prairie schooner and freight carriers (Conestoga wagons) was quickly becoming a part of history. The unscrupulous actions of the railroad contractors [railroad officials taking contracts for themselves, absorbing enormous tracks of valuable land for themselves, and

⁸ In 1877, Reconstruction officially ended nationally as part of the terms of the agreement known as the Compromise of 1877. Eric Foner, A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877, (New York: NY, Harper and Row Publishers), 1990.

not sharing profits with stockholders] did, however, instigate the passage of laws regulating business and trade.⁹

Although America was supposed to be the land of the free and a place for all to find and create their own destiny, many laws existed to the contrary. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prevented Chinese people from emigrating to the United States and in California, other laws were passed that attempted to take jobs from the Chinese. In the fall of 1866, the Texas legislature passed an act requiring all aliens arriving by ship to register. Any found to be sick, physically or mentally incompetent, or destitute could be refused entrance to the state.¹⁰

Women were also victims of the times; they were not allowed to vote, own property in their own name if married, or gain a formal education. In the 1870s, Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton launched the women's movement for suffrage.¹¹ As early as 1871, Senator Ebenezer Lafayette Dohoney "declared himself in favor of women's suffrage, a cause he defended all his life."¹² Other obstacles for suffrage in Texas were the attempts to enact property qualifications, but these did not become law until after the turn of the century.¹³ During the session of the Twenty-first Legislature in 1889, Texas Senator John W. Cranford concluded, "In my opinion the right of free suffrage is one of the fundamental principles of free democratic government, and the

⁹ Although the Pacific Railroad Act was signed by Lincoln in 1862, the Civil War stopped the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad, while at the same time placing emphasis on the need for expanded railroad service across the continent. Once the war ended, construction was begun in earnest.

¹⁰ Spaw, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 71.

¹¹ According to *American Constitutional Law*, women were given the right to vote in 1920 with the passage of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

¹² Spaw, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 93.

¹³ Spaw, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 405.

slightest abridgement of this right is contrary to the spirit and genius of our institutions, and is dangerous in practice and wrong in theory.”¹⁴

Turmoil and inconsistency dominated the uncontrollably changing social, political, and economic climate from the end of the Civil War until well into the twentieth century. An example of this inconsistency affected Mary Colby Bradwell and Belva Ann Lockwood in their pursuit of separate legal careers. Mary Colby Bradwell passed the Illinois bar exam in 1869 but the Illinois Supreme Court ruled that she could not practice law because she was a woman. She took her case to the United States Supreme Court and in 1873, they “agreed with Illinois, declaring ‘the paramount destiny and mission of women are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator.’”¹⁵ That same year, Belva Ann Lockwood was allowed to practice law in the District of Columbia and three years later became the first woman to argue a case before the Supreme Court of the United States, but only after she lobbied Congress for the right to do so. Other women, such as Clara Barton who established the American Red Cross and Alice Hamilton who became the first woman professor at Harvard Medical School, were also opening new frontiers for women.¹⁶

From 1776 until 1876, the United States had increased in population from 2.5 million to 46 million. Between 1860 and 1890 over 10 million Europeans came to the United States seeking religious freedom, economic opportunity, and political freedom that democracy promised. America was bursting at the seams with growth and activity

¹⁴ Spaw, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 405 - 406.

¹⁵ Joy Hakim, Reconstruction and Reform. (New York: Oxford University Press), 1994, 137.

¹⁶ Hakim, *Ibid.*, 138.

while fighting a major war within its own borders, overcoming the aftermath of this war, climbing out of an economic depression, and leaping forward in great strides with industrialization and new inventions. During this time, the United States transitioned to exporting more than they were importing thus establishing the United States as an industrial world power.¹⁷

A time of confusion and change, Reconstruction did not bring equality or segregation¹⁸ to the South. “A complicating factor in postwar Texas was that Texans had neither lost major battles on their own territory nor suffered the devastation of war.”¹⁹ Poverty was almost universal. Farming and agricultural areas were devastated from years of neglect. In 1866, Texas’s politically conservative Senators, realizing the tremendous economic change the Civil War had created in the South and especially in Texas, “adopted a joint resolution asserting that the conflict had ‘changed the whole domestic economy of the South,’ and invited ‘skilled labor and capital from the world’ to relocate to Texas.”²⁰ They felt this was necessary because there was little incentive for immigrants or non-southerners to move South because better opportunities existed elsewhere.

The majority of the Southern states were slow to let go of their past, particularly cotton farming, to pursue newer industrialized farming techniques, alternative farm products, and industry in general. Texas was on the forefront of aggressively pursuing

¹⁷ Readings from Hakim’s Reconstruction and Reform; Spaw’s The Texas Senate, Vol. II – Civil War to the Eve of Reform, 1861-1889; and Wiebe’s The Search for Order, 1877-1920.

¹⁸ *Webster’s* defines segregation as the separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory means.

¹⁹ Spaw, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 79.

²⁰ Spaw, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 71 - 72.

these other options. The political leaders of Texas wanted and needed the surge of new population and economic growth to accomplish a successful recovery following the war years.²¹

In 1896, one of the worst decisions ever made by the United States Supreme Court occurred in the ruling handed down in *Plessy v Ferguson*. The Court upheld a Louisiana law separating black rail passengers from white rail passengers in separate but “equal” rail cars. “Jim Crow” laws were enacted and spread rapidly, especially in the South, making it a crime for blacks and whites to be together. These laws became known as “Jim Crow” because of a popular song of the day²² and it is apparent that all common sense about race had fled the South. By the beginning of the 20th century, most conditions for blacks were worse than before the Civil War and the gains of integration were being destroyed. Within twenty years, few of these accomplishments still existed. Slavery had ended but bitter discrimination remained.²³ In Texas, Senator William H. Pope became known as the “Jim Crow Senator” because he authored the 1889 Texas separate coach law. Knowingly, “black leaders in Texas stridently opposed legislative efforts to segregate railroad cars, arguing that blacks would not be provided equal facilities.”²⁴

To promote settlement on the northern border, the State of Texas expanded the Homestead Act of 1854 with acts passed in 1866 and 1870. “By 1860, Texas had drawn

²¹ Readings in Spaw’s *The Texas Senate, Vol. II – Civil War to the Eve of Reform, 1861-1889* and Wortham’s *The History of Texas, From Wilderness to Commonwealth*, vol. v.

²² According to the *African-American History Almanac*, Jim Crow laws enacted in the late 19th century that created a racial caste system in the South were named for a very popular antebellum minstrel show character that portrayed a Negro man played by a white man. The actor crooned and danced to a song that ended with this chorus, “Weel about and turn about and do jis so, Eb’ry time I weel about I jump Jim Crow.”

²³ Hakim, *Ibid.*, 162 and readings in Foner’s *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877*.

²⁴ Spaw, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 405.

Anglo settlers from every state in the Union. Tennessee had contributed the most settlers with ten percent...Many of these immigrants joined relatives already settled in north central Texas and generally preferred the company of people from their home states.”²⁵ By 1858, the area now known as Montague County had gained enough population to separate from Cooke County and establish itself politically. The 1860 U. S. census revealed 322 adults and 477 children with 214 of school age. Most of these families had come from southern states with Tennessee contributing the most immigrants.

Following the end of the Civil War, families of the nation began to move farther west in larger numbers than ever before. New frontiers were opened and expanded by this migration of people in search of a new and better life. In 1870, Head of Elm was a small settlement in far northern Texas on the western edge of the settled Texas frontier in what is now Montague County. No permanent buildings had been established and Confederate sentiment prevailed in the area. Close to the Red River and Indian Territory, raids by hostile Indians were not unusual.²⁶

The remote geographical location of Head of Elm, a general lack of governmental security, violent frontier conditions, lack of manpower, and scarce basic human necessities were prevalent in the area until the early years of the 1870s. Nestled on the edge of the western Great Plains but removed from the more settled eastern woodlands,

²⁵ Grady William Box, The Civil War in North Central Texas: It's Impact on Frontier Families, 1860-1874, (Denton, TX: Thesis. Texas Woman's University), 1991, 8.

²⁶ Readings from Wortham's The History of Texas, From Wilderness to Commonwealth, vol. v.; Box's The Civil War in North Central Texas: It's Impact on Frontier Families, 1860-1874; McLeRoy's Red River Women, Women of the West series; Miller's Pioneering North Texas; Riley's Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915; and Smith's Frontier Defense in the Civil War, Texas' Rangers and Rebels.

Head of Elm was ripe for settlement. In Texas, a line of posts or defensive stations had been established earlier and by 1860 the United States government had begun building twenty-one new federal military posts.²⁷ These were roughly along the ninety-eighth meridian. Their purpose was to protect settlers and travelers and to encourage economic development.

The secessionist Texas government and Confederate expansion westward created an interesting problem with these fortified federal posts located along the western frontier of Texas. On February 16, 1861, on the Grand Plaza at San Antonio, General David E. Twiggs surrendered his command without a shot fired to an armed group led by Ben McCulloch, a noted frontiersman and Indian fighter. This created a vacuum of frontier military protection.²⁸ The existent law and order soon deteriorated with the neglect of the Confederate government to occupy the vacated posts.²⁹ Deserters, outlaw groups, and Indian attacks began to take over the area.³⁰

²⁷ According to David Paul Smith's *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, the line of posts ran from Rio Grande Station northward to Camp Nueces, Camp Llano, Camp San Saba, Camp Breckenridge, and Camp Belknap to Red River Station. The line between Camp Belknap and Red River Station was the most vulnerable to raids by Comanche and Kiowa tribesmen coming from Indian Territory.

²⁸ According to David Paul Smith's *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, Texas Tenth Legislature enacted a law entitled "An Act to Provide for the Protection of the Frontier, and turning over the Frontier Regiment to Confederate States Service," December 15, 1863. The frontier line was defined by the act as all the counties located north and west of the line of Cooke, Wise, Parker, that part of Johnson west of the Belknap and Fort Graham road, Bosque, Coryell, Lampasas, Burnet, Blanco, Bandera, Medina, Kendall, Atascosa, Live Oak, McMullen, LaSalle, Dimmit, and Maverick. On December 16, the act was amended to include portions of Karnes County lying southwest of the San Antonio River, and that part of Bee County lying southwest of the Medio River.

²⁹ Box, *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁰ According to David Paul Smith's *Frontier Defense in the Civil War*, by late August 1863, only four small squadrons of the Frontier Regiment remained to cover the Indian frontier: one in Wise County; one at the town of Montague, in Montague County; one at Minors Bend of the Red River; and one in northern Cooke County.

“When Fort Richardson at Jacksboro was first established, six companies of the 6th U. S. Cavalry were stationed at the new fort. By 1873, units of the 10th U. S. Cavalry, ‘the Buffalo Soldiers,’ were also transferred to Fort Richardson. Sometimes violence erupted between civilians and the black troops. But as expressed by some Texans, anyone in the despised Yankee uniform was hated, particularly a black, Yankee soldier.”³¹

Post-war decay and lawlessness had also spread across north central Texas. The Texas legislature passed an act in 1874 for enforcement of criminal laws to provide an additional measure of state protection for frontier settlers. Texas Rangers replaced the federal soldiers for frontier protection and peacekeeping. The Rangers became Indian exterminators whereas the federal troops had been guards. These Rangers also interceded in feuds. Intolerances adopted during the war lingered and bitterness between factions ran high, especially in areas where northern sentiment dominated communities following the war. Union sympathizers who had fled during the time that Texas was part of the Confederacy began returning to the area. Regardless of the political situation on the frontier, the Plains Indians were an ever-present danger to the Anglo settlers until 1876, when a combination of events eliminated the Plains Indians from north central Texas.³²

North central Texas had been viewed as a haven from the Civil War, but this lasted for only a short period of time.

“Between 1860 and 1874, north central Texas families had experienced tumultuous years of civil war, economic destruction, Indian and outlaw warfare, and political and physical reconstruction. 1874 found the frontier fading in north central Texas as citizens entered into a new phase of state economic and political development. In that year, Governor Richard Coke and conservative Democrats ousted Radical Republican Governor Edmund Davis and his associates to regain control of the state government...Although the Texas economy suffered from a

³¹ Box, *Ibid.*, 109.

³² Box, *Ibid.*, 107 - 109.

manpower shortage caused by the Civil War, the manufacturing of farm and industrial equipment regained its previous production level and overall cotton production quickly recovered to antebellum levels. Texas economy, unlike that of other Confederate states, had been battered but not ruined by the war and Reconstruction.”³³

Migration of settlers into the north central Texas area continued despite the Civil War and adverse living conditions. Even larger numbers migrated to Texas during the postwar period. In the immediate postwar years, Indian attacks were the single greatest threat. Destitute families abandoned deteriorated farms and local business activity declined. The financial crisis for all of Texas was critical, except for the cattle industry. Confederate money was useless, so cattle were used as an exchange for corn, wheat, and other needed supplies and necessities. With no feed for stock, cowmen waited for new grass growth in the spring to strengthen cattle and horses. The earliest cattle drives were to the busy seaport of New Orleans.

Texas had endured the Reconstruction politics for nearly nine years:

“Local northern cattle markets were exhausted...the desire for meat inflated beef cattle prices...to ten times the value of Texas cattle. Ranching Texans were elated to find that they had a natural monopoly on the millions of unclaimed wild cattle born during the war...they possessed the only substantial quantities of beef in the country. There was no useable railroad transportation from Texas...at the end of the war and extensive sea transportation of large quantities of live cattle was not economically feasible in 1866. Beef from Texas had to provide its own transportation.”³⁴

Returning ex-soldiers and farm boys knew that Northerners were “meat-hungry” due to the depletion of livestock during the war years. The demand for livestock in the North drove the price of meat upward while in Texas the millions of wild cattle, born

³³ Box, *Ibid.*, 115 - 116.

³⁴ Box, *Ibid.*, 91.

during the wars years, were almost worthless. Some believed that if these cattle could just be delivered to the northern market, these vast herds could be converted into desperately needed specie.³⁵ This could be done, but there were obstacles- -hostile Indians, wild animals, raging rivers, and privation along the trail.³⁶ “Vast herds of buffalo had to give way to the cattle who needed their grasses and to hunters who wanted their flesh and hides. A new era of political and economic development in the state had begun.”³⁷

Longhorn cattle were hardy and capable of thriving under adverse conditions. They actually fattened on the trail. In the spring of 1866, herds were being gathered and branded in preparation for the cattle drives to the northern markets. Joseph G. McCoy, a key figure in attracting Texas cattle drives to Kansas,

“...persuaded the Kansas Pacific Railroad engaged in laying track westward to erect a railhead, complete with cattle pens and sidings, at Abilene, Kansas. He went south in 1867 to persuade Texas cattlemen planning drives north toward Sedalia to take the more westerly route to Abilene. The cattle industry soon flooded Kansas bringing not only the desired specie but also Texas fever, cowboys, sodbusters, “soiled doves,” “gambling hells” and a new culture.”³⁸

The most important cattle trail through north central Texas was the Chisholm Trail. The cattle driven to market along this trail originated in south Texas and parts of central Texas.

“The Chisholm Trail extended from south Texas through Austin, Lampasas, ran between Fort Worth and Weatherford through the western part of Denton County,

³⁵ According to *Webster's Dictionary* ‘specie’ is derived from a Latin term meaning ‘in kind; money in coin; or in the same or like form or kind.’

³⁶ *Webster's* defines privation as the state of being deprived; esp. lack of what is needed for existence.

³⁷ Box, *Ibid.*, 88.

³⁸ Box, *Ibid.*, 94.

swung to the west from Cooke County and crossed the Red River at Red River Station north of Ringgold in Montague County.”³⁹

Cattle from west of Wise County were usually put across the Red River at Rock Bluff Crossing near Preston, or at Colbert’s Ferry and driven on through Indian Territory to Kansas and beyond.”⁴⁰

“Many of the trail drivers who used the Chisholm Trail during the first few years were ex-Confederate soldiers. It was the first time for some at Red River Station in Montague County to see Confederate gray as some of the drivers still wore portions of the old uniforms.⁴¹ The militia stationed there during the war had had no uniforms. For a twenty-year period from 1867 to 1887, millions of Texas longhorn cattle were funneled along the Chisholm and other trails from south Texas.

Drivers considered Fort Worth as the last major supply station on the way north but Red River area merchants in Elizabethtown and Bolivar supplied such last minute items as were available from their stock. Denton also was an important trading town but as it was in a heavy wood, the cowboys preferred to drive their cattle on the wide-open prairies a few miles west.”⁴²

By 1876, hunters wiped out the great herds of buffalo, the Plain Indians’ primary food supply, thus accomplishing what the army could not do militarily. Slowly the Indian raids ceased. By mid-summer 1879, most of the buffalo herds in north central and northwest Texas had been killed and the commercial hunting of buffalos ended in Texas.⁴³

“One particular strength of the state’s economy was the reserve of enormous tracts of land for bartering or sale. Texas greatly expanded railroad construction and by 1873 stimulated commerce along 1,500 miles of new track. Concurrently,

³⁹ Red River Station was located where Salt Creek empties into the Red River. The site is nine miles northwest of present Nocona, Texas.

⁴⁰ Box, *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴¹ Glen O. Wilson, “*Old Red River Station*,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. LXXI June 1968, 353.

⁴² Box, *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴³ Box, *Ibid.*, 112-114.

the cattle industry was in full production, employing thousands to drive millions of cattle to out-of-state markets and return with hard specie.”⁴⁴

By 1879, when the cheaply produced barbed wire first sold in Texas, the railroad was expanding farther and farther into Texas [Texas and Pacific reached Dallas; Missouri, Kansas, & Texas reached and established Denison; Fort Worth and Denver City Railroad crossed the Panhandle; and Texas and Pacific Railroad skirted the southern edge of the South Plains], mechanical refrigeration and cold storage transportation were being developed, and beef processing plants were now being built in Texas. These advances in technology and industrialization eventually curtailed the great cattle drives.

“Even though conservative Democrats cut state funds from education, judicial, immigrant and civil security programs the attraction of reasonably priced land sold by railroads drew newcomers in ever-increasing numbers to the north central Texas region. New settlers with ready cash contributed their labor and capital to specie starved communities. Since the main Texas cattle trails crossed north central Texas’s pastures, money was to be made in supplies, hotel services, blacksmithing, and other enterprises of the cattle industry.”⁴⁵

North central Texas experienced important changes that innovations in transportation and agriculture brought during the Civil War and Reconstruction eras. The Quaker Peace Policy,⁴⁶ introduced by President Grant, had failed but the extermination of the buffalo and the expulsion of hostile Indians brought a gradual end to the frontier and

⁴⁴ Box, *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴⁵ Box, *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴⁶ The Quaker Peace Policy was a peaceful alternative, although miserable, attempt by religious groups to make peace with the Indians, and eliminate the depredations heaped upon native people. During the 1860s and early 1870s, this policy played a huge role in preventing the government from sufficiently protecting the frontier from the hostile Indian raids that the settlers there were experiencing, especially in north central Texas and portions of Texas farther west.

its attendant patterns of violence and lawlessness in which cattle drives had played a huge role. The counties of the area underwent a steady population increase. The spirit of the Constitution of 1876 was alien to Texans and contained many features they found objectionable. The Convention of 1875 successfully drafted a new constitution that was ratified by the people on February 15, 1876. This completely restored representative government in Texas.⁴⁷

Following the Civil War, Texas survived the economic depressions of 1866 and the agricultural depression of the 1870s. The reestablishment of representative government and the overthrow of radical rule in Texas laid the foundation for the phenomenal growth of Texas towns and cities, settling of unoccupied territory in Texas, and the development of resources and industries within Texas.⁴⁸

The cattle industry competed for dominance with the cotton industry to become a major economic force within the state. The cattle business underwent changes of its own, transitioning from cattle herds driven hundreds of miles to market to large ranches enclosed with barbed wire with railroads to transport cattle to market. Many cattle related industries developed, increasing economic stability in the state.

Economic setbacks were experienced with the repeal of the Land Grant Act of 1882, railroad regulation had become a dominant issue, and the state railroad commission was created in 1891 under Governor Hogg.⁴⁹ Railroad development had brought an

⁴⁷ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 87-88.

⁴⁸ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴⁹ In an attempt to unseat Governor Hogg, George Clark, of Waco, declared in a campaign speech, "Railroad corporations and all other corporations being creatures of law are subject to state legislation and

economic boom to many areas of Texas increasing the commercial infrastructure, but some regions failed to experience the railroad boom.

As early as 1861, oil had been discovered but the cost to produce it was high. In 1896, a small refinery was built in Corsicana and by 1900 the Corsicana field was producing more than 800,000 barrels per day.⁵⁰ Additionally, changes in farming and stabilized crops brought further economic development to Texas, but many parts of west Texas remained to be settled, and by 1900, the great cattle drives had become history.

Texas experienced other political and physical changes as well. Following years of litigation, in 1896, the boundary lines of Texas were modified in a decision by the United States Supreme Court.⁵¹ The court placed Greer County, situated between two forks of the Red River, into Indian Territory. This decision was based on the Adams-Onís Treaty with Spain in 1819. Texans had always considered the boundary to be the north side of the fork but the federal government contended that the south fork was the boundary.⁵²

control. We favor the continuance of the present method of railway regulations by means of a commission clothed with such constitutional powers as may be requisite for the protection of the people against injustice or extortion, but we are opposed to the taking of private property for public use without just compensation..." Wortham, Page 100. "The state railroad commission soon vindicated the faith of its supporters and performed great service in establishing equitable criteria for the fixing of freight rates." Wortham, *Ibid.*, 103.

⁵⁰ W. Henry Miller, *Pioneering North Texas*. (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company). 1953, 278.

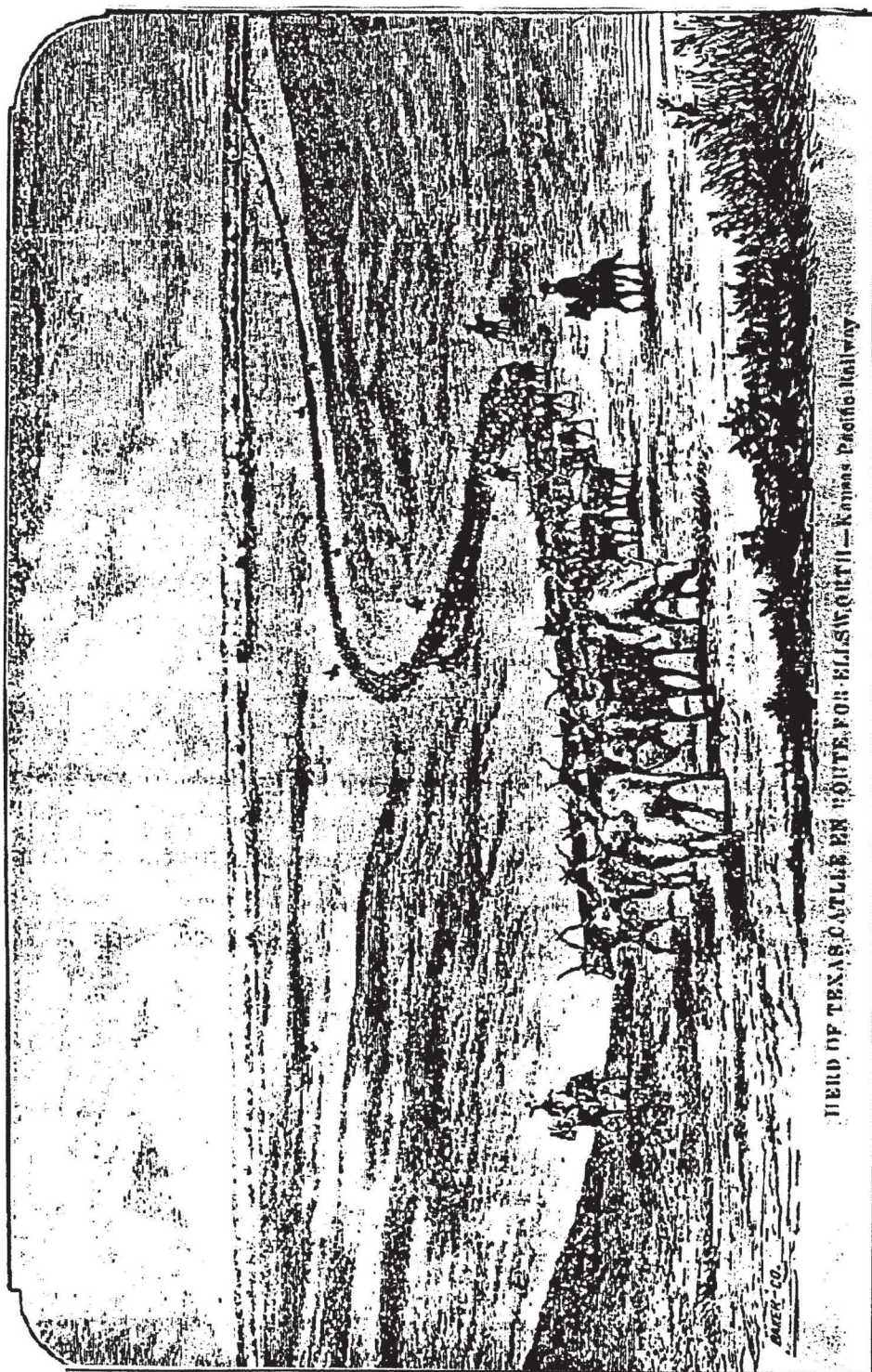
⁵¹ *U.S. v Texas*, 162 U.S. 1 (1896); March 16, 1896.

⁵² Wortham, *Ibid.*, 103. The Adams-Onís Treaty [Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spanish Foreign Minister Onís] was also known as the Trans-Continental Treaty and drew a definite border between Spanish land and the Louisiana Territory, the United States ceded its claim to Texas west of the Sabine River to Spain. The treaty was finally ratified in 1831 between the United States and the new republic of Mexico.

As historian Louis J. Wortham has written,

“The last vestige of such sectional feeling has remained as a heritage of the war between the states and of radical rule was swept away in 1898 when the United States went to war with Spain. That the United States had long been a reunited nation was amply demonstrated to the world during that war, and Texas played its full part in it.”⁵³

⁵³ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 104.



Herd of Texas Cattle en Route for Ellsworth – Kansas Pacific Railway
Postcard – Compliments of the Library of Congress

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CATTLE TRAILS AND THE CHISHOLM

In 1866, a fair market for horse stock existed and good brood mares sold from \$80 to \$100, and four-year-old saddle horses brought from \$80 to \$100. Three-year-old geldings and fillies brought from \$60 to \$70, and two-year-olds brought from \$30 to \$50. In the piney wood country of East Texas, work cattle could be sold at an advantage, but no dependable market had as yet been developed for beef cattle- -of which Texas was overstocked.¹

The need for meat in the war-ravaged states was acute following the Civil War and Texas had the cattle to fill this need, but the big hurdle was gathering and getting these cattle to market. Mexican vaqueros knew how to gather and handle these wild cattle, but the only foreseeable way to get these cattle to market was to drive them. Several trails developed in the southern and coastal areas of Texas where there was an abundance of 'free' wild cattle. As these trails moved north and west, they slowly consolidated into a handful of famous cattle trails.

In 1840, the Republic of Texas started construction of the Military Road from Austin to the Red River. The troops, under the command of Colonel William Cooke, erected a supply post at Ft. Johnson in Fannin County, near Coffee's Trading Post, established in 1839. Herds had been driven over this road during the 1840s and 1850s to

¹ W. Henry Miller, Pioneering North Texas, (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company), 1953, 133.

the Northeast. This road was also used after the Civil War, but the trail had moved. The trail ran from Bird's Fort on the Trinity [Fort Worth and Dallas area], following the Military Road, to the town of Preston or Preston Bend on the Red River.² The road came to be known as Preston Road by the drovers as they moved the first few herds of cattle up the road, to its terminus at Coffee's Trading Post. Holland Coffee, after he acquired the estate of a Mr. Colville following his death in a gunfight, had in 1839 also opened a ferry at Rock Bluff Crossing on the Red River.³

Bearing northeast from here to Fort Gibson [near the present city of Muskogee, Oklahoma], the trail then followed the Neosho River to near the southeast corner of Kansas. From this corner of Kansas, it went northeast to Sedalia, Missouri. This trail was known as the Cattle or Eastern Trail and later as the Shawnee Trail. As contemporary historian Wayne Gard suggests, the Shawnee name could have come from the Indian village of Shawneetown on the Texas side of the Red River or from the Shawnee Hills that the trail skirted.⁴

The famous Oliver Loving, Sr. is credited for driving one of the first herds northeast out of Texas in 1859. In a letter to the Old Time Trail Drivers' Association, Charles Goodnight wrote that Oliver Loving, Sr. left the frontier on the upper Brazos and "took a northwest course until he struck the Arkansas River, somewhere about the mouth of the Walnut, and followed it to just about Pueblo. He wintered there and in 1866 he [Loving] joined me [Goodnight] on the upper Brazos. With a large herd we struck

² Miller, *Ibid.*, 113.

³ Sherrie S. McLeRoy, *Red River Women*, (Plano, TX: Republic of Texas Press), 1996, 11-12.

⁴ Miller, *Ibid.*, 114.

southwest until we reached the Pecos River, which we followed up to [New] Mexico and thence, to Denver.” In 1867, Goodnight and Loving started another herd west over the same trail [that later became known as the Goodnight-Loving Trail] and struck the Pecos the latter part of June.⁵

Other famous trails that traveled from Texas northward were the Western Trail that went from south Texas to Dodge City, Kansas, and the Sedalia Trail that went from the coastal plains of south Texas through Indian Territory and northwestern Arkansas into central Missouri. The Goodnight-Loving Trail went from Texas through New Mexico and Colorado into Wyoming Territory. The origins and route of the Chisholm Trail has been the most controversial. The ribbon of longhorn cattle that traveled these trails for two to three months to the railheads to be shipped to the meat packing plants were selling for as much as \$40 per head.⁶

The cattle drive industry took the wilderness and wild animals from the Indians by bringing livestock and people to the developing states and territories of Western Indian Territory, Western Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, Utah, and Northwest Texas [geographically different at that time] in twenty-eight years making this one of the greatest developing projects ever known in the United States. This entire domain was a wilderness in 1867 with only a few trappers and miners. The national

⁵ J. Marvin Hunter, Trail Drivers of Texas, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press – 3rd edition. This edition is taken from the second edition revised from two volumes into one, first published in 1925 by Cokesbury Press.), 1989, 903-904.

⁶ Readings in Andrew Santella's The Chisholm Trail and Wayne Gard's The Chisholm Trail.

government's Immigrant California Trail and a few prospecting expeditions did however, cross this wilderness, but habitation was confined to a few trading posts and forts. By 1890, Indians were on reservations and the millions of buffalo had been replaced by herds of fine cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs. Railroads rumbled across the country and brought people who built towns, schools, and churches and farmed the land. Cattle drive historian, J. Marvin Hunter states, "The government and other interests did their part and did it well, but to the old trail drivers belong the glory and honor for having blazed the way that made this great development possible." More development occurred in these twenty-eight years than in the previous one hundred years. The trail to the North from Texas was started in 1867 and closed in 1895, but most of this great development was done in twenty years, from 1870 to 1890. It is conservatively estimated by old trail drivers that there were 98 million cattle and 10 million horse-stock driven over these trails during the trail days and employed some 35,000 men to handle the herds.⁷

Fifteen to twenty-five hundred head was an average size herd, with some smaller and some consisting of as many as five thousand cattle. Three to five more dollars per head could be made in the northern markets as compared to Texas and it only cost about one dollar per head or less to drive the cattle north. An easy trip and catching the market right could bring from fifteen to twenty dollars per head. Eastern investors poured millions into what they thought was a 'sure thing' and an opportunity to 'get something for nothing' but just as with all worthwhile undertakings, they did not realize the many

⁷ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 961-962.

difficulties that had to be overcome and that profits were uncertain. One of the problems was with Tick Fever, also known as Spanish or Texas Fever. Texas longhorns, infested with ticks, were immune to the fever, but the local cattle along the trail were not. Anywhere Texas cattle were driven, cases of the fever developed. From the start, this caused much opposition, and some states passed laws forbidding Texas cattle to pass through them. Many herds of cattle were turned back by posses that were made up of local armed cattlemen. These encounters often resulted in bloodshed. Outlaws and gunmen, white cow thieves and the curse of the trail to drivers, would raid herds and take cattle and the drivers had no defense against them.⁸

Many variables also determined the price of herds once the cattle reached the railhead and market. At the destination, the condition of the animals and the current market, as well as luck in getting the cattle through determined what profit would be made. Weather and grass along the trail, as well as the number and intensity of stampedes were considerable factors affecting the condition and number of cattle that reached their destination.⁹

The northward trails traveled through Indian Territory [now the state of Oklahoma] and Kansas. Kansas was being settled, mostly with farmers who did not want the cattle of the trail herds cropping their grass and consuming their crops and water supplies, especially in times of drought. There were also difficulties with the civilized Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi River that had been relocated to what is now

⁸ Miller, *Ibid.*, 118-119.

⁹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 118-119.

eastern and east central Oklahoma over the use of the open rangeland that they had been promised. Indians and farmers, alike, in the areas crossed by the Eastern Trail and the [Jesse] Chisholm Trail, demanded compensation. These civilized tribes also caused the drovers headaches with their efforts to secure beef to feed their people. Recognizing the need to compromise, many of the drivers reached agreements with the complaining parties, while others refused any form of compensation. Later, the federal government granted the Indians the right to collect a tax on the herds. It was not until 1875 that cattle trails crossed the western part of Oklahoma due to the war between the Prairie Indians that occupied this area and Texans living south of the Red River.¹⁰

The average price paid per head to Texas ranchmen was \$10.00. Based on this average during the cattle drive years it is estimated that Texans received approximately one hundred and ten million dollars. Additionally, the Indian reservations were supplied with cattle to replace the Indians' buffalo that had been exterminated; the vast, unused prairies of the great Northwest were furnished with herds for both stocking and breeding, as were the territories of New Mexico and Arizona; in addition, California's ranges were stocked with beef and their beef shortage was overcome.¹¹

In 1868, Charles Goodnight and John Chisum formed a partnership that lasted well into 1870s. John Chisum ranched on the Concho River. He would gather cattle here and deliver them to Charles Goodnight on the Pecos River. The Goodnight-Loving trail began in central Texas, went due west, and after crossing the Pecos River, headed north

¹⁰ Miller, *Ibid.*, 118-119.

¹¹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 130-131.

through New Mexico Territory, crossing the Red and Canadian Rivers. The part of this trail that ran through New Mexico was known as the Goodnight-Loving Trail, but the portion running through Colorado became known as the (John) Chisum or Ginglebob Trail. John Chisum marked his cattle by cutting a number of slits on the cattle's ears that would dangle as they walked. From there, the Goodnight-Loving Trail advanced into Colorado to the Pueblo and Denver railheads, then into Wyoming to Cheyenne. The Cheyenne railhead was probably the most important station because to the Union Pacific Railroad was the only available line transporting cattle to western markets from that point. The Chicago and Northern Railroad went east to Chicago, where eastern markets were served.¹²

M. A. Withers described two cattle drives in which he participated. Withers described the first one originating in Lockhart, Texas on April 1, 1868, that traveled to Wichita, Kansas. A second trail he described as one that traveled to Wichita and Abilene, Kansas. He stated,

"We crossed the Colorado River at Austin, the Brazos River at Waco, the Trinity River where Fort Worth now is. Only one or two stores were there then. We crossed the Red River where Denison now is, and the Arkansas River at Fort Gibson, then traveled up the north side of the Arkansas River to Wichita, Kansas, which then consisted of a log house used for a store."

"The second trail leading to the Kansas markets crossed Red River in Montague County north of the town of Necona [Nocona]. It led almost directly north through Oklahoma on approximately the route of the present highway 81, thence to Wichita, Kansas, and Abilene. This crossing came to be known as the Red River Crossing and the trail as the Chisholm."¹³

¹² Miller, *Ibid.*, 116 and Andrew Santella, The Chisholm Trail, (Danbury, CO: Children's Press), 1997, 21-22.

¹³ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 97.

Historian W. Henry Miller quotes Mr. Withers recollections of his trail drive days and the various shipping points he remembered. According to Withers,

The next shipping point after Abilene was Ellsworth, established in 1872; the third and last was Dodge City, established in 1874...by 1877 herds were being moved through the West Cross timbers, crossing Red River north of Vernon in Wilbarger County. They were marketed in Dodge City which became one of the most famous cow towns in Kansas. This trail came to be known as the Western Trail or Dodge City Trail.¹⁴

In a letter to the Old Time Trail Drivers' Association Mr. C. F. Doan stated, "The spring and summer of 1879, I saw the first herds come up the trail, though the movement had started two years before. My uncle, J. Doan, had established this post at Doan's, April, 1876." This crossing later became known as Doan's Crossing.¹⁵

The Red River was a real and dangerous barrier between the Texas cattle-rich ranges and the railroads and shipping terminals in Kansas. To reach this point the herds traveled over billowing open prairies with good grazing and crossed many non-threatening rivers and creeks, but the Red River country was different and dangerous. Some early herds crossed the Red River at Sivell's Bend in Cooke County, but the later herds had moved farther west to just below the mouth of Fleetwood Branch where a post of the Texas Rangers had been during the Civil War. An outfitting store and a saloon [owned by Irby H. Boggess from Head of Elm, later known as Saint Jo] was established here. This became known as Red River Crossing. To reach Red River Crossing, the herds traveled across what is now Montague County, and cowboy Tom C. Oatts of Round

¹⁴ Miller, *Ibid.*, 114-115.

¹⁵ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 772-773.

Rock described this area as “the most beautiful country he had seen.” The Red River, with its sandy banks and quicksand was perilous at best. Instant floods from rains farther up country could delay crossing for days and while crossing, drown numerous livestock in hidden currents. The river would rage, then recede and leave quicksand and treacherous soft sandy banks that were difficult for the cattle to climb. Fortunately, once on the other side, the creeks and rivers were more easily forded and there was plenty of open country.¹⁶

Over time, the name Chisholm became synonymous with the glamour and romance of cattle trails regardless of the origination or destination of the herd. It caught the popular fancy in the minds of those that heard tales about trail-driving adventures. This popularity grew and drovers liked to boast that, “I’ve been up the old Chisholm Trail.” With this popularity and by general consent, the trail from Indian Territory [Oklahoma] was extended across the Red River and to south Texas with branches into other parts of the state. Over time, a spirited controversy arose about what was and was not the true Chisholm Trail and the man of the legend that bears his name. This controversy lasted for several years after the cattle drives ended and the trail closed. Jesse Chisholm of the Indian Territory and John Chisum of the Concho River area in Texas were easily and constantly being confused or thought of as one person. Decades later, we now know the true stories of both Jesse Chisholm and John Chisum.¹⁷

¹⁶ Wayne Gard, The Chisholm Trail, (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press), 1954, 79.

¹⁷ Miller, *Ibid.*, 118-120.

Historian W. Henry Miller more concisely relates the identity and background of Jesse Chisholm and the Indian Territory that had been fully explored and even named, as follows:

Jesse Chisholm, the son of Ignatius Chisholm [part Scottish] and his Cherokee wife, Martha (Rogers) Chisholm, was born in Washington County, Tennessee, in 1805 or 1806. His grandfather, a Scotsman, had settled in east Tennessee during the 1770's and had become a prominent citizen of White's Station, now Knoxville. When the Cherokees moved westward to northeastern Arkansas, Jesse moved with them, and he, his mother and Aunt Talahina Rogers settled near Fort Gibson in the Cherokee reservation. This was located at the confluence of the Illinois and Arkansas rivers in the Indian Territory just east of the present city of Muskogee. When Sam Houston quit the governor's office of Tennessee and came to live with the Cherokees in 1829, he married Talahina (Tiana) Rogers with whom he lived until he came to Texas in 1832. In 1836 Jesse married Elizabeth Edwards, daughter of James Edwards whose wife was a Cherokee. The Edwards men stood high in the affairs of the tribe. Two sons were born to Jesse and Elizabeth. Jesse Chisholm became a trader and in time was the owner of several trading posts located in central Indian Territory.

The most westerly one was located at Council Grove, a few miles west of where Oklahoma City is now located. He was a man of integrity and had the confidence and respect of the Indians and whites with whom he worked and of the United States officials. He could speak some twelve Indian languages and was made an honorary member of a number of tribes. At no time, however did he engage in the cattle business in any way. It has been said on good authority, and corroborated by others, that 'he never drove a cow in his life'.¹⁸

In a colorful statement forty-five years after his last trail drive, C. H. Rust of San Antonio, Texas, relates a visual map picture by naming rivers and towns of the location of the Old Chisholm [Cow] Trail. He utilizes his experience and knowledge and stories told him by thirty-five old early day trail men in his attempt to aid in the long drawn-out

¹⁸ Miller, *Ibid.*, 118-121 and further supported with readings in Andrew Santella's The Chisholm Trail and Wayne Gard's The Chisholm Trail

investigation of the Chisholm Trail. In his opinion, the old Chisholm Cow Trail began at San Antonio, Texas, and ended at Abilene, Kansas.

This old Trail that I attempt to tell you about, begins at San Antonio, and from there leading on to New Braunfels, thence to San Marcos, crossing the San Marcos River four miles below town, thence to Austin, crossing the Colorado River three miles below Austin. Leaving Austin the trail winds its way on to the right of Round Rock, thence to right of Georgetown, on to right of Salado to the right of Belton, to old Fort Graham, crossing the Brazos River to the left of Cleburne, then to Fort Worth, winding its way to the right of Fort Worth just about where Hell's Half Acre used to be, crossing Trinity River just below town. Fort Worth was just a little burg on the bluff where the panther lay down and died.

From Fort Worth the next town was Elizabeth, and from there to Bolivar; here the old Trail forked, but we kept the main trail up Elm to St. Joe on to Red River Station, here crossing Red River; after crossing Red River I strike the line of Nation Beaver Creek, thence to Monument Rocks leading on to Stage Station, to head of Rush Creek, then to Little Washita, on to Washita Crossing at Line Creek, from there to Canadian River, to the North Fork, on to Prairie Spring, from there to King Fisher Creek; thence to Red Fork, on to Turkey Creek, to Hackberry Creek; thence to Caldwell, line of Kansas River on to Slate Creek to Ne-ne-squaw River; thence to Cow Skin Creek to Arkansas River to head of Sand Creek; on to Brookville; thence from Solomon to Abilene, and from there on to Ellsworth.

I have no definite information as to what year this old Trail was laid out, and if this is not the old Chisholm Cow Trail, then there is no Chisholm Trail...Now, let me test my memory as to distance. I will call the distance from one town to another as the old wagon road runs. From San Antonio to New Braunfels is thirty miles, from New Braunfels to San Marcos, twenty miles; from San Marcos to Austin, thirty miles; from Austin to Round Rock, seventeen miles, from Round Rock to Georgetown, nine miles; from Georgetown to Salado, twenty-four miles; from Salado to Belton, twelve miles; from Belton to Fort Graham, sixty-five miles; from Fort Graham to Cleburne, forty miles; from Cleburne to Fort Worth, twenty-eight miles.

I note again the Old Cow trail forked at Bolivar. The route of this right-hand trail crossed the Red River below Gainesville, thence to Oil Springs, on to Fort Arbuckle, crossing Wild Horse Creek, and intersecting the main trail at the south fork of the Canadian River. The last main western trail ran by Coleman, Texas, on

to Bell Plain, thence to Baird, on to Albany, from there to Fort Griffin, to Double Mountain Fork, crossing Red River at Doan's Store.

The Old Chisholm Cow Trail varied in width at river crossings from fifty to one hundred yards. In some places it spreads out from one mile to two miles in width. The average drive in a day was eight to ten and twelve miles, and the time on the Trail was from sixty to ninety days, from points in Texas to Abilene or Newton, or Ellsworth, Kansas.¹⁹

George Chisholm²⁰ made the following statement to Joseph B. Thoburn.

In the spring of 1865, Jesse Chisholm, the veteran Cherokee trader, set out from his temporary residence near the mouth of the Little Arkansas River (the site upon which the city of Wichita has since been built) on a trading trip to the valleys of the Canadian and Washita rivers in the Indian Territory. Taking several wagons loaded with the usual trader's outfits, he followed the faint trace of the trail which had been left by the retreating column of federal troops under the command of Colonel Emory when, four years before, they had withdrawn from the posts in the Indian Territory and marched to Fort Leavenworth, with Captain Black Beaver, the Delaware leader, as their guide. Despite the fact that it was first marked by Colonel Emory's command at the outbreak of the Civil War, and that its practicability was due in large part to Captain Beaver, long a friend and comrade of Jesse Chisholm, this trail, used by so many other traders and travelers soon became known as the Chisholm Trail. [Note: This trail, less than two hundred miles long, later became a part of the cattle trail from Red River Crossing north, and from it the longer cattle trail derived its name.]

In 1933, the State of Oklahoma, through a legislative committee appointed for that purpose, examined the facts concerning the Chisholm Trail and made an official designation of that trail through Oklahoma. All other authorities have accepted this official designation. The trail began at Fort Wichita (now Wichita), Kansas, ran south by Skeleton Ranch (near the present town of Enid), Fort Reno (now El Reno), the Wichita-Caddo Indian Agency (now Anadarko), and continued south to the old Red River Crossing just north of the present town of Nacona [Nocona], Montague County, Texas. No authority claims, however, that Jesse Chisholm was instrumental in laying out any portion of this trail except between Wichita, Kansas, and Anadarko, Oklahoma. Concerning his connection

¹⁹ J. Marvin Hunter, The Trail Drivers of Texas, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press), 1924. Pages 37-40.

²⁰ George Chisholm was one of the Mexican captives whom Jesse Chisholm had ransomed and rescued from the Comanche Indians and then adopted and reared as a son. He was associated with Jesse Chisholm throughout this period and died in 1918.

with this section it was said by some that Chisholm blazed the trail when the Cherokees returned to their homes in Oklahoma from Kansas at the close of the Civil War. Another version is that he laid out the trail as a road over which to haul to market the hides, furs and other goods received at his trading post at Council Grove.²¹

²¹ T. U. Taylor, Jesse Chisholm, pp. 73-75, quoting among other authorities: Legislative Committee of the State of Oklahoma for the Designation of the Chisholm Trail, Kansas State Historical Collection, p 485; Chronicles of Oklahoma; Andrea, History of Kansas, p 1385; Grant Foreman, Indians and Pioneers. (Pioneering North Texas, pg 121)

When Jesse Chisholm Died

Along the River Valleys
And on the prairies wide
There were sad hearts in Oklahoma
When Jesse Chisholm died.

He was a peace maker, path finder
He was mentor, he was guide;
There were sore hearts among all men,
When Jesse Chisholm died.

In the reaches of the Arkansas,
And along its turbid tide
There were aching hearts in the Valleys,
When Jesse Chisholm died.

The poor had lost a loyal friend
A friend that was true and tried,
All the flags drooped in mourning
When Jesse Chisholm died.

In the barracks, in the wigwams,
By the lonely firesides,
All ages lost a protector,
When Jesse Chisholm died.

He lived a life of purity,
And we can glow with pride,
That there was left a trail of honor
When Jesse Chisholm died.¹

- Anonymous

¹ Frank M. King, Longhorn Trail Drivers, (1st edition privately published for his friends by the author), 1940, 94. Clay Mann of San Angelo, Texas sent to Frank M. King.

THE CATTLE TRAIL COWBOY

It took an enormous amount of cattle to supply meat for the Texas and Mexican armies during the Texas fight for independence from Mexico [1835-1836]. This demand depleted the readily available supply, but when the Mexican armies retreated across the Rio Grande River, they were not able to drive all of their livestock with them. Many of these cattle were abandoned between the Nueces and Rio Grande Rivers and in the area between San Antonio and Laredo. The number of these abandoned cattle, continued to increase, thus forming the nucleus that would later develop into the south Texas cattle business. Extending the Texas boundary to the Rio Grande River was one of the first acts of the Texas Republic, in this no man's land and claiming everything along the way including unbranded cattle and declaring them to be 'public property.'¹

A ranching industry had developed in the Trans-Pecos country, south and east of San Antonio, before the 1830's by Mexican *caballeros* and continued through Texas' fight for independence and the duration of the Republic of Texas.² Anglo-American settlers moving across the Sabine River and preceding westward, encountered an environment and conditions very new to them; i.e. great open plains and countless numbers of wild horses and cattle. These settlers also encountered a livestock-based

¹ Louis J. Wortham, The History of Texas, From Wilderness to Commonwealth, vol. v. (Fort Worth, TX: Wortham-Molyneaux Company). 1924, 140.

² W. Henry Miller, Pioneering North Texas, (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company). 1953. 162.

civilization of Spanish-Americans and nomadic Prairie Indians.³ This area was also first to develop big cattle ranches and become proficient in the capturing and herding of the wild cattle and horses. The first pens built in Texas for cattle and the first ‘stocker’ market was in Goliad during the Republic of Texas era.⁴ It took almost fifty years and major events in American history for these Anglo-American settlers to adapt from their “hemmed-in” way of thinking about a small-farm, ox, and wagon civilization to the hard-riding cattlemen and cowboys that spread across the western half of the United States. This cattle driving episode became the stuff legends were made of, forever altering the attitudes and way of life of Americans.⁵

Following the Civil War, the longhorn helped to save Texas financially by furnishing employment and a large cash flow around a cattle-based industry that exploded over the Texas frontier.⁶ Between 1850 and 1870, two major cattle-ranching regions had been created by the migrating Anglo herding populations from eastern Texas across the Coastal Prairie corridor of Texas and later the cattle drives northward out of Texas across the southeastern margin of the Great Plains, the latter playing a key role in the westward thrust of American’s expansion.⁷

Cows and horses were not indigenous to the western hemisphere, but were brought by the early Spaniards. The cattle were probably Andalusian cattle, which had been brought to southern Spain from Africa for bull fighting and were later imported to

³ Miller, *Ibid.*, 103–105.

⁴ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵ Miller, *Ibid.*, 103–105.

⁶ Miller, *Ibid.*, 103–105.

⁷ Terry G. Jordan, *Trails to Texas, Southern Roots to Western Cattle Ranching*, (Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press), 1981. 147–149.

Mexico. The offspring of these cattle ranged freely and interbred with any strays that had been brought in by the Anglo-American settlers. Decades later, these mix-bred wild cattle had developed into large, rangy cattle that were swift of foot and possessed an almost unlimited capacity for surviving serious scarcities of water and grass. They were fully capable of defending themselves and their young against large and vicious creatures of the wilderness. They were every shade and hue, but the traits they had acquired from their environments were strong and persistent. So much so that they became a breed of their own with an average weight for steers four to eight years of age from eight hundred pounds to as much as a thousand or sixteen hundred pounds. The horns of these cattle could measure, following the upward curves in them, nine feet, and when the steer was standing it could easily be over eight feet tall from its hoofs to the tip of the horns. Texans gave the name “longhorn” to these cattle due to the length of their horns. These mix-breed cattle continued to multiply and roam the open unsettled areas of Texas until after the Civil War.⁸ After the introduction of barbed wire, improved breeds were introduced, and eventually took the place of the longhorn.⁹

Quickly discovered following the Civil War had been the need for meat in the war-ravaged states, and Texas had the cattle to fill this need, but the greatest handicap was in gathering and getting these Texas cattle to market. Essentials for the cattle drive included cattle, cowboys, buyers, and destinations. Logistics for moving cattle through

⁸ Miller, *Ibid.*, 103-105.

⁹ Jordan, *Ibid.*, 147-149.

unsettled territory, an extended trail drive, and feeding the cowboys could easily appear to be an overwhelming feat.

At first, these wild cattle belonged to whoever could catch them. The lack of experienced men that could handle the wild, unbranded longhorn cattle was a major factor. It was the Mexican vaqueros who taught and trained the men that eventually created the “American” or “Texas” cowboy.¹⁰

James M. Cook, one of the first Anglo-Americans trained by a Mexican vaquero [1866-1867], left a detailed description of the methods used to capture these wild cattle. He described using fifty or seventy-five ‘gentle’ cattle as decoys, clarifying that ‘gentle’ cattle meant only ones that had become accustomed to the sight of a man on horseback and nothing more. Cook tells how he, the foremen, a Mr. Longworth, and ten Mexicans started on a cow hunt with this bunch of ‘gentle’ cattle, their saddle horses, pack mules and ponies for carrying the provisions and cooking utensils. They traveled about five miles from the home ranch setting up camp near an old corral. He describes the occurrences of the next day beginning at sunrise. They used the ‘gentle’ cattle as a decoy, with Longworth leading them through thick chaparral and mesquite and into a dense clump of brush then motioned everyone else to stop. Two men were left with the herd and the others followed Longworth for about two miles. Cook stated that:

Suddenly I heard a crash ahead, and in less than two seconds every rider in advance of me was riding as if the devil were after him. My horse knew the work, and plunged after the riders ahead. I gave my horse the reins, trailing the ones ahead by the crashing of limbs and dead brush. All at once I came in sight of one of my Mexican co-workers. His horse was standing still. The man put up his hand

¹⁰ Miller, *Ibid.*, 118-121.

for me to stop, and I did so willingly. He pointed into the brush ahead, and I caught a glimpse of some cattle. A few minutes later I heard voices singing a peculiar melody without words. The sound of these voices indicated that the singers were scattered in the form of a circle about the cattle. In a few moments some of the cattle came toward me, I recognized a few of them as belonging to the herd which we had brought from our camp. In a few seconds more I saw that we had some wild ones to. Every man now began to ride very carefully and slowly, riding in circles around and around them, all except myself singing the melody known (in after years) as the 'Texas Lullaby'.¹¹

Longworth and the men rode around the cattle for an hour or more and then Longworth rode out of sight of the herd, dismounted, and tightened the cinch of his saddle, returning to the herd. The other riders followed his example, one by one. Singing as he went, Longworth then rode out into the chaparral. The riders closed in and pointed the herd in the direction of Longworth's voice. A sound or sudden move could start a stampede, so everyone worked slowly and quietly, some distance from the cattle. Longworth finally led the 'gentle' cattle into the wings of the corral and the wild ones followed. Not all hunts were this successful. Sometimes Cook stated that, "We not only failed to make a catch, but also lost the decoy." Other methods were used to try to catch the wild cattle. Occasionally riders would ride into the thickets, jump a bunch of wild cattle, and then every man would try to catch and tie a cow. If this attempt failed, Cook states that a man had just one other chance and that was to "spur his horse alongside the fleeing beast, catch it by the tail with his hand, and, taking a turn around the saddle horn, dash suddenly ahead, causing the steer to turn a somersault." Coming to a sudden stop,

¹¹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 116-117

the rider then had to quickly jump off and 'hog-tied' the brute or "trouble would come to the 'cow waddie' who had caused it."¹²

These instructors in the art of cowboy work and the men they trained were soon the nucleus of the cattle drives. Each season more Anglo-American boys and men were in the trail drive outfits.¹³ The newfangled cowboy made up of rich, poor, young, and old, city and farm boys, educated and uneducated, professional men, and millionaire's sons, outlaws, and deserters of families had been lured to what they thought was an interesting and romantic lifestyle. Often they only found that the work was hard, grueling, and unending. Many did not last to see a trail drive all the way through, and for others, only a few days of such hard work abruptly ended their romantic illusions of cowboy life.¹⁴

Trail-driving, in a way, was a form of free range ranching; as the herds were being delivered to the ranches of the Northwest, and the buffaloes were being killed off of the western prairies, Texas ranchmen and trail-drivers began establishing ranch headquarters in the vast public domain of western Texas available for grazing. Many land grants from the Republic had never been occupied, and a few of these were purchased by ranchmen, but the greatest number of ranchmen did not own any land but let their cattle graze on public land free from taxes and lease rent. On the open range and public land, cattle became mixed, causing many of the troubles for cattlemen of that period. Branding was dangerous and difficult, initially few engaged in it, but with the birth of the cattle industry following the Civil War and herds moving across the country,

¹² Miller, *Ibid.*, 117-118.

¹³ Miller, *Ibid.*, 116-118.

¹⁴ Santella, *Ibid.*, 18-19.

branding became a necessity to ensure ownership. Only with the stamp of a ranchman's brand could one claim ownership. Outfits began to work the bottoms, the brush country, the canyons, and the plains gathering these wild cattle when their market value increased. Branding irons sizzled wherever longhorns could be found. Eventually, every ranchman had his brand and mark, the only way to identify one's cattle. The practice of branding unmarked cattle, or mavericks, and getting something for nothing was so entrenched that some developed, as an offset for the ever-growing scarcity of mavericks, the art of changing brands.¹⁵

The drives of 1867 and 1868 showed increasing profits. By the spring of 1869, the country was beginning to realize the possibilities of the northern market. The trail-driving epoch had begun. At the age of twenty-five, D. A. (Doal) Miller was among the first trail bosses to use the route that later became known as the Chisholm Trail. He had gathered a herd of twenty-seven hundred head in Jack County for Y. Robbins and a Mr. McKamy of Jacksboro. Miller's outfit had twenty men and sufficient wagons to haul the food, bedding, and other necessary supplies.¹⁶

Grazing their way to their final destination, herds on the trails moved slowly. Drovers expected their stock to arrive in as good, if not better, condition than when they started. With no corrals or fences, the goal was to keep them moving northward and to

¹⁵ Miller, *Ibid.*, 117-121 and 164.

¹⁶ Miller, *Ibid.*, 122.

keep them from stampeding. Many wild herds went where they wanted regardless of what the cowboys wanted.¹⁷

On the open plains, weather was one of the worst hardships with which drovers had to contend. Bad storms with flashes of lightning or thunder could set off a mad stampede. Once spooked, even the striking of a match or any unexpected or unusual sound could send the cattle into a stampede at a moment's notice. The cowboys had to be on constant vigil for anything that might cause the cattle to spook, because stampedes could mangle, blind, or kill many cattle. Cowboys learned from the vaquero that they could quiet the cattle and avert stampedes by singing.¹⁸

To reach market with the herd and horses in good condition was something to be proud of, and an abundance of grass and water made everyone on the trail happy. A herd of three thousand required a trail boss, at least eight men to handle the cattle, a cook, and one "remuda man" to handle the horses. Each working cowboy had six horses. A cowboy's best horse was reserved for night duty because that watch required a gentle, easy to handle, sure-footed horse- -a first class cowhorse. The other five horses were rotated through half-day cycles until each had been used and then rotation would start over. Cowboys preferably had a substantial suit of clothing, fine hat, boots with high heels, spurs, a red bandana handkerchief for the neck, leather leggings [chaps], quirt, and slicker. They had the best saddle, bridle, and bridle bit they could afford.¹⁹

¹⁷ Miller, *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁸ Miller, *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁹ J. Marvin Hunter, The Trail Drivers of Texas, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press), 1924. 859-860.



Cowboys, Remuda, and Chuck Wagon
Compliments of the Library of Congress

A well-trained horse knew the position and distance required for his job and required little guidance. During roundup, men from adjoining ranches would gather to check for cattle belonging to their outfits, and worked together to perform the necessary herd maintenance, thus expediting the work and giving everyone a chance to visit. The roundup [rodeo] was a time for friendly contests and frivolity. It has since evolved into a national institution in America that furnishes entertainment for hundreds of thousands each year and one is sure to hear the universally accepted call of encouragement, "Ride 'em cowboy!"²⁰

The most highly trained of all the ranch horses is the cutting horse. A cutting horse is trained using a herd of five hundred, a thousand, or even five thousand head and trained to search out a specific cow. This is not natural for any animal; their natural inclination of resistance and instinct of self-preservation often prevail. It is all but impossible to work with herds of cattle without a well-trained horse. There were and are horses so well trained that the rider only needs to sit in the saddle and do little else. Many cowboys were not able to sit securely atop a cutting horse due to its quick movements, but those who could were assigned that specific work.²¹

Well-trained dependable horses and the cowboy that depended on him developed an indescribable trust and reliance on each other. The best of the best and the man who owned him mourned his loss as greatly as any person he had known. It was not unusual

²⁰ Miller, *Ibid.*, 162 and 165.

²¹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 166.

in the developing frontier and along the cattle trails to find markers where the time had been taken to bury their horse and place a marker over it. One such marker read:

HERE LIES
“WHAT NEXT”
Born ____, ____, 1886 at ____,
Died July 16, 1892, near Ft. Washakie, Wyo.
He had the Body of a Horse,
The Spirit of a Knight, and
The Devotion of the Man
Who Erected this Stone.²²

The skills of a cowboy had to be practiced and hours were spent throwing a rope, training horses, and learning to ride well. There are many tales about “riding the country roads ‘neath the star-studded sky, their spurs jingling and the talk free, they would sing the old songs of the range and imagine themselves cowboys. The spirits of the frontier would ride with them.”²³

George W. Saunders recalled that in the late sixties, the railroad agent, W. P. Anderson, at Abilene, Kansas, shipped out the first cattle. The experience that he gave of this experience with the Chisholm Trail as laid out by Jesse Chisholm was, “from Red River Station to different points in Kansas...The first herd to come to Abilene, Kansas was that of J. J. Meyers who was also one of the trail drivers...The first cattle shipped out of Abilene, Kansas were those owned by C. C. Slaughter of Dallas with billing memorandum slips issued at Junction City, Kansas.”²⁴

²² Philip Ashton Rollins, The Cowboy, An Unconventional History of Civilization on the Old-Time Cattle Range, (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press), 1997, first publishing 1922, second publishing 1936. 61.

²³ Miller, *Ibid.*, 205.

²⁴ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 960.

Cowboys, Chuck Wagon, and Hoodlum Wagon
Compliments of the Library of Congress



In 1871, Ike T. Pryor came to San Antonio to embark in the cattle business and later recalled the most primitive and dangerous conditions and surroundings of the area. He remembered living out of doors or in unpretentious houses, people being accustomed to hardships and toil, and that nearly every one carried a gun and was more or less a law unto himself. It was these pioneers that made good in every sense of the word in their deeds, and left a heritage that brightened the pages of Texas history like no other.²⁵

In 1871, R. F. Sellers of Mathis, Texas, recalled his trip up the trail to Newton, Kansas. They had several four to fifteen year old wild steers that had been raised in the brush that gave them a world of trouble and had stampeded frequently. Adding, "So right there I gained a lot of experience in handling stampeded cattle- -After we passed Fayette County there were but few settlements, and when we got up near Red River we found it to be a wild country. Almost every man we met carried two six-shooters and a Winchester for protection."²⁶

1873 was one of the wettest years to be on the trail. Richard "Dick" Withers of Boyes, Montana, recalls,

It rained all the time and we had to swim every stream from Red River on. Red River was on a big rise, and the stream was lined with herds, for no herd had been able to cross for a week or more. I asked some of the bosses of the herds there if they were going to tackle the river, and they said they were not, so I told them to give me room and I would tackle it, for I would rather undertake the crossing than to take chances on a mixing of the herds. They all gave me room and helped me to start the cattle into the water. I strung my herd out, and had them take the water several hundred yards above where I wanted them to come out. I never saw cattle

²⁵ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 164.

²⁶ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 385.

swim nicer than those steers; they kept their heads and tails out of the water. I ferried my horses across. We proceeded on our way.²⁷

From 1870 to 1890, an estimate of ten million cattle, averaging two hundred herds and one-half million head of cattle per year traveled an average of fifteen miles per day at an average distance of four hundred fifty to five hundred miles per month. The average cost for a 30-day drive was \$500 while for a twelve to fifteen hundred mile trip (taking three months) was \$1500 for a herd of twenty-five hundred head.²⁸

The magnitude of cattle that traveled up the cattle trails from Texas, averaged out to four thousand herds of twenty-five hundred head each, required a vast army of men. It was the custom to sell the horses after the cattle were sold and delivered; therefore few horses ever returned, while nearly all of the men would return and repeat the trip the next year. This breaks down to 2400 men or 48,000 man trips and 14,400 saddle horses (6 per man). This boom period of the cattle industry was not one of plain sailing for the Texas cattlemen.²⁹

Census marshals variously described all persons who worked cattle excluding ranch owners as cowboy, cattle herder, works cattle, cattle hand, cattle boss, cattle driver, cow herder, and the like.³⁰

Without an understanding of the cattle business, its origin, traditions and customs, it is impossible to make a fair appraisal of the character of the true Texas, or to gain an insight into his actions and reactions. The cattle business molded the character of Texas; it greatly influenced the lives of the people all over the western United States in no inconsiderable degree it has left its mark on all North

²⁷ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 310-311.

²⁸ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 165-166.

²⁹ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 166.

³⁰ Ernest R. Archambeau, The First Federal Census in the Panhandle, 1880, 48, 49, 64, 71, 131.

America. It has helped to keep America virile and alive; it has fostered the spirit of initiative and independence; it has made for friendliness and democracy.

The habits and customs, the traditions and lore, which had grown up during the two hundred years of Spanish ranching in Mexico and the Southwest, followed the cattle and passed over to the Texans who were destined to carry on. All the dash and daring, all the reckless disregard of life and limb, all the cruelty and viciousness and all the kindness, gentleness and humane understanding which made up the warp and woof of the character of the *caballero* and the *vaquero* filtered into the life stream of the Texas and became, in modified degrees, a part of his being.³¹

Few confuse a cowboy with any other historical character. On the surface, they appeared to be one-dimensional characters that were easy to understand. Yet they played such an important role in America's history and succeeded in capturing and holding the key to the heart of the old west while celebrating an epic of romantic conquest and commanding a dynamic change in a nation. They did so with an elusive attractiveness.³²

The cowboy on the open range and trail seldom ever got any orders from anyone. He was pretty much his own boss and accustomed to an unrestricted lifestyle on the plains with its challenges and adventures. In sharp contrast, a cowboy's freedom and individuality was gone like a tumbleweed in the wind when the trail drives ended and he found himself confined by the barbed wire on the ranches and the repetition of the work.

³¹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 161.

³² Andrew Santella, The Chisholm Trail, (Danbury, CO: Children's Press), 1997, 18-19.



Cowboys at Mealtime
Compliments of the Library of Congress

CHUCK WAGON³³

In 1866, Charles “Chuck” Goodnight, only thirty years old at the time, is credited for designing the ‘chuck’ wagon. While preparing for a cattle drive to northern markets, he knew that feeding his cowboys would be one of the primary concerns along the trail. He designed a wagon to meet the demands of the trail that would also carry the required items and supplies. Goodnight was known for lecturing his fellow cattlemen about being decisive and taking action when circumstances dictated it. He practiced this himself in every detail of his preparations for the cattle drive and even participated in the construction of the food wagon, as it was first called.

Goodnight engaged a wagon company in Parker County to refurbish the surplus army wagon that he had acquired for his food wagon. Modifications were made to the wagon to make it more trail-friendly while carrying approximately two tons of food, supplies, and equipment to last for at least a month. Goodnight required a heavy metal foundation running gear with broad-tiered, wide-gauge wheels. These adaptations aided in supporting the load in the wagon bed and added features that would help to prevent the wagon from easily tipping over.

The wagon was made from seasoned bois d’arc, the hardest wood available and had iron axles. He used tallow instead of grease for the wheels. The features Goodnight

³³ Readings in Andrew Santella, The Chisholm Trail, (Danbury, CO: Children’s Press), 1997, 23-119; Readings from J. Marvin Hunter, The Trail Drivers of Texas, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press), 1924, 859-860; and Wayne Gard, The Chisholm Trail, (Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma), 1954, 116.

utilized with the high narrow wheels and tires that had a wider-than-normal gauge; these assisted in making the wagon light running. Fully loaded, the wagon required four to six mules or two yoke of oxen to pull it. Mules were preferred.

A food or 'chuck' box was designed for the back of the wagon containing drawers, compartments, and cubbyholes specifically designed to hold medicinal whiskey, food stuffs, and other necessary items for food preparation. A large 'lid' at the back of the wagon was hinged at the bottom. It served to protect these compartments and cubbyholes and when lowered on its single leg, it served as a work and preparation area for the cook. The coffee pot was always stored near the chuck box while on the trail, but was otherwise in constant use.

Under the wagon was a large compartment for the heavy cast-iron kettles, pans, skillets, and dutch ovens. Behind the driver's seat the rolled bed rolls and extra supplies of flour, bacon, coffee, beans, canned goods, dried fruit, rice, flour, molasses (lick), sugar, and other staples were stored. Long handled forks and spoons, butcher knives, measuring utensils, tin plates, cups, bowls, trinkets for trade with Indians along the trail, and 'eating irons' were also stored inside the wagon. At least two large dishpans were required, one for bread and one for washing dishes. The sourdough keg was hung on the sunny side for heat to keep the sourdough fermenting properly and in cold weather it was tucked in with all of the bedrolls. Charles Goodnight is also credited with being first to take sourdough on the trail.] Everything was double sacked in case a tear occurred in the outer sack, then nothing would be lost.

The wagon was covered with a heavy canvas cloth held up with Bentwood bows. This was to protect the contents of the wagon and the cook in foul weather. The cook was also the only one with the privilege of sleeping in the wagon during inclement weather.

There was a sprung seat for the driver [cook] and grain for the team was stored under it. A barrel of water was carried on one side [enough for two days] and large tool box on the other containing branding irons, horseshoeing equipment, ax, shovel, pick, hammers, and other equipment. There was a cuna, cooney, or cradle under the wagon made of a cowhide or canvas used for carrying dry wood that would be used to build a fire for cooking. All of the cowboys assisted with keeping it filled. Occasionally, another large canvas cloth could be stretched from the top of the back of the wagon to keep the cook dry or provide shade for the cook. Occasionally the cowboys would eat under it to keep rain out of their plates.

A few trail drives also had a second or hoodlum's wagon that carried extra water, medicines, spare saddles, wood, and other odds and ends. Not all trail drives were lucky enough to have a second wagon.

A cook's area could extent up to a sixty-foot diameter circle around the wagon and he commanded this space. "In strange country, the cook would turn the wagon tongue toward the North Star before he went to bed. If the next morning should be cloudy, this pointer might be useful as a compass."³⁴

Arbuckle brand coffee was a favorite of the cowboys and they were responsible for grinding the coffee beans. It came with peppermint in the package and the cook would

³⁴ Wayne Gard, The Chisholm Trail, (Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma), 1954, 116.

use this as a reward for the cowboy that ground the coffee beans. Many a tough cowboy would almost fight for this privilege in order to get the peppermint.

As history has captured the cowboys, the color, the adventure, the drama, the camaraderie, the humor- -all of these overshadow the tedium, the discomforts, the monotonous and dangerous work that accompanied the trail drives. Passage of time and various events occurred during the evolution of the cook. The best cook was paid well for his services, because a good cook brought satisfaction to the men. The center of their existence revolved around the chuck wagon where they could relax, tell stories, sing songs, and if they had a good cook, enjoy a good meal.

The Trail Drivers

The trail is abandoned, the fences have crossed it,
The riders grow scarce with the toll of the years.
But the memory lives on and we never have lost it,
When the Texan went North with his big rangy steers.

How little he knew of the change he was making
All over the West, to the new from the old.
He was simply a trail driver, carefully taking
His cattle to market, where they could be sold.

The treacherous quick sands that lurked in the river,
The rustler, the storm, and the dreaded stampede,
That made those old long horns so hard to deliver,
Meant nothing to him, he was one of that breed.

Through cold and through heat, through the dust and the welter,
The lives of those riders, how hard they now seem.
He would travel for months without rest, without shelter,
Before they moved cattle by motor and steam.

Yes, they were the men that built up the foundation,
For the herds and the ranches all over the West.
They were men among men; they were no imitation.
They were true to their calling, and good as the best.

The cowboy was then in the height of his glory;
Though now he's supplanted by motor and rail.
They will ever live on, both in song and in story,
Those cool fearless riders that drove the long trail.

-Bruce Kiskadon¹

¹ Frank M. King, Longhorn Trail Drivers, (1st edition privately published for his friends by the author), 1940, XII.

WOMEN OF THE FRONTIER

Amazing determination, phenomenal endurance, remarkable stamina, unwavering inner spiritual strength, and undying devotion partially describe Anglo frontier women who helped to settle and tame the new frontier of north central Texas in the mid to late 1800s. A miniscule amount of documentation exists when compared to the [Anglo] men of the era. What frontier [Anglo] women documented in diaries, journals, and letters speaks volumes about these remarkable women, their contributions, and the lives they quietly lead.¹

Studies of frontier women's diaries, journals, and letters have broadened overall knowledge and understanding of the lives of frontier women. Their roles are the fabric of our heritage and history.

In the words of historian Susan Armitage,

"These studies enable us to begin to put together a patchwork quilt made up of scraps from the lives of many [Anglo] pioneer women, and a careful study of the many different squares in this quilt should give us a fairly good idea of what it was like to be a [Anglo] woman of the American frontier."²

Men often viewed a move to the frontier as an adventure.

"The westward movement for many [Anglo] men was the physical expression of a break with the past and a setting out for a new life. The journey occurred when the rhythms of maturity were primed for a change. The determination to go West was either the initial separation from a man's parental family or the second major move, the move 'upward' in the search for economic mobility and success. The

¹ Robert L. Griswold, Anglo Women and Domestic Ideology in the American West in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, in Lillian Schlissel, Vickie L. Ruiz, and Janice Monks, eds., Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives, (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press), 1988, 1-34.

² Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, Pioneer Women, The Lives of Women on the Frontier, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press), 1996, 9 and verified original Armitage publication.

adventure took on the color of some 'dramatic rite of passage to mastery and adulthood' in the life cycle of frontier men."³

To many women it was more than that. There was simply no way that the rigorous exertions of the overland journey could be considered "normal" for a pregnant woman, as most made this journey during their child bearing years. A woman's pregnancy was not sufficient cause to defer the trip.⁴

Many women made the transition from new bride to a role of women opening a new country, to women attempting to survive. Most pioneer families came from middle-class backgrounds⁵ and were familiar with the social and cultural ideas of the era. They imagined the frontier as a wicked, wild place, a state of nature. Their duty was to soften it, to civilize it. Many women headed West imbued with an almost missionary zeal to do just that. Most brought the values, Eastern values, to the West.⁶

They were expected to keep the home (cook, sew, make soap and candles, wash, and childcare) in a culturally and socially acceptable manner, but they were also expected to help in the non-traditional areas; i.e. dig cellars, build houses, tend to livestock, erect fences, plow fields, and harvest crops.⁷

³ Lillian Schlissel, Women's Diaries of the Westward Movement, (New York: Schocken Books), 1992, 106.

⁴ Schlissel, Ibid., 106.

⁵ Few paupers hit the transcontinental trails, as it took money to migrate. Food (for human and livestock consumption), large quantities of staple goods (floor, sugar, salt, etc.) and supplies (tools, gun powder, wagon parts, and grease for the wheels) were required for the long journey, as well as household items (spinning wheels, bedding, cooking utensils, clothing) and the wagon(s) and team(s). Other livestock (chickens, hogs, horses, milk cows) were also taken on the journey.

⁶ Griswold, Ibid., 5-34.

⁷ Professor Thomas E. Hill's published works from 1873 to 1890 documenting appropriate conduct and protocol, especially for women, were highly acclaimed by major publishing institutions; i.e. *Chicago Evening Press*, and *Easton Free Press*. U. S. Vice President Schyler Colfax (1869-1873) proclaimed Hill's first published work to be the most comprehensive and satisfactory work of its kind. Hill's works included

These amazing women worked along side their men seeking to make their businesses, farms, and ranches profitable. They raised, processed, and stored food, spun yarn and wove cloth for clothing. They served as school marms and taught their children to read and write. They lived in remote areas where the nearest neighbor could be miles away, and a trip to town took days.⁸

Many of these women accomplished as much, if not more, than their male counterparts. While men hunted for food, riches, more and better land, combatted Native Americans [Indians], fought in the Civil War, as well as sought utopias or conducted business, they left behind women who ran their businesses, raised their families, and farmed their land. While alone, frontier women faced and endured untold hardships. Often women were alone for days, months, and even for years not knowing if their husbands would return or if they were still alive. These women had the entire responsibility to hold the family together and ensure their survival. "They were tough, they were survivors. They had to be."⁹

Beyond survival, another concern of frontier women was to maintain their image.

"The women's magazines, journals, and novels of the day extolled the virtues of the 'cult of domesticity'. A woman's highest calling was to be the 'guardian angel' of the nation's moral health. She should be soft and refined, able to provide a welcome retreat for her man from the rough-and-tumble world of business.

rules of conduct for social occasions and daily life, as well as guides to love and marriage. The refined and rigid etiquette of the Victorian era slowly developed over decades, thus influencing the many phases of westward expansion and the roles of both men and women.

⁸ Readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Peavy and Smith's Pioneer Women, The Lives of Women on the Frontier; McLeRoy's Red River Women, Women of the West series; Jordan's Cowgirls, Women of the American West; and Brown's Gentle Tamers.

⁹ Sherrie S. McLeRoy, Red River Women, Women of the West series, (Plano, TX: Republic of Texas Press), 1996, X.

While he handled the family finances, she took care of the family spirit, providing comfort, religion, and culture. She provided everything her man needed to be happy, healthy, and productive; everything her children needed to grow into fine, upstanding citizens.”¹⁰

Most frontier women were compelled by their belief that a woman’s chief service was that of motherhood and homemaker- -their role was as shapers of their families with marriage being the acceptable social norm. Many never lost their belief that the fine arts taught ethics and built character, and they clung to their beliefs of high moral conduct. As the documents that many frontier women left behind indicate, they also struggled to maintain a sense of culture and propriety, and most important, these women instilled a strong religious belief in their families.¹¹

Religion and education were of the utmost importance to them. In many instances frontier women assisted their husbands to establish schools and churches. Some openly organized and raised money to build and establish schools and churches. Through these efforts, they helped to bring culture and civility to the wild and untamed frontier areas.

Support from mothers, grandmothers, and other family members were missing in some of the homes and communities of the frontier women. Even though they tried to maintain the proprieties and social order they had left far behind, these frontier women

¹⁰ Julie Roy Jeffrey. *Frontier Women in The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880*, (New York: Hill and Wang), 1979, 10. ‘Cult of domesticity’ is a phrase coined by historians to describe women’s roles in the nineteenth century. The ideology dictated that women were to be pious, submissive, and gentle. Their place was in the home, raising children, and creating a nurturing home environment. They were not to be worldly or independent in any way.

¹¹ Readings in Schlissel’s *Women’s Diaries of the Westward Journey*; Peavy and Smith’s *Pioneer Women, The Lives of Women on the Frontier*; McLeRoy’s *Red River Women, Women of the West series*; Jordan’s *Cowgirls, Women of the American West*; and Brown’s *Gentle Tamers*.

were also freer to establish their own propriety and social order. They were not under the scrutiny and taboos that they had left behind. These women were able to bring a sense of civilization to their homes while they crafted a new social order for themselves that better fit their day-to-day circumstances. Creating own social order carried over into their relationships with their spouses.¹²

Forms of entertainment were rare, so the few opportunities for cultural entertainment and social interaction were cherished. Once their homes were firmly established, these women turned their energies to volunteer efforts to establish schools and further education, build churches, and spread religion into the wild frontier. They developed cultural and social activities to enrich their lives, and became political activists to further their causes and to enfranchise women. In their efforts to bring refinement to the frontier, they also formed temperance groups.¹³

Out of necessity, some widows took the reins of whatever their husbands had left behind and made great fortunes for themselves. In order to maintain control of their property, many of these widows never remarried. Laws in territories and in most states at that time granted control of property to males. Other widows were left with nothing

¹² The marital relationship was greatly influenced by religious beliefs and the aforementioned publications of Professor Hill and others. Additional information concerning marital relationships gathered from readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Peavy and Smith's Pioneer Women, The Lives of Women on the Frontier; McLeRoy's Red River Women, Women of the West series; Jordan's Cowgirls, Women of the American West; and Brown's Gentle Tamers.

¹³ Some notable north central Texas women known for their contributions include Edna Browning Kahly Gladney (orphanage), Lucy Ann Thornton Kidd-Key and Ela Hockaday (education), and Lydia Starr Hunter McPherson (newspaperwoman and publisher). Excellent examples from the north central Texas area known for their social and political acumen was Lucy Petway Holcombe Pickens (only female depicted on Confederate currency for her, known as the Queen of the Confederacy) and Sophia Suttonfield Aughinbaugh Coffee Butt Porter (although of shady morale character a well-known socialite known for her lavish parties and hospitality). Biographies of these women can be found in McLeRoy's Red River Women.

except a house full of children and no means for income. In desperation, many of these innovative women became masters of their destiny. In order to blend into the business world of men, some even adapted a man's dress and identity. Others built empires totally on their own grit, while still others remarried out of necessity, even multiple times.¹⁴

Many divorced or deserted women opened boarding houses, assumed their husband's business, and ran farms and ranches alone. They managed to raise their children, survive, and some amassed large fortunes and established successful businesses or acquired extensive farm and ranch holdings.¹⁵ The work of women's hands expanded into their own business ventures supplying soap, butter, baked goods, laundry services, and room and board to supplement the family income. Other women ventured into non-traditional occupations, either through education, inheritance, divorce, or circumstance.

A lady-like appearance was another concern for some frontier women trying to maintain their image. It did not matter that their clothing was really practical or not. Historian Peavey suggests that, "Other women forsook high fashion in favor of practicality...since any long-skirted garment...could be ignited by a campfire or caught under the wheels of a passing wagon." Bold women created their own image outside of the expected norms and standards of the era. For example, Rebecca Ketcham, a young

¹⁴ Examples of businesswomen from the north central Texas area include Edna Browning Kahly Gladney, Ela Hockaday, Lydia Starr Hunter McPherson, and Enid Justin (ladybootmaker). Also found in McLeRoy's Red River Women.

¹⁵ An outstanding example of multiple marriages but also one of a successful businesswoman is Sophia Suttonfield Aughinbaugh Coffee Butt Porter. Known for her survival and rescue from Indian captivity, Olive Ann Oatman Fairchild parlayed her experience into a business on the lecture circuit. Also found in McLeRoy's Red River Women.

schoolteacher lacking the comfort and support of family members, rode across the plains on horseback with the men.

“Mary Ellen Todd, a nine-year-old when her family headed west...years later remembered: Occasionally all along our journey, I had tried to crack that big whip. Now while out of the wagon, we kept trying until I was fairly successful. How my heart bounded a few days later, when I chanced to hear father say to mother, ‘Do you know that Mary Ellen is beginning to crack the whip?’ Then how it fell again, when mother replied, ‘I am afraid it isn’t a very ladylike thing for a girl to do.’”¹⁶

Torturous rains, incessant cold, blistering heat, summer storms, and driving wind were endured along the westward trails. Swimming livestock across rivers and living for months at a time in wagons or tents, all was the norm.¹⁷ The scarcity of fuel for fire and cooking under these adverse conditions were nearly impossible. “The work, the sheer physical drudgery, made some pioneer women haggard and thin. The isolation, fear, loneliness, and wind- -Oh God, the incessant wind- -drove others insane.”¹⁸ Linen Bliss of Powder River County, Montana stated, “This rugged country has made me discover a strength in myself I had never been forced to find in the East.”¹⁹

Frontier women were achievers and rebels, some even bawdy and brawling. The diaries, journals, and letters of frontier women “are filled with information about the route, watering places, places where one could feed the cattle and oxen, and the quality of

¹⁶ Peavy, *Ibid.*, 35, 44 - 45.

¹⁷ Schlissel, *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁸ Elizabeth N. Shor, Problems in the Land of Opportunity, American West, Vol. 13, #1, January/February 1979, 24-26.

¹⁹ Teresa Jordan, Cowgirls, Women of the American West, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), 1982, 136.

the grasses along the way. Such diaries seldom contain expression of intimate feelings, but there are occasions when emotions flash out, beyond control and sharp.”²⁰

As stated in the introduction of *Red River Women*,²¹

“...the Texas frontier dared its women to adhere to society’s rules and then threw in their way every conceivable obstacle: Indians [Native Americans], heat, blue northers, bugs, wind, isolation, and violence...defiant women, who endured and thrived because they had the strength, the intelligence, and the guts to make their mark in a society ruled by and for men. In proper Victorian tradition, they tended to use wiles and charm to get what they wanted, but if that didn’t work, they did what they wanted anyway.”

Under the auspices of the Homestead Act,²² women moved West as independent entrepreneurs, to take up land and build fortunes for themselves.²³ “Some of the women ...had powerful ambitions of their own. There were fortunes to be made, women worked in primitive conditions...demonstrating an intrepid determination to earn their own money.”²⁴ Many women found that they preferred to work outside because this gave them freedom where they could escape domestic drudgery, loneliness, and isolation of a house. These independent women considered housework to be tedious, monotonous, and boring. The ones that fully achieved their own liberated thinking and total liberation

²⁰ Schlissel, Ibid., 10.

²¹ The women in *Red River Women* were born during the Victorian era, 1837 – 1901 and lived along the Red River between Oklahoma and north central Texas.

²² The Homestead Act of 1862 was a comprehensive national economic strategy to empower ownership of land and other property. Many states expanded the Homestead Act, but most provided for 160 acres of claimed land, requiring a filing fee of twenty-five cents per acre and one dollar more per acre to “prove up” or when the land has been worked or improved for five years. Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Texas and many other states had their own versions of the Homestead Act.

²³ Schlissel, Ibid., 154. Numerous documented accounts of women homesteaders are cited here.

²⁴ Schlissel, Ibid., 61.

were the exceptional ones who dared to venture from the genteel and live on the edge of civilization although they maintained a curious mix of the traditional and practical.²⁵

“And if the raw requirements of transcontinental travel and early settlement caused women to work outside the “woman’s sphere” – to wear unfeminine clothes, do manly labor, and develop strong and calloused hands—many women never forgot they were *supposed* to be ladies:

“Of course, assenting to ideas was not the same as living up to their prescriptions. Domesticity described the norms and not the actual conduct of American women. There was considerably more variety in the behavior of women than ideology would suggest. Still, norms were important because they established the behavioral context for those who tried to reject them as much as for those who attempted to realize them. They shaped personality and colored expectations. For many women the cult of domesticity provided a psychologically compelling meaning for their lives.”²⁶

Women were their own worst enemies in trying to maintain the social standards and taboos they had brought with them.

“Agnes Morley Cleaveland dearly loved her life and activities on a ranch during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There, she said, there was no ‘double standard.’ Yet she constantly felt torn between the rugged outdoor life she loved and the more gentle life of a lady she ‘should’ like. Even the title of her autobiography—*No Life for a Lady*—bears the message of apology.”²⁷

The recorded entries in many frontier women’s diaries, journals, and letters deliver information and insight concerning their observations, apprehensions, grief, and fears. Disease, accidents, encounters with snakes, wild animals, poisonous plants, and dangerous insects, along with endless hardships from their surroundings threatened these

²⁵ Jordan, *Ibid.*, Epilogue.

²⁶ Jordan, *Ibid.*, 278 and verified original Jeffrey publication.

²⁷ Jordan, *Ibid.*, 277-278 and verified original Cleaveland publication.

women and their children daily. Babies and children were the most vulnerable. Entire families could be destroyed by an epidemic.

With limited medical care, and the scarcity of doctors, a serious burn or broken bone could become serious quickly. Medical aid was rare, so many women delivered their children, sometimes totally alone without aid. Many died in childbirth, taking their infant with them. About twenty percent of the women were pregnant or gave birth in the course of the move West.²⁸ Social stigmas and convictions²⁹ prevented most of them from speaking openly about their “condition” and only referenced the arrival of a new baby, seldom ever mentioning how hard their pregnancy had been.

Men were more likely to die from accidents along the trail or drowning while trying to ford streams and rivers. Deaths from Native American [Indian] raids were not as common as history has portrayed, but problems with Native Americans [Indians] in north central Texas continued to occur until after 1876.³⁰

Frontier women were the ritual caretakers of the sick and dying, writing almost emotionless about experiences. Their view of the cost of settling the West was often underscored by human life and suffering. They viewed death as an inevitable, intrusive, unwanted, yet a frequent visitor. Frontier women learned to live with death. Those who survived these unimaginable hardships, proved to be stronger than they even thought they

²⁸ Schlissel, tables representing component categories reflecting questions raised in the text.

²⁹ Social stigmas were further enforced by women clinging to their beliefs in their social roles, their sexual identity, and the delicate balance that had developed between husbands and wives in American and European societies. These were further supported in popular publications of the era; i.e. *Ladies Home Journal*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *Harper's*; articles in available newspapers, especially those from back East; and religious teachings and convictions.

³⁰ Grady William Box. The Civil War in North Central Texas: Its Impact on Frontier Families, 1860-1874. (Denton, TX: Thesis, Texas Woman's University), 1991, 107-109.

could be. Many of these women possessed raw courage accompanied by “pure guts.”

They had learned to survive against almost insurmountable odds.³¹

Women, who survived the westward move, were then faced with creating a home, literally from the ground up. The journey had not been a “trip for the fainthearted; perhaps it was only for the foolhardy.”³² Now savvy of the era’s frontier, it took every ounce of ingenuity and tenacity they possessed to help erect a house and establish a home. Mary Jane Maquier wrote her daughter in Maine “Had I not the constitution of six horses I should [have] been dead long ago...as I am sick and tired of work.”³³

For frontier women, confidence alone was not enough. They had become indifferent to fear, developed a direct way of thinking, possessed feisty tempers, were stout hearted, and typified the energy the West demanded. The move westward had not been the first one for many, as some had endured a lifetime of pioneering, establishing homes, either as children with their parents, or on prior moves. For some, moving so deep into the frontier wilderness many had doubts that civilization would ever catch up to them.³⁴

With the long journey behind them, they still faced hardships, deprivations, and dangers. The anguish of the memories of the well-established homes they had left behind often haunted them. They lived in tents and camped out while clearing the land, building shelter for the upcoming winter. Many times this lean-to was no more than four walls, a

³¹ Readings in Jordan’s Cowgirls, Women of the American West; Clinkinbeard’s Across the Plains in 1864; Schlissel’s Women’s Diaries of the Westward Journey; Brown’s Gentle Tamers; and Riley’s Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915.

³² Schlissel, *Ibid.*, 27, from her research: Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, p. 11.

³³ Schlissel, *Ibid.*, 64.

³⁴ Readings in Schlissel’s Women’s Diaries of the Westward Journey and Brown’s Gentle Tamers.

mud hut, or a cave-like shelter with only a dirt floor and a fireplace. Additionally, some of the conveniences they started out with had been lost or left behind on the trail. By the time they reached their destinations, supplies were either depleted or dangerously low. Milk and eggs were scarce. Flour and sugar were valuable commodities. Those with milk cows and chicken were the lucky ones.³⁵

Under the most trying of circumstances, women were expected to carry out their domestic duties. Water usually had to be hauled from its source. Frontier women learned to supply food from their new and unfamiliar surroundings. They became familiar with trees, shrubs, roots, and wildlife that provided the best sources for foodstuffs and medical remedies. Many had learned from others along the trail and from friendly Native Americans [Indians]. In some areas, wood was unavailable for cooking and winter fires.³⁶

Trail life inspired moments of camaraderie in which exchanging recipes, telling family stories, and teaching each other how to knit, crochet, and tat occupied their time. Once the frontier women moved onto their home sites, this camaraderie often disappeared. Sometimes it was months before they encountered another human being other than their own families.³⁷

Although beginning in less-than-ideal conditions, these women's resilience and ingenuity slowly transformed their primitive living conditions into adequate homes and

³⁵ Readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Brown's Gentle Tamers; and Erickson's Daily Life in a Cover Wagon.

³⁶ Readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Erickson's Daily Life in a Cover Wagon; and Riley's Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915.

³⁷ Readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Brown's Gentle Tamers; and Erickson's Daily Life in a Cover Wagon; and Clinkinbeard's Across the Plains in 1864.

shelters for their families. In later years, many established relatively fine spacious homes with some of the conveniences that they had left behind years before.

Isolation was an additional hardship faced by all frontier women. This isolation, though dreary and disconcerting, also brought with it some unexpected rewards. Women's actions were not under the staunch scrutiny of others with harsh social implications as they once experienced. They were more free to be unconcerned if they faltered in their social obligations. Many freely changed their roles to suit their circumstances and their own personal desires. These women were able to attain a new growth within themselves that no one had expected. They had been left to their own devices to face so many hardships and obstacles. Having survived the journey, women established a homestead, and in doing this they dug ditches and root cellars, cleared garden plots and fields for crops, planted orchards, and built homes and families.³⁸

Women entered into non-traditional occupations with ease because the needs for the services they offered were greater than the taboos against their involvement. Women attended colleges and universities in unprecedented numbers, became doctors, lawyers, bankers, and practitioners in a myriad of unusual occupations.³⁹

Visitors from the East sometimes caused problems in families of the West. They just did not understand the transition that had taken place.

“Grandma came out from the East two or three times, and I remember she scolded Mama because I was out with the boys riding. She thought Mama should keep me in and make me a lady. She told Dad that she thought he was making a boy

³⁸ Readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Brown's Gentle Tamers; and Clinkinbeard's Across the Plains in 1864.

³⁹ Readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Brown's Gentle Tamers; Carrington's Women in Early Texas; and Downs & Jones' Women and Texas History, Selected Essays.

out of me; she didn't think it was very proper. He said that I was his daughter and he would raise me the way he saw fit. That ended that."⁴⁰

These women were victorious. They had come through against insurmountable odds. For frontier women, the new land held a bittersweet promise that for many had taken its toll in hope and optimism, but for the men it was adventure and trailblazing.⁴¹

These courageous women captured the struggle of daily life in their diaries, journals, and letters. Recent scholarly studies of these documents reveal the hard reality that existed for them, dispelling the colorful and flamboyant history portrayed by the mythmakers.⁴² We owe much to women like Angeline Ashley who wrote, "I write on my lap with the wind rocking the wagon."⁴³

⁴⁰ McLeRoy, *Ibid.*, Pg. 24.

⁴¹ Readings in Schlissel's Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey; Brown's Gentle Tamers; and Clinkinbeard's Across the Plains in 1864.

⁴² Mythmakers of the western frontier consisted of newspaper reporters, artists, and photographers. The reporters who traveled the frontier wrote about the exciting and mysterious things they saw and experienced, yet embellishing their experiences in order to sell their stories back in the East. Zane Grey novels and stories, Charles Russell, and Frederic Remington's drawings, paintings and sculpture, as well as movies and television shows like *The Lone Ranger*, *Bonanza*, *Rawhide*, *Hop-a-long Cassidy*, and *Lonesome Dove* romanticized and skewed the real story of the frontier expansion and settlement. Even the men's letters to friends and families back in the East told of the exciting times, not of the weary backbreaking hardships they were living.

⁴³ Schlissel, *Ibid.*, 2.

THE SAINT JO [TEXAS] TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1975



WHO REMEMBERS WHEN THE CITY HOTEL WAS LOCATED WHERE The Saint Jo Lumber Co. is now? Probably not many of us. Pictured above is the old hotel, and the man by the cow has been identified as John Pledger. The other man is unidentified. One interesting story about the old hotel is that a girl member of a traveling carnival either was killed by someone or killed herself in one of the upper rooms toward the back of the hotel. The year of that happening or the year this picture was taken is a mystery to The Tribune.

Reprint of article compliments of the *Saint Jo Tribune*.
Original photograph property of Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum.

WOMEN OF EASY VIRTUE

Women of easy virtue, sometimes referred to as soiled doves, ladies-of-the-evening, hurdy-gurdy girls, dance hall queens, or nymphs of the prairie were women employed as prostitutes and were some of the first females to follow the westward expansion of the United States and to settle in the newly forming towns along the ever-changing frontier. No documentation has been discovered to support whether or not the Stonewall Saloon or any other saloon located within Montague County actually housed women of easy virtue for the entertainment and pleasure of the men of the area, but stationery from the Hotel National on the square in Saint Jo proclaimed, "Rates, \$2.00 per day. 'Headquarters for Traveling Men'." ⁴⁴

Historically, most settlements and cattle towns had their share of these women of easy virtue in their saloons. Everything that occurred in these settlements and cattle towns virtually occurred inside a saloon, thus adding to the drama of the frontier. Their existence was woven into the fabric of the frontier but the hardships of their lives was overlooked until recent scholarly studies revealed a more realistic understanding of them.

Conservative values and the need to reaffirm old ancestral-cultural values presented a situation for early female settlers that excluded these women of easy virtue in their developing communities yet they shared the struggles of being newcomers in an unsettled wilderness. So few women were in new frontier areas that men were glad to have any of them. The flood of men to the promised riches of frontier areas (gold, land,

⁴⁴ Found in the tax records for the City of Saint Jo, Texas, 1894.

cattle, and the railroad) was quickly followed by these ladies. They, too, were seeking their own fortunes and blended into the frontier setting. For many it was a conscious choice, for others just a form of employment, and for some a well thought out career choice. Some reached the frontier towns by traveling as entertainers or dancers with traveling shows and carnivals.

As the frontier changed, so did the women of easy virtue. Some actually found husbands, but many others ended their misery with overdoses of laudanum. Many women saved enough money to free themselves from the profession. Others become madams themselves, married, or even opened legitimate businesses.

A very few made their fortunes in the trade, while some became successful Madams “with their own girls.”⁴⁵ Opulent gilded palaces existed in the larger towns such as Denver, Kansas City, and San Francisco but none existed in the small settlements of north central Texas.

According to Dolly Arthur, a famous and successful prostitute from Ketchikan, Alaska, many a respectable local business was grubstaked by madams or prostitutes. The girls made money and liked to spend it. “Even though the ladies of the night were looked down upon by much of the citizenry, they were warmly welcomed when they came to buy,” according to author June Allen.⁴⁶

The less fortunate of these women were known in some areas as crib girls because of the extremely small houses or huts they occupied for their trade. Others worked in

⁴⁵ June Allen, Dolly's House, No. 24 Creek Street, (Ketchikan, AL: Tongass Publishing Company), 1976, 12-14.

⁴⁶ Allen, *Ibid.*, 40.

parlor houses and were known as parlor girls. These parlor houses had better surroundings with elegantly furnished main floors and they adorned themselves in decent modern clothing. The girls had their own rooms, as well as wine and food, but the upper floors where their rooms were located were musty, smoke filled, and sweaty smelling because the windows were seldom opened on the lower floor.

Many houses of prostitution were also known as “pleasure resorts” and the madams actually advertised for “gentlemen seeking relaxation” and other services such as fine cigars, liquors, and wines. The most successful houses had considerable influence with city officials and businessmen, some even contributed generously to establish and support churches and schools. This successful group of madams and ladies-of-the-evening, never scarce in frontier settlements, were important societal ingredients and leading members of a community’s second society.⁴⁷

Some of the toughest frontier towns, known as railheads, developed as a result of the westward expansion of the railroad. These lawless towns marked where the rails ended and the trail began. These towns flourished for a few years and then faded as expansion continued to move farther west. As the towns moved, so did the ladies of easy virtue. Cowboys weary from two or three months on the trail were hungry for the sight of a woman and they had money to spend on them. Many frontier men had their favorites and they distinguished them with nicknames like Queen, Rose, or Belle.

⁴⁷ Jacqualine Grannell Couch, Those Golden Girls of Market Street, Denver’s Red Light District, an Historical Glimpse, (Fort Collins, CO: The Old Fort Press), 1974, 1-28. Additional readings in Anne M. Butler’s Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery; and Cy Martin’s Whiskey and Wild Women.

Abilene, Kansas's famous house, The Alamo, attracted the wealthy Texas cattlemen who stayed at The Drover's Cottage, a hundred-room hotel. Madam Mattie Silks and her ten young ladies catered to these wealthy Texas cattlemen. In Dodge City, Lizzie Palmer was the queen of her trade, but Dutch Jake was known for providing her 'girl boarders' with riding horses and delicious baked cookies. Dora Hand was the most respected of the ladies of the second society in Dodge City, known for her kindness and generosity to everyone. Following her untimely murder, her huge funeral was said to have been the finest in the history of the city and was also attended by some of the town's most respectable ladies. Mag Woods was also known as the 'Border Queen' because her saloon and dance hall straddled the Kansas and Indian Territory line. Famous in Texas was Millie Hipps as she was set up and open for business by the time the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad reached Denison.

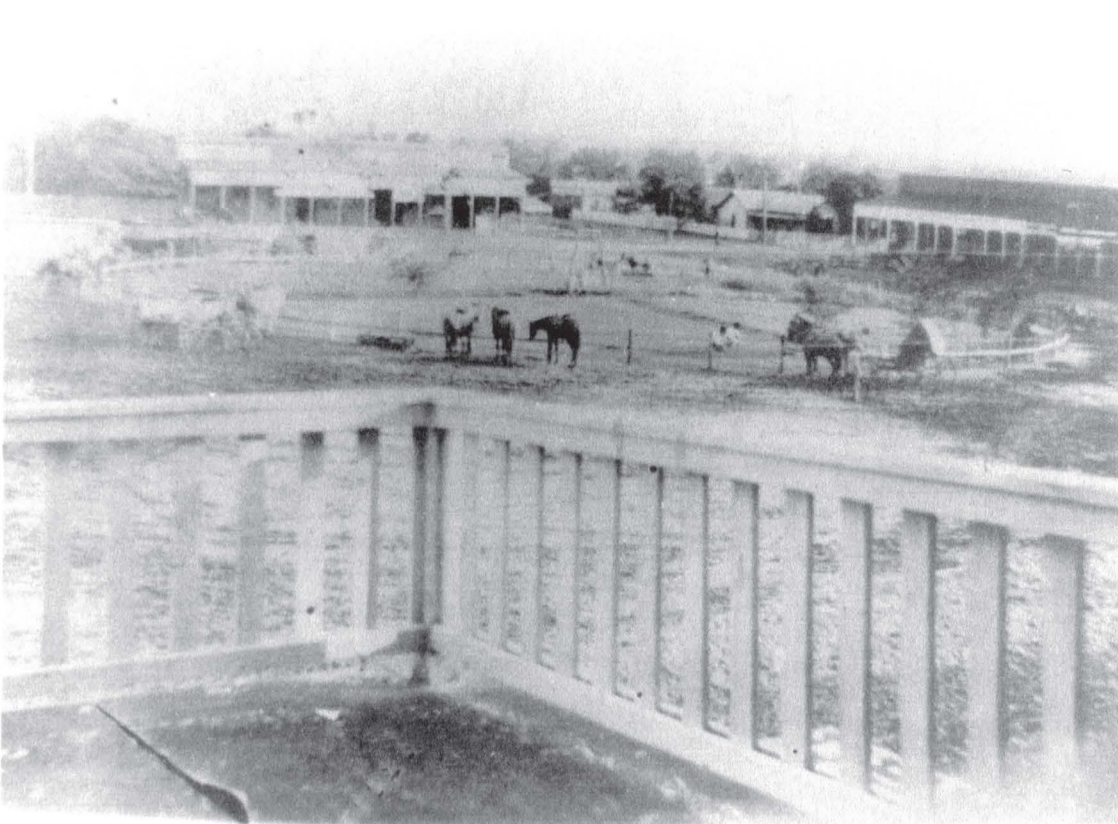
As the finer of the women of easy virtue strolled down the streets in their finest attire or rode about in their handsome carriages, it caused many a young girl to join the scarlet sisterhood. Divorce courts also provided a lucrative opportunity for the madams, as a young divorced woman rarely had decent means to support herself.

Hotel National.

RATES,
\$2.00 PER DAY.

Headquarters for Traveling Men.

Saint, Jo., Texas, 189.....



Stationery found in City of Saint Jo Tax Records, 1894-1898.

Reprint of article compliments of the *Saint Jo Tribune*.
Original photograph property of Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum.

WOMEN ON THE TRAIL

Few factual accounts exist about women on the cattle trails, but the ones that do exist tell of wives just accompanying their husbands, young women in disguise working as cowboys, and family groups assisting with every aspect of getting their herd to market.

Recounting her memories for the Old Time Trail Driver's Association, Amanda Burks [Mrs. W. F. Burks] from Cotulla, Texas, accompanied her husband's herd from Nueces County to Kansas in the spring of 1871. She traveled in a horse-drawn buggy and had as many comforts as her husband could provide. They slept in a tent and she had a young boy to assist with her every need. Mrs. Burkes recalled several large prairie fires, stampedes, fear of Indians, treacherous country, and at the end of the drive, a very cold winter storm before they sold their cattle. She and her husband returned to Texas via train to New Orleans and boat to Corpus Christi before traveling overland home. Her entire journey lasted nine months. She stated that she felt better and was in much better health upon her return home than before she left. She felt that women who were youthful, full of spirit, and had a love for living, needed to avail themselves of the opportunity of accompanying their husbands while at his work in the great out-of-doors.⁴⁸

Samuel Dunn [S. D.] Houston recalled a trail drive through New Mexico in 1888. He had gone into Clayton to find a few more hands. No men were available, but there

⁴⁸ J. Marvin Hunter, The Trail Drivers of Texas, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press), 1989, 3rd printing [from 2nd edition revised, two volumes, published in 1925 by Cokesbury Press, 295-305.

was a kid that wanted to hire on; so Houston took him along. This kid went by the name of Willie Matthews, aged nineteen years, from Caldwell, Kansas, and might have weighed one hundred and twenty five pounds at best. S. D. recalled how Willie liked to talk about how 'his' dad had been an old-time trail driver from southern Texas and had made the trip from Texas to Caldwell, Kansas, where he had married and settled down. S. D. was impressed with Willie's skill and dedication to the herd. Even on the stormiest nights, Willie would stay with the herd and work to keep them calm. Once the herd reached Hugo, Colorado, Willie told S. D. that 'he' was really homesick and would be catching the train home. Later that same evening, S. D. saw a pretty young lady approaching him on the street and could not believe his eyes when she spoke to him. He thought he recognized her but was not sure. It was Willie and she was leaving on the train later that night. When Willie boarded the train for home, all of the cowhands were there to see her off. She had fooled them all and had gotten to experience a real cattle drive for herself.⁴⁹

Elizabeth (Lizzie) Johnson Williams went up the Chisholm Trail with her cattle and was known as the Cattle Queen of Texas. In 1871, at the age of twenty-eight and a single woman, Lizzie had her own brand recorded in Travis County. Many believe that she was in the cattle business as early as 1866. The Cattle Queen of Montana was Mrs. Nat Collins who drove her cattle from Montana to the Chicago market. In 1891, she had to get permission from the railroad to ride on the train with her cattle. Mary Ann Goodnight accompanied her husband, Charles Goodnight, in 1877, on a cattle drive from

⁴⁹ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 71-77.

Pueblo, Colorado, to Palo Duro Canyon in Texas. She actually drove one of the supply wagons and was in charge when her husband was absent. A neighbor [eighty miles away], Mary Bugbee also accompanied her husband (Thomas Bugbee) in the fall of 1876 on a cattle drive from Lakin, Kansas, to the Canadian River in the Texas Panhandle. Both Mrs. Goodnight and Mrs. Bugbee were moving south with their husbands and herds to settle in the Texas/New Mexico area.⁵⁰

Mrs. W. B. Slaughter accompanied her husband on a cattle drive in 1896 from Fort Sumner, New Mexico to Liberal, Kansas. She followed the herd of fifteen hundred cattle in her buggy for two months. Her responsibilities on the trip were to look for watering places and to help the younger hand with his horse changes three times a day. Mary Taylor Bunton also made a cattle drive with her husband (Howell Bunton) in 1886 from Sweetwater, Texas, to Coolidge, Kansas. This particular drive was made up of three herds that had been put together and held the record for being the largest one on the trail that year. Mrs. Bunton had her own trail pony, took mainly riding clothes with her, and recalled the beauty of nature along the trail. She expressed fear of Indians, rattlesnakes, wild animals, and storms. Many men that she and her husband knew from Texas proclaimed her to be the Queen of the Old Chisholm Trail.⁵¹

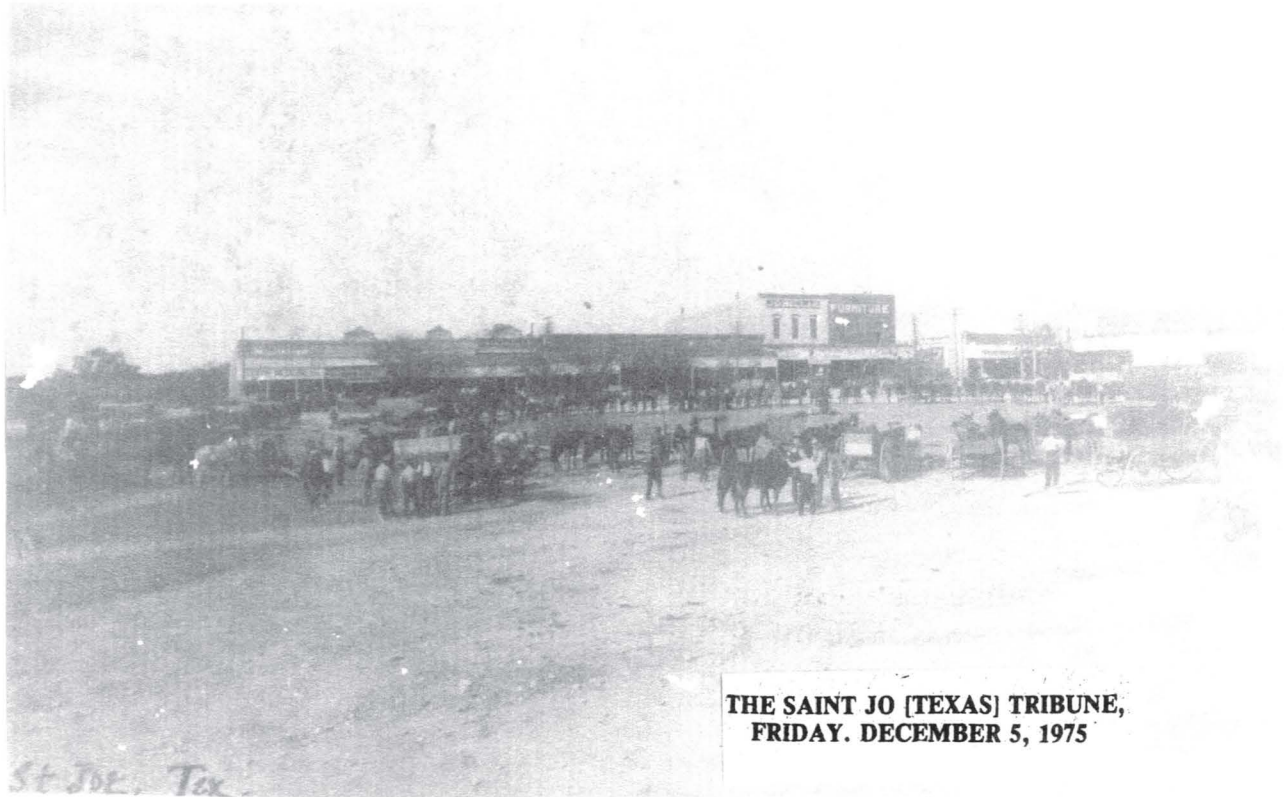
These women exhibited the same sense of adventure and freedom, hardiness, and individualism as any seasoned cowhand. They too contributed to the legend and lore.

⁵⁰ Readings in Evelyn King's, Women on the Cattle Trail and in the Roundup, (Glendale, CA: Prosperity Press), 1983.

⁵¹ Readings in King's Women on the Cattle Trail and in the Roundup.

Downtown Saint Jo, Texas – 1909

Reprint of article compliments of the *Saint Jo Tribune*.
Original photograph property of Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum.



THE SAINT JO [TEXAS] TRIBUNE,
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1975

DOWNTOWN SAINT JO NOVEMBER 10, 1909--A good view of two sides of the square. Starting with the Texine Medicine Co. [which was located on Broad and Howell], the following firms are identified by use of a magnifying glass: Hemphill Hardware, next two hidden by trees, Ross Milliners, J. H. Chancey Grocery, maybe the Slaughter building, then the two 2-story buildings, J. D. Bellah and Scott Furniture, both of which burned in 1912. Along Main St. the present Stonewall Saloon building was the Citizens National Bank, then two buildings with the Pedigo name on them, a grocery, and the last one was Crump & Herndon Drug Store. H. D. Field brought these pictures in to the Tribune.

THE END OF THE TRAIL –
RAIL, BARBED WIRE, WINDMILLS, AND HERD LAWS

When Stephen F. Austin established his colony in Texas in 1822, there were no locomotives or railroads, but in less than half a century, one of the greatest inventions of all time would contribute to the development of the continental United States.¹

Even before the beginning of the Civil War, many recognized that railroad transportation would be the key in the development and settling of the United States territory. Once the Civil War ended and with money more easily available in the North, railroad promotion exploded. Connecting the east coast to the Pacific became a national goal.² As the Prairie Indians were brought under control, the western plains cleared of buffalo, and railroads built and extended westward, new shipping points were established, and the northern plains began to fill with settlers establishing settlements, farms, and ranches. The country was ready for full and final development with this explosive opening of the remaining western frontier.

¹ W. Henry Miller, Pioneering North Texas, (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company), 1953, 224.

² Miller, *Ibid.*, 113. The Pacific Railroad Act, signed by Lincoln in 1862 had been stalled by the Civil War. The Civil War added emphasis to the need for coast-to-coast rail service. Following the War, the explosion of people moving to the frontier areas and the gold fields of the Pacific coast, along with their demand for supplies and services added even greater emphasis for coast-to-coast rail service.

Open range cattlemen loosely herded their cattle on the undefined range and depended on the streams and natural water holes for a water supply. This practice inevitably created overstocked ranges and trouble ensued over the scarcity of water.

Determined open range cattlemen even hired men to control the range by force, if necessary. This only created more “bad blood” and made a dangerous situation even more dangerous.³

The influx of farmers, with plans for establishing permanent homes and raising crops, only made the unstable and dangerous situation even more intolerable. Farmers did not want the Texas longhorns crossing their land, drinking their water, or consuming their crops, but the ranches created an insatiable market favoring young Texas longhorn cattle that were suitable for being fed and fattened for market. Many stock raisers and small stockmen did not want Texas cattle because they believed the herds brought splenic (tick) fever to theirs. These elements were at odds with each other and the Texas cattle trade.⁴

The Union Pacific station at Sedalia, Missouri, was the first to receive cattle driven north out of Texas. In 1866, a line was completed from St. Louis to Kansas City, followed by the packing industry in 1867. Established in 1868, Abilene was the first shipping point of importance west of Kansas City. A branch from the old

³ Miller, *Ibid.*, 219-220.

⁴ Miller, *Ibid.*, 118-121.

Eastern Trail led to Abilene, Kansas. At first, Abilene's stocker market was perhaps greater than the market for beef. This gave the Southwest its first livestock market.⁵

The 1867 and 1868 drives produced real profits, and by 1869 Texas cattle drives were in full swing. This profitable trend continued until it reached its peak in 1885. Each year the profits and monies exchanged increased, as well as the number of men, cattle, and horses.⁶ Tax rolls from 1846 indicate 400,000 head of cattle which increased to 4,000,000 head of cattle by 1860 with a population of only 64,215. In comparison to the cattle trade, cotton production in 1848 consisted of 40,000 bales and had increased to more than 400,000 bales by 1860.⁷

Anxious Texans recognized the importance of rail expansion and wanted their share of the railroad construction along with the business and development that it would bring to the state. During the era of the Texas Republic, several companies had been chartered, but failed before any track had been laid. In the early 1850s, the Texas legislature adopted a policy of land donations to entice railroad companies to build in the state. The law passed and provided sixteen sections of land for each mile of road completed. Of the fifty-two companies organized to take advantage of this liberal plan, only 469 miles of track were constructed before the Civil War began. By the end of the Civil War, all fifty-two companies were bankrupt.⁸

Railroad building in Texas was fiercely under way by the 1870s. In 1871, the Texas and Pacific Railroad reached Dallas from the east. Denison was founded in

⁵ Miller, *Ibid.*, 114.

⁶ Miller, *Ibid.*, 113.

⁷ Miller, *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁸ Miller, *Ibid.*, 206.

1872 when the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas (M. K. & T.) Railway reached that point from the north. The Fort Worth and Denver City Railroad crossed the Panhandle on its path to Denver City, Colorado, and had built a branch line from Amarillo to Canyon. The Texas and Pacific Railroad skirted the southern edge of the South Plains but the vast territory between these two roads was still without transportation and market facilities. By the late 1880s and early 1890s, the Southern Pacific crossed the state from Houston through San Antonio and on to El Paso, and the Texas and Pacific crossed Central Texas by way of Dallas and Fort Worth to El Paso. Although most of the country was still without local markets, these lines brought transportation, markets, and improved conditions to the doorstep of West Texas.⁹

While these activities were occurring, Henry Borden made a settlement near the headwaters of Denton Creek in 1854 and built his first home in what is now Montague County. In 1856 Parker and Wise Counties were organized and Montague County was organized two years later, in 1858, having originally been part of Cooke County to the east.¹⁰

The Civil War resulted in the frontier receding considerably. One of the notable results of orderly government in Texas was the resumption of pushing the frontier westward. Previously settled territory had been abandoned because of danger from Indians. Cattlemen and farmers alike moved westward and in the course of time the 'free grass' of the west in Texas also began to disappear.

⁹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 160, 224, and 250.

¹⁰ Miller, *Ibid.*, 48.

In 1871 John W. Gates, a hardware salesman, in San Antonio, Texas, introduced barbed wire. By the 1880s, it had come into general use making it possible to enclose any size tract of land. Barbed wire fences were effective and could be constructed at a reasonable cost. West Texans discovered that mesquite tree wood made very desirable fence posts that resisted rot for many years. The advantage to barbed wire fencing eliminated the excessive cost of herding and delivered a more economical means to enclose the pastures and watering holes. The fences kept unwanted herds off of the open range and farmland and away from water, thus creating a monopoly, especially in times of drought.¹¹ The first users of the barbed wire had no regard for others rights, but had only themselves to blame for the many injuries that were inflicted and the wide-spread resentment they had created.¹²

A fence-cutting war broke out and, because of this, landless cattlemen who insisted upon 'free grass' retaliated by cutting the fences anywhere one was found. Additionally, large cattle corporations fenced large tracts of land leaving no openings for public roads- -land they had no title to. These large private pastures impeded settlement by prospective settlers and enraged landless cattlemen. One of the leading ranchers of the state, Charles Goodnight, said that the trouble originated with the landless cattlemen that did not want to lease or buy land and did not want anyone else to. They wanted to keep the range free and open.¹³

¹¹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 223.

¹² Miller, *Ibid.*, 214-216.

¹³ Miller, *Ibid.*, 219-220.

Violent encounters became frequent and a condition of civil war seemed inevitable. In January 1884, Governor Ireland called a special session of the Texas legislature to address the situation. Stringent laws were soon passed making fence-cutting a felony. The laws provided for penalties for fencing public lands without authority and required public roads be left open. Gates had to be placed every three miles. Over time, with these regulations in place, fence-cutting ceased.¹⁴

As the railroads expanded, so did problems with their operation and demand for their regulation mounted with each new election cycle. This issue came to focus with the inauguration of Governor Ross and the Grange¹⁵ movement that appeared in agricultural states following the Civil War. The Texas Grange had voiced such a demand as early as 1875. The Farmers' Alliance¹⁶ superseded the Grange movement and took up the struggle. This agitation resulted in an act creating the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887; James Stephen Hogg, Attorney General of Texas, conducted a series of successful prosecutions against the railroads. In 1888, even more widespread demands were raised for more legislation and regulation of the railroads. Some sought the creation of a commission similar to the interstate body; others demanded state established maximum freight and passenger rates based on a

¹⁴ Louis J. Wortham. A History of Texas. Vol 5, (Fort Worth, Texas: Wortham-Molyneaux Company), 1924, 95.

¹⁵ Grange movement – a fraternal order founded in 1867; patrons of husbandry and farm education whose membership grew rapidly becoming a political force promoting laws to benefit farmers; opposing unfair practices by the railroads; supporting income tax; supporting laws against trusts; and other measures which later became law.

¹⁶ Farmers' Alliance – superseded the Grange movement in the 1870s and 1880s; stood for social reform that would help farmers and workers. United with the Grange and Knights of Labor in 1891 to form a new political party called the Peoples' Party, more commonly known as the Populist Party.

reasonable income on the money actually invested in the road. In addition, some advocated defraying the cost of repairs and operating the roads. A nonpartisan convention representing the farmers, laborers and stock-raisers; and a resolution favoring public ownership of railroads were also demanded.

In 1888, Texas Democrats favored enactment of such laws “to restrict the freight charges of railway and express companies, so that they may only yield a fair interest on the money actually invested in them, and at the same time to prevent discrimination in charges against any points within the state.” Nonpartisans advocated public ownership of railroads, and Governor Ross favored a state railroad commission.¹⁷

Following a heated debate in 1890, creation of a state railroad commission was overwhelmingly supported in 1891. The new commission had three members appointed by the Governor. They immediately set about revising the freight rates within the state. The railroads fought this all the way to the Supreme Court, and the issue of railroad regulation became a dominant issue in national politics.¹⁸

In 1892 with Hogg as Governor, an amendment was also passed to have the members of the railroad commission elected by the people every 2 years, serving 6-year terms. The commission vindicated the faith of its supporters and established equitable criteria for the fixing of freight rates. Over the years, with the creation of

¹⁷ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 96.

¹⁸ Wortham, *Ibid.* 99.

the Interstate Commerce Commission, their power decreased while the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission was correspondingly enlarged.¹⁹

The real settlement of West Texas did not occur, however, until the twentieth century. It took the construction of trunk-line railroads and branch lines to create a network of transportation sufficient to meet the needs of the remote parts of West Texas. New methods of farming and hybrid crops aided and stabilized the settling of West Texas. Successful farming increased land values and farmland became distinguished from grassland.²⁰

As this transformation was taking place in farming, changes were also taking place in the cattle industry. Ranchers moved farther west and others liquidated their investments. Some remained, however, and purchased land for grazing and improved the type and quality of their cattle. Natural resources were used to greatest advantage, resulting in a combined and well-developed farming, stock-farming, and ranching country.²¹

Other factors were also at work in North Central Texas. The Supreme Court finally decided a boundary line dispute between Texas and Indian Territory in 1896. Texas had traditionally considered the north fork of the Red River as the boundary. Greer County was situated between the forks of the Red River, considered a part of Texas for years. The Supreme Court declared any land north of the Red River (Greer

¹⁹ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 103.

²⁰ Miller, *Ibid.*, 226.

²¹ Miller, *Ibid.*, 226.

County) was not part of Texas, but Indian Territory- -the south fork was the boundary.²²

By 1884, the price of Texas cattle began to drop and continued to decline for the next 10 years and remained flat for several years. From 1870 to 1884 the price had gone from just \$5 per head to \$25 per head, but from 1884 to 1893 the price dropped to \$6 per head. It was during the prosperous era from 1870 to 1884 that the cattle business spread over the entire unsettled territory of West Texas and the Panhandle. It was during this same prosperous period of time that the meat packing business was expanding nationwide and the meat handling business became organized on a national scale.²³

The Perry Steel Sail Windmill appeared in Texas in 1883, and by the 1890s the water problem of the West was eased considerably. These windmills were inexpensive, easy to erect, and could furnish a good supply of water with an ordinary wind. This invention, alleviated the importance of having access to streams and lakes, and made one range as desirable as another. With the sufficient water supply the windmill provided, every settler could be independent. The windmill appeared simultaneously with drilling machines. These were capable of boring a well to a much greater depth than hand-dug wells. They were also inexpensive to operate.²⁴ With these inventions, the cattle industry was forced into privately owned ranches. Cattle and horses were being crossbred to produce better and gentler stock. Investments in

²² Wortham, Page 106.

²³ Wortham, Page 167-168.

²⁴ Miller, Page 224.

land with any necessary improvements amounted to a considerable investment in time and money for many.²⁵

As settlers moved in, farms increased, cattle ranching changed, citizens began to believe that the social immorality [alcohol, gambling, and women of easy virtue] in their community was implicitly linked to the demoralizing influences brought by the Texas cattle business. So campaigns were launched to enact laws governing the Texas herds moving across Kansas that brought the social immorality to the community.²⁶ Inevitably, the first important cattle town, Abilene, Kansas, was the first to succumb to the irreconcilable economic interests brought on by the fenced farms and pastures.²⁷ Those who campaigned for herd laws touted that only a few benefited from the thousands of cattle pouring into their towns annually. It cost every citizen through increased taxation to support law enforcement as a result of the influx. Debates raged over the best use and development of the land and its resources with moral reformers claiming that Texas cattlemen were a detriment to a developing civilized settlement.²⁸

Land speculators campaigned for a countryside cleared of Texas cattle claiming that it would be an inducement to rural immigration and land profits. These speculators pushed for laws and regulations governing the Texas cattle coming into

²⁵ Miller, *Ibid.*, 167.

²⁶ Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns*, (Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press), 1968, 74-148. Dykstra's chapters on *Cattle Town Enterprise* and *The Adjustment to Violence*, cited excellent resources discussing saloons, gambling, prostitution, lawlessness, and law enforcement in the Kansas cattle towns.

²⁷ Dykstra, *Ibid.*, 294.

²⁸ Wortham, *Ibid.*, 297.

their counties. What they failed to understand was how much business cattle brought to railroad town's. This came full circle to communities with droughts and bad crops.²⁹

This combination of factors resulted in ads appearing in Texas newspapers directed at the Texas cattle drovers to find another place to drive their herds. Abilene, Dickson County, Kansas was one of the most aggressive to run the Texas cattle trade out of the community. Yet by 1871-1872 when the cattle trade left Dickson County and moved farther west to friendlier towns, Abilene's economy was devastated.³⁰

Few predicted that with the extension of railroads farther south and west that the Texas cattle drives were going to have a short life. As settlers and farmers continued to move into the cattle towns and absorb the land for farming, the cattle trails kept moving farther west.³¹

On the other hand, stock raisers and businesses in Ellsworth, Kansas, closed ranks and welcomed the Texas cattle trade. It wasn't until after 1875 that they experienced the rural siege of migration that would eventually end the cattle business. All the while, rails continued to expand to the south and west, draining these areas of livestock. The cattle season of 1874-1875 saw Ellsworth, Kansas, struggling valiantly to have just one more season with the Texas cattle trade.³²

²⁹ Dykstra, *Ibid.*, 293-323.

³⁰ Dykstra, *Ibid.*, 304-307.

³¹ Dykstra, *Ibid.*, 293-354.

³² Dykstra, *Ibid.*, 307-308; 318.

Traditional open-range ranching and cattle drives disappeared as quickly as they appeared. The frontier setting with a suitable physical environment and favorable market conditions helped to develop the trade while the elements of culture, contact, remoteness, and environment contributed to this phenomenon. Had any of these elements been fundamentally different, the historical cattle drives would have also been different, or may not have existed at all. When the element of remoteness was broken by the railroads, the end of the cattle drives began, and open-range cattle ranching quickly disappeared.³³

Recalling the open range days, C. S. Brodbent of San Antonio, felt that the most fortunate ranchers were those living along the Gulf Coast.

“Cattle drifting from the north before winter storms, could drift no further, and I have often been told that some of the greatest fortunes there were based on drift cattle. The Texas fence law and railroads obliterated the Texas cattle trail, and in its passing threw should be no cause for regret. The old-time cowboy had heroic attributes, was generous, brave and ever ready to alleviate personal suffering, share his last crust, his blanket and often more important, his canteen.”³⁴

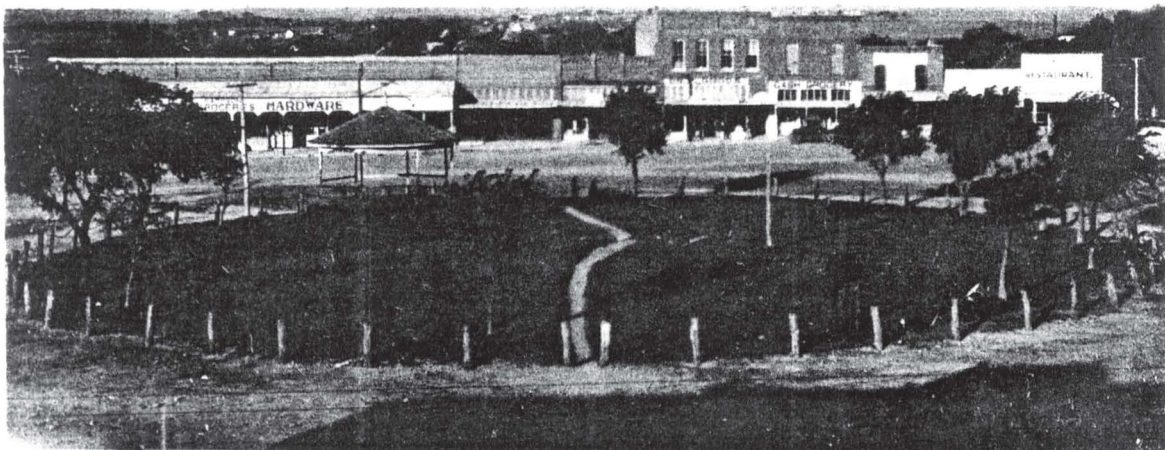
While, W. T. “Bill” Jackman of San Marcos, Texas, recalls the nine trips he made over the trails from 1870 until 1890.

“Finally barbed wire came into use, agricultural pursuits became of great interest to the people, and the trail country was closed by farms and pastures.”³⁵

³³ Terry G. Jordan, Trails to Texas, Southern Roots to Western Cattle Ranching, (Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press), 1981, 157.

³⁴ J. Marvin Hunter, The Trail Drivers of Texas, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press), 1924, 594. Interesting sketches of early cowboys and their experiences on the range and on the trail during the days that tried men’s souls. True narratives related by real cowpunchers and men who fathered the cattle industry in Texas.

³⁵ Hunter, *Ibid.*, 859.



EARLY SAINT JO--Maezelle Shomake brought in these two pictures this week. The above picture shows business houses on Howell St. which burned at one time. The one of the square shows businesses on Broad.

Reprint of article dated October 24, 1975, compliments of the *Saint Jo Tribune*.
Original photographs property of Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum.

STONEWALL SALOON HISTORICAL MUSEUM CIRCA 1873

The history of the saloon, and the legend of ‘Captain’ Boggess¹ are linked to the rise and fall of the famous cattle drives originating in various parts of south and central Texas, the expansion of the railroad, and the temperance movement in Montague County. Many old-time residents of Saint Jo have colorful stories they like to tell about the building and the people associated with it over the years.

The original building was constructed on the corner of Main and Howell Streets in Saint Jo, Texas, on Lot 5, Block 2 of the A. Kitchen Survey.² The building housing the Stonewall³ Saloon Historical Museum is a two-story shotgun style building constructed of native stone and covered with stucco. James R. Wiley bought the property on the 8th day of November, 1905 for twenty-two hundred fifty dollars. The first known mention of Citizen’s National Bank was found in tax records for the City of Saint Jo, dated in 1907.⁴ Inside the rear portion of the original building, a concrete money vault was added. Another document vault/workroom and restroom were added onto the back of the original building. The vaults are inline, so that the interior vault has no exterior walls

¹ Born November 5, 1835, at Boggess Crossroads, Meigs County, TN; Died December 4, 1914, at Saint Jo, Montague County, TX.

² Abstract from Cooke County Survey #1, Page 14. Between 1873 and 1875 this part of Cooke County changed and became part of Montague County. What is now Montague County was originally part of Cooke County, but was established as a county in 1857.

³ Three folktales dispute how the building became known as the Stonewall. One is because the north wall is made of stone, another is that Boggess boasted of serving with ‘Stonewall’ Jackson, and the third is that ‘Stonewall’ Jackson was greatly admired by many of the citizens of the community, especially Boggess.

⁴ City of Saint Jo, Texas tax records, 1907 is the first entry for Citizen’s National Bank.

and opens into the main building or lobby. The original back door opens into the workroom where the second vault door is located. A new exterior door was placed in this newly added workroom.

Stucco covering was added in the 1930's and to the wooden facade in 1964. The original iron exterior staircase to the upper floor is still in use at the rear of the building. There is no interior stairway. The interior vault is located in an area where a dumb-waiter once existed and was used to store money, gold, and valuable papers. The rear vault was for storage of bank records and was an additional work area for bank employees.

The original purpose of the building was as a saloon for the cowboys working the cattle drives on the Chisholm Trail. Local folklore suggests the upstairs rooms were for the pleasure of the cowboys with ladies of easy virtue, although at this time, no solid evidence of this exists. At this time, no solid documentation has been discovered to verify the use of the upstairs up to its last known use in the 1940s. Local folklore, again, indicates the upstairs housed a real estate office from 1905 until 1915 and possibly other miscellaneous businesses. The last known use of the upstairs rooms was as a doctor's office [Dr. Lusk]. The doctor's office closed in the 1940s and is no longer in use.

The saloon closed with the arrival of Prohibition⁵ in Montague County in 1897. There are indications, that for a period of time, the structure served as a restaurant.⁶ The

⁵ Following the Civil War, organized temperance forces began working to limit and eliminate, if possible, traffic in intoxicating liquors. This movement grew and spread nationwide. As this force grew in strength,

building housed the Citizen's National Bank from 1907 until 1942. From 1942 until 1957, the Kingery Drilling and Production Company occupied the building.

Many saloons of the cattle drive era served food, as well as beverage and other services, and were often a town's first public building. Almost everything in a community that went on inside a building occurred in a saloon, but their heyday lasted only about seventy years. The place of comfort from the harshness of the frontier faded with the decline of the cattle drives. Saloons of the cattle trails and frontier had served well, as they had been the heartbeat of many communities.⁷

In 1958, H. D. Field, Jr. established a saloon museum for the Montague County Centennial Celebration. Although under new ownership, Johnny Muller and Reta Oliver-Muller, the Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum still exists today.

After the Civil War two significant trails crossed at Head of Elm [the spring that feeds Elm Creek] in Montague County, Texas. Cattle herds traveled the Chisholm Trail south to north and settlers and adventurers traveled the California Trail east to west. The frontier settlement known as Head of Elm is the site that the infamous "Captain" Irby Holt Boggess migrated to from Tennessee following the Civil War. Boggess is credited with building the first permanent structure in Montague County- -the Stonewall Saloon.⁸

communities passed laws against the sale or consumption of intoxicating liquors, thus closing many saloons and bawd houses.

⁶ Library of Congress. Sanborn Map Company town plat, dated January- February 1902, for the Sanborn Insurance Company.

⁷ Readings in Richard Erdoes' *Saloons of the Old West* and Robert L. Brown's *Saloons of the American West*.

⁸ Local folklore has omitted Howell's participation in the building of the community, as he only lived until March 1877, but he and Boggess were partners on Lot 5 Block 2 of the A. Kitchen survey and this is noted

Bogges formed a partnership with Joseph (Joe) Anderson Howell. On May 15, 1872, with twelve hundred eighty in gold,⁹ they purchased the southeast half of the Alex Kitchen section, known as the A. Kitchen Survey #1, This tract totaled three hundred and twenty acres.¹⁰ In 1873, Bogges and Howell volunteered to lay out the town site. The streets do not run true to North/South and East/West but run from Northwest/Southeast and Northeast/Southwest.¹¹ Local folklore indicates that while marking off the streets, Bogges enticed Howell to partake of the day's spirits, and Howell ended up rather inebriated. Bogges supposedly made the statement to Howell, "You're no Saint, either Joe." During this period the township of Head of Elm became known as Saint Jo, in honor of Joe Howell's sobriety.¹² Locals also portrays Howell as being known for total sobriety, but he was an alcoholic.¹³ "Captain" Bogges liked to imbibe, but more importantly he recognized a good business opportunity.

Saint Jo was organized as a town in 1880 and incorporated in 1886 when the population finally reached 1,000. The water for the town came from a hand-dug well, seventy-five feet deep, in the middle of the town square; a pulley and bucket were used to

in the court documents when the dissolution of the partnership between Bogges and the Howell estate occurred dated July 23, 1887. Montague County Courthouse Records, Direct Index to Deeds, A-K, 1873-1892, Vol. 1,2,3, 295 and Partition, Vol. 1, Page 321; Instru Jul 23, 1881. Filing Mah 10 1887. Land in Saint Jo and Montague. Grantor: I. H. Bogges; Grantee: J. A. Howell Est. by Court.

⁹ Two folktales say that the gold came from a military payroll and the other that while Bogges served as a Commissary officer for the Confederate Army that he was also making money for himself.

¹⁰ Abstract, from Cooke County Survey #1, Page 16.

¹¹ Margaret Giles, *The Saint Jo Tribune*, *Margaret Giles History of Town from 1885 to Present Day*, Dec. 22, 1939, article in the Special Bicentennial Edition; Aug. 22, 1975.

¹² Other local folklore indicates that some claim the town was laid off using a Spanish compass and others claim a grapevine was used.

¹³ This researcher has been made aware of a letter in the possession of a Bogges family member from an attorney to I. H. Bogges discussing Howell's death and the knowledge they had that Howell would drink himself to death.

GRANTOR: Robert Toombs et al

GRANTEE: I.H. Boggess et al

CHARACTER OF INSTRUMENT: Warranty Deed DATE: May 15, 1872

FILED FOR RECORD: March 9, 1874 RECORDED IN VOL. B, PAGE 439

DEED RECORDS OF MONTAGUE COUNTY, TEXAS.

EXHIBIT

State of Georgia §

Wilks County § This deed executed this the fifteenth day of May in the year eighteen hundred and Seventy two between Robert Toombs and S.W. Mays and Wm. P. Crafford of the County of Richmond in said State have this day for and in Consideration of the sum of twelve hundred eighty dollars in Gold bargained & sold and by these presents do vargain sell to I.H. Boggess and J.A. Howell of the State of Texas The South East half the A. Kitchens section of Six hund ed and forty acres of land in Montague County Texas at the head waters of Elm Creek, and described in the survey No. 1, and patented to said Toombs Catlett and Craford To have and to hold said tract of land, unto them the said I.H. Boggess and J.A. Howell their heirs and assigns forever We the said Robert Toombs J.W. Mays and Wm. P. Craford do hereby for ourselves our heirs and legal representatives unto them the said Boggess and Howell their heirs and assigns do forever warrant said tract of three hundred and twenty acres of land whereof against the claim of all persons

14

EXHIBIT.

Compliments of the Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum and Johnny Muller

bring the water up. The first school was built in 1872. The first church, built in 1876, originated from a Presbyterian outpost mission that had been established in 1871. The church building was shared by several denominations until each could build its own. The first telephone system was installed in 1882. The first train [Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway Company] arrived in Saint Jo on January 25, 1887.¹⁴ The first newspaper was started in 1876. This newspaper was called the *Saint Jo Gladiator*. Other newspapers existed for short periods of time, *The Gazette* and *The Herald*, but on December 26, 1898, the *Saint Jo Tribune* was established and is still the only newspaper in town; it has remained in continuous operation.¹⁵

The Stonewall Saloon, erected from native stone, was a business endeavor to take advantage of the revenue generated by the California and Chisholm Trails. I. H. Boggess is said to have owned another saloon [Last Chance¹⁶] at Red River Station that later burned.¹⁷

The residents of Head of Elm/Saint Jo always knew Boggess as ‘Captain’ Boggess. Research conducted at the National Archives in the Compiled Military Service Records of Confederate Soldiers reveal that he was a Private. These records also reveal the he was absent without leave for over four months (December 10, 1862 through April

¹⁴ City of Saint Jo historical files and records located at the Saint Jo City Hall.

¹⁵ Volume One Issue One exists of the *Saint Jo Tribune*, as does many issues of the paper through the turn of the century. These are now located at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas where they are being preserved and reproduced in a newspaper archives project.

¹⁶ Found at the Stonewall Saloon Museum in a brief type-written biographical sketch of Boggess dated December 28, 1886 by D. A. Sharpe. Some of the information has since been documented as inaccurate, but references a diary that belonged to Boggess.

¹⁷ Melvin Fenoglio, *The Story of Montague Count, Texas, Its Past and Present*, (Dallas: Curtis Media Corporation), 1989, 86-90.

1863 roll-call) and a bounty of \$50 was posted for him.¹⁸ Research conducted at the National Archives in the Compiled Military Service Records of Confederate Soldiers show that Joseph A. Howell¹⁹ was actually the one who was a Captain.²⁰

The Stonewall Saloon was a place for trail drivers to get a drink and a night's rest in one of the four rooms above the saloon. Immigrants heading west also found refreshments and a resting place. The Saloon was also a place where men would gather to conduct business over a drink or enjoy a little entertainment in a friendly game of cards.²¹ The Stonewall Saloon still stands at the corner of Howell and Main Streets in Saint Jo, Texas.

The new owners, Johnny Muller and Reta Oliver-Muller, found the building in a sad state of neglect needing extensive preservation work on the foundation and interior walls. The first order of business was to check with the Texas Historical Commission for guidance concerning this work. This guidance was received along with copies of the original papers submitted for the Texas Historical Commission Subject marker.

Exterior preservation was the key element that could not be changed or altered in any way without serious review by the Commission, but the interior work was approved

¹⁸ National Archives, Compiled Military Service Records for Confederate Soldiers, Company B, 5 (McKenzie's) Tennessee Cavalry.

¹⁹ A undated hand-written document by Cathy L. Howell Winkleman, great, great, granddaughter of Joseph A. Howell, was found in papers at the Stonewall Saloon Museum and only references 'Joe Howell's own personal diary.' Efforts to locate her have thus far been unsuccessful.

²⁰ National Archives, Compiled Military Service Records for Confederate Soldiers, Company E, 26 (3 East Tennessee Volunteers) Tennessee Infantry.

²¹ Readings in Richard Erdoes' *Saloons of the Old West* and Robert L. Brown's *Saloons of the American West*.



“Captain” I. H. Boggess second from left, seated with beard and cane.
Compliments of the Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum and Johnny Muller

without any restrictions since these owners were adamant about preserving the saloon atmosphere as much as possible.

The old wooden flooring was removed so that new supports could be installed where several had rotted and caused the building to sag in several places. Once this was completed, new gas lines were also installed. The bank had installed gas lines under the flooring, but over the years they had become unsafe. When new lines were installed, they were plumbed around the rooms next to the exterior wall and were unsightly. With the floor removed, replacement of the original lines was made much easier and the gas lines were removed.

New flooring of one-by-six rough-cut oak laid over the worn and thin raw paneling that had at one time been placed over a board floor that was falling in. This paneling had a type of floor covering on it, but no remnants of it were found. As many of the original boards as possible were used for the under-flooring and the rotted and broken pieces were replaced for stability. The layer of the oak boards was installed over these and all sawdust from the construction was swept into the spaces between the boards on the floor.

For the bank renovation, the length of the exterior wall had been covered with grooved shoulder high wainscoting [British origin]. All other walls had been covered with stucco. Over the years this stucco had deteriorated to dust and was falling off in large junks. As much of this as possible was scraped from the walls and one-by-twelve

rough cut cedar boards were used to panel this wall space. This paneling added much needed stability to the walls and enhanced the character of the two front rooms.

An old acoustical ceiling had at one time been installed in the front room, but was also falling down; so all of it was removed. This revealed the original board ceiling that was cleaned and painted. The ceiling in the second room had so many holes in it, that it was not repairable, so a new beaded ceiling was installed. This matched the beaded ceiling in the back room that was repairable.

The original plumbing was in place, but nothing worked; so new plumbing was installed along with new fixtures. The rear vault doorway had been boarded over, and when this was removed, the ceiling was falling in- -more of it was on the floor than was in place above. The ceiling was repaired and the concrete replaced. In this area a small water heater and sink were also installed in a rough-cut cedar cabinet.

No work has been done on the windows but eventually insulated exterior glass coverings will be installed over all of the original windows, both upstairs and down. The upstairs windows are covered with permanent shutters, but the Commission has stated that these can be removed and replaced with workable shutters over the insulated glass panels in order to provide natural light to the rooms upstairs.

Complete restoration of the rooms upstairs is in the planning stages. Small scrapes of wallpaper were salvaged from the little that was available on some of the interior walls of these rooms. The stucco on the interior of the upstairs exterior walls has also been removed because it, too, had turned to dust.

No other restoration work is being conducted on upstairs area at this time, but future plans call for restoration and display areas for the many donated artifacts from this time period that are not appropriate in the saloon setting on the main floor.

The Texas Historical Commission marker on the front of the building reads,

Built 1873 as saloon and trail drivers' rest stop. After county prohibition, 1897, housed offices and bank. Named after Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson. Town's first permanent building. Originally of native stone. Stuccoed in 1930's; wooden façade added in 1964. (1967).

The main front room of the building contains the original back-bar, bullet holes and all. The original plate glass mirror reflects damage caused from a shotgun blast. Poker tables and barrel back chairs from the period fill the room, and a brass rail runs the length of the bar. Old beer and whiskey barrels are on display. Lighting is provided by electric lights with chimneys and shades mounted on oxen yokes. Kerosene lights are also on display and when lit, the feeling is as though one is actually standing in a real saloon in the 1870's.

The Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum is a privately owned museum. The current owners plan to continue the restoration work, especially to the second story in order to display their growing collection of Western and Frontier exhibits. The Saloon is open for all special events held in Saint Jo. As time permits, a brochure will be developed for distribution to various venues, as well as a web page. The owners are members of various historical organizations and plan to submit articles about the Saloon to their publications.

The total staff consists of the current owners plus their Board of Directors for the tax-exempt status. There are no current plans to change this arrangement. Currently, the Saloon is open from 1 to 5 p.m., every Sunday and by appointment. Admission is free, but donations are welcome.

Future plans include more educational programs and expansion of the displays and reference materials on the history of the American cowboy and the impact of the cattle drives on American culture. There are plans underway to apply for the Texas Historical Commission Building Marker and also for designation on the National Register of Historic Places.

A speculative business, the cattle drives made fortunes for a few, gave employment to hundreds of others, and brought millions into the starved economy of Texas. Working in the cattle industry was grueling, risky, hard, and dangerous. This was a dramatic business that took courage to face the conditions along the trail and the dangers that were ever present.

The phenomenal legend of the cowboy was born on the open range and still thrives today. People worldwide have an undying love for the mystic lore of the wild west cowboy and his lifestyle. More romanticized fiction than fact, their life was hard and they were a different type of rugged individual just trying to make a living. They faced brutal living conditions on the open plains and threats from Indian attacks and nature's varmints, man and animal alike. Cattle thieves, stampedes, and a lack of water and food were a daily threat for men and livestock. The really good cowboys developed

finely tuned riding and roping skills, as well as an accurate quick-draw of their fire arm.

The story of the cattle trails will be told and retold and will continue to fascinate students of Americana. Their contributions were of great importance to a developing nation and at the same time generated their own unique legend and lore.

The cattle drive era developed its own culture, vocabulary, and whole way of life: no fences, periodic stock roundups, marking and branding cattle, long overland drives to market, no breeding control of livestock, large scale operations, and man pitted against the elements (weather, rustlers, Indians, terrain). The stuff heroes are made of. Something in all of us at some time still yearns “to go up the trail”.²²

²² Miller, *Ibid.*, 130-131.

GLOSSARY

Anglicized. Corrupted Spanish vocabulary.¹

Arbuckle's brand. Famous coffee brand of the period preferred by cowboys. Method developed by Arbuckle brothers of Pittsburg to roast and coat coffee beans with a special egg and sugar glaze preserving the coffee bean for a longer period of time. They also gave coupons and [green] stamps redeemable for merchandize.

Bandanna. Handkerchief cloth, filter, dust mask, etc.

Bawd. Derived from an old French word *baud*, meaning merry, evolving over time to mean a female who keeps a house of prostitution.

Bawdyhouse. A house of prostitution.

Belly-wash. Weak coffee.

Blackstrap. Thick, black kind of molasses.

Boarding House. A euphemism used by frontier madams to describe their establishment. Derived from the fact that the girls were furnished room and board.

Brand. Method for identifying the ownership of livestock. Bars, rockers, circles or similar design features, were a basic part of many brands that were a simple letter and/or number. A typical Anglo custom was giving brands a popular name; i.e. "lazy J," "circle S," or "bar 3."

Buckaroo. Anglicized word for vaquero or cowboy; used more in the northern states; southern states use vaquero or cowboy.

Casa Grande. Large home of stone or mortar, usually in a ranch setting.

Chaparajos. Leather overalls for protection against thorns – became chaps.

Chaps. Leather leggings worn to protect the cowboy's legs. Chaparreras or chapas for short.

¹ Sandra Myers, The Ranching Frontier, Corrupted Spanish vocabulary (Texas historian), 19-39.

Chuck. Colloquial term for food, grub, chow.

Cimarrones. Unbranded cattle that were wild and vicious, evolved to wild cattle, Mexican cattle, and longhorns.

Cinch. A strap used to hold the saddle on a horse. Mexican word is cincha.

Cocinero. Coosie for short. Cook, the backbone of the trail drive.

Cooney. Spanish term. Cuna or cradle for hanging wood. An Americanized term.

Corral. A pen or enclosure for confining or capturing animals. Was adopted into English without change. Courtyard of a farmstead, an open space surrounded by workrooms, stalls, wagonsheds, and dwelling. A place where draft animals, are brought for feeding and protection. A fenced open pen where horses and cattle are confined.

Cow grease. Butter.

Cow juice. Milk.

Cowboy. "All persons who were working cattle are included, but ranch owners are excluded. Census marshals variously described such men as 'cowboy,' cattle herder," "works cattle," "cattle hand," "cattle boss," "cattle driver," "cow herder," and the like."²

Crib. Original term which meant a stall for an ox. In the American West, a crib was a small dwelling for a prostitute.

Curandero. Knowledge of plants and herbs, cook's knowledgeable of these things were very valuable to the outfit and held a position of power within the camp.

Cut straw and molasses. Real poor food; better than nothing.

Cutting horse. The typical Anglo quarter horse, bred by colonial southerners to race short distances and subsequently trained by herders to move and control stock in a canine manner. They were trained to perform similarly like the dogs used in the thickly vegetated southern states for gathering and working cattle.

² Ernest R. Archambeau. The First Federal Census in the Panhandle, 1880. Pages 48, 49, 64, 71, 131.

Dally. Term for a rope technique which was derived from Mexican word dar la vuelta, to give it a turn.

Drive. Moving cattle from one place to another over land. Also called trailing or overlanding. Herding techniques and ranching learned from Mexican vaqueros by Anglos and Texas was the pivotal region for this.

Drover. A person who drives cattle.

Dry camp. A camp without water, which was tough on the cook.

Dutch oven. Cast-iron pot with lid used to cook food over coals and open fires. The most popular pot used by the cook. Has three short 'legs' to hold it off the ground to allow the hot coals to be placed in-between.

El Caballero. Lord of the estate that later became a herd-owning horseman

El Vaquero. A cowboy or a man who works on horseback with cattle. Also the cowhand; cowpuncher; cowpoke, waddie, or gaucho.

Espuelas. Spurs; the pride of most cowboys.

Fixins. The term for tobacco and the thin-soft paper used to roll cigarettes. Also could mean having the items to cook a particular dish.

Greenhorn cowboy. Derogatory and scoffing term for a 'new' and inexperienced cowboy who was supposed obtained with Arbuckle trading stamps.

Grub slinger. Cook.

Hen fruit. Eggs.

Herd control device. Salt which is a necessary nutrient for cattle. It was used weekly to bring cattle out into the open and to keep cattle reasonably close to the cow pens. It was also strewn along the trail ahead of the cattle to lure them along.

Hurdy-Gurdy girl. A girl who travels with a musical entertainment company. The term comes from the instrument played while she dances.

Hoodlum's wagon. Second wagon for supplies.

Jerky. Dried meat.

Ladies of Joy. Prostitutes.

La Fiesta. A time of celebrating and dancing with food and drink. The feast, for Texans it became the barbecue.

La Reata. A rope for catching animals and evolved to the term lariat.

La Hacienda or El Rancho. Vast holdings or estate that later became the ranch or the cattleman or ranchman. Also a stock farm.

Lariat. Rope. An Anglicized term from the word la reata.

Lasso. In Mexico, the rope and the loop on the end of it used for catching every animal, from a wild bull to the tamest fowl. It was said that 'these blanketed, pepper-eating fellows would not believe a thing was caught at all unless it was done with a rope.

Latigo. An Anglicized term from the word latigo. A leather strap which holds a saddle on horse.

Line. The prostitution district of a Western town. In the early days, the cribs usually formed a line down a narrow street.

Love apples. Canned apples.

Madam. One who runs a house of prostitution of a kept mistress.

"Man-at-the-Pot." Yelled at any cowboy who is refilling his cup and now is obliged to go around and fill all the cups held out to him.

Maverick. Developed when in 1845 a lawyer, Samuel A. Maverick from San Antonio, was paid a debt of \$1,200 in 400 head of cattle (valued at \$3 per head) which he left in the care of a negro family at Decrow's Point on Matagorda Bay. They remained there until 1853 when they were moved to about 50 miles south of San Antonio.

Branding of calves had been neglected and their care neglected, over the years there were still 400 cattle, so unbranded calves became the property of whoever claimed and branded them first. Maverick's neighbors regarded the unbranded

calves as “Maverick’s” and had become a joke among cattlemen. The terminology still exists today meaning an unbranded, unclaimed animal, especially a calf.”³

Mestenas. Wild, unbranded cattle, but such as could be rounded up with the herd – became mustangs; later they were called mavericks, mustang being applied to a wild horse.

Nesters. Farmers who settled along the watercourses of the western country.

Night guard. Cowboy who watches the trail herd at night.

Night hawk. A cowboy who watches the horses (remuda) at night; night rider.

Painted Lady. A prostitute. “Good’ ladies of the West did not wear makeup.

Parlor House. A house of prostitution. Customers would wait in the parlor before adjourning to the rooms.

Pen. Trap for cattle. Also a cow pen, stock yard, corral.

Pinto. Paint pony – became the spotted pony.

Pot luck. A meal made up of whatever the coosie could rustle up.

Pot rustler. One of many words used to describe the cook.

Primitive longhorn. Self-reliance, vitality, hustling qualities, iron basis for the well-bred herds of Texas that followed.

Quarta. Mexican word for quirt, whip.

Rancho. Mexican word which was Anglicized to ranch.

Reata. Rope, Anglicized the Mexican word la reata to lariat.

Remuda. Group of horses, consisting of general purpose horses and those specially trained for specific purposes; i.e. cutting or roping; horses used by an individual cow hand from which were selected relay mounts – became remuda or string. Horses used by the cowboys and tended by the horse wrangler.

Rodeo. The roundup. A cow hunt. Great event of the year at the ‘ranchero’. Anglicized

³ W. Henry Miller, Pioneering North Texas, (San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company), 1953, 153.

to rodeo. A Mexican term for a roundup.

Roping skills. Cowboys developed these skills for use in catching the “wild” cattle or for bringing them in to be worked; i.e. branded, de-horned, doctored, castrated, etc. Using a rope in this fashion also created the need for a horn on the saddle to secure the rope.

Rustle. Lawless cow hands paid to put his boss’s brand on every maverick he could find. Became a synonym for cattle thief.

Segunda. Second in command. The straw boss on a trail drive.

Senorita. Single lady or woman.

Shady Lady. A woman of dubious moral fiber. By the mid-nineteenth century, the term was in common use, referring to a woman whose character could not bear any close investigation.

Skunk eggs. Onions.

Sombrero. The wide, stiff-brimmed hat necessary to the horseman who took the weather as it came, wet or dry, hot or cold – found its counterpart in the *Stetson*.

Sop. Greasy gravy.

Sourdough. Fermented flour mixture used as a starter for camp bread and biscuits; also a colloquial word for the cook.

Supper. The main heavy evening meal of the cowboy, called dinner by the non-cowboy.

Swallowed his head. A term used to describe the position of a horse that has placed his head between his forelegs with nose almost touching the ground. It creates in the rider a feeling of having no support, of sitting in the air. Zigzagging with a vicious pullback.

Trail boss. The cowboy in charge of the trail drive.

Vamoose. To leave quickly, from the Mexican word *vamos*.

Vaquero. Mexican working cowboy; the origin of the Anglicized word buckaroo.

Wagon boss. Cowboy in charge of the roundup.

Whips. Bullwhip. Made of rawhide, fifteen to twenty feet long, and when used in a skilled hand could be intimidating and most effective. The “crack” of the whip over the heads of the cattle kept them moving or brought them back into the herd.

Wrangle. To care for and to drive the horses.

Wrangler. The cowboy who tended the outfit’s horses; derived from the Mexican word caballerango.

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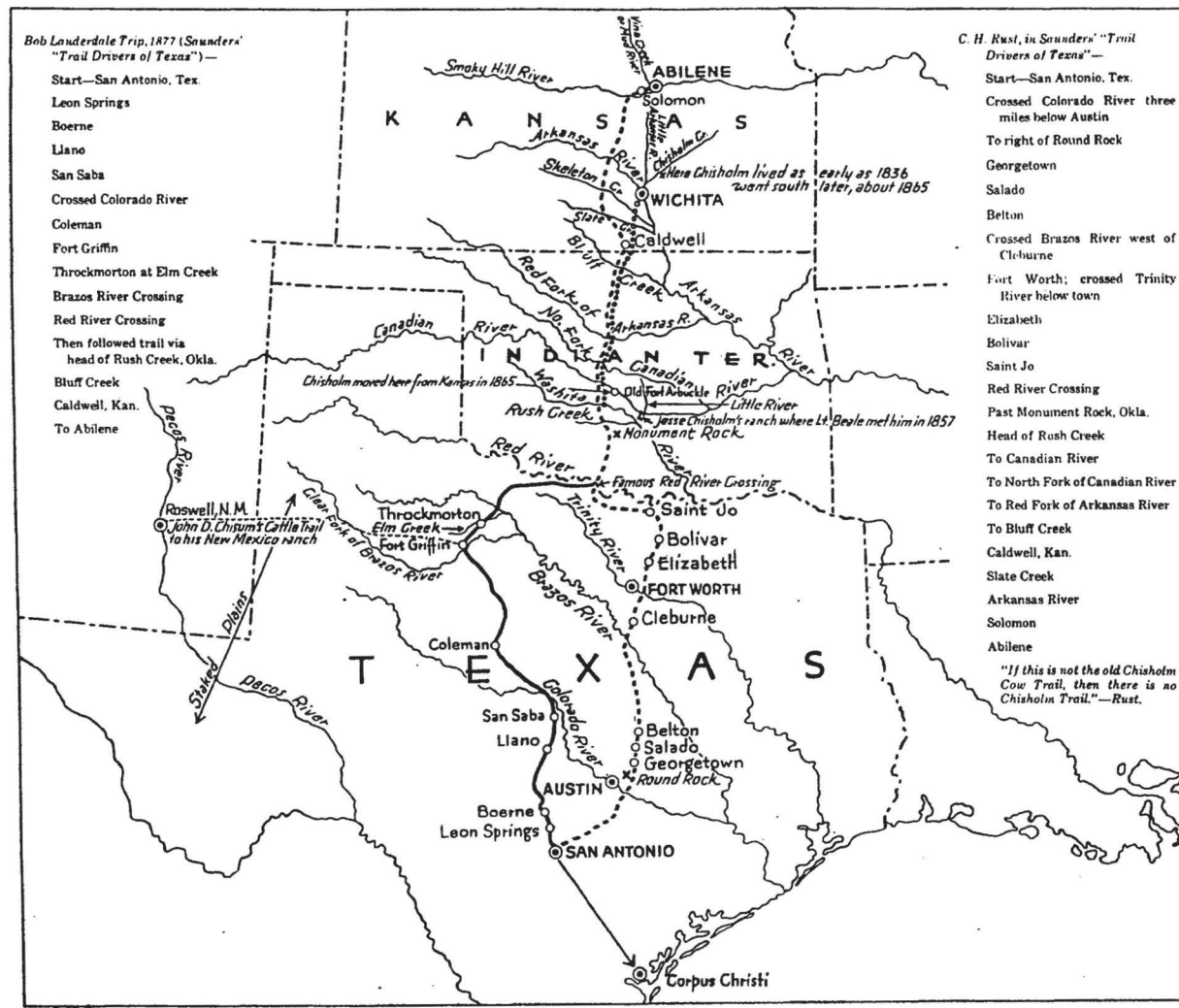
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Bob Lauderdale Trip, 1877 (Saunders' "Trail Drivers of Texas")—
 Start—San Antonio, Tex.
 Leon Springs
 Boerne
 Llano
 San Saba
 Crossed Colorado River
 Coleman
 Fort Griffin
 Throckmorton at Elm Creek
 Brazos River Crossing
 Red River Crossing
 Then followed trail via
 head of Rush Creek, Okla.
 Bluff Creek
 Caldwell, Kan.
 To Abilene

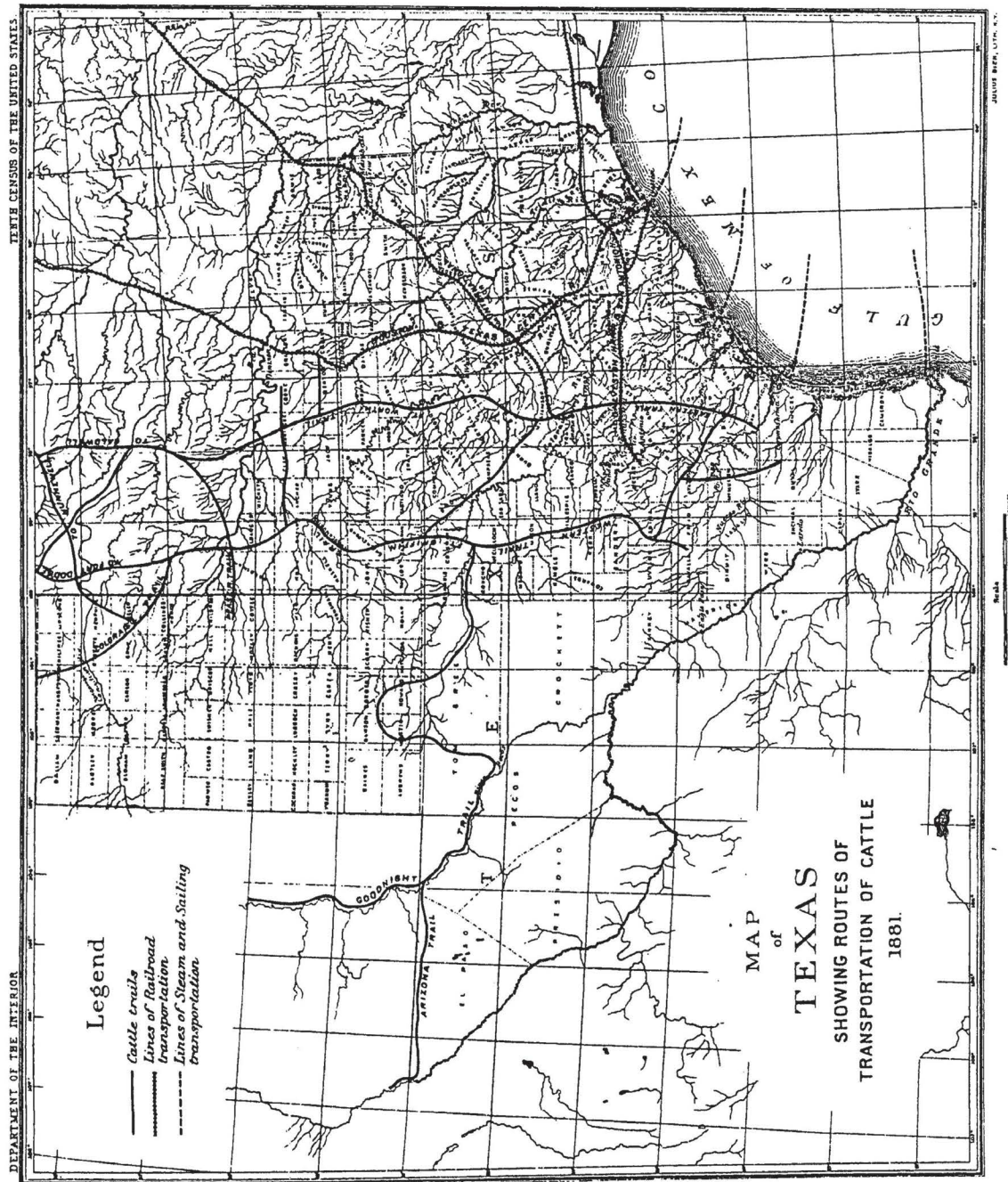
C. H. Rust, in Saunders' "Trail Drivers of Texas"—
 Start—San Antonio, Tex.
 Crossed Colorado River three
 miles below Austin
 To right of Round Rock
 Georgetown
 Salado
 Belton
 Crossed Brazos River west of
 Cleburne
 Fort Worth; crossed Trinity
 River below town
 Elizabeth
 Bolivar
 Saint Jo
 Red River Crossing
 Past Monument Rock, Okla.
 Head of Rush Creek
 To Canadian River
 To North Fork of Canadian River
 To Red Fork of Arkansas River
 To Bluff Creek
 Caldwell, Kan.
 Slate Creek
 Arkansas River
 Solomon
 Abilene
 "If this is not the old Chisholm
 Cow Trail, then there is no
 Chisholm Trail."—Rust.

46A
 ————— Lauderdale route
 - - - - - Rust route
 The trail over which Jesse Chisholm and the Indians moved back and forth between Kansas and Indian Territory in 1863, 1864, and 1865

LEGEND

Map Division
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Lauderdale/Rust Routes to Abilene, Kansas
 The Old Chisholm Cow Trail Map - 1863, 1864, & 1865
 Compliments of the Library of Congress



Map of Texas Showing Routes of Transportation of Cattle 1881
 Compliments of the Library of Congress



Stonewall Saloon Historical Museum, Circa 1873
Photograph by Reta Oliver-Muller