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PROPAGANDA, PRESSURE, AND PATRIOTISM:
THE TEXAS STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE AND THE POLITICS OF GENDER,
RACE, AND CLASS DURING WORLD WAR I

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department

of History

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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ABSTRACT

The Council of National Defense (CoND) formed in 1916, and the Woman's Committee (WC) was created the following year. Together, they established a network of lower councils and WC divisions and units and became the primary network through which the American people learned about and participated in the First World War. The federal government wanted to reach every individual living in the United States so that he or she would be educated about the war, but also so that the federal government could track potential dangers, or resources including manpower and supplies. In May 1917, Governor James Ferguson appointed forty members to the Texas State Council of Defense (CoD). The Texas Division of the Woman's Committee formed the next month. Both remained in operation until June 1919. In particular, the ethnic background and geographical ties to the South influenced State CoD members' viewpoints regarding women, ethnic Germans, ethnic Mexicans, and African Americans to the point that they often reinforced prevalent gendered and stereotypical views. In Texas, ethnic and racial groups varied in ability to participate directly on Councils of Defense. Of the four groups examined here, ethnic Germans served most often on county CoDs. Conversely, only a few county CoDs included Tejano members. African Americans were not allowed council membership at the county level unless organized into auxiliary groups under direction of the Anglo county Council of Defense. By the time the war ended, the Texas State Council was in the process of forming a state-level African American auxiliary. Yet, for all of these groups, participation in patriotic activities was crucial to their goals of suffrage, civil rights, economic stability, and personal safety. They used the Council of Defense network to show their patriotism and to seek their rights as American citizens.

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When I was a sophomore in college, I transferred to Southwest Texas State University (SWTSU) and took History 1320 with Professor Jo Snider. She taught a multi-cultural course, which, in the 1990s, was completely new to me. She dressed up in a Revolutionary War outfit that she had sewn and I thought that was really amazing! For the first time, history was not just boring facts I had to memorize! She taught me to love history!

During my years at SWTSU, I made so many friends who encouraged, helped, and inspired me. I also met many professors who became mentors and friends. Dr. Ron Brown directed my Honors' Thesis centered on oral history. He was patient and kind and I enjoyed his classes immensely. Dr. Donald W. Olson's "Astronomy in Art, History, and Literature," class was extraordinary and I was fortunate to have been included as one of four students who went with Dr. Olson in search of Cabeza de Vaca's route. When I was a Public History M.A. student, Dr. Cindy Brandimarte taught me new concepts and ways of looking at historical places. She always believed in me and encouraged my work. Dr. Ken Margerison was never my professor but he was chair of the department when I was there and he always had a positive attitude and words of inspiration to offer.

In 2009, Dr. Margerison changed my life. For many years I had dreamed of returning to graduate school in pursuit of a Ph.D. I wanted to work with the best and for what I was interested in, "the best" was Dr. Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., a professor at the University of Houston (UH). One evening I went to SWTSU to hear Dr. San Miguel give a talk. At this time, my application for the graduate department at UH had already been turned down a couple of years before. I was shy and hesitant about approaching Dr. San Miguel, but Dr. Margerison introduced me before I knew it. I admitted to Dr. San Miguel that I wanted to work with him but had not been accepted to UH. He told me to re-apply, and I did. I am sure

that my acceptance was a result of Dr. San Miguel's influence, and to him I owe a great debt.

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Lutheran Church in America Region 4 -- South Archives on the campus of Texas Lutheran College was very knowledgeable. When I arrived for research, Rev. Oelke already had several resources for me to look at in order to help me gain a better understanding of the war from the perspective of German Lutherans. His interest in my project encouraged me and he made my visit there pleasantly memorable. Kathryn Kenefick and Sarah Cleary, librarians at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History always had smiles and helpful advice. Ms. Linda Barrett, senior librarian and archivist at the Fort Worth Library offered numerous leads for information about S.H. Fowler and the Northside Community Council. And finally, Mr. John Rightmire in New Braunfels graciously made available to me his Council of Defense materials for Comal County. He is a true archivist and historian who loves sharing his knowledge with others. I am grateful for his generosity.

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1 Creation and Overview of the Texas State Council of Defense	25
Chapter 2 The Texas State Division, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense....	58
Chapter 3 Identity, Loyalty, and German Texans.....	89
Chapter 4 Political Bosses, Ethnic Mexicans and the Texas State Council of Defense	136
Chapter 5 African Americans and “The Long Arm of Tradition”	176
Epilogue	234
Explanation of Symbols and Sources for Appendices	259
Appendix A: Organization of the Council of National Defense	263
Appendix B: Organization of the Texas State Council of Defense.....	264
Appendix C: Members of the Texas State Council of Defense	265
Appendix D: Woman’s Committee, Council of National Defense	273
Appendix E: Texas Division, Woman’s Committee	274
Appendix F: Council of Defense Members in the Top Ten German Counties of Texas.....	275
Appendix G: Map of the Ten German Counties	298
Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties	299
Bibliography	314

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to all the men and women who lived through the First World War, who gave everything they had—money, time, and sometimes liberty. May the centennial of America’s entrance into the First World War generate a renewed interest in the lives of these courageous souls who fought the enemy abroad and at home (in whichever form the “enemy” happened to take).

I also dedicate this work to all the first-generation college students who are struggling through hardships and wondering whether they can achieve their goals. You CAN do it.

Introduction

When the United States went to war, so did every person in the country. The Council of National Defense made sure of this through its elaborate network of state, county, and community Councils of Defense. These organizations sought to quickly and efficiently pass along important information from the federal government down to each individual, then guide him or her in ways they could best help the war effort. The councils assisted various campaigns, including food production and conservation, and the sale of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps. The State Council's coordination with major organizations, such as the United States Food Administration (USFA), the Committee on Public Information (CPI), the National War Savings Committee (NWSC), the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the United States Employment Service (USES) ensured the success of these groups' campaigns.

Often, the above entities restricted who could help and in what ways. Ethnic Germans could participate in all war activities, though old-stock Anglos monitored their speech and behavior for signs of disloyalty.¹ African Americans were not allowed to participate directly with the Red Cross or YMCA in several locales but could participate in segregated auxiliaries. The Council of Defense system in Texas followed a similar policy for their inclusion. How the council related to different groups forms the heart of this dissertation that consists of three main arguments. First, women, Mexican Americans and African Americans hoped to use their voluntarism (including participation in the Council of Defense and/or Woman's Committee network) to make gains toward economic, political and

¹ By "old stock," I mean Anglos whose ancestors had been in the United States for several generations. In the case of Texas, many of these ancestors had come from the South.

social equality. Suffragists believed their visibility in successful Liberty Bond sales, for example, would prove their responsible nature and fitness for the vote.² African Americans and ethnic Mexicans, meanwhile, embraced war activities (particularly enlistment) to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism as Americans, and gain respect as citizens deserving more rights, and better employment and educational opportunities.³ In many instances, African American and Mexican American men entwined concepts of manhood, citizenship, and participation in war activities (especially military enlistment).⁴ Ethnic Germans, meanwhile, looked for ways to keep themselves and their families safe. They publicly waved their American patriotism in an effort to stress commonalities of whiteness with old established Anglo families.⁵

Second, in spite of what the above groups wanted as an outcome, the Texas State Council of Defense generally reinforced traditional, restrictive, gender and racial roles, which resulted in limited social change for these groups during and after the war. For instance, even though the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense seemed to be autonomous, it was not; the male-dominated Council of National Defense (CoND) had to approve the kinds of work the women undertook, even though the work centered largely on home and family.⁶ Just as women had specified roles, so too did non-white men. In line

² Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 104-105; A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Texas," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (May, 1951): 206-207, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2198264>, accessed 4 Feb. 2015.

³ Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 4; José A. Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!: Mexican Texans and World War I* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), 27. Both Lentz-Smith and Ramírez argue that men joined the Army in order to gain more respect and better treatment.

⁴ Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 80-94.

⁵ David Roediger argues that "whiteness" allows for certain material or psychological gains for those deemed to be "white." See: David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, Revised and Expanded Edition (London: Verso, 2007); Matthew D. Tappan, *Turning Germans Into Texans: World War I and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900-1930* (Austin: Kleingarten Press, 2010), 90, 94-95.

⁶ Emily Newell Blair, *The Woman's Committee, United States Council of National Defense: An Interpretive*

with the predominant attitude of Anglos around the nation, members of the Texas State Council of Defense often viewed ethnic Mexicans and African Americans as hoe-wielding laborers, not gun-toting patriots.⁷

Defense council members' views about ethnic Germans, however, were more ambivalent, especially since some of the state and many of the local Council of Defense members were of German lineage.⁸ Overall, it seemed that the State Council of Defense sent mixed messages about their feelings regarding German Americans. In correspondence, Texas CoD members encouraged the county Councils of Defense to refrain from violence against those whom they perceived as being disloyal.⁹ However, at other times State Council members did not chastise overzealous county Councils of Defense that treated their German residents shamefully, particularly when trying to enforce local bans on speaking the German language.¹⁰

Finally, coercion at the local level proved to be a powerful patriotism-generator for both Germans and non-Germans. However, Council of Defense members were not the sole

Report, April 21, 1917, to February 27, 1919 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 20, Hathi-Trust Digital Library, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4363316;view=1up;seq=4>, accessed 14 June 2016.

⁷ Some evidence of the State Council's view of African Americans appears in a bulletin in which the State Council does not specifically mention African Americans, but this is implied in a statement saying all porters, chauffeurs and yard men should be used for "farm and other useful employment." See: Bulletin No. 20, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 10 April 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas. (Hereafter cited as TWRC, DBCAH); Adriane Lentz-Smith describes the disrespectful conditions blacks in the military faced. Often the men were assigned stateside to labor duties and were not even given military uniforms to wear. See: Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 94.

⁸ Please see "Appendix C: Members of the Texas State Council of Defense."

⁹ J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, Bulletin No. 28, 20 June 1918, in booklet *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919*, in Folder "Councils of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰ "It Happened at Yoakum: Mob Gives Men Ride on Rail for Disloyal Remarks," *La Grange Journal*, 4 April 1918; Letter, C.D. Duncan to J.F. Carl, 7 November 1918, Folder "Austin County Council of Defense," Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH.

perpetrators of coercion (or violence).¹¹ Almost daily, Americans saw, heard, or read about some individual or group persecuting others for inadequate war support. Whether it was the threat of being made to kiss the American flag, or having one's dwelling or body painted yellow, Texans feared being caught lacking in loyalty.¹² Although residents informally monitored each other for evidences of disloyalty, ethnic Germans suffered the most instances of reported surveillance and violence. This last point brings me to my thesis which is that the Council of Defense network touched the life of every person in the state and created such visibility for itself that Texans viewed council members (particularly at the state level) as a personification of "The State," operating in a parental role: doling out praise or punishment, eliminating "the bogeyman" abroad and at home, and solving domestic problems.¹³

Texas's size, geography, and population diversity make it a crucial state for studying the operation, and effectiveness of its State Council of Defense. Foremost, Texas was (and is) a large expanse of land with a variety of geographic/industrial areas. At the time of the First World War, Texas was the biggest state in the Union, encompassing 265,700 square

¹¹"Men Join Red Cross After Flogging," *The Plano Star-Courier*, 4 January 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph570410/m1/2/?q=%22flogging%22%20date:1917-1919>, accessed 19 August 2015; "Electra Citizens Tar and Feather Greek Confectioner," *The Aspermont Star*, 2 May 1918. The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph126131/m1/2/?q=%22tar%20and%20feather%22>, accessed 27 June 2015.

¹² Two articles published in the local newspaper for Weatherford, Texas concerned vigilante activities in other states (Illinois and Oklahoma). However, they served as warnings to Texas readers of what could happen to any person suspected of disloyalty. See: "Twelve Men Are Forced to Kiss American Flag," 23 February 1918, *The [Weatherford] Daily Herald*, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph644181/m1/1/?q=%22kiss%20the%20flag%22>, accessed 24 August 2016; "Knights of Liberty New Loyalty Organization: Use Ku Klux Klan Tactics in Dealing with Pro-Germans and Slackers," *The [Weatherford] Daily Herald*, 21 March 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph644678/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22kiss%20the%20flag%22&resolution=2&lat=4215&lon=1256>, accessed 24 August 2016; Sue M. Bruns, "The Persecution of German-Americans in Central Texas During World War I," (Master's Thesis, Southwest Texas State University, 1972), 54.

¹³David Kennedy mentions that Progressives looked to government to improve society. See: David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 97.

miles and consisting of more than 250 counties.¹⁴ The state's varied terrain—grasslands, swamps, coastal regions, forests, mountains, and desert areas—was conducive to many industries including cattle ranching, timber, oil, agriculture, and ship building.¹⁵ In terms of population, the 1910 census showed Texas to have 3,896,542 residents. Of these, more than three million were classified as “[w]hite,” a little more than 600,000 as “[N]egro,” and approximately 1000 as “other.”¹⁶ Ten years later the state's total population had increased to 4,663,228 inhabitants: 84 percent Anglo, 15.9 percent African American and 7.7 percent foreign-born white.¹⁷

Although Texas was unmatched in size, it shared economic and cultural commonalities with several southern states. For instance, the majority of East Texans had been born in, or had family ties to Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. As such, East Texans came from a cotton-based society.¹⁸ After the turn of the twentieth century, this area's economy still thrived on cotton production. Ellis, Fannin, Hill, Kaufman, and Collin Counties all produced more than 100,000 bales of cotton in 1912.¹⁹ That region's dependence on slaves prior to the Civil War resulted in a concentration of African Americans in East Texas whose descendants were still there when the United States entered World War I.²⁰ By the 1910s, black Texans had lost their hard-fought gains won during Reconstruction.

¹⁴*Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide 1914*, (n.c.: A.H. Belo & Co. publishers of *The Galveston-Dallas News*, 1914), 234-236, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapht117157/m1/34/?q=%22texas%20almanac%22>, accessed 15 June 2016.

¹⁵*Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide 1914*, 125-223.

¹⁶Ethnic Mexicans were counted as “white” in the 1910 census and were not differentiated in the population statistics. *Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide 1914*, 98.

¹⁷*The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide 1925* (n.c.: A.H. Belo & Co. publishers of *The Dallas News*, 1925), 46-47.

¹⁸D.W. Meinig, *Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969, 1975), 46-48; Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1-3.

¹⁹*The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide 1914*, 192-193.

²⁰Meinig, *Imperial Texas*, 46-48.

White primaries and poll taxes restricted voting; scarce resources and Jim Crow laws limited educational opportunities, resulting in the majority of African Americans as agricultural laborers.²¹

Most men whom Governor James Ferguson appointed as Texas State Council of Defense members were accustomed to life in a cotton-based society. Thirty-five out of forty original appointees were born in Texas or other former Confederate states. They and most subsequent members had been small children living in the South when the Civil War began.²² Alvin C. Owsley and R.E.L. Knight watched their fathers march off to war. Knight's father named his son after Confederate general Robert E. Lee. Elbert W. Kirkpatrick, the oldest member of the State CoD, was a Civil War veteran. He, Leon Sonfield, John Wagstaff, Charles Huff, and William Capps came from Tennessee. Dr. Selwyn P. Rice hailed from Georgia. Wiley H. Fuqua, N.A. "Gus" Shaw, Frank West, and Charles Brachfield were Mississippi natives, as was chairman, Oscar E. Dunlap, who descended from a family of planters.²³

Other areas in Texas did not have the predominantly southern characteristics of the eastern part of the state. Several southeast and central Texas counties, for instance, were known for their European character. Germans settled Comal and Gillespie counties in the 1840s, and French immigrants led by Henri Castro established Castroville in Medina County. Additionally, Bohemians, Czechs and Wends settled in several counties, including

²¹ Bruce A. Glasrud and James M. Smallwood, *The African American Experience in Texas: An Anthology* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University, 2007), 28-29.

²² Please see: "Appendix C: Members of the Texas State Council of Defense."

²³ Biographical sketches for "N.A. 'Gus' Shaw," "Charles Brachfield," "O.E. Dunlap," "William Capps," "Alvin Owsley," and "R.E.L. Knight," all from Folder "Biographies of Officers-State Council of Defense," Box 2J389, TWRC, DBCAH. Direct quote comes from: "O.E. Dunlap," Biographical Sketch, Folder "Biographies of Officers-State Council of Defense," Box 2J389, TWRC, DBCAH. Please see: "Appendix C: Members of the Texas State Council of Defense."

Fayette, Austin, and Washington counties.²⁴

The border region, and South Texas existed as a geographic and cultural extension of Mexico, a reality not surprising since the area had belonged to Mexico prior to the 1836 Texas Revolution and subsequent U.S.-annexation in 1845. Following the Mexican War (1846-1848), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo provided Mexican residents living in Texas two choices: they could move south across the Rio Grande River and remain citizens of Mexico, or stay where they were in Texas as American citizens with stated land and citizenship rights. Many Mexicans stayed but they were not accorded their due rights because Anglo Texans still viewed Mexicans through the hatred generated from the recent and bloody conflicts. Juan Seguin, a Mexican who sided with whites against Mexico during the Texas Revolution suffered such harassment that he returned to Mexico shortly thereafter.²⁵ Mexico's geographic proximity offered ethnic Mexicans some comfort because it enabled residents on both sides of the U.S./Mexico border to maintain cultural and familial ties through regular crossings.²⁶ The extension of railroads around the turn of the century, however, brought an influx of new residents who changed the economic and cultural dynamics of this region.²⁷

The variety of the state's residents, industries, and geography provides the scholar

²⁴ Allan O. Kownslar, *The European Texans*, part of the Texans All series from the Institute of Texan Cultures, general editor Sara R. Massey (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 139; D.W. Meinig, *Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography* with Introduction by Lorrin Kennamer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969, 1975), 50-52. Curtis Bishop, "Castro's Colony," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed September 28, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/uec01>. Louis J. Polansky and David S. Walkup, "Fayetteville, TX (Fayette County)," Handbook of Texas Online, accessed September 28, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hlf10>,

²⁵ Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988), 9-25.

²⁶ Trinidad Gonzales, "The World of México Texanos, Mexicanos, and México Americanos: Transnational and National Identities in the Lower Rio Grande Valley During the Last Phase of United States Colonization, 1900 to 1930," (PhD diss., University of Houston, 2008)," 52-53.

²⁷ David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 110.

with interesting examples of human interaction during the 1917-1919 years. Looking at the role and effectiveness of the Texas State Council of Defense illuminates how the largest state in the union at that time prepared for war. Importantly, issues of gender, race, and class consistently re-emerged in the interactions between the Council of Defense network and Texans of all backgrounds. In many instances, various levels of the Council of Defense interpreted states of belonging for minority groups by determining who could participate in the war effort and in what form. Questions about citizenship, loyalty, and liberty emerged over and over again in ways that our own society grapples with one hundred years later.

Most counties organized a county Council of Defense and the approximate thirty counties that did not were primarily in North and West Texas.²⁸ Local councils successfully coordinated war work in their areas by mobilizing people and resources. They passed along government information to all residents and in turn, sent back reports to the State Council regarding safety, labor, preparedness, or loyalty conditions in their counties.

As soon as the Great War ended, those involved in all levels of the Council of Defense system recorded their activities to inform their superiors of the work they did and also to leave for posterity an account of their accomplishments. These records emphasized hard work, patriotism, cooperation, and success, and became the base upon which later scholars built the historiography of World War I. Emily Newell Blair, Woman's Committee officer in charge of news at the national level, created her report of the Woman's Committee in 1920. Importantly, Blair noted power struggles between the Woman's Committee (WC) and other government agencies, including the U. S. Food Administration.²⁹ Blair's work *The*

²⁸Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, (San Antonio: n.d. privately printed), 14-41, "Comal County Council of Defense" Binder, John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas.

²⁹ Emily Newell Blair, *The Woman's Committee*, 26-29.

Woman's Committee (1920), and Ida C. Clarke's more inclusive book, *American Women and the World War* (1918), ensured that American women's efforts would not be forgotten.³⁰

However, several years passed before other major works focused on women and World War I.

In the 1970s, William J. Breen ushered in a new era of scholarship regarding women in the World War. His article "Southern Women in the War: The North Carolina Woman's Committee, 1917-1919" appeared in *The North Carolina Historical Review* in July 1978.³¹ It was quickly followed by "Black Women and the Great War: Mobilization and Reform in the South," which examined African American clubwoman Alice Dunbar-Nelson's establishment of African American WC auxiliary units in Southern states.³²

In 1980, Maurine Greenwald published *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States*, a book that focused on women's experiences in industries and the workers' relationship to labor unions. Almost twenty years later, Lettie Gavin's *American Women in World War I: They Also Served* (1997) examined women's presence in the armed forces, medical field, Red Cross, and Salvation Army.³³ Judith N. McArthur's *Creating the New Woman: the Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (1998) included sections about women's work in society, suffrage efforts, and the Woman's Committee. The book is meritorious for its subject matter, notably its

³⁰Ida Clyde Clarke, *American Women and the World War* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918), Internet Archive, https://archive.org/stream/americanwomenwor01clar/americanwomenwor01clar_djvu.txt, accessed 5 June 2016; Blair, *The Woman's Committee*.

³¹William J. Breen, "Southern Women in the War: The North Carolina Woman's Committee, 1917-1919," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 55, No. 3, (July 1978): 251-283, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/stable/23535238>, accessed 27 May 2016.

³²William J. Breen, "Black Women in the Great War: Mobilization and Reform in the South," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Aug. 1978): 421-440, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/stable/2208050> doi:1, accessed 27 May 2016.

³³Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Lettie Gavin, *American Women in World War I: They Also Served* (Niwolt, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997).

emphasis on the links between the Woman's Committee, women's clubs, and the Progressive Era. McArthur credited the war with legitimizing several Progressive goals that previously had been ignored.³⁴

The new millennium brought additional contributions to the scholarship regarding women's participation in the First World War. The trend continued to focus on a specified group of women as opposed to portraying the experiences of American women in general. Nikki Brown's *Private Politics and Public Voices: Black Women's Activism from World War I to the New Deal* (2006), examines African American women as reformers during and after the First World War and their efforts to improve society while simultaneously supporting the war. Kimberly Jensen's *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (2008) looks at military women serving as doctors and nurses. Jensen argues that these women negotiated their ideas about citizenship via their military roles and experiences. Finally, *Fruits of Victory: The Woman's Land Army of America in the Great War* (2008) by journalist Elaine F. Weiss shares this military theme, but instead centers on the Woman's Land Army, a movement that placed college women on farms to help ease the labor crisis.³⁵

The recently published *In Their Own Words: American Women in World War I* (2015) breaks the trend of looking only at a certain group of women. It offers insights from women serving the war in various capacities, including: "canteen worker, dietitian, driver, entertainer, fingerprint clerk" and "librarian" but it is uncertain how the editor, Elizabeth Foxwell, chose the letters she included in the book.³⁶ Perhaps it is the beginning of a new

³⁴Judith N. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 120-142.

³⁵Nikki Brown, *Private Politics and Public Voices: Black Women's Activism from World War I to the New Deal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Kimberly Jensen, *Mobilizing Minerva: American Women in the First World War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Elaine F. Weiss, *Fruits of Victory: The Woman's Land Army of America in the Great War* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2008).

³⁶Elizabeth Foxwell, *In Their Own Words: American Women in World War I* (Waverly, TN: Oconee Spirit

interest in American women's occupations and roles during the First World War.

Examinations of the wartime experiences of German Americans are numerous. Most early works that investigated German communities during World War I mentioned the Council of National Defense, portraying it often as little more than a tool for hatred used against Germans, German-Americans, and others who fell outside the accepted notion of "proper American." Beginning in the late 1930s, Carl Wittke then John Hawgood painted a tragic story about the persecution and violence ethnic Germans suffered, sometimes at the hands of Council of Defense members.³⁷

This "Germans-as-victims" trend gave little agency to Germans during the World War, and insisted that rampant nativism destroyed German culture. This pattern in scholarship continued with H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite's, *Opponents of War 1917-1918* (1957), Frederick Luebke's, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (1974) and David Detjen's *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation* (1985).³⁸ In 2002, Tina Stewart Brakebill's article about Germans in McLean County, Illinois, reinforced earlier scholarship, particularly the argument that county Councils of Defense were repressive and dangerous to ethnic Germans.³⁹

Like Brakebill, Benjamin Paul Hegi also focused on one county, but his conclusions

Press, 2015), 5.

³⁷Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War (With Special Emphasis on the Ohio German Language Press)*, Ohio Historical Collections, Vol. 5, (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936).

³⁸H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite also included conscientious objectors and members of the International Workers of the World in their study. See: H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War 1917-1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957); Frederick Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974); David Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985).

³⁹Tina Stewart Brakebill, "From 'German Days' to '100 Percent Americanism': McLean County, Illinois, 1913-1918: German Americans, World War One, and One Community's Reaction," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. 95, No. 2 (Summer 2002), 148-171.

differed from Brakebill's. Hegi's 2005 article "'Old Time Good Germans': German-Americans in Cooke County, Texas, During World War I" examined two heavily German communities—Muenster and Lindsay. Hegi wanted to ascertain whether the communities were loyal and whether the tensions residents experienced were typical of the state and country. He found that Muenster, and Lindsay were very patriotic and there were no extreme measures taken against those of German descent. In fact, Hegi discussed the Texas State Council of Defense and the Cooke County Council of Defense in ways that did not portray either as particularly repressive.⁴⁰ Hegi's article moved ethnic Germans beyond the role of passive victims. However, it was Matthew Tippens who extracted Texas Germans from perpetual victimhood by devoting an entire book to this study.

Matthew Tippens's 2010 monograph *Turning Germans Into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900-1930* portrays the county Councils of Defense in the same negative way as did earlier Texas scholars, Sue Bruns, and Richard Sonntag. However, Tippens credits ethnic Germans with agency by arguing that they successfully retained their culture throughout the war in spite of social and physical threats directed toward them.⁴¹ His conclusions echo in Petra DeWitt's recent publication, *Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty of Missouri's German-American Community During World War I* (2012), which claims this same agency for ethnic Germans in Missouri. Importantly, DeWitt argues that local individuals had more of a direct impact on the treatment of Germans than government laws did.⁴² Walter D. Kamphoefner's 2014

⁴⁰Benjamin Paul Hegi, "'Old Time Good Germans': German-Americans in Cooke County, Texas, During World War I," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 109, No. 2 (Oct. 2005): 234-257.

⁴¹Matthew D. Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*; Bruns, "Persecution of German-Americans in Central Texas During World War I;" Mark Richard Sonntag, "Hyphenated Texans: World War I and the German-Americans of Texas" (Master's Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1990).

⁴²Petra DeWitt, *Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community During World War I* (Ohio University Press, 2012), 3; Petra DeWitt, "Missouri's German Americans During

article “The German Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment,” furthers Tippens’s and DeWitt’s arguments that German culture and language did not die out, and refutes claims made in Erik Kirschbaum’s *Burning Beethoven* (2014) that there was widespread violence and persecution only against Germans during the World War.⁴³

Mexican Americans also had varying experiences during these years, but their participation in World War I has not been the subject of many studies.⁴⁴ Scant articles and monographs exist about Tejano soldiers in World War I, and fewer still regarding civilian participation in the war effort, particularly the Council of National Defense.⁴⁵ In 1989, Carole E. Christian argued that Tejanos heartily participated in World War I activities and that their voluntarism led to acceptance from the Anglo community.⁴⁶ Phillip Gonzales and Ann Massmann’s 2006 article “Loyalty Questioned: Nuevomexicanos and the Great War,” revealed how Hispanos in New Mexico demonstrated their loyalty through “cultural citizenship,” a blending of their own cultural identity and symbolism with shows of

World War I, talk filmed at the Kansas City Public Library [17 August 2014], American History TV, online at <http://www.c-span.org/video/?320971-1/discussion-missouris-german-americans-world-war>, accessed 28 May 2016.

⁴³Walter D. Kamphoefner, “The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Vol. 49 (2014): 3-30; Erik Kirschbaum, *Burning Beethoven: The Eradication of German Culture in the United States During World War I* (New York: Berlinica Publishing LLC, 2014).

⁴⁴*Among the Valiant* is a well-noted book about Mexican Americans in World War II and Korea. See: Raul Morín, *Among the Valiant: Mexican-Americans in WWII and Korea*, (1963; 3rd printing, Alhambra, CA: Borden Publishing Co., 1966). Other sources that discuss Mexican American participation in World War II include: Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, ed., *Mexican Americans and World War II* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2005); Richard Griswold del Castillo, ed., *World War II and Mexican American Civil Rights* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); Emilio Zamora, *Claiming Rights and Righting Wrongs in Texas: Mexican Workers and Job Politics During World War II* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009); Elizabeth R. Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits: the Lives of Mexican American Women on the World War II Home Front* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

⁴⁵For an account of a Mexican American WWI soldier’s experience, see: José de la Luz Sáenz, *Los México-Americanos y La Gran Guerra y Su Contingente en Pro de la Democracia, la Humanidad, y la Justicia: Mi Diario Particular* (San Antonio: Artes Gráficas, 1933). For a recent translation of Sáenz’s diary, see Emilio Zamora, *The World War I Diary of José de la Luz Sáenz* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014).

⁴⁶Carole E. Christian, “Joining the American Mainstream: Texas’s Mexican Americans During World War I,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (Apr. 1989): 559-595, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30241239>, accessed 15 October 2014.

patriotism for the United States. For instance, Gonzales and Massmann recounted incidents of Hispanos placing Spanish-language advertisements in the local paper to promote the sale of Liberty Bonds.⁴⁷ José A. Ramírez's 2009 book, *To the Line of Fire!: Mexican Texans and World War I* provides the most thorough look at Tejano contributions to the First World War. The author examines military service as well and home front efforts. Similar to Gonzales and Massmann, Ramírez does not portray Mexican Americans as victims. Instead, he argues that their experiences in wartime society varied, and they responded in complicated ways. Some backed the war effort, others did not.⁴⁸ Cynthia Orozco argues that participation in the Great War instilled in several Tejano veterans a desire to improve educational and economic opportunities, and end poor treatment of Mexican Americans. These men later founded organizations including Liga Protectora Mexicana, Order Sons of America, and later the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).⁴⁹

African Americans used war reports to form the basis of a historical legacy preserved on paper. Serving as special assistant to Secretary of War Newton Baker, Emmett J. Scott recorded the African American experience in *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War* (1919). This work emphasized the accomplishments of African American soldiers and civilians and included a chapter written by Alice Dunbar-Nelson regarding African American women's voluntarism.⁵⁰ Many years passed before further significant

⁴⁷ "Hispano" is the ethnic self-identification of most ethnic Mexicans in New Mexico. Some scholars believe they chose to identify as such because a "Spanish" identity was more accepted than a "Mexican" identity. See: Phillip Gonzales and Ann Massmann, "Loyalty Questioned: Nuevomexicanos and the Great War," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (Nov. 2006): 629-666, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/phr.2006.75.4.629>, accessed 8 June 2016.

⁴⁸ José A. Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!: Mexican Texans and World War I* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009).

⁴⁹ Cynthia Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: the Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 72-73.

⁵⁰ Emmett J. Scott, *Scott's Official History of The American Negro in the World War* (Chicago: privately printed, 1919), <http://net.lib.byu.edu/estu/wwi/comment/scott/ScottTC.htm>, accessed 27 May 2016.

contributions appeared in the historiography of African Americans in the First World War. In 1974, Arthur Barbeau and Florette Henri published *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops During World War I*, the first book devoted to African American WWI soldiers. The authors emphasized the irony the soldiers endured when asked to fight for a country that mistreated them.⁵¹

Beginning in the 2000s, several important studies came to fruition. In 2001, William G. Jordan (*Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920*) and Mark Ellis (*Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government During World War I*) each contributed noted books regarding African Americans. Whereas Jordan related how African American newspapers carefully campaigned for an end to lynching and more civil rights, Ellis looked at Bureau of Investigation files and found that African Americans who complained about their limited rights were targeted as subversives. A similar theme emerged in Theodore Kornweibel's *Investigate Everything* (2002). However, Kornweibel also argued that African Americans often did not support the war.⁵²

Adriane D. Lentz-Smith's *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (2005), and Chad L. Williams's *Torchbearers of Democracy* (2010) provide additional scholarship. Lentz-Smith examined the experiences of African American soldiers within the framework of identity. Soldiers who went overseas sought to find their place within a new international space, all the while equating their military service with notions of manhood.⁵³

⁵¹ Arthur Barbeau and Florette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974).

⁵² William G. Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Mark Ellis, *Race, War, and Surveillance: African Americans and the United States Government During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., *Investigate Everything: Federal Efforts to Ensure Black Loyalty During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

⁵³ Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*.

This work influenced *Torchbearers of Democracy* which also looked at African American soldiers of the First World War, specifically how and why they became symbols of democracy.⁵⁴

David Kennedy's book, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (1980) was the first notable work that focused on the effects of World War I on American society, particularly the function of the Council of National Defense as a bridge between business and government during the war.⁵⁵ Kennedy's work remains a staple in scholarly reading and has influenced subsequent general works that illuminate the role of society in the First World War. Robert Zieger's *America's Great War* (2000), Alan Dawley's *Changing the World* (2003), and Christopher Capozzola's *Uncle Sam Wants You* (2008) are three of these newer works.⁵⁶

Although several books mention the Council of National Defense, no scholar has examined this network as extensively as professor William J. Breen. He published his first article regarding the North Carolina Council of Defense in 1973.⁵⁷ Later in the decade, he published two more articles, one about the North Carolina Woman's Committee, then another about the Connecticut State Council of Defense.⁵⁸ Particularly in this last article, Breen emphasized the cooperation between the federal and state Councils of Defense and the

⁵⁴Chad L. Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

⁵⁵ David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 114- 131.

⁵⁶Robert H. Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000); Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*.

⁵⁷William J. Breen, "The North Carolina Council of Defense During World War I, 1917-1918," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (January, 1973): 1-31, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23529484>, accessed 9 October 2014.

⁵⁸Breen, "Southern Women in the War," 251-283; William J. Breen, "Mobilization and Cooperative Federalism: The Connecticut State Council of Defense, 1917-1919," *The Historian*, 42.1 (Nov. 1, 1979): 58, ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/docview/1296544147?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:primo&accountid=7107>, accessed 3 June 2016.

important role states played in the war effort.⁵⁹ Breen's magnum opus, *Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919*, appeared in 1984. The book remains the seminal work regarding the Council of Defense system though it focused on only nine states (Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Georgia, North Carolina, and Colorado).⁶⁰

Since Breen's plethora of work, other authors have made a few contributions about specific state Councils of Defense. In 1977, Gerald Senn's article, "Molders of Thought, Directors of Action: The Arkansas Council of Defense, 1917-1919," appeared in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*. Then in 2008, the University of Alabama Press published *The Great War in the Heart of Dixie: Alabama during World War I*. This collection of essays is the first considerable work regarding the state of Alabama, and the book includes a chapter about that state's Council of Defense.⁶¹

The Texas State Council of Defense has remained a neglected topic for professional historians in spite of the immense Texas War Records Collection, of which the state's Council of Defense records comprise a significant part. The State Council's *Final Report* (1919) contains brief biographies of many of the CoD members who served, as well as the women who made up the Texas Division of the Woman's Committee. Perhaps even more valuable, the book includes the names of all county Council of Defense members, chairmen of the county-level Woman's Committee units, and casualty lists from counties that provided them. Sadly (yet expectedly), the *Final Report* lacks any mention of African American auxiliaries, reflecting the era's general lack of recognition of African American

⁵⁹Breen, "Mobilization and Cooperative Federalism," 58.

⁶⁰William J. Breen, *Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984).

⁶¹Martin T. Olliff, ed., *The Great War in the Heart of Dixie: Alabama during World War I* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2008).

contributions.⁶²

As early as the 1920s, young scholars who sought to preserve the successes of war activities at the state and local level consulted this same *Final Report* and all other correspondence that made up the Council of Defense records. Dr. Milton R. Gutsch served on the committees of several University of Texas graduate students who wrote theses about the World War.⁶³ Between the years of 1920 and 1950 students recorded information about the following counties: Austin, Bowie, Burlleson, Dawson, DeWitt, El Paso, Gonzales, and Wharton. Most theses had extensive lists of soldiers as well as a section about how each particular county experienced the war. Almost all the studies included an account of that county's Council of Defense.⁶⁴ Oran Elijah Turner's thesis, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense" (1926) is the only written record devoted exclusively to this entity and has since become the "go-to" source for anyone interested in the topic.⁶⁵

My dissertation aims to build upon Turner's scholarship, which admirably described the function of the Texas State Council of Defense. Whereas Turner arranged his work primarily into chapters according to each CoD committee, this dissertation is divided into

⁶²Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, (San Antonio: n.d. privately printed), "Comal County Council of Defense" Binder, John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas.

⁶³Dr. Milton Gutsch and/or Dr. Rudolph Biesele directed all theses at the University of Texas having to do with particular counties in the First World War. In many instances both men were part of the thesis committee. Dr. Gutsch's presence is not a surprise since he led efforts to preserve the War Records at the University of Texas. See: Letter, M.R. Gutsch to "My dear Sir," 28 January 1920, Untitled Folder, Box 2J391, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁴Ruby Grote Ratliff, "A History of Austin County, Texas, in the World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1931); Floyd Estes Cooley, "Bowie County, Texas, in the World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1936); Otto Charles Rode, "A History of Burlleson County in the World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1929); Daniel Worsham Ogletree, "A History of Dawson County, Texas, in the World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1936); Julia Covey Sutherland, "A History of DeWitt County, Texas, in the World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1938); Mary Elizabeth Bush, "El Paso County, Texas in the First World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1950); Lola D. Beach, "A History of Gonzales County in the World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1930); Ora E. Rhoades, "A History of Wharton County, Texas, in the World War," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1938).

⁶⁵Oran Elijah Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense," (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas, 1926).

chapters based on gender, ethnic, or racial group, with two overview chapters at the beginning. Because much of this work centers on identity and how others racialized members of various groups, a brief explanation of terminology is included in the following paragraphs.

Chapter 1 introduces the Council of National Defense (CoND), a mobilization organization formed in 1916. The CoND had six members, all part of President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet. Additionally, a group of seven business, labor, agricultural, and other leaders served as an advisory board to the CoND.⁶⁶ When the United States entered the First World War, the Council of National Defense urged all states to form their own state, county, and community councils so that there would be a direct line of communication from the national government to each individual.⁶⁷ Not only would the public be informed about the purposes of the war, but the government also would be aware of labor, agricultural, health, and security conditions throughout the United States. This manner of organization gave state and federal officials insights regarding what resources were available where, the location of any concerns, and how best to remedy any problems.

Governor James Ferguson appointed forty members of the Texas State Council of Defense, but if any of these men became unable (or unwilling) to serve, the governor then named a replacement.⁶⁸ The State Council of Defense cooperated with federal agencies, including the Food Administration (to help food conservation and production campaigns), the Treasury Department (to sell Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps), and the

⁶⁶Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense," 12-14.

⁶⁷ Letter, O.E. Dunlap to County Judge [form letter wherein the name is blank], 22 June 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁸ Letter, John L. Wroe to Churchill J. Bartlett, 14 May 1917, Box 301-380, Unnumbered Volumes, Vol. 4, p. 274, Letterpress books, Texas Governor James Edward Ferguson papers, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

Committee on Public Information (CPI), the nation's propaganda machine. One of the most pressing state-specific problems with which the Texas State Council had to contend was the multi-year drought which will be discussed in this chapter.

The second chapter introduces and discusses the formation and operation of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense. The Woman's Committee (WC), led by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, was made up of influential middle-class women already heavily involved in club work and/or the suffrage movement.⁶⁹ They used the WC network to expand Progressive-era programs in which they had already been involved prior to the war. The Children's Bureau, for instance, cooperated with the Woman's Committee to initiate a nation-wide program for weighing and measuring young children during a year-long program called Children's Year. The education of new mothers, more prevalent birth registrations, and the prioritization of children's health nation-wide made the Children's Year campaign one of the most-recognized and celebrated endeavors.⁷⁰

The Texas Division of the Woman's Committee was not active immediately for several reasons, but the predominant hindrance was a lack of money. The state legislature had not allocated any funds for the Woman's Committee so the Texas State Council had to pay for WC necessities, including travel expenses for WC officers, and postage costs. Though the Texas Division had several limitations in comparison to the State Council of Defense, it did organize units in dozens of counties across the state.⁷¹

Women of color are noticeably absent from the Woman's Committee story in Texas. There are very few Tejanas named in the Council of Defense records and thus far, no letters

⁶⁹See: "Appendix D: Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense."

⁷⁰McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*, 124-125.

⁷¹Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Hannah J. Patterson, 23 July 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH; Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 56.

from or references to specific African American women have been located. When Alice Dunbar-Nelson toured the Southern states establishing black WC auxiliaries, she did not visit Texas; the reasoning for this exclusion is unknown at this time. Ethnic German women, in contrast, often served in the state's Woman's Committee units.⁷²

The next three chapters focus on how various ethnic and racial groups interacted with and were impacted by the Texas State Council of Defense. Chapters 3 and 4 examine ethnic Germans and ethnic Mexicans. In this work, the term "ethnic German" indicates one of German heritage, whether born in Germany or the United States. "German immigrant" denotes a person born in Germany, while "German American" refers to a U.S.-born individual with at least one German parent. The term "first generation" is used in reference to an immigrant from Germany who came to settle in Texas.⁷³

Although in some cases Germans had blended into American society and many considered them to be "white," this was not always the case in communities where a majority of Germans continued to use the German language and promote German culture.⁷⁴ Ethnic Germans had the most dubious relationship with the Texas State Council of Defense. Those living in the "German counties" (counties with a significant German population as determined by the 1910 census) had experiences that varied widely. These differences

⁷²Many of these women have ethnic German surnames because it is their husband's last name. Some women, including Mattie Shropshire, had German ancestry. Shropshire was the chair of the DeWitt County unit of the Woman's Committee. Many chairmen of the Woman's Committee units have German last names, but their own ancestry cannot be determined unless individually investigated in census records. Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 59-61; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Lavaca County, Texas, "Mattie Haefel Shropshire," Page 292, Sheet 31 B, House 731, Dwelling 672, Family 734, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 10 December 2016.

⁷³I use "German American" in a slightly different way than Petra DeWitt who defines "German-American" as "German immigrants residing in the United States and their American-born children and grandchildren." See: Petra DeWitt, *Degrees of Allegiance*, 170, footnote 6.

⁷⁴Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German Texans: In the Mainstream or Backwaters of Lone Star Society?" *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Vol. 38 (2003): 123-126; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Vol. 49 (2014): 14-16.

depended largely on the membership of the county's Council of Defense. In Gillespie County, naturalized Germans and German Americans served as council members and did not enact harsh measures against their ethnic German neighbors. In Comal County, ethnic German council members were indiscriminate in coercing patriotism from all, including fellow Germans. Overall, Texas Germans suffered more harassment and suspicion than any other ethnic group during this time, but they were not the only ones targeted for persecution. Anyone, regardless of ethnicity or class, could be targeted if others thought he or she was disloyal or not supporting the war to his or her ability.

Ethnic Mexicans in Texas are the focus of Chapter 4. The term "ethnic Mexican" is used here to refer to anyone of Mexican heritage, whether born in the United States or Mexico.⁷⁵ "Mexican" or "Mexican immigrant" denotes one who was born in Mexico, while "Mexican American" indicates a U.S.-born person of Mexican descent.⁷⁶ Although scholars do not agree unanimously on the use of the above terms, the "Tejano" label is most debatable. Some use it specifically to indicate a Texas-born person of Mexican descent.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ I use this terminology as defined by David G. Gutiérrez to mean "the total Mexican-origin population of the United States, citizen and alien alike." See: David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 218, footnote 3.

⁷⁶ Mario T. García asserts that "the term *Mexican* refers to all persons of Mexican descent but in particular immigrants from Mexico. The term *Mexican American* refers to Mexicans born in the United States." See: Mario T. García, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 2. David G. Gutiérrez provides the following explanation on terminology for those born in Mexico: "when I refer to immigrants from Mexico I use the terms Mexican immigrants, Mexican aliens, Mexican nationals, or simply Mexicans." Gutiérrez uses the term "Mexican American" for "those individuals who label themselves as such. As a matter of convenience, however, I also occasionally use that term to describe all American citizens of Mexican descent, regardless of their political orientation or length of residence in the United States." See: Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 218, footnote 3. Other scholars sometimes use different terms for "Mexicans" and "Mexican Americans," including "Mexicano" for a person born in Mexico, "Chicano" or "Latino" for Mexican immigrants as well as Mexican Americans. See: George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 277, footnote 1. Cynthia Orozco uses the term "México Texano" for those "typically born in the United States, and/or their life experience was largely within Texas." She also uses "La Raza" for those "people being studied who identified a community based on race, nationality, and multinationalism or transnationalism." See: Cynthia E. Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed*, 11.

⁷⁷ Raúl A. Ramos defines "Tejano" as "a person from Texas." See: Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008),

Others use the term for anyone of Mexican ancestry who lived in Texas during the time studied.⁷⁸ This dissertation uses the latter interpretation of the word “Tejano.”

Ethnic Mexicans did not participate extensively in the Council of Defense system primarily because Anglos excluded them. No Tejanos were members of the Texas State Council of Defense, and Adina de Zavala was the only Tejana member of the Texas Division of the Woman’s Committee. At the local level, only seven counties included at least one ethnic Mexican member on their county Council of Defense. These counties were: Cameron, Duval, El Paso, Starr, Webb, Willacy, and Wilson.⁷⁹ Starr County's CoD had all ethnic Mexican members, a choice that caused some Anglos to question the group’s loyalty during a time when Tejanos around the state were living under a microscope of scrutiny because of violence along the Texas-Mexico border combined with Anglo fears of a Tejano uprising.⁸⁰

African Americans, the subjects of Chapter 5, endured similar struggles as those of ethnic Mexicans. In this chapter, the terms “African American,” “black,” and “African Texan” are used interchangeably.⁸¹ During this time, the Texas State Council of Defense reinforced characterizations of these groups as either “docile laborers” necessary for

238, footnote 4. David J. Weber uses the term “tejano” for “Texans who are ethnically Mexicans.” See: David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982; reprint 1997), xxii. José A. Ramírez defines it to mean “any Texas resident of Mexican extraction.” See: José A. Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!: Mexican Texans and World War I* (Texas A&M University Press, 2009), xix. Likewise, William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb concur, using this term to “designate a person of Mexican descent” living in Texas. See: William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), xiii.

⁷⁸ Arnoldo De León, “Texas Mexicans: Twentieth-Century Interpretations,” in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations*, ed. By Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 20.

⁷⁹ Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, 14-41.

⁸⁰ Letter, A.B. Beilaski to John J. Keeney, 20 December 1917, Folder “Starr County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸¹ The term “African Texan” comes from Alwyn Barr’s chapter “The Influence of War and Military Service on African Texans.” See: Alwyn Barr, “The Influence of War and Military Service on African Texans” in *Texans and War: New Interpretations of the State’s Military History* ed. Alexander Mendoza and Charles David Gear (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), ProQuest ebrary, accessed 8 October 2016.

agricultural work, or physical dangers to society susceptible to German propaganda.⁸²

Middle-class African American leaders cooperated with the Texas State Council of Defense to combat negative characterizations of their race, and they displayed their own American-ness through individual voluntarism as well as participation in group-led activities.⁸³ African Americans also formed county-level auxiliaries to local Councils of Defense. When the war ended, plans were underway to organize a State Council auxiliary.⁸⁴

Because Anglos continued to mistreat, disrespect, and segregate blacks and ethnic Mexicans during and after the war, the lives for members of these minority groups did not substantially improve as discussed in the Epilogue. Even though they hoped their increased visibility would bring positive changes, whatever recognition or benefits that occurred were temporary. What did evolve was the way these groups identified after the war. Returning soldiers demonstrated a new sense of manhood and an unwillingness to return to accommodation. Ethnic Mexicans and blacks who stayed on the home front used their war service as a reminder to Anglos of their loyalty to the United States and their identity as citizens deserving rights.

⁸² For a brief overview of how Anglos viewed ethnic Mexicans, see: Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in South Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 29. For negative generalizations about African American characteristics see: Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of African Americans in Texas, 1528-1995*, 2nd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973, 1996), 83.

⁸³ One of the notable patriotic groups during this time was Fort Worth's Northside Community Council which will be discussed in Chapter 5. See for instance: Program, "Don't Miss the Great Meeting," Folder "Tarrant County Council of Defense," Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁴ Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 27 September 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]" Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to D.C. Giddings, et.al, 7 August 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

Chapter 1 Creation and Overview of the Texas State Council of Defense

As early as 1911, government officials discussed creating an organization to streamline military policy, and establish a system of national defense for two reasons, a desire to make the United States military more organized, and after 1914, a movement for preparedness.¹ However, it was not until August 29, 1916 that a part of the Army Appropriations Act allowed for creation of the Council of National Defense (CoND)—an organization dedicated to military preparedness.²

Walter S. Gifford, member of the Naval Consulting Board, served as director and Secretary of War William D. Baker was chairman.³ Other council members included the Secretaries of the Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.⁴ While these men provided their specified knowledge to wartime mobilization efforts, their names and titles gave credibility to the organization. For assistance, they created a seven-person civilian Advisory Commission consisting of the following well-known men: Daniel Willard (Transport and Communication); Howard E. Coffin (Munitions); Hollis Godfrey (Engineering and Education); Julius Rosenwald (Supplies); Bernard M. Baruch (Raw Materials), Samuel Gompers (Labor), and Franklin H. Martin (Medicine). Committees semi-autonomously accomplished their own designated tasks during mobilization, yet all reported to the CoND.⁵

¹ Oran Elijah Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense" (Thesis, University of Texas, 1926), 2-3.

² Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense," 12. The abbreviation "CoND" is my own. Elsewhere it is written as "CND."

³ Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense," 12-14.

⁴ In addition to Walter S. Gifford, and Newton D. Baker, other members included Josephus Daniels, Franklin K. Lane, David F. Houston, William C. Redfield, and William B. Wilson.

⁵ William J. Breen, *Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), 19, 4. For a helpful and thorough CoND organizational chart, please see Turner, chart labeled "Activities of the Council of Defense and Its Advisory Commission" located between pages 18 and 19. H.R. 17498, the Army Appropriation Act established the CoND. Act mentioned in Letter, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 5 July 1918, Box

In order to facilitate working with individual states, the CoND developed a special division called the “Section on Cooperation with the States,” later renamed the “State Councils Section.” Arthur H. Fleming, then George F. Porter, served as directors of this entity.⁶ In April 1917, CoND chairman Newton Baker requested that each state’s governor appoint a state council, followed by local Councils of Defense, for the purpose of more quickly gaining and disseminating information, helping with military recruitment, aiding the Red Cross, ensuring adequate labor, and encouraging food production and thrift.⁷

The Texas State Council of Defense (CoD) originated on May 12, 1917, after the state legislature passed H.B. 87.⁸ The act stipulated that the State Council was “to assist the National Council of Defense in all matters requested by said council, or by the President of the United States or under his authority.” In order to do so, “the council . . . is authorized to call upon the various civic, educational and commercial activities of this State to assist in organizing the economic, industrial, military and moral forces of Texas to be used in the defense of our common country.”⁹ Governor James Ferguson appointed former judge and banker Oscar E. Dunlap of Ellis County as chairman, and San Antonio (Bexar County) judge John F. Carl as secretary to work with thirty-eight additional members on ten specified committees: Legal; Sanitation and Medicine; State Protection; Co-ordination of Societies; Finance; Publicity; Military Affairs; Transportation; Labor; and Food Supply and Conservation.¹⁰ In common with other states, Texas's governor chose knowledgeable

2J366, Folder “Bell County Council of Defense File No. 4—1918,” TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶ Turner, “History of the Texas State Council of Defense,” 20. Breen, *Uncle Sam At Home*, 13, 19.

⁷ Breen, *Uncle Sam At Home*, 22. Turner, “History of the Texas State Council of Defense,” 20.

⁸ “Minutes of Texas State Council of Defense Austin, Texas May 18, 1917,” located with all Minutes in one bradded folder, Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material- (Campaigns, Contributions & Committees),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH. Journal of the Senate, State of Texas, First Called Session, Thirty-fifth Legislature Convened in the City of Austin April 18, 1917 and Adjourned Without Day May 17, 1917, (Austin: Texas State Senate, 1917), 200.

⁹ “State Council of Defense Gathers; Governor Speaks,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 18 May 1917.

¹⁰ Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 8. J.F. Carl

council members (usually bankers, businessmen, ranchers, judges, and attorneys) able to spare the time and resources to devote to State Council duties.¹¹

Members of the Texas State CoD operated from their respective residences around the state and remained active throughout the war. While there was some effort to centralize State Council operations, this arrangement lasted only from June until August 1917 when the legislature reclaimed the CoD's designated room in the state capitol building in Austin. From this point on, the State Council of Defense never operated from a centralized location.¹² Secretary J.F. Carl returned full-time to San Antonio and continued to employ stenographer Grace Small to work in his office in the Bedell Building.¹³

After council members were named, they had a difficult time knowing their exact tasks and responsibilities. Hoping to gain some insight, selected men traveled to Washington, D.C. in early September 1917. In a confidential letter to Secretary Carl, CoD member Leon Sonfield admitted that their trip had been a waste of time. "I started out by saying that we of the West had come to the wise men of the East for instructions," he stated and "that we were not there in the spirit of complaints . . . but that we thought at the inception of the State Councils of Defense that we were to be the instrumentality through which the National Council would act in all matters within the State."¹⁴ He could not

was the only member of the State Council who earned money for his work. See: Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held at Dallas, Texas, on Monday, April 22nd, 1918," located with all Minutes in one bradded folder, Folder "Drouth [sic] Relief Material- (Campaigns, Contributions & Committees)," Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹William J. Breen, "The North Carolina Council of Defense during World War I, 1917-1918," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (January, 1973), 7. Gerald Senn, "Molders of Thought, Directors of Action: The Arkansas Council of Defense, 1917-1918," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Autumn 1977): 283.

¹²The Texas State Council of Defense had been allowed the temporary use of the Office of the Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives. Letter, [Unknown] to A.J. Owsley, 12 June 1917, Folder "Owsley, Alvin C." Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Grace Small, 24 July 1917, Folder "Small, Grace," Box 2J397, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³Letter, Grace Small to Joseph Hirsch, 12 June 1917, Folder "J.F. Carl, Secretary-Council of Defense," Box 2J363, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴Letter, Leon Sonfield to J.F. Carl, 24 September 1917, Folder "Co-Ordination of Societies (Misc)," Box

understand the continuous creation of agencies outside the Council of Defense system. According to this same letter, CoND director Walter Gifford expressed similar frustrations regarding newly-created federal organizations, some of which included the United States Food Administration, the War Industries Board, the United States Shipping Board, and the United States Fuel Administration.¹⁵

Gifford admitted to Sonfield that “he [Gifford] realized the difficulties under which we were working and said that we very much would have to be left to our own initiation and we should enter upon such work as we might deem proper within the State, whether the same came through the National Council or not. So there we are.”¹⁶ In essence, the State Councils could rely on the Council of National Defense for some guidance, but they were largely alone in deciding how best to interpret and implement their own policies within their specific states.

Unquestionably, one of the Texas State Council’s first duties was to create county Councils of Defense. To do so, state CoD members solicited from each county’s judge names of between seven to fourteen “patriotic” men and women. Secretary Carl then sent official membership certificates to each person chosen.¹⁷ When some counties failed to immediately organize, the State Council turned to public shaming. An undated document intended for publication had the embarrassing headline, “A Few Counties Seem to be Slackers in Defense Work.” The author commended two hundred Texas counties for their “patriotism” while he chastised Brown, DeWitt, Fannin, Guadalupe, Kaufman, Lamar,

2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁵ Letter, Leon Sonfield to J.F. Carl, 24 September 1917, Folder “Co-Ordination of Societies (Misc),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH. Olliff, 2.

¹⁶ Letter, Leon Sonfield to J.F. Carl, 24 September 1917, Folder “Co-Ordination of Societies (Misc),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁷ O.E. Dunlap and J.F. Carl to County Judge, 22 June 1917, Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

Orange, Parker, Potter, Tarrant, and Tom Green counties for not organizing. Secretary Carl blamed the county judges for failing to name county council members, and said that the counties “seem to have trouble getting men to serve because there is no pay in it and others because they are afraid it will cost their County something.”¹⁸

After the county councils organized, they were urged to form community Councils of Defense described as “neighborhood organizations made up of men, women and children [over the age of sixteen].”¹⁹ Local schools served as meeting places, and the National Council recommended that a school official be included in each community council. The purpose of this immense network was to quickly disperse information from federal officials down to states, counties, neighborhoods, and individuals.²⁰

In addition to forming lower Councils of Defense, the Texas State Council struggled to solve several financial issues. For instance, it had to find a way to finance its costs of operation. The Texas legislature allocated the Texas State Council of Defense \$10,000 for its first year, followed by two allotments totaling \$40,000 for the second fiscal year ending August 31, 1918, and \$25,000 for the last year.²¹ The amount each state's legislature provided for its State Council of Defense varied widely from \$1,500 to over \$1 million dollars.²² Secretary J.F. Carl noted the disparity in funding. “Nearly all the other states have

¹⁸ “A Few Counties Seem to be Slackers in Defense Work,” n.d., Folder “Newspaper Publicity,” Box 2J397, TWRC, DBCAH. See also, “Council Says Many Texans are Slackers State Defense Council Censures Failure to Serve in Some Counties. Yet Work is Effective Other States Adopt 'Texas Plan' and National Council Praises It,” unknown newspaper, n.d., Folder “Newspaper Publicity,” Box 2J397, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁹ Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. Walter G. Weaver, 24 May 1918, Folder “Woman's Committee,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁰ Council of National Defense, Bulletin, “The Development of Community Councils,” n.d., Folder “Community Councils,” Box 2J395,” TWRC, DBCAH.

²¹ Both the *Final Report* and an Austin newspaper reported that the Texas legislature allocated \$10,000 to the Texas state Council of Defense for its first year of operation. Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 43. “House is for Council of Defense: Rushed Through Under Suspension of Rules,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 12 May 1917.

²² Breen, “The North Carolina Council of Defense During World War I, 1917-1918,” 3-4.

large appropriations” he lamented, “while we have the largest state in the Union and the smallest appropriation. Two or three states have one and two million dollar appropriations. I care nothing for this if we can just get enough to do the essential things and that is why we want this money.”²³

Because the initial sum proved inadequate to buy postage required to mail CoD pamphlets and letters, Secretary Carl wrote to U.S. Senator Morris Sheppard (D-TX) asking that a bill be passed allowing councils the franking privilege to exempt the State Council from having to pay postage on correspondence.²⁴ In January 1918, members of Congress heard H.B. 7736, a bill to extend the franking privilege to the Council of National Defense as well as chairmen of the state councils. Carl estimated that if the State Council did not have to pay postage, it would save at least \$100 per month.²⁵

Thus, until federal funding could sponsor mailing costs, the Texas State Council requested donations (usually \$250) from county Councils of Defense.²⁶ When the Potter County CoD inquired why it should donate, Carl answered that the sum appropriated by the state legislature barely paid for basic necessities including members’ traveling expenses to attend meetings, employment of a stenographer, or making available government information.²⁷ To clarify his point, Carl stated that copying and distributing only one

²³ In this letter to Allen Early, Carl wrote that the CoD had been given fifteen thousand dollars (not ten thousand, as reported by other sources) for the first fiscal year. Letter, J.F. Carl to Allen Early, 13 November 1917, Folder “Potter County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁴ Letter, J.F. Carl to Morris Sheppard, 7 June 1917, Folder “Franking Privilege,” Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH. For more about Carl’s efforts on behalf of the Texas State Council of Defense to get the franking privilege, see: Letter, J.F. Carl to M.H. Wheat, 17 November 1918, Folder “Texas State Council of Defense,” Box 2J391, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁵ Bulletin No. 14, Texas State Council of Defense to the Various County Councils, 7 January 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁶ The initial letter sent to the county Councils of Defense had a blank place which was later filled in with a desired donation amount. See: Letter, J.F. Carl to the County Council, 14 September 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁷ Letter, Allen Early to J.F. Carl, 13 November 1917, Folder “Potter County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372,

publication sent from the Council of National Defense cost the State Council three thousand dollars. "Congress made no appropriation for this [copying]," said Carl, "and we were sent one copy and asked to print and distribute generally."²⁸ Most county Councils of Defense were able to raise their designated amount requested by the State Council. However, others donated less or no money because of a small population size or because they were suffering under harsh drought conditions.²⁹

In 1916, 1917, and 1918 parts of Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas experienced a devastating drought.³⁰ Contemporary reports stated that it affected more than one hundred western and southwestern Texas counties, with at least sixty of those experiencing severe conditions.³¹ A 1959 report to the Texas Board of Water Engineers confirmed the drought's severity. Surface water hydrologist Robert L. Lowery, Jr. divided the state into four equal vertical zones called West Texas (Brewster, Pecos, Ward, and Winkler counties and all counties west), Mid-West Texas (a vertical area immediately to the right of West Texas then extending east to San Antonio, south to Maverick and Dimmitt counties, and north to include

TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁸ Letter, J.F. Carl to Allen Early, 15 November 1917, Folder "Potter County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁹ The CoD requested the sum of \$250 from the Comal County Council of Defense. Letter, E.A. Eiband to M. F. Holm, 5 October 1917, "Comal County Council of Defense" Binder, John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas. Examples of other counties and amounts given include Cherokee County (gave \$250 in December 1917), and Colorado County which provided \$150 in February 1918. Letter, J.F. Carl to J.M. Bone, 27 December 1917, Folder, "Cherokee County Council of Defense [Folder #2 with ripped tab]," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, O.A. Zumwalt to J.F. Carl, 13 Feb. 1918, Folder "Colorado County Council of Defense, Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁰ "Text of Bill for Dry Relief: Complete Copy of Bill Introduced in Congress by Thos. L. Blanton. How Bill Will Work," *The Abilene Daily Reporter*, 17 December 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth334885/m1/1/zoom/?q=drouth>, accessed 21 June 2016.

³¹ Letter, W.W. Seley to Gulf Manufacturing & Lumber Co., 16 September 1918, Folder "Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund)," Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH. Letter, J.F. Carl to the County Council, 14 September 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; Turner, map located between p. 58 and 59. Robert L. Lowry, Jr., Bulletin 5914, "A Study of Droughts in Texas," December 1959, 14-15, <https://www.twdb.texas.gov/publications/reports/bulletins/doc/B5914/B5914.pdf>, accessed 1 December 2016.

all of the Panhandle area), the Mid-East (the section of the state between San Antonio and Houston, encompassing the Lower Rio Grande Valley), and East Texas (all land east of a vertical line extending north from Victoria County through Dallas County). Between 1889 and 1957, East Texas received an average of 43.1 inches of rainfall per year. However, in 1917, the area had only 27 inches. Mid-East Texas, meanwhile, received only half of its average rainfall, a record-low of 15.9 inches.³² The West Texas and Mid-West Texas mean of average rainfall was respectively 11.74 inches per year, and 20.89 inches. In 1917, West Texas had approximately six inches of rainfall while Mid-West Texas received a little more than ten inches.³³

County Councils of Defense from all around Texas looked to the State Council for resources and advice on how to withstand the drought. In August 1917, Dawson County CoD members asked State CoD secretary Carl where to get affordable feed and whether they might get it shipped to Lamesa by the train car load. “[Also] we would like to know,” wrote M. Shaw, “if this Council of Defense is not assisting the people in buying Flour [sic], meats, etc. in large quantities and distributing them out over the county in the cheapest way possible.”³⁴ In September 1918, the Coleman County Council of Defense sent to J.F. Carl a copy of a resolution whereby they requested “the enactment of some law or the establishment of some plan by which there can be loaned approximately \$500,000.00 to the farmers and laborers in this County” from either “the Government” or “private individuals” so that the people could make it through the winter.³⁵ Residents were desperate and they

³² The maps showing Lowery’s division of Texas into the four regions are on page 7 of his report. See: Lowery, Bulletin 5914, “A Study of Droughts in Texas,” 7, 10.

³³ As low as the rainfall amount was for West Texas in 1917, its year of minimum rainfall was 1910 when the area received only 4.2 inches of rain. Lowery, Bulletin 5914, “A Study of Droughts in Texas,” 7, 10, 15.

³⁴ Letter, M. Shaw to J.F. Carl, 1 August 1917, Folder “Dawson County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁵ Letter, Martin C. Woodward to J.F. Carl, 20 September 1918, Folder “Coleman County Council of Defense,”

looked to the Council of Defense system to help them.

Governor William P. Hobby and members of the State Council of Defense were well-aware of the severity and had discussed ways to ease the drought's devastation.³⁶ In early January 1918, a committee traveled to Washington, D.C. to request money for Texas farmers and ranchers. During the drought, between 50 and 100 thousand people abandoned the western part of the state, and tried to find work in cities.³⁷ Officials worried that future crops would be limited at a time when the federal government was calling for the production of more wheat, particularly for overseas shipment to the Allies. Thus, the Texas drought threatened to be a national problem.³⁸ The committee's request of \$50 million was denied, but Congress later passed a measure allotting \$5 million for "the drought affected area of the United States for the purpose of securing seed wheat."³⁹ This money was placed in Federal

Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁶ "Drouth Committee Meets November 30," *San Antonio Express*, 28 November 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph434322/m1/5/zoom/?q=%22drouth%20committee%22&resolution=2&lat=672&lon=1966>, accessed 1 December 2016. Members of the Drouth Relief Committee included: Governor William Hobby, W.W. Seley (Administrator of Relief Fund), James E. Lucy, A.C. Goeth, A.J. Eilers, George B. Dealy, T.S. Reed, P.L. Downs, T.H. Franklin, W.W. Turney, W.H. Fuqua, Joe S. Rice, Frank Kell, Tom Finty, Jr., and A.G. Carter. Seley, Eilers, Turney, Fuqua, and Kell were all State Council members. Letter W.W. Seley to Farmers Guaranty State Bank, 16 September 1918, Folder "Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund)," Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH. Senator John G. Willacy was Manager of the Fund Raising Campaign. Letter, J.C. Lemburg, Jr. to John G. Willacy, 16 September 1918, Folder "Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund)," Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁷ "Text of Bill for Dry Relief: Complete Copy of Bill Introduced in Congress by Thos. L. Blanton. How Bill Will Work," *The Abilene Daily Reporter*, 17 December 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph334885/m1/1/zoom/?q=drouth>, accessed 21 June 2016. "Serious Problem Now Confronting Farmers: Outside Assistance Needed to Purchase Seed for Planting—Scarcity of Feed," *The Daily Herald*, 13 October 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph643080/m1/2/>, accessed 22 June 2016; Federal Food Administration for Texas, "Report of Conference District Administrators Federal Food Administration for Texas," 9 and 10 August, 1918, p. 4, in Folder "Partial List of Colored Farmers of Texas," Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁸ Frank Kell, report, n.d., included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁹ "Drouth Relief Plans Discussed At Austin: Committee Appointed To Go To Washington To Urge Liberal Federal Aid," *The Dallas Morning News*, 4 January 1918; "State Aid Wanted in Drouth District: Federal Aid is Refused; Defense Council Holds a Meeting," *Brenham Daily Banner-Press*, 4 January 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph489939/m1/1/zoom/?q=drouth%20date:1918-1918>, accessed 5 February 2015; Frank Kell, Report, n.d., included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out*

Land Banks in Texas where it was most needed. However, it was only available to help those farmers and ranchers who had collateral to secure their loans.⁴⁰

Some aid also came from the Texas state legislature. In early March 1918, the legislature passed a bill appropriating money for each county in drought-affected areas to loan farmers.⁴¹ Although this measure helped a few residents, the requirements for borrowing were beyond the reach of many who “have now no security to offer.”⁴² In late September 1918, CoD members urged chairman Oscar Dunlap to ask Governor Hobby to call a special legislative session for the purpose of securing an additional \$5 million, an amount that would match that provided from the land banks.⁴³

The Drouth [sic] Relief Committee, led by Governor William Hobby and including several members of the Texas State Council of Defense, additionally made direct appeals to private citizens and businesses inside and outside of Texas. Beginning on September 17, 1918 and extending into October, state and local levels of the Council of Defense in cooperation with the state’s Woman’s Committee raised money for drought sufferers before the start of the next Liberty Loan.⁴⁴ J.F. Carl referred to the State Council’s participation in

by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919 (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁰ Letter, John G. Willacy to W.E. Long, 16 October 1918, Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴¹ Frank Kell to County Councils of Defense, n.d., Folder “Jefferson County Council of Defense,” Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴² Letter, John G. Willacy to W.E. Long, 16 October 1918, Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴³ Letter, D.J. Neill, John G. Kenedy, Henry Fox, Jr., Louis A. Adoue, S.P. Rice to O.E. Dunlap, 24 September 1918, Folder “Resolutions,” Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH; “108 to 10 House Passed Hobby’s 10-Mile Zone Bill,” *The Houston Post*, 5 March 1918, *The Portal to Texas History*, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph610135/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22drouth%20relief%20bill%22&resolution=3&lat=5690&lon=4218>, accessed 10 December 2016. This article claims that counties could request \$2,000,000. Kell’s letter said counties could only request up to \$30,000.

⁴⁴ The Woman’s Committee (WC) was created in April 1917 as a companion organization to cooperate with and work under the Council of National Defense. It had a network in place much like the Council of Defense system and is the subject of the second chapter of this dissertation. Letter, John G. Willacy to W.L. Hudspeth, 13 September 1918, Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to “Madam Chairman,” 7 October 1918, Folder “Woman’s Clubs & Committees,”

the effort as “the first real test of our usefulness and efficiency.”⁴⁵

Two of the businesses the Drouth Committee contacted included Kodak Eastman, and General Motors.⁴⁶ Governor Hobby, meanwhile, sent a personal telegram to Henry Ford explaining about the hard years of drought while simultaneously appealing to Ford's compassion. Hobby began the letter with flattery, noting Ford's “generous and public spirit and the aid you so often bestow upon deserving people.” Hobby then asked Ford to give “an honor loan,” for help in “relieving distress among women and children and help them remain on their little farms.”⁴⁷ A curt telegram from Ford's office saying he was out did not deter the committee. Instead, they penned another letter re-stating the dire situation and attempting to appeal to Ford's sense of competition by saying “quite a few automobile manufacturers and dealers are contributing,” one of which “stands at head of the list. We would feel grateful for the privilege of including in the list a contribution from your good self or from the firm which owes its splendid success to your genius.”⁴⁸ No reply was found.

It appears that as soon as the Drouth Relief Committee received money, it disbursed it to those counties in need. The county judge of Coleman County announced in the local

Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Gentlemen, 12 September 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH. Members of the Drouth Relief Committee included: Governor William Hobby, W.W. Seley (Administrator of Relief Fund), James E. Lucy, A.C. Goeth, A.J. Eilers, George B. Dealy, T.S. Reed, P.L. Downs, T.H. Franklin, W.W. Turney, W.H. Fuqua, Joe S. Rice, Frank Kell, Tom Finty, Jr., and A.G. Carter. Seley, Eilers, Turney, Fuqua, and Kell were all State Council members. Letter W.W. Seley to Farmers Guaranty State Bank, 16 September 1918, Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH. Senator John G. Willacy was Manager of the Fund Raising Campaign. Letter, J.C. Lemburg, Jr. to John G. Willacy, 16 September 1918, Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁵Letter, J.F. Carl to Gentlemen 12 September 1918, Folder “Van Zandt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J374, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁶Letter, W.W. Murphy to W.W. Seley, 25 September 1918, Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁷Telegram, W.P. Hobby and W.W. Seley to Henry Ford, n.d., Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁸Letter, “Administrator” and “Manager for Raising Drought Relief Funds” to Henry Ford, 26 September 1918, Folder “Councils of Defense (Drouth Relief Fund),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

newspaper that the committee had donated to their county \$1000.00 and that the Coleman County Council of Defense would help distribute funds.⁴⁹ In this direct aid to farmers and ranchers, more people benefitted sooner than if they had applied for aid through the Federal Land Banks.

County and community Councils of Defense proved their value to other campaigns including food conservation and production. The Texas State Council of Defense, in cooperation with the U.S. Food Administration under Herbert Hoover, Texas Food Administrator E.A. Peden, and the extension departments of both Texas A&M and the University of Texas, urged the lower county Councils of Defense to do everything they could to encourage food production and prevent waste.⁵⁰

In early 1918, the most visible effort for food conservation began in the form of the Food and Feed Production Campaign, instigated by the State Council of Defense in cooperation with Governor Hobby, and several organizations including the Portland Cement Association, the Texas Industrial Congress, various departments of the University of Texas, and many others.⁵¹ B.F. Johnson (a non-State Council member), served as campaign manager for the Food and Feed Campaign, and State Council member Frank Kell was chairman.⁵² W.S. Willis, head of the Colored Knights of Pythias, was appointed to lead the campaign among African Texans. In this position, Willis vowed to “visit twenty-four towns in the State stimulating interest among the [N]egroes in the cultivation and planting of war

⁴⁹ “\$1000 Drouth Fund to be Distributed Here,” The [Coleman] Democrat-Voice, 20 September 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph746217/m1/1>, accessed 22 June 2016.

⁵⁰ Bulletin No. 7, The Texas State Council of Defense to the Various County Councils, 20 October 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵¹ “Final Report of the Texas Food & Feed Production Campaign Respectfully Submitted by B.F. Johnson,” n.d., Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense from Jan to June 1918,” Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵² Letter, O.E. Dunlap to the Various Members of the County Council of Defense, 6 February 1918, Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense From Jan to June 1918,” Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH.

gardens.”⁵³

The purpose for the campaign was to “co-ordinat[e] all agencies for the work of securing the maximum production of food and feed crops in Texas” for the year of 1918.⁵⁴ Promoting the planting of war gardens was one component of the Food and Feed Production Campaign. Officials sent out pledge cards to members of the public “inviting them to become members of the Patriotic Garden League.”⁵⁵ Johnson reported that 165,000 garden pledge cards had been returned, their signers promising to start war gardens.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, city residents could also produce food through personal and community gardens. In March, April, and May of 1918, the CoND launched a war garden campaign calling for Americans to be more self-sufficient.⁵⁷ People were asked to plant gardens not only in their own yards, but also around their communities, in abandoned city lots, and schoolyards. In Texas, no single gender dominated garden work. For instance, a Boys' Council of National Defense in Dallas County focused its efforts on ensuring that everyone

⁵³ “Texas Negroes Called to Discuss Food Questions,” *Dallas Morning News*, 26 February 1918, NewsBank/Readex, America’s Historical Newspapers database, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=C4DG46TBMTQ2MDQyNTE2MC40MTU3MTk6MToxMjoxMjkuNy4xNTguNDM&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=1&p_docreft=v2:0F99DDB671832188@EANX-1068E1ED4EE0FD30@2421651-1068E1ED6E63AFBF@1-1068E1EEA2A83D52@Texas%20Negroes%20Called%20to%20Discuss%20Food%20Questions, accessed 8 February 2013.

⁵⁴ “Teams of Speakers Are Touring State,” *Orange Daily Leader*, 11 February 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph564718/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22food%20and%20feed%20campaign%22&resolution=3&lat=4409&lon=2613>, accessed 8 July 2016.

⁵⁵ “The State Press Will You or Won’t You,” *The Dallas Morning News* 13 February 1918, Readex, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=F55P51CJMTQ2ODIwOTA0Ni43OTU2NDg6MToxMjoxMjkuNy4xNTguNDM&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=2&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=2&p_docnum=2&p_docreft=v2:0F99DDB671832188@EANX-1068E1A484419191@2421638-1068E1A4E6DFF906@7-1068E1A694A2056E@The%20State%20Press, accessed 10 July 2016.

⁵⁶ “Final Report of the Texas Food & Feed Production Campaign Respectfully Submitted by B.F. Johnson,” n.d., Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense from Jan to June 1918,” Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁷ “Committee Found School Gardens Thriving,” *Houston Daily Post*, 12 May 1918.

planted a garden.⁵⁸ In Travis County, a public school agriculture teacher, W.N. Elam, along with Mary Ellis, an Austin home demonstration agent, specifically led the garden movement.⁵⁹

In addition to saving food, Texas farmers were urged to grow wheat and other grains in order to supply the United States as well as other countries. The State Council recommended that the wheat supply of 15,000,000 bushels be tripled in the next year.⁶⁰ Several thousand pledged to grow more food and feed crops.⁶¹

Texans were advised to conserve food resources by limiting their use of flour, sugar, and meat. State and local Councils of Defense censured individuals and businesses accused of not adhering to specified rationing guidelines. For instance, in February 1918, Jay A. Hughes of Jefferson County complained directly to E.A. Peden, Federal Food Administrator for Texas, that Fuller's Cafe in Port Arthur was not observing wheatless days. John M. Conley, the Jefferson County CoD chairman then got involved in the matter. The spokesman for Fuller's Cafe weakly countered that they had been observing the rationing days but that a "new waiter" was to blame for serving bread on the two days Hughes had visited the restaurant.⁶² It is uncertain what (if any) measures were taken against the establishment. During this same month, the Collin County Council of Defense called upon restaurants, hotels, and boardinghouses to observe the meatless and wheatless days that Herbert Hoover

⁵⁸ "Boys Will Meet Tonight and Plan for Gardening Campaign," *Dallas Morning News*, 11 January 1918.

⁵⁹ "Keep Your War Garden Record on This Table," *The[Austin] Statesman*, 12 May 1918.

⁶⁰ Letter, Food Supply & Conservation Committee State Council of Defense to Chairmen County Councils of Defense, n.d., included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶¹ "Final Report of the Texas Food & Feed Production Campaign Respectfully Submitted by B.F. Johnson," n.d., Folder "File Binder-Council of Defense from Jan to June 1918," Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶² Letter, Jay A. Hughes to E.A. Peden, 14 February 1918, Folder "Jefferson County-Council of Defense," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, John M. Conley to P.D. Binh, 25 February 1918, Folder "Jefferson County-Council of Defense," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Fuller's Cafe to Capt. [Illegible], 26 February 1918, Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

requested.⁶³

A successful harvest depended on the availability of laborers. During the war, Texas, like many Southern states, experienced the movement of blacks away from rural areas of the South into northern cities in search of better social and economic opportunities.⁶⁴ This migration worried those who depended on their labor.⁶⁵ Additionally, the federal Immigration Act of 1917 prevented the legal entry of many Mexican workers because of its literacy and head tax requirements.⁶⁶ When laborers became scarce, the Texas State Council of Defense did everything it could to ensure that Texas did not disappoint a nation and world dependent upon Texas foodstuffs. Texans expected African Americans and ethnic Mexicans to perform the necessary labor, and the Texas State Council of Defense took steps to procure and retain members of these groups.⁶⁷ However, there was an additional labor source to which the State Council turned: teen boys.

By July 1917, forty states already had in place a system of sending boys where their labor was needed including factories and farms.⁶⁸ The next month, William E. Hall, the national director of the Boys' Working Reserve (BWR), an organization under the Department of Labor, met with leaders of the Boy Scouts of America, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and the Boys' Club Federation among others, to discuss how they could use city boys to ease the agricultural labor shortage resulting from the loss of

⁶³E.W. Kirkpatrick to "Sir," 21 February 1918, Folder "Collin County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁴ Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 126.

⁶⁵ For details, please see Chapter 5 regarding African Americans.

⁶⁶ Mark Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), 24.

⁶⁷ Detailed discussion regarding the State Council's perception of and relationship with ethnic Mexicans and African Americans are the subjects of Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation.

⁶⁸ William E. Hall, "Boys' Working Reserve," 26 July 1917, Folder "U.S. Boys Reserve," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

young men going to war. The leaders planned to create more training camps around the country by the summer of 1918.⁶⁹ Once established, these camps operated under the joint direction of the individual state Councils of Defense and their Boys' Working Reserve director. During the war, Texas had several successive state directors of the BWR including T.C. Jennings, Homer L. Hoisington, and H.H. Williamson.⁷⁰

In the summer of 1917 Texas initiated its Boys' Working Reserve. During this time, a few Travis County teens journeyed to Enid, Oklahoma to work in the wheat fields.⁷¹ Other boys from the area went to work in peach orchards in Athens, Texas.⁷² By the next summer, more camps were in place, and at least three thousand Texas teens participated in the BWR. Evidence is lacking as to whether or not African American teens could enroll, but a questionnaire from Washington, D.C. indicates their participation in other states.⁷³ Most Texas teens in the BWR went to one of four places: North Texas wheat fields, Grayson County cotton fields, Lindale (Smith County) blackberry farms, or ship yards in Orange.⁷⁴

Before boys did any agricultural work, however, officials took measures to ensure their physical and moral well-being. Charles Saville, consultant to the State Council's

⁶⁹Department of Labor, "Report on Boys' Working Reserve," 7 August 1917, Folder "U.S. Boys Reserve," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁰In an undated brochure about the Boys' Working Reserve, T.C. Jennings is listed as State Director for Texas. See: "Making Boy Power Count Young Men in American Helping in Field and Factory to Win the War," brochure (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Boys' Working Reserve, Department of Labor, n.d.), Folder "Boys' Working Reserve," Box 2J363, TWRC, DBCAH. Homer L. Hoisington appears to have been appointed State Director by J.F. Carl in February 1918. See: Letter, Homer L. Hoisington to Joseph Hirsch, 27 February 1918, Folder "Boys' Working Reserve," Box 2J363, TWRC, DBCAH. "Making Boy Power Count," brochure (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Boys' Working Reserve, U.S. Employment Service, Department of Labor, n.d.), Internet Archive, https://archive.org/stream/makingboypowerco00unit/makingboypowerco00unit_djvu.txt, accessed 4 September 2016.

⁷¹"High School Boys to be Harvesters," *The [Austin] Statesman*, 7 June 1917.

⁷²"Houston Boys Will Work at Shipyards," *Houston Daily Post*, 3 May 1918.

⁷³Letter, Federal State Director [Homer L. Hoisington] to H.W. Lewis, 27 April 1918, with following enclosure "Report Blank for County Directors," Folder "U.S. Boys Reserve," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH. The questionnaire included the following two questions: "Have you enrolled any negro boys?" and "Could negro boys be placed on farms in your county?"

⁷⁴Letter, Homer L. Hoisington to J.F. Carl, 11 June 1918, Folder "U.S. Boys Reserve," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

Sanitation and Medicine Committee, prepared a booklet called “War Time Message to Texas Boys” that was given to each participant of the BWR.⁷⁵ Additionally, the teens were immunized against Typhoid Fever. The intended work destination was examined thoroughly to ensure that the farm provided a “wholesome,” healthy, and safe environment. Inspectors checked milk and water for signs of contamination, and even noted the amount of air space provided for each boy.⁷⁶

High schools, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), various boys' clubs, and churches spread the word about the Boys' Working Reserve, often portraying it as something in which boys should enlist to fulfill a wartime obligation.⁷⁷ An article in the *Houston Daily Post* declared that boys in the BWR “will play an important part in the winning of the war.”⁷⁸ Meanwhile, President Woodrow Wilson publicly urged enrollment, calling it “a privilege.”⁷⁹

Various documents sometimes referred to the organization as a “boys’ army,” bringing to mind military themes of manhood, patriotism, and glorification of some wartime

⁷⁵Letter, J.F. Carl to Homer L. Hoisington, 20 June 1918, Folder “U.S. Boys Reserve,” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH. At this time, it is uncertain how long Saville was a member of the State Council of Defense. He is not listed in early minutes, but he is mentioned as being a member in an April 1918 newspaper article. See: untitled article that begins “Orange with its city council of defense,” *Orange Daily Leader*, 12 April 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph563274/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22charles%20saville%22&resolution=3&lat=2740&lon=1854>, accessed 1 December 2016; “Two Important Conventions,” *San Antonio Express*, 19 June 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430293/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22charles%20saville%22&resolution=2&lat=2046.3628854732078&lon=1535.204432820981>, accessed 1 December 2016.

⁷⁶J.F. Carl, Document “Health Protection for U.S. Boys Working Reserve,” Box 2J398, Folder “File Binder—Council of Defense June 1918,” TWRC, DBCAH; W. S. Gifford and Arthur H. Fleming, “Bulletin No. 93 Labor: Boys' Working Reserve—Health,” 1 May 1918, Folder “U.S. Boys Reserve,” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁷Enclosure, “Enrollment Week,” included in letter George Porter to The Publicity Managers of Certain State Councils of Defense, 7 March 1918, Folder “(Misc.) Correspondence on Boys Working Reserve, Woman's Comm.,” Box 2J394, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁸“Houston Boys Will Work at Shipyards: Call Comes for 25 Boy Reservists for Summer Work at Orange,” *Houston Daily Post*, 3 May 1918. According to this article, boys would be paid between \$3.50 and \$5 per day.

⁷⁹“President Asks Boys to Help Produce Food: Calls on Unemployed Over Sixteen Years to Enroll in Reserve,” *Dallas Morning News*, 16 March 1918.

objective (in this case, successfully completing a specified agricultural or industrial job). An article in *The [Austin] Statesman* imbued BWR service with traits of masculinity by introducing all boys mentioned with what position they played on the school's football team.⁸⁰ Thus, not only were the boys portrayed as local stars on the football field, but they were heroes in the fields of war service.

With the shortage of men available for various kinds of jobs, the federal government sought to fill these jobs, particularly in various war industries. One of the first organizations created in early 1918 was the United States Public Service Reserve (PSR) whose goal was to move men from “non-essential” war work into crucial war industries such as ship-building, coal, oil, and lumber where substantial labor was needed.⁸¹ H.W. Lewis of Smithville, served as Federal State Director for Texas. The PSR, the United States Employment Service, and the Texas State Council of Defense cooperated in recruitment efforts.⁸² The PSR particularly sought to help those men forced to leave drought-stricken areas by placing them in temporary jobs until conditions improved enough for them to return home.⁸³ Men in need of work were not the only ones to benefit from governmental efforts to find them jobs.

Beginning around September 1918, the United States Employment Service started a campaign to enroll fifteen to twenty million women in the Women's Working Reserve.

According to H.W. Lewis, the ideal candidates were “able-bodied” and “without

⁸⁰“High School Boys to be Harvesters,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 7 June 1917.

⁸¹Letter, W.B. Wilson to William Hobby, 11 January 1918, Folder “U.S. Public Service Reserve,” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, H.W. Lewis to Southern Dry Dock Ship-Building Company, Dougherty National Ship-Building Company, Beaumont Ship-Building and Dry Dock Company, Lone Star Ship-Building Company, and McBride and Law Ship-Building Company, 11 January 1918, Folder “Material on Shipbuilding,” Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸²Letter, H.W. Lewis to O.E. Lewis and J.F. Carl, 4 March 1918, Box 2J362, Folder “U.S. Public Service Reserve,” TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, W.S. Gifford and George F. Porter to O.E. Dunlap, 26 January 1918, Folder “Material on Shipbuilding,” Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸³Letter, H.W. Lewis to Examiners in Charge, District Directors, U.S. Public Reserve, Chairmen Community Labor Boards, Enrollment Officers, U.S. Public Service Reserve, 24 August 1918, Folder “U.S. Public Service Reserve,” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

encumbrances more vital to humanity than war work.”⁸⁴ In other words, the U.S. Employment Service wanted healthy, unmarried, childless women. In the quote above, the superior place of “home and family” is obvious since the word “encumbrances” clearly refers to caretaker duties such as those a mother would have. Lewis provided yet another interesting perspective on gender in a bulletin discussing insufficient manpower. “[W]e will be compelled to sweep aside the pride which has heretofore kept America's womanhood from selling her labor in the open market, and ask her for patriotic reasons to don the 'overall' (symbolic of work) and join the Industrial Army.”⁸⁵ The first part of this quote expresses great shame for having to ask women to work in industry, seemingly comparing a woman “selling her labor in the open market” with a prostitute who sells her body. However, even this great shame could be forgiven if done in the name of patriotism. This quote offers another interesting gender reference as well. Propaganda often called for women to “enlist” in the “Industrial Army,” or “the Food Army” in efforts to invoke a sense of duty to country. Just as men went to war, so too could the women feel as though they were part of a warrior class fighting the enemy on their own terms. The juxtaposition of “women” with the notion of “army” succeeded in giving the women a feeling of belonging to a powerful organization, and provided a sense of urgency, cooperation, and importance to those particular efforts in which they were recruited.

Women had several opportunities to help in the war effort, particularly in food conservation efforts, and calls for nurses. However, women and men both found that the war

⁸⁴P.S.R. Bulletin No. 27, H.R. Lewis to District Directors, Chairmen County Labor Boards, Enrollment Officers, U.S. Public Service Reserve, Examiners in Charge, U.S. Employment Service, 3 September 1918, Folder “U.S. Public Service Reserve,” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁵P.S.R. Bulletin No. 20, H.R. Lewis to Chairmen Community Labor Boards, Enrollment Officers, U.S. Public Service Reserve, State of Texas, 5 September 1918, Folder “U.S. Public Service Reserve,” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

provided an atmosphere conducive for implementing many social changes that progressives had long sought, including the elimination of vice districts. When preventing sexually transmitted diseases became a war time campaign to keep young men healthy and in good fighting form, the Council of Defense waged a war against vice.

The Council of Defense system began educating soldiers about venereal diseases using pamphlets, live speakers, and slide presentations, and fought to banish brothels in all counties within a certain radius of soldiers stationed in cantonments. The Committee for Civilian Cooperation in Combating Venereal Diseases (CCCCVD), a special committee created by the CoND, led the campaign. Comal County, located between Bexar and Travis counties was one with which the Committee for Civilian Cooperation worked because of the proximity to the San Antonio Army camps. The Comal County Council of Defense, in constant correspondence with the CCCCVD, succeeded in shutting down the local brothel.⁸⁶ Elsewhere, efforts were not as successful.

William H. Zinnser led efforts to keep soldiers safe while living in cantonments. A member of the Committee on Venereal Diseases (under the CoND), then later director of the Social Hygiene Division Section on Men's Work, Zinnser reported in 1918 that Bexar County had been hopelessly uncooperative in upholding new health laws passed on June 26. According to Zinnser, "One of the fundamental purposes of the Texas State Health Law above mentioned, was to make possible the quarantine of all persons, particularly women of the prostitute class who 'have or are reasonably suspected of having Syphilis, Gonorrhoea, or Chancroid.'" While city officials seemed to be cooperating to enforce the quarantine, county officials were not. Zinnser expressed ire against the lawyers and one unnamed judge

⁸⁶Letter, William H. Zinnser to E.A. Iband [sic], 11 February 1918, John D. Rightmire Collection.

who repeatedly released the accused women back into the public realm. Zinnser equated officials' lax enforcement with "do[ing] the Kaiser's work" and complained further that already there had been 80,000 cases of venereal diseases that the Army had to treat and that most of these soldiers had the diseases before recruitment.⁸⁷

The Texas State Council of Defense also made a point of trying to eliminate other kinds of diseases. The Health and Sanitation Committee of the State Council in cooperation with the State Board of Health, published a series of "Health Hints" in local newspapers. These columns insisted that Texans should keep themselves healthy and do what they could to maintain proper health conditions in the name of patriotism and duty. One column in the *Brenham Daily Banner-Press*, for instance, told of a mill in east Texas unable to operate at full production capacity because of malaria among the workers. The article ended with the statement "Preventing unnecessary sickness will help win the war," and asked of the reader, "Are you doing your share?"⁸⁸ The author of another article begged the public to aid "[t]he mothers and fathers of our boys who go to the front to fight for their country." It emphasized the idea of "duty" and cautioned, "Do not be a slacker."⁸⁹

In Dallas, reported cases of malaria, typhoid fever, and diphtheria had decreased in the years since 1914. However, tuberculosis (TB) was still a large problem. Health officials urged an expansion of the current tubercular hospital, as well as construction of a segregated ward for African Americans because of their high rates of TB. Not to be confused with

⁸⁷Letter, William H. Zinnser to J.F. Carl, 20 August 1918, Folder "War Camp Service," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH. William H. Zinnser had been involved in the Committee on Venereal Diseases, part of the Committee for Civilian Cooperation in Combating Venereal Diseases, under the Council of National Defense. The War Department then took over this work and re-named it the "Social Hygiene Division of Men's Work." See: Letter, William H. Zinnser to Mess. Eiband & Fischer, 20 October 1917, John D. Rightmire Collection.

⁸⁸Texas State Council of Defense, "Health Hints," *Brenham Daily Banner-Press*, 27 November 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph489325/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22health%20hints%22&resolution=3&lat=2599&lon=1884>, accessed 1 September 2016.

⁸⁹"Defense Council Asks State-Wide Move Campaign," *The [Austin] Statesman*, 7 June 1917.

worry for the well-being of African-Americans, the article clarified its point: “Negroes in Dallas constitute more than 15 per cent of the total population, and we should not forget that they are the ones who cook our food, wash our clothes and care for our children.”⁹⁰

Other major problems in Dallas included measles and whooping cough. To combat all of these, officials hoped for more visiting nurses, more clinics, better hygiene in the home, more education for parents, and “improvements in the economic status of the parents.”⁹¹ At an Austin meeting of the local Housewives’ League, a Miss Heflin of the University of Texas stressed similar points, noting that many working-class families had difficulty providing nourishing food for their children. The Housewives’ League discussed child nutrition, a theme emphasized on the national level by the Woman’s Committee.⁹²

An equally urgent problem common to all levels of the Council of Defense and the Woman’s Committee was the same menace plaguing other states—the influenza epidemic. According to scholar John Barry, “from mid-September to early December 1918,” this illness “killed more people in a year than the Black Death of the Middle Ages killed in a century.”⁹³ By October 1918, many state and local council members in Texas either had the flu or were caring for sick family members. Elnora Cope wrote from Karnes County that several people there were ill and that Louise Bergfeld Tewes, chair of Child Welfare work in the county, had died ten days earlier.⁹⁴ Willie Akers George of Cameron County asked her

⁹⁰“Health Conditions in Dallas Improving: Preventing Sickness and Death High Form of Patriotism,” *Dallas Morning News*, 1 January 1918, America’s Historical Newspapers, <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/iw>

⁹¹Charles Saville, “Health Conditions in Dallas Improving: Preventing Sickness and Death High Form of Patriotism,” *Dallas Morning News*, 1 January 1918.

⁹²“Enthusiastic Meeting Held by Housewives,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 8 May 1918.ia

⁹³John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (New York: Viking, The Penguin Group, 2004), 5.

⁹⁴Letter, Mrs. Jesse T. Cope to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 16 December 1918, Folder “Council of National Defense Woman’s Committee,” Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH. Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Karnes County, Texas, “Jessie Elnara Cope,” Page 30, Sheet 2B, House [blank], Dwelling 35, Family 35, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 28 August 2016. Thirteenth Census of the United States:

friend to inform WC field secretary, Allie Wilson to say that George had not answered her letters because George's only child had recently succumbed to the flu; the grief-stricken George no longer wished to be her unit's county chairman.⁹⁵ According to Elva T. Rogers of the same county, the epidemic was so bad in their area, "Red Cross rooms have been closed for more than a month. . . . People are afraid to get together."⁹⁶ In Texas, the flu raged on into January 1919, continuing to affect Council of Defense work.⁹⁷ In Martin County the citizens could not meet because out of approximately three hundred residents, one-hundred and thirty-five were ill.⁹⁸ No person or class remained unscathed; Dora H. Fleming, chair of the Woman's Committee in Texas, suffered its effects in 1919.⁹⁹ Allie Wilson urged the women to deal with the flu and incorporate its eradication into their work. "[I]n short," advised Wilson, "Whatever your unit finds to do in the way of public welfare work is Council of Defense work, and you will report it as such when the time comes."¹⁰⁰

It should be clear that during the war there were not many aspects of life that the Council of Defense system did not touch. The Texas State Council of Defense had to contend with natural crises including the drought and the rapid spread of influenza, as well

1910 Population, Karnes County, Texas, "Elnora J. Cope," Page 76, Sheet 1A, House [blank], Dwelling 9, Family 9, Ancestry.com, accessed 28 August 2016. Death information for "Louise Tewes," in "U.S. Evangelical Lutheran Church of America Records, 1875-1940," 287, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 December 2016.

⁹⁵Letter, Gussie Scott Chaney to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 24 November 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Cameron County, Texas, "Willie A. George," Page 25, Sheet 25A, House [blank], Dwelling 547, Family 549, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 December 2016; "Mrs. Willie Akers George," in "Texas Death Certificates, 1903-1982," Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 December 2016.

⁹⁶Letter, Elva T. Rogers to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 10 November 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁷Letter, Unsigned [Likely from Mrs. Reese Wilson] to Ruth Wilson, 16 January 1919, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁸Letter, Mrs. E.R. Wolcott to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 10 January 1919, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee, Bulletins & Circulars," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁹Letter, Dora H. Fleming to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 9 January 1919, Folder "Woman's Committee Miscellaneous, Minutes of Meetings, etc.," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁰Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. E.R. Walcott [sic], 16 January 1919, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

as those duties laid out specifically by the Council of National Defense. In particular, all levels of the Council of Defense were supposed to help other organizations including the U.S. Food Administration, the Red Cross, and the U.S. Treasury Department. Promoting the sale of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps was perhaps the most visible activity.

The Texas State Council's Publicity Committee under Joseph Hirsch made sure the general public was informed of various Council of Defense efforts including the publication of CoD announcements in newspapers across the state.¹⁰¹ Hirsch also was in charge of the state's Four Minute Men, an organization shared by both the CPI and the Council of Defense. These men (and women) worked in their own counties reciting prepared four-minute speeches about patriotism, Liberty Bonds, and other government-designated topics. Publicity avenues included churches, movie theaters, and other public gatherings.¹⁰² Whereas the Four Minute Men were volunteers, the State Council employed specific speakers to engage particular audiences. For instance, the State Council hired Colonel Jesús Franco to bolster Mexican American patriotism, Professor J.E. Clayton to reach African Americans, and Professor C.K. Knizek to work with Texas Czechs.¹⁰³

One of the first actions the State Council's Military Affairs Committee took was helping to promote the Selective Service Act, passed on May 18, 1917 that required men between the ages of 21 and 30 years of age to register for the draft.¹⁰⁴ During subsequent draft days that occurred in June, August, and September 1918, various levels of the Councils

¹⁰¹Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 11.

¹⁰² Bulletin, "Four Minute Men," W.S. Gifford to The Several State Councils of Defense," 15 June 1917, Folder "List of Picture Shows & Correspondence," Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Joseph Hirsch to The Chairman of the County Council Addressed, 28 May 1918, Folder "4 Minute Men-Washington," TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰³Letter, Gus Emler to Whom This May Concern, 28 September 1918, Folder "Mexican Speaker," Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.E. Clayton to The County Council of Defense of Fayette County, 16 September 1918, Folder "Fayette County Council of Defense," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, R.G. Crosby to J.F. Carl, 6 September 1918, Folder "Travis County Council of Defense," Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁴Oran Elijah Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense," 39-40.

of Defense did what they could to aid the draft boards.¹⁰⁵ The county counterparts helped local draft boards and exemption boards whenever they needed assistance. For example, in April 1918 the Texas State Council of Defense (prompted by the National Council) sent a letter to county councils imploring them to help their local draft boards with transcribing and gathering occupational cards. Included in the circular was the warning that until this task was accomplished, the “United States Army must wait for vitally needed skilled workmen.” The Council of National Defense was quoted as calling the delay “a national emergency.”¹⁰⁶

This Military Committee also helped the National Guard. State Council members urged recruitment but also tried to keep up morale once the men were members.¹⁰⁷ In September 1917, committee chairman Robert L. Ball received a letter from fellow member Alvin C. Owsley concerned about the separation of National Guardsmen from their original commanders and Texas units. Owsley realized this separation out of state units negatively affected the morale of the men so he contacted U.S. Senators Morris Sheppard, and Charles Culberson, and Congressman Daniel Garrett in an effort to have them intervene.¹⁰⁸ Robert Ball then wrote a letter to Congressman John Nance Garner in favor of Owsley’s

¹⁰⁵ Gerald Shenk, *Work or Fight: Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 5. Bulletin No. 39, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils of Defense, 19 August 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁶ Bulletin No. 20, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 10 April 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH. Bulletin No. 5, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 1 October 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁷ Turner, “History of the Texas State Council of Defense,” 45-46; Bulletin No. 23, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 25 April 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁸ Letter, Alvin C. Owsley to R.L. Ball, 18 September 1917, Folder “Military Committee,” Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Alvin C. Owsley to O.E. Dunlap, 28 June 1917, Folder “Military Committee,” Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

suggestion.¹⁰⁹ While it is uncertain whether or not Texas National Guard members were allowed to stay together if their unit was activated, Owsley and Ball made an effort to take care of these men. The State Council offered its services to the Adjutant General to recruit for the National Guard as well as to the Army to help with anything they might need, including finding deserters, and providing wholesome recreation for soldiers on leave.¹¹⁰

The duty of the State Council's State Protection Committee was to ensure the safety of Texans and their resources. In the summer of 1917, members of the Farmers and Laborers' Protective Association (FLPA) in north Texas publicly resisted the draft. This group organized in 1915 with the original intent of serving as a cooperative for farmers. However, by 1917, State Council members suspected it to have ties to the International Workers of the World (IWW).¹¹¹ In May the Texas State Council of Defense was already aware of the group though it is uncertain what actions council members took (if any). However, by June of 1917, dozens of FLPA members were indicted for "conspiracy against the United States."¹¹²

Although the FLPA threat appeared to be in check by August, there was yet more trouble reported to the Texas State Council of Defense. On August 1, 1917 Shelby County

¹⁰⁹ Letter, R.L. Ball to John N. Garner, 28 September 1917, Folder "Military Committee," Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁰ Bulletin No. 109, "Army and Navy: Detection of Deserters and Delinquents," Council of National Defense to the Several State Councils of Defense, 19 August 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Elbert M. Vail, 25 June 1917, Folder "Military Committee," Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹¹ Joe R. Baulch, "Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association," Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vb01>, accessed June 25, 2016.

¹¹² "Many Called In Plot Prosecution: Witnesses Come From Many North Texas Counties," *The [Austin] Statesman*, 27 May 1917; "Fifty-Five Texans Held as Plotters," *The Seminole Sentinel*, 14 June 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph555621/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22Farmers%20and%20laborers%20protective%22%20date:1916-1919>, accessed 11 May 2016. "Expect More Arrests," *Temple Daily Telegram*, 26 May 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph473861/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22Farmers%20and%20laborers%20protective%22%20date:1916-1919>, accessed 11 May 2016.

judge and county CoD chairman, T.H. Postell wrote, “The Socialists of this section have made great threats and are raising funds so I am informed, to contest ‘draft law.’” He then asked, “Has the County Council of Defense any authority to report these parties or to issue statements warning the people to beware of such propaganda?”¹¹³ State Council secretary J.F. Carl replied that he was sending Col. Tom Ball of the Legal Defense Committee a copy of Postell’s letter. “My judgment is,” advised Carl, “that you will be entirely within your rights and duties in taking whatever steps are necessary to stop these obstruction measures at this time. This is no time for foolishness and my method in a case of this kind would be, to act for the good of the country and then find out afterwards, whether it was legal. But I am asking Col. Ball to give you his views.”¹¹⁴

The State Council of Defense also made attempts to secure the state’s valuable ports, as well as the Southern border Texas shared with Mexico. In the summer of 1917 when U.S. troops moved out of Galveston, State Council members realized the need to protect the city, as well as the oil-rich, coastal areas of Beaumont and Port Arthur. Thus, the State Council’s Military Committee resolved to contact Washington officials in order to get some federal troops returned to those areas.¹¹⁵ Along the Texas/Mexico border, State Council members urged an expanded Texas Ranger force to discourage raids and banditry prompted in part by the Mexican Revolution. In fact, CoD member James Callan felt so strongly that the Rangers were necessary that he offered to pay them from his own money if there was no funding available from the state. One of the actions the Texas State Council took was to have brush

¹¹³Letter, T.H. Postell to J.F. Carl, 1 August 1917, Folder “Shelby County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁴Letter, J.F. Carl to T.H. Postell, 3 August 1917, Folder “Shelby County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁵“Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in Austin, Texas, June 1, 1917,” located with all Minutes in one bradded folder, Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material- (Campaigns, Contributions & Committees),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

cleared away from sections of the Rio Grande River in order to reduce hiding places for suspected bandits.¹¹⁶

Since the number of Texas Rangers and State Council members was limited, the State Council of Defense sought to add more manpower in the form of armed civilians organized to keep watch in guard units. The Texas State Council of Defense urged county Councils of Defense to organize Home Guards as a show of force as well as to guard residents and resources in their localities. Therefore, in October 1917 S.B. No. 8 was approved by the Texas legislature. This act authorized the creation of Home Guards “under the direction of the commissioners [sic] court of the county.”¹¹⁷ The next month, the Texas State Council informed county Councils of Defense that they should organize local Home Guards composed of volunteer men (not necessary members of the county or community Councils of Defense) who either brought their own arms and ammunition, or else had these supplied by the commissioners’ court. They were under the authority of the local sheriff who could call them to service at any time.¹¹⁸ Membership numbers in these units varied. Wharton County, for example, organized its Home Guard in January 1918 and had 28 members ready for a “first call” and 26 members available for a “second call,” or “reserve” status.¹¹⁹ The Dallas Home Guard had 500 men; Travis County had a similar number of 425 members.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶“Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense Held in Austin, Texas Thursday and Friday, March 7th and 8th., 1918.” located with all Minutes in one bradded folder, Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material- (Campaigns, Contributions & Committees),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁷“Providing for the Creation and Regulation of Home Guards Under the Direction of County Commissioners’ Courts and Authorized Appropriations by Counties for the Support of Such Guards,” enclosure with Bulletin No. 9, J.F. Carl to The Various County Councils, 14 November 1917, Folder “Hidalgo Correspondence- Defense Council,” Box 2J370.

¹¹⁸ Bulletin No. 9, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 14 November 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁹“Organize Home Guard for Wharton County: \$1,200 Appropriated for the Purchase of Arms And Ammunition,” newspaper clipping, n.d., Folder “Wharton County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁰“Dallas Home Guard Mobilizes on Call: Detachments Placed at Fire Alarm Boxes and Stations Drill Several Hours,” *The Dallas Morning News*, 10 January 1918. “4 Alleged Disloyal Acts Are Considered by the Home

Although the existence of the Council of Defense system relied heavily on the ability to cooperate with other organizations, there were measures taken to prevent overlap in war service. Early on, the county councils struggled with other societies regarding how the war work was to be divided. For instance, in November 1917, Bexar County's CoD chairman F.E. Scobey unsuccessfully tried to resign his position as well as his membership in the Bexar County CoD because he felt that other organizations were monopolizing war work.¹²¹ A few months later, Scobey passionately reiterated his point to J.F. Carl: "I dislike very much to be the Chairman of this Council because everything the Council is supposed to do is being done by someone else, and I do not care to be held responsible as Chairman, unless you get some co-ordination."¹²² In June 1918, Carl was still trying to organize the Bexar County CoD.¹²³ He finally resorted to asking Arthur H. Fleming, member of the Council of National Defense, to write to the chairmen of Red Cross, and War Savings Stamp work in San Antonio to convince them to cooperate with the Bexar County Council of Defense and relinquish some of the power they so jealously guarded.¹²⁴

In an effort to prevent confusion resulting from an abundance of organizations doing war work, the Texas State Council of Defense discouraged the formation of new patriotic organizations and refused to endorse societies not affiliated with the Council of Defense system. When a group of San Antonio women decided to create a war-work organization in honor of General William Pershing, the Council of National Defense suggested to the

Guard Committee," *The [Austin] Statesman*, 8 May 1918.

¹²¹Letter, F.E. Scobey to James R. Davis, 19 November 1917, Folder, "Bexar County Council of Defense," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH. See also: Letter, F.E. Scobey to J.F. Carl, 28 November 1917, Folder, "Bexar County Council of Defense," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²²Letter, F.E. Scobey to J.F. Carl, 4 February 1918, Folder, "Bexar County Council of Defense," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²³Letter, J.F. Carl to J.M. Allerdyce, George L. Roark, W.W. Collier, Frank James, Paul Steffler, and Franz Groos, 11 June 1918, Folder, "Bexar County Council of Defense," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁴ Letter, J.F. Carl to Arthur H. Fleming, 13 June 1918, Folder "Bexar County Council of Defense," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

organization's founder that she should instead concentrate her efforts on helping the local Council of Defense, or Woman's Committee.¹²⁵

The federal government chose to raise billions of dollars to fund the war through the sale of War Savings Stamps and Liberty Bonds. In June 1917, Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall penned a publicity piece called "An Opportunity and a Privilege," to promote bond sales. He stressed the idea that "It would be a national misfortune . . . if all this tax-free wealth . . . should pass into the possession of the rich and well-to-do of the nation rather than in large measure into the hands of the ordinary average American citizen." He claimed buying bonds would be much preferable to being taxed, a burden which he said would fall to the lower classes. In addition to economic reasons for purchase, Marshall emphasized the patriotic benefit, the "privilege," of helping one's country.¹²⁶

The United States Department of the Treasury under William McAdoo directed the bond and stamp sales, and the state and local levels of the Councils of Defense helped.¹²⁷ In all, there were four Liberty Loan drives and one last Victory Loan campaign. For each, the amount of money the federal government wanted to raise was divided up and a quota designated for each state and county. Bell County, for instance, was expected to sell \$816,300.00 of bonds during the Fourth Liberty Loan drive.¹²⁸

Counties (and states) also had quotas for War Savings Stamps (WSS).¹²⁹ In order to

¹²⁵ Elliot D. Smith to Miss H.B. Fenwick, 9 October 1918, Folder "Womens Organization (National Defense)," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁶ Thomas R. Marshall, "An Opportunity and a Privilege," n.d., included with a letter from J.F. Carl to William Capps, 11 June 1917, Folder "Newspaper Publicity," Box 2J397, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁷ Bulletin No. 7, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 20 October 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁸ "Our Liberty Loan Quota Bell County Will Back Our Boys With the \$816,300 That Has Been Assigned to Us," *Temple Daily Telegram*, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth470086/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22speaker%27s%20bureau%22&resolution=2&lat=5339&lon=4018>, accessed 2 September 2016.

¹²⁹ "Minutes, Meeting of Hidalgo County Council of Defense at McAllen, Texas, October 8th, 1918. Eight

boost stamp sales, President Woodrow Wilson declared June 28, 1918 as War Savings Day. The campaign was under the Treasury Department's War Savings Committee.¹³⁰ In Texas, Governor William Hobby proclaimed that on June 28, all adults would meet at their local schoolhouses at 2 p.m. in order to pledge their patriotic and financial backing to the War Savings Stamps campaign. Texas's quota for WSS sales was \$91,000,000 for the year of 1918.¹³¹

For many Americans, buying stamps and bonds was a financial hardship. However, doing so served as an outward manifestation of loyalty and support for the war. An article in a Baylor County newspaper urged residents to be "patriots," and help the county fulfill its \$246,600 quota. The author claimed that every person had a "duty" to purchase a bond.¹³² In order to solidify the patriotic mood during the McLennan County War Savings Day, one local paper boasted that Four Minute Men "have been instructed by the State Council of Defense to visit and speak at the schoolhouses in their counties."¹³³ All county Councils of Defense were instructed by the State Council to "prepare the machinery of its organization for a united, effective and thorough campaign to assist in this work."¹³⁴

O'Clock, P.M.," Folder, "Hidalgo County Correspondence-Defense Council," Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH."¹³⁰ "Governor's Proclamation," *The West Weekly News and Times*, 21 June 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth587853/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22war%20savings%20day%22%20date%3A1917-1918>, accessed 9 June 2016. Louis Lipsitz served as state director of the National War Savings Committee. See: "Public is Urged to Observe Thrift Day," *The West Weekly News and Times*, 21 June 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth587853/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22war%20savings%20day%22>, accessed 9 June 2016.

¹³¹ Letter, J.F. Carl to All County Councils of Defense, n.d., Box 2J366, Folder "Bell County Council of Defense File No. 4—1918," TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Louis Lipsitz to J.F. Carl, 23 May 1918, Folder "War Savings Committee," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³² "June the 28th is the Day We Sign Up," *Baylor Banner*, 20 June 1918, Folder "U.S. Public Service Reserve," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³³ "Public is Urged to Observe Thrift Day," *The West Weekly News and Times*, 21 June 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth587853/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22war%20savings%20day%22>, accessed 9 June 2016.

¹³⁴ Bulletin No. 26, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 31 May 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919),

In addition to helping in the sale of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, county and community Councils of Defense also played a role in coercion. Many county and community Councils of Defense made it their business to know how much each person in their county had spent and whether they were buying according to their means. In one example, members of the Bosque County Council of Defense wrote to the Federal Reserve Bank in Dallas because they wanted to know how much money the German community of Womack had spent on Liberty Bonds. The Bosque County CoD chairman admitted to being suspicious of Womack residents.¹³⁵ If people were found to be lacking in financial support for the war, they faced one of several types of humiliation. Some had their names published in the local newspaper on a slacker list.¹³⁶ Others had to appear before their county Council of Defense to explain their inaction.¹³⁷

In many ways, the Texas State Council of Defense was complacent when Texans were harassed and publicly persecuted at the local level for not being patriotic enough. German Texans particularly suffered surveillance and suspicion, often from the members of

Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³⁵ Letter, Fred M. Huggins to J.H. Hoopes, 28 December 1917, Folder "Bosque County-Council of Defense," Box 2J367, TWRC, DBCAH. In Calhoun County, the county CoD decided to set up a card index system whereby they could note the valuation of each family's assets and keep track of how much people spent on War Savings Stamps, Liberty Bonds, donations to the Red Cross, etc. See: Minutes of Calhoun County Council of Defense, 3 July 1918, Folder "Calhoun County," Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³⁶ Slacker lists were not necessary published by the county's Council of Defense. The article about Moody, Texas did not indicate who was compiling or publishing the names of people who had not bought a significant amount of Liberty Bonds. In the case of El Paso, a "vigilance committee" was responsible for publishing the names of "slackers." The only name provided of one of the vigilance committee members, was not a member of the El Paso County Council of Defense. See: "The patriotic town of Moody. . .," *The Democrat-Voice*, 11 October 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph746717/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22bond%20slackers%22&resolution=3&lat=1471.650021416236&lon=1634.7900128497415>, accessed 30 June 1918; "Intends to Publish Slackers," *El Paso Herald*, 2 October 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph138753/m1/14/zoom/?q=%22bond%20slackers%22&resolution=2&lat=2176&lon=2794>, accessed 30 June 2016.

¹³⁷ For an example of a Council of Defense wanting to take action against individuals who were suspected of not buying according to their means, see: Letter, R.G. Nowlin to Fred M. Huggins, 10 April 1918, Folder, "Bosque County-Council of Defense," Box 2J367, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, County Food Administrator to R.G. Nowlin, 13 April 1918, Folder, "Bosque County-Council of Defense, Box 2J367, TWRC, DBCAH.

their local Councils of Defense (some of whom were ethnic Germans).¹³⁸ The relationships between the Texas State Council of Defense and various groups including German Texans cannot be separated from the interactions that took place between county and community councils and local residents. In some instances, women, ethnic Germans, and Mexican Americans, were members of these lower councils. The following chapters will illustrate the complexities that existed between the various groups and the Texas State Council of Defense.

¹³⁸ For details about the relationship between ethnic Germans and the Texas State Council of Defense, please see Chapter 3.

Chapter 2 The Texas State Division, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense¹

Several times, Allie Hendricks Wilson referred to the organizational structure of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs (TFWC) when explaining to Texas women how the Woman's Committee (WC) units related to organizations such as the Red Cross. As Field Secretary, Wilson was responsible for organizing women in a way similar to the Texas State Council of Defense's (CoD) method for creating county Councils of Defense. Likely, Judge J.F. Carl, secretary and manager of the State Council discussed with Wilson various ideas for organization since both worked out of San Antonio's Bedell Building.²

Wilson embodied the quintessential club woman, who in turn, characterized the majority of Woman's Committee members throughout the nation.³ When the United States entered the First World War, Wilson was a fifty-year-old widow who had been active in the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs for several years.⁴ Her visibility in this organization contributed to her being chosen as Field Secretary for the Texas Division in May 1918.⁵

¹ For an example of the correct title of this organization, see: Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. E.R. Wolcott, 21 June 1918, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas. (Hereafter cited as TWRC, DBCAH).

² Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919* (San Antonio: Privately Printed, 1919), 56.

³ Anne Firor Scott describes members of Sorosis, a New York club, as "educated and ambitious," and their activities "were described as intellectual, social, and educational." See: Ann Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 117; Judith N. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 22-24.

⁴ "U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925 for Allie Wilson," Roll 2027, Certificates 191476-191849," Ancestry.com, accessed 29 August 2016. Allie's husband, Reese Wilson, died in January 1916. See: "Texas, Death Certificates, 1903-1982 for Reuch [Reese] Wilson," Ancestry.com, accessed 29 August 2016; "Is Corresponding Secretary," *The [San Antonio] Daily Express*, 12 November 1908, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph442182/?q=%22mrs.%20reese%20wilson%22>, accessed 27 April 2015.

⁵ The plan for organizing each state's Woman's Committee called for creating a State Committee consisting of "the presidents, or their representatives, of all the state branches of the national organizations of women" as well as heads of state-specific organizations. Women not affiliated with any group were also to be represented, though these women were in the minority. This State Committee then elected officers for the Woman's Committee to be part of a smaller Executive Committee that included chairmen of various departments. See: "Plan for Organization for the State Divisions of the Woman's Committee," Bulletin No. 2, 10 October 1917, Folder "Material Concerning Women's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC,

When the war ended, Wilson sought to use her experience and talents doing Americanization work for the federal government. However, there was no position available.⁶ In 1920, she went to work for the University of Texas's extension department as a lecture writer regarding Americanization.⁷ She used her experiences in the Woman's Committee to gain employment in professional positions, thus moving beyond the "housewife" role.

The Progressive Era, usually described as the period between 1890 and 1920, brought many new opportunities for women to extend their influence and abilities beyond their homes. Women built on experiences gained from participation in the abolition and suffrage movements, interactions in religious groups, and service in early organizations including the Women's Christian Temperance Union to establish influential clubs in the 1890s; these clubs provided a network for women to engage in community service to improve their society. Most importantly, these activities allowed women to take part in fulfilling work, build camaraderie with other women, and gain important organizational skills through activities acceptable to society.⁸

During this time, some suffragists argued that women's morality was superior to that of men and thus women could help clean up politics if they were allowed to vote.⁹ Therefore, middle and upper class Victorian women looked to suffrage and social work not only as opportunities for societal improvement and personal fulfillment, but also as avenues

DBCAH.

⁶ Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Fred C. Butler, 11 January 1919, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Fred C. Butler to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 17 January 1919, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷ "University Aids for Non-Residents," *Temple Daily Telegram*, 20 August 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth469859/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22mrs.%20reese%20wilson%22&resolution=3&lat=4016.5&lon=2600>, accessed 11 December 2016.

⁸ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 17. Higginbotham stresses the importance of the church for self-help and societal improvement. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*, 25.

⁹ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 19.

by which to prove their worthiness of the vote. Social work became an accepted vocation and not surprisingly it was the better-educated, wealthier women who had the leisure time to engage in such activities.¹⁰ These same women tried to “uplift” the lower classes through various programs such as education for mothers and children regarding nutrition.¹¹ By the time the United States entered World War I, club women and suffragists had been active in their causes for many years. Thus, they entered war work with the hope that the visibility gained through participation in patriotic endeavors would increase societal praise and respect, and further prove they would be responsible voters if given the opportunity.¹² The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense sought these elite socialites, educated and upper-class women, for leadership in its efforts to reach all women.

The Woman's Committee emerged in the context of Progressive ideas, the club movement, and the World War. One of the most visible characteristics of Woman's Committee members is that they (all levels) already were members of clubs and/or organizations when the United States entered the Great War. This was true especially for the officers. A second characteristic of this organization pertains to the kinds of activities on which the Texas Division focused. These campaigns were common to that of the national-level Woman's Committee, and reinforced traditional notions of women as wives and mothers. Most organized committees within the Texas Division involved caretaking and food preparation/saving. Third, although many of the roles were gendered, women's involvement in the Woman's Committee helped them achieve desired Progressive-Era goals.

¹⁰ Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 79-80.

¹¹ Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare 1890-1935* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 71.

¹² Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham: A Suffragist's Life in Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 55-56.

The Texas Congress of Mothers, long concerned with the welfare of infants and young children, took a leading role in child-focused activities in the state and some of its leaders were officers in the Texas Division of the WC.

The Council of National Defense organized the Woman's Committee on April 21, 1917 and selected Dr. Anna Howard Shaw to chair this organization. Shaw had a long record of public speaking and participation in the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), serving as its president from 1904-1915.¹³ Emily Blair, member of the Woman's Committee, noted that Shaw had not been consulted before she was announced as the chairman for the Woman's Committee, a slight indicating the extent to which members of the CoND gave importance to name-recognition and ability, yet took for granted Shaw's willingness to serve; acceptance of the position seemed a formality.¹⁴ Other members of the national Woman's Committee included Eva Perry Moore, Ione Virginia Hill Cowles, Carrie Chapman Catt, Maude Wetmore, Antoinette Funk, Clarinda Huntington Pendleton Lamar, Ida M. Tarbell, Agnes Nestor, and Hannah J. Patterson.¹⁵ The WC used a State Organization Committee in each state to appoint a temporary chairman to meet with heads of all women's organizations as well as "representatives of unorganized women." In this way, the states formed their Woman's Committee divisions.¹⁶

Texas organized in June 1917, making it one of the first six to have in operation a State Division of the Woman's Committee.¹⁷ Dora Hartzell Fleming of Dallas chaired the

¹³"Obituary: Dr. Anna H. Shaw, Suffragist, Dies," *On This Date*, <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0214.html>, accessed 21 September 1914.

¹⁴Emily Newell Blair, *The Woman's Committee, United States Council of National Defense: An Interpretive Report, April 21, 1917, to February 27, 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 15-16, The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs, ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 2006, accessed 1 April 2014.

¹⁵Blair, *The Woman's Committee*, 9.

¹⁶"The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense," Folder "Womens Organization (National Defense)," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁷Ida Clyde Clarke, *American Women and the World War*; (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918;

Texas Division while Lillian T. Joseph and Louise Taylor Connery served respectively as First and Second Vice Chairmen.¹⁸ Nonie Mahoney was named Secretary, Adina de Zavala as Treasurer, and Allie Hendricks Wilson the Executive Secretary.¹⁹ Committees and their chairmen included the following: Food Conservation (Rena Campbell, San Antonio); Women in Industry (Katherine Reid, Galveston); Maintenance of Social Service Agencies (Catherine Graves, San Antonio); Child Welfare (Anna Gray Watters, Fort Worth); Health and Recreation (Louise Taylor Connery, Dallas); Education (Elisabeth Bacon, Dallas); Liberty Loan (Minnie Fisher Cunningham, Galveston and Austin); and Home and Allied Relief (Blanche F. Slaughter, Dallas).²⁰

From its initial inception, the Texas Division reflected the influence and structure of club organization. Dora Fleming, Allie Wilson, Katherine Reid, Elisabeth Bacon, and Louise Connery all were members of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs (TFWC) and in 1918,

reprint, NP: Jerome S. Ozer, 1974), 36-37. Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919* (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), 56.

¹⁸In most correspondence and reports, women are referred to only by their married names. In order to find the women's first names, I had to consult additional sources in some cases. Dora Fleming often signed her correspondence to Allie Wilson as "Dora Hartzell Fleming." See: Letter, Dora Hartzell Fleming to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 10 October 1918, Folder "Material Concerning Women's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population U.S. Census for Bexar County, Texas, "Lillian T. Joseph," Page 151, Sheet 1A, House 102, Dwelling 9, Family 11, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 17 September 2016; Letter, Louise Taylor Connery to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 16 August 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁹Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 52. For Allie Wilson's name, see: "Texas, Death Certificates, 1903-1982 for Allie Hendrick (sic) Wilson," Ancestry.com, accessed 17 September 2016.

²⁰Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 52. To see the members' first names, consult these sources: 1920 U.S. Census, Bexar County, Texas, Population Schedule, "Rena Campbell," House 419, Dwelling 6, Family 6, Page 210, Sheet 1B, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 5 September 2016; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Galveston County, Texas, "Catherine Reid," Sheet 278, Page 15A, House [Blank], Dwelling [Blank], Family [Blank], Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 17 September 2016; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Bexar County, Texas, "Kate Graves," Sheet 46, Page 18A, House 469, Dwelling 304, Family 436, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 17 September 2016; Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Tarrant County, Texas, "Anna G. Waters [sic]," Sheet 226, Page 3B, House [Blank], Dwelling [Blank], Family 62, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 17 September 2016; Letter, Elisabeth Bacon to Mrs. Reese Wilson, n.d., Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Dallas County, Texas, "Blanche F. Slaughter," Sheet 119, Page 2A, House 3515, Dwelling 110, Family 141, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 17 September 2016.

Connery succeeded Dora Fleming as president.²¹ In fact, most local WC units mimicked the organizational structure of leading clubs. For example, just as the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs had vice-chairmen, so too did units of the Woman's Committee. Officers included a chairman, first vice-chairman, second vice-chairman, and a secretary/treasurer.²² However, this structure sometimes varied. Bexar County, for instance, had two additional officers: third vice-chairman, and assistant secretary.²³

In addition to the TFWC, other organizations provided leaders to the Woman's Committee in Texas. Ella Caruthers Porter, for instance, had helped found the Texas Congress of Mothers in 1909. By the time of America's entry into the war, Anna Gray Watters was the state chairman of the Texas Congress of Mothers, though Porter remained Executive Chair.²⁴ Meanwhile, Minnie Fisher Cunningham served as president of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association (later named the Texas Equal Suffrage Association) throughout the duration of the war.²⁵

Most WC officers had previous organizational experience gained from their

²¹"Clubs and Club Women," *San Antonio Express*. 17 November 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430416/>, accessed 27 April 2015; Stella L. Christian, *The History of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs* (Houston: Dealy-Adey-Elgin Company Co., 1919), The Portal to Texas History, <https://archive.org/stream/historytexasfed00chrigoog#page/n6/mode/2up>, accessed 26 September 2014. *The [San Antonio] Daily Express*, 12 November 1908, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph442182/>, accessed 27 April 2015.

²²A few counties that had this type of arrangement included: Martin, Maverick, Midland, and Nolan counties. Nolan County, incidentally, had three vice-chairmen. See: "Minutes of the Initial Meeting of the Martin County Unit, Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense," n.d., Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee, Bulletins & Circulars," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Mrs. G.B.M. Snyder to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 25 July 1918, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee, Bulletins & Circulars," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Mrs. Henry M. Huff to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 25 June 1918, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee, Bulletins & Circulars," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH; Newspaper Clipping, "Women are Organized," n.d., Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee, Bulletins & Circulars," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH.

²³"Officers Bexar County Unit," n.d., "Bexar County Unit Women's [sic] Committee of Council of National Defense," typed list among stapled papers in back of a bound journal pertaining only to the Bexar County Unit, Box 3J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁴Letter, Ella Caruthers Porter and E.A. Watters to "My Dear County Chairman for Children's Year," n.d., Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁵Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham: A Suffragist's Life in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 44.

respective societal activities. As was the case with the national organization, all state members of the Texas Division brought with them name-recognition and cooperation from their societies. Minnie Fisher Cunningham pointed out this observation in a letter to Texas's first lady, Willie Cooper Hobby. Like Dr. Shaw, Cunningham was not consulted before being named a member of the Woman's Committee and only discovered her appointment in February 1918. She clearly did not appreciate the presumption that had occurred, but assured Willie Hobby that she dutifully would serve.²⁶

Noticeably, Woman's Committee officers of the Texas Division made little progress organizing county units until mid-1918 because of several obstacles. The first was the state's immense size.²⁷ Whereas many states had just a few counties, Texas consisted of more than 250. To facilitate organization, the Texas State Council of Defense had designated speakers to organize various counties and communities, but the Woman's Committee did not have money to pay speakers. Field Secretary Allie Wilson served as the primary person traversing the state and providing instruction to eager women.²⁸

The second major obstacle to organization was a lack of funding. No money had been provided for the Woman's Committee so the Texas State Council of Defense paid postage costs for some WC materials, as well as office expenses for chairman Dora Fleming and secretary Allie Wilson.²⁹ Once county units of the Woman's Committee organized, they

²⁶Letter, Minnie Fisher Cunningham to Willie Cooper Hobby, 11 February 1918, Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries, University of Houston Digital Library, <http://digital.lib.uh.edu/collection/p15195coll33/item/120>, accessed 29 March 2015.

²⁷Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. S.S. Walker, 22 May 1918, Box 2J364, Folder "Woman's Committee," TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁸Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Hannah J. Patterson, 3 July 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH. Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Hannah J. Patterson, 12 July 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH. Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. Joseph Lamar, 26 July 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁹Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Miss Ruth Wilson, 8 August 1918, Box 2J364, Folder "Woman's Committee," TWRC, DBCAH.

had to fund-raise in order to meet their own expenses. When one woman from Wilbarger County inquired about how to fund activities, Allie Wilson informed her that the Woman's Committee units had to raise money in whatever way they could, and advised a close cooperation with the county Council of Defense because in some cases, the county councils funded their local Woman's Committee units.³⁰ Ladies in Beeville (Bee County) had buttons made with the logo of the Woman's Committee; they then sold these buttons as their fundraiser.³¹

Third, just as the prolonged drought affected organization and activities of some county Councils of Defense, so too, did it affect the establishment of Woman's Committee units. In Dickens County, no Woman's Committee organized because the local Council of Defense "did not think it worthwhile" citing few inhabitants and years of drought.³² Maude Murphy from Knox County reported to the state Woman's Committee, "Had you been here last Sunday and seen our little drouth stricken, wind swept [sic] prairie town double its quota, on the first call, you would agree with me that we are ready to realize the need of organization, but as you have never tried to organize rural West Tex woman [sic] you probably do not know how improbable the task."³³ Hattie Colston in Kleberg County also surmised that "scattered population" as well as "intense heat" would make organization in her county more difficult.³⁴ Even by the time of the armistice, Concho County had not

³⁰Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Ima Westbrook, 11 September 1918, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

³¹Letter, Mrs. James R. Dougherty to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 29 Sep. 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

³²Letter, N.A. Baker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 18 November 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

³³Letter, Mrs. R.W. Murphy to Mrs. Reese Wilson, May 26, 1918, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁴Letter, Mrs. T.M. Colston to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 7 June 1918, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Kleberg County, Texas, "Hattie Colston," Page 17, Sheet 9B, House 221, Dwelling 175, Family 181, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 July 2016.

organized a Woman's Committee unit.³⁵

Fourth, in several counties, residents questioned the need for a Woman's Committee. Some Councils of Defense argued that a local WC unit was excessive because other groups already were doing war work. In many cases this was true because individual Woman's Committee units had taken so long to be organized in Texas. In Orange County, Kathleen Bland, wife of the county judge, wrote to Allie Wilson that the New York based American Defense Society was active in her area and it was doing similar work as the Woman's Committee. She asked Wilson for advice on what to do.³⁶ Wilson explained that she understood the American Defense Society to be "a branch of the National League for Woman's Service," a "private institution" that had "merged itself into the Woman's Committee" during the war. The Woman's Committee, however, was "a Government Institution" that should be respected for its authority. Therefore, Bland should organize a WC unit in Orange.³⁷

In many cases, the Red Cross rivaled the Woman's Committee throughout the state because it had been active for a year before individual WC units formed. In sparsely populated counties where women already worked diligently for the Red Cross, a true Woman's Committee either never formed or it operated as a committee under the local Council of Defense. Ward County resident Cora Walker told Allie Wilson that because there were so few people in her county, she did not think it wise to add another organization. She

³⁵Letter, Roy W. Terry to J.F. Carl, 18 Nov. 1918, Folder "Concho County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁶Letter, Mrs. D.C. Bland to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 21 May 1918, Folder "Material Concerning the Women's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Orange County, Texas, "Kathleen Bland," Page 191, Sheet 10A, House 509, Dwelling 203, Family 221, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 July 2016.

³⁷Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. D.C. Bland, 25 May 1918, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

feared an additional group would negatively affect the Red Cross which also sold War Savings Stamps and Liberty Bonds.³⁸ The WC chairman appointed to Limestone County also balked at the idea of a Woman's Committee because "we have a very live chapter of the Red Cross."³⁹ However, by design of the Woman's Committee, its Home and Foreign Relief department (in the federal, state, and county levels) was supposed to be "an auxiliary to the Red Cross work." As such, the head of Red Cross work in each county would ideally be a member of the Woman's Committee unit and serve as the chairman of the Home and Foreign Relief committee.⁴⁰

There is some indication, however, that Red Cross members resisted what they considered to be an intrusion from the Woman's Committee into Red Cross activities. Blanche F. Slaughter, chairman of the Texas Division's Home and Foreign Relief committee informed Allie Wilson that at the latest Red Cross Convention "Mr. [George W.] Simmons of the Southwestern Division, A[merican] R[ed] C[ross], gave the [Woman's Committee's] Department of Home and Foreign Relief a crushing blow during the Red Cross convention." Although it is unclear from the letter what Simmons said, Slaughter wrote "The delegates will no doubt construe his statement to be one of antagonism to the Council and act accordingly which will not help my chairmen."⁴¹

³⁸Letter, Mrs. J.J. Walker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, n.d., Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Ward County, Texas, "Cora Walker," Page 247, Sheet 2A, House [Blank], Dwelling 33, Family 35, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 July 2016.

³⁹Letter, Mrs. O.D. Kelly to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 11 July 1918, Folder "Woman's Committee Council of Defense," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁰Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. Will C. Anderson, 23 July 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH. I have also seen the "Home and Foreign Relief Committee" called the "Home and Allied Relief Committee. See: Letter, Blanche F. Slaughter to Mrs. Reese Wilson, n.d., Folder "Woman's Committee Council of National Defense, 1918-1920, Travis County Council of Defense Records, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

⁴¹Letter, Blanche F. Slaughter to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 23 September n.y., Folder "Womens [sic] Organization (National Defense), Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

Though working with the Red Cross was occasionally problematic, the county Councils of Defense sometimes proved to be the biggest challenge to organizing Woman's Committee units, particularly in localities where these county CoDs already had in place a committee for "woman's work."⁴² In the counties of Bell and Comal, for instance, the chairmen of the county Councils of Defense initially resisted the idea of a local unit of the Woman's Committee because women's work was already being done either by the Red Cross or by a specified committee established by the county Council of Defense.⁴³ In Nolan County, a frustrated Mary K. Douthit wrote to Allie Wilson that the county CoD chairman "has virtually taken it [the Woman's Committee] out of my hands & I informed him so this morning & told him I would turn it over to him."⁴⁴

Even the State Division of the Woman's Committee was not immune to conflict, though it was more muted. For instance, the Texas Congress of Mothers, instrumental in spearheading the child welfare work (which they had been doing before the United States went to war) did not want to defer to the Woman's Committee as evidenced by initially refusing to change the letterhead on which members corresponded. In a note to Allie Wilson, WC chairman Dora Fleming expressed relief that Ruth Sadler finally was using the "Woman's Committee" letterhead instead of "Congress of Mothers." Fleming wrote, "I feel so relieved over that one point, for no one knows what a time I had in trying to get those

⁴² Waller County, for example, had in place the following committees, all chaired by women: "Woman's War Activities," "Red Cross," and "Junior Red Cross." See: Letter, Frank Morgan to J.F. Carl, 13 July 1918, Folder "Waller County Council of Defense," Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴³ Letter, Mrs. Sam S. Walker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 19 August 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Mrs. Sam S. Walker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 25 August 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, E.A. Eiband to Mrs. Lee Joseph, 20 February 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁴ Letter, Mrs. Ellis Douthit to Mrs. Reese Wilson, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH. For the first name of Douthit, see: Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Nolan County, Texas, "Mary K. Douthit," Page 8, Sheet 1A, House 511, Dwelling [illeg.], Family [illeg.], Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 7 September 2016.

women to recognize the Woman's Committee."⁴⁵

The state's political climate proved to be a fifth obstacle that impacted organization and/or membership of WC units. In 1917, when so much controversy ensnared Governor James E. Ferguson, Texas became a bitterly divided state. An anti-prohibitionist charged with corruption, Governor Ferguson faced impeachment after slashing the budget for the University of Texas. Because of Ferguson's anti-prohibition stance as well as his failure to support woman suffrage, women all over Texas participated in a letter-writing campaign to Texas legislators barraging them with reasons why Ferguson should be impeached. A trial ensued after which, knowing conviction was imminent, Ferguson resigned.⁴⁶

When Ferguson left office, suffragists celebrated. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, national chairman of the Woman's Committee, found time in her busy schedule to pen a letter congratulating Lily Joseph and the women of Bexar County for their efforts in getting Governor Ferguson impeached. Shaw wrote, "It was largely through the Woman Suffrage Association, in cooperation with the men of the State, that your governor was impeached, and now the efforts of the Woman Suffrage Association are being directed against his election for U.S. Senator." Furthermore, proclaimed Shaw, once the suffragists accomplished their goals, they then could devote themselves entirely to the war effort.⁴⁷

However, when Ferguson promised to run for governor in 1918, Minnie Fisher Cunningham, leader of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association, led efforts to campaign against him, particularly promising state legislators that women would vote *en bloc* for

⁴⁵Letter, Dora Hartzell Fleming to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 21 September 1918, Folder "Material Concerning the Women's Clubs & Committees, Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁶Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham: A Suffragist's Life in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 54-55; Lewis L. Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1992), 219-221.

⁴⁷Letter, Anna Howard Shaw to Mrs. Lee Joseph, 14 June 1918, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee, Bulletins & Circulars," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH.

Hobby in exchange for legislative support for woman suffrage. As a result, legislators passed a law in late March 1918 allowing women to vote in primary elections.⁴⁸

In order to keep her promise, Minnie Fisher Cunningham began organizing Hobby Clubs—groups devoted to the 1918 re-election of Governor Hobby.⁴⁹ Several members of the Woman’s Committee were involved in these organizations. In Caldwell County, Annie Polk served as a member of the county CoD, chair of the Woman's Committee unit, and member of the local Hobby Club. Her participation in all of these organizations appears to have had no direct effect on her work on the Woman's Committee.⁵⁰ This was not the case in Lampasas County. Mary E. Stokes advised Allie Wilson that Wilson would have to find another WC chairman because Stokes was too busy. Stokes wrote to Wilson, “This [Woman's Committee conference] comes at a bad time however for me, as I am on the registration committee here of the Hobby Club, and as this is new to the women it will mean a good deal of work to get the women to attend to.”⁵¹ Jessie Daniel Ames (noted suffragist and anti-lynching crusader) served as temporary WC chairman in Williamson County. During the summer of 1918, she reported to Allie Wilson that she had not organized the women yet because they had all been so busy “with state and local politics,” and that it would be much more effective if an outsider could organize the women.⁵²

⁴⁸McArthur and Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham*, 61-62.

⁴⁹McArthur and Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham*, 64; “Women of Orange Hold Enthusiastic Meeting Saturday,” *Orange Daily Leader*, 27 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph565246/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22hobby%20club%22&resolution=3&lat=1697&lon=3399>, accessed 8 July 2016.

⁵⁰Letter, Miss Annie Polk to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 2 June 1918, Folder “Women's Clubs (Committees),” Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵¹Letter, Mrs. M.Y. Stokes to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 27 June 1918, Folder “Woman's Committee Council of National Defense,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Lampasas County, Texas, “Mary E. Stokes,” Page 96, Sheet 14B, House 1208, Dwelling 313, Family 343, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 July 2016.

⁵²Letter, Jessie Daniel Ames to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 31 July 1918, Folder “Woman's Committee,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

Mary E. Stokes, mentioned earlier, offered her own recommendation to Wilson for choosing a replacement WC chairman for Lampasas County. Stokes advised, "Please be sure that she IS NOT a Ferguson woman, as I do not believe she would receive the cooperation of the women here."⁵³ The following month, Gennie DeWolfe proved the validity of Stokes' warning. DeWolfe wrote a lengthy, impassioned letter to State Council secretary J.F. Carl complaining that she had been a member of the Burnet County Council of Defense and had been appointed by Carl to be on the Lampasas County Council of Defense when she relocated there. However, she had not been called to any meeting. She then said the only thing for which she might be faulted was "taking the stump in the Ferguson campaign."⁵⁴ Carl replied that the State Council could only make suggestions but that it was up to the county councils to select their own members. Carl further stated he had written to the chairman of the Lampasas CoD when he first appointed DeWolfe as a member but that he had gotten no response. According to Carl, one's religion, and political affiliation should have no bearing on membership but "should never be mentioned" when discussing Council of Defense business.⁵⁵

With so many obstacles to organization, it is no surprise how slowly WC units formed. By September 1918, there were approximately seventy-five units in operation, and forty more working as special departments under county CoDs.⁵⁶ A little less than half the state was organized at that time. However, serious organization attempts only commenced a

⁵³Emphasis expressed by Stokes. Letter, Mrs. M.Y. Stokes to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 27 June 1918, Folder "Woman's Committee Council of National Defense," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁴Letter, Mrs. Hill DeWolfe to J.F. Carl, 24 August 1918, Folder "Lampasas Correspondence Defense Council," Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH; Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Burnet County, Texas, "Gennie G. DeWolf [sic]," Page 300, Sheet 12B, House [Blank], Dwelling 217, Family 218, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 July 2016.

⁵⁵Letter, J.F. Carl to Mrs. Hill DeWolfe, 29 August 1918, Folder "Lampasas Correspondence Defense Council," Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁶Letter, Ruth Wilson to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 18 September 1918, Folder "Womens Organization (National Defense)," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

few months prior, and the work was being done with far fewer resources than those available to the Texas State Council of Defense.⁵⁷ In February 1919, Allie Wilson reported that there were 210 county units of the Woman's Committee in operation.⁵⁸

Once the units were organized, both the State Division and the various levels of the Council of Defense expected the women to focus on work related specifically to women and children and in this way, war work reinforced stereotypical gender roles. Prior to the formation of the Woman's Committee in Texas, several of the counties included a woman on their county's Council of Defense. This woman was in charge of "women's work," including food conservation because women were the family members who most often prepared the meals.⁵⁹ For instance, while a letter from the State Council of Defense called on "every patriotic citizen" to conserve wheat, the generalization "every . . . citizen" quickly became "each housewife" by the end of the letter. "If each housewife in Texas and the United States could substitute other bread for wheat bread only one day in the week," advised members of the CoD's Food Supply & Conservation Committee, "it would result in conserving 70 to 75 million bushels of the 1917 wheat, which would be added to our exportable surplus and therefore materially aid our Allies in the great conflict in Europe."⁶⁰

A few months later, in July 1917, U.S. Food Administrator Herbert Hoover launched

⁵⁷ In a letter from Allie Wilson to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Wilson said she had been organizing for two months. See: Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Dr. Anna Howards Shaw, 18 June 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH. In a letter to Mrs. Joseph Lamar, Wilson clarified and said she had been appointed in May. See: Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Mrs. Joseph Lamar, 26 July 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁸ Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Fred C. Butler, 26 February 1919, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁹ Bell County, for instance, already had set up a "Woman's Work" committee. Letter, Mrs. S.S. Walker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 11 June 1918, Folder, "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁰ Letter, Food Supply & Conservation Committee State Council of Defense to Chairmen County Councils of Defense, n.d., included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

a nationwide food conservation program. He provided pledge cards for American women to sign and return to him in Washington, D.C. Those who did so agreed to have one wheatless meal per day, and one meatless day per week while carefully limiting food waste. According to the government, the women would be “enrolled as actual members of the food administration” and receive hints on how better to economize.⁶¹ If women around the nation needed further incentive to register, the government promised them entitlement to wear an official uniform of the U.S. Food Administration.⁶²

Since the Woman’s Committee was not yet fully operational, other organizations led early food conservation efforts. In Bexar County, for instance, the San Antonio Council for Food Conservation (SACFC), and the National League for Woman’s Service took charge of food conservation efforts.⁶³ Meanwhile, members of the Travis County chapter of the U.S. Army for Feed and Food Conservation joined with home demonstration agents to set up canning and cooking classes in June 1917.⁶⁴ To be sure, canning became a popular woman-led activity for both women and girls. Young ladies participated with their mothers or with peer groups such as the Canning Club Girls in Harris County.⁶⁵

By the next year, members of local Woman’s Committee Food Conservation departments around Texas promoted creative cooking by demonstrating new or altered

⁶¹“Million Women Sign Food Pledge to Help Nation,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 8 July 1917. Herbert Hoover, “What I Would Like Women to Do” in the section, “The Woman and the War,” edited by Dudley Harmon, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, August 1917, 25.

⁶²Mildred Maddocks, “Good Housekeeping Institute,” *Good Housekeeping*, Vol. 65, July-December 1917, 74.

⁶³“Report of Mrs. Roy Campbell, Chairman Womans [sic] Committee Fod [sic] Administration San Antonio Texas. [sic] May 1, 1918,” Folder “Woman’s Committee (Counties Beginning With ‘H’,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH. Rena [Mrs. Roy] Campbell was involved in the San Antonio Council for Food Conservation as well as the National League for Woman’s Service. See: “For the Soldiers,” 1 September 1917, *San Antonio Express*, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth434284/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22national%20league%20for%20woman%27s%22&resolution=2&lat=1983&lon=2082>, accessed 6 September 2016.

⁶⁴“Demonstration in Canning is Held at Manor: Points Given Upon War Bread and Fruit Preservation,” *The [Austin] Statesman*. 2 June 1917.

⁶⁵“Canning Club Girls Rally Next Saturday,” *Houston Daily Post*, 8 May 1918, 9.

recipes. Nettie McFadden and Birdie Bader of the Austin County Woman's Committee published recipes in their local newspaper and smartly took to women's meetings various examples of baked goods.⁶⁶ The Extension Department of the University of Texas also published helpful pamphlets with food conservation and preparation advice.⁶⁷ It is not surprising then that food conservation, child care, caregiving (as nurses), and education became hallmarks of the Woman's Committee.

Under the WC's Department of Child Welfare, a concerted effort ensued to wage war against infant mortality. In 1915, reportedly one of every ten American babies died before reaching the age of one year.⁶⁸ Thus, in 1916 the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Department of Labor's Children's Bureau co-launched Baby Week "for calling attention to the great loss of infant life and for stimulating local baby-saving work." These efforts improved understanding about the spread of diseases and sometimes prompted classes for mothers, the placement of visiting nurses within certain locales, and the registration of birth information within the community.⁶⁹ Such activities formed the basis for the WC's Children's Year campaign. Led nationally by Julia Lathrop, Executive Chairman of the Child

⁶⁶Letter, Mrs. Ike McFadden and Mrs. Max Bader to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 23 April 1918, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH; World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918, "Ike McFadden," Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 2 July 2016; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Austin County, Texas, "Birdie Bader," Page 92, Sheet 4B, House [Blank], Dwelling 67, Family 74, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 2 July 2016; Women's Committee, Councils of National and State Defense of California, *Liberty Cook Book*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Teacher's Club) n.d.; Reah Jeannette Lynch, compiler, *Win the War" Cook Book* (St. Louis County: St. Louis County Unit Woman's Committee Council of National Defense Missouri Division, 1918).

⁶⁷M. Minerva Lawrence, "University of Texas Home Welfare Division Department of Extension Number Two Food Conservation Leaflet Save the Sugar 24 Recipes using Sugar Substitutes," Minnie Fisher Cunningham Papers, Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries, <http://digital.lib.uh.edu/collection/p15195coll33/item/54/show/46>, accessed 21 February 2015.

⁶⁸"One in Ten Infants Dies," *The Bastrop Advertiser*, 2 February 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth206194/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22infant%20mortality%22&resolution=3&lat=3852&lon=2469>, accessed 6 September 2016.

⁶⁹Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, "Much Good Known to Have Been Result of Baby Week Celebration," *The Mexia Weekly Herald*, 26 April 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth302480/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22infant%20mortality%22&resolution=3&lat=5879&lon=3393>, accessed 6 September 2016.

Welfare Department, then later Dr. Jessica Peixotto, professor of social economics at the University of California, the Children's Year campaign began in April 1918.⁷⁰

Governor William P. Hobby declared July 3, 1918 as Children's Day, a special day recognizing women's efforts for their Children's Year campaign (April 6, 1918-April 6, 1919). The Texas Congress of Mothers took charge of Children's Year activities in cooperation with at least fourteen other organizations, all working under the umbrella of the Woman's Committee. Members of the Congress of Mothers included Dallas residents Ella Caruthers Porter (Executive Chairman) and Ruth Sadler (Secretary). Anna Watters of Fort Worth served as state chairman.⁷¹ The primary goal for Children's Year was to decrease infant mortality through an education campaign regarding proper nutrition. A secondary hope was to convince mothers to register their children's births with the state.⁷² On Children's Day, women sold tags that said: "Help the Government Save 5000 Texas Children." This fundraiser netted several thousand dollars, 60 percent of which stayed in the various communities, while the rest was submitted to the WC's state Child Welfare Department.⁷³ Members of local Child Welfare departments weighed and measured all children under the age of five in their respective localities. In San Antonio, women examined more than 11,000 children from March to September 1918.⁷⁴ Meanwhile in Fort

⁷⁰Until the Woman's Committee was fully operational, the Children's Bureau sent out correspondence about the Children's Year campaign. Jessica B. Peixotto, "The Children's Year and the Woman's Committee," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 79, War Relief Work (Sep. 1918), 257-262, published by: Sage Publications, Inc. in association with the American Academy of Political and Social Science, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1013990>, accessed 21 October 2013. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*, 124. Blair, *The Woman's Committee*, 80-81.

⁷¹Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Dallas County, Texas, "Ruth Sadler," Page 80, Sheet 13A, House 5010, Dwelling 237, Family 242, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 July 2016.

⁷²"Report Child Welfare Department Womans [sic] Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918," Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷³"Report Child Welfare Department Womans [sic] Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918," Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, p. 8, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁴"Report Child Welfare Department Womans [sic] Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918," p. 12, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

Worth, WC members weighed and measured approximately 2,800 (2000 Anglo, and 800 African American) children.⁷⁵ As of December 1918, more than 18,000 little Texans had been examined, with 20 percent found to be malnourished. Furthermore, approximately 30 percent of children examined did not have their births registered with the state.⁷⁶

Other goals for this campaign included the employment of more nurses for public schools and home visits. In Dallas, the Woman's Committee hired more than twenty nurses, two of whom worked in "two of the poorest school districts." Child Welfare chairman Anna Watters felt this aspect of the Children's Year campaign had been most successful. She reported, "During the five months following [from September 1918 to January 1919] they [the nurses] have attended 1400 homes" while an estimated "2875 children are being benefitted from these teacher nurses, and 1475 mothers are being taught how to feed, clothe, and care for themselves and their children."⁷⁷ Within the first eight months, approximately 40,000 children had been helped "which means more stable homes and a better citizenship for our State."⁷⁸ Because of the initial success in helping so many children, the Child Welfare Department made a concerted effort to influence state legislators so that Children's Year would continue "indefinitely."⁷⁹

Women involved in Children's Year also believed recreation for children was very important in creating good citizens. If adult mentors showed children proper play activities,

⁷⁵"Also report City of Ft. Worth April 1st to December 1st 1918, Mrs. W.C. Carlson, Chairman," in "Report Child-Welfare Department Woman's Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918," p. 13, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁶"Report Child Welfare Department Womans [sic] Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918," p. 8, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁷"Report Child-Welfare Department Woman's Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918," p. 15, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁸"Report Child-Welfare Department Woman's Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918," p. 15, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁹Letter, Mrs. E.A. Watters to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 6 January 1919, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

the children would gravitate to these recreations instead of idleness or delinquency.

Therefore, the Woman's Committee initiated a second campaign for older children during the summer of 1918. This component was a joint effort between the Woman's Committee, the Bureau of Child Welfare, and the National Playground and Recreation Association of America.⁸⁰

Woman's Committee members also did what they could to increase educational opportunities for children. In November 1917, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw urged women to be on the lookout for young people who were working and not attending school as required by the new compulsory attendance law.⁸¹ Second, the Congress of Mothers pushed for the establishment of kindergartens around the state. The recently passed Kindergarten Bill provided that a kindergarten could be started in an area if twenty-five or more parents requested it.⁸² Because they believed education to be so important, members of the Texas Division of the WC worked diligently for fellow club woman Annie Webb Blanton's successful election as State Superintendent of Public Education.⁸³

Woman's Committee members, also concerned with moral guidance and instilling a sense of responsibility, encouraged young women to get involved in war work. In Bexar County for instance, the Woman's Committee unit formed a Junior Auxiliary for girls.⁸⁴

⁸⁰“No Autocracy in Child Welfare,” in *News Letter of the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense*, 1 June 1918, No. 22, p. 7, Folder “Woman's Committee,” Box 2J381, TWRC, DBCAH; Julia Lathrop, “Recreation—A Moral Safeguard,” *News Letter of the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense*, 15 August 1918, p. 1, Folder “Woman's Committee—Department of Education,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; “Children Must Play to be Healthy and Strong,” *The Llano News*, 25 July 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph766536/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22recreation%20drive%22&resolution=3&lat=3246.3408578574704&lon=2320.8542091115223>, accessed 4 December 2016.

⁸¹ Anna Howard Shaw, “The Woman's Committee of the United States Council of National Defense,” *Ladies Home Journal*, November 1917, 30.

⁸²Ella Caruthers Porter and Mrs. E.A. Watters to “President,” n.d., Folder “Woman's Clubs & Committees,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH. This appears to be a draft letter.

⁸³“Report Child Welfare Department Woman's Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st, 1918,” Folder “Woman's Clubs & Committees,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; McArthur and Smith, *Minnie Fisher Cunningham*, 64.

⁸⁴Bexar County Woman's Committee Unit, “Bexar County Unit Women's [sic] Committee Council of National

Baylor County had a Junior Red Cross.⁸⁵

Another way women of the WC tried to help girls was through protecting them in their daily activities. In Dallas, the Council of Mothers, “an active part of the State Child Welfare Committee,” was able to get a woman hired as a deputy sheriff in Dallas “to look after and protect, as far as possible, women and girls, both in private life and also when they are unfortunate enough to become involved in the Courts.” According to Anna Watters, this was the first time a woman had ever been appointed to such a position.⁸⁶ If so, this position likely opened the door for other women to engage in police work.

Perhaps most visibly, WC members along with government officials connected with military encampments, discouraged inappropriate relationships between soldiers and young women who frequented the cantonments. Women in the Health and Recreation Department of the Woman's Committee (county units, state divisions, and the federal organization) made it their business to monitor the Army camps and worked carefully with the Commission on Training Camp Activities (CTCA).⁸⁷ Specifically, in July 1918, chairmen of the Health and Recreation departments of the Woman's Committee received a bulletin from the national organization that emphasized cooperation between the War Camp Community Service and the Woman's Committee. The CTCA chairman advised the various units of the WC that they could help by “keeping the girls from going to the camp cities” and in helping “the girls . . . to have the right attitude toward the soldiers and to think in terms of what they can do to be

Defense,” Journal, 30 June 1918, Box 2J366.

⁸⁵Letter, Mrs. M.R. Fuller to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 9 October 1918, Folder “Woman's Clubs & Committees,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁶“Report Child-Welfare Department Woman's Committee Council of National Defense State of Texas April 1st to December 1st 1918,” p. 9, Folder “Woman's Clubs & Committees,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁷Eva Perry Moore to The Health and Recreation Chairmen of the State Divisions, “Circular No. 179 Department of Health and Recreation Circular No. 6 Request for Reports,” 1 July 1918, Folder “Material Concerning the Women's Clubs & Committees,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

really helpful to the men and to their country.”⁸⁸ In Connecticut, a police force of eight women (one of whom was the supervisor), patrolled the camps “looking for careless girls and sending away undesirable ones.”⁸⁹

Another role the Woman’s Committee reinforced was that of women as caregivers. America’s involvement in the war required hundreds of nurses to go overseas. In order to guarantee a sufficient supply of nurses at home and abroad, a campaign started on July 29, 1918 under the joint direction of the Woman's Committee, the CoND’s Committee on Nursing, the American Red Cross, the Surgeon General of the Army, and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. The U.S. government sought 25,000 women ages nineteen to thirty-five to become part of the United States Student Nurse Reserve. Ideal candidates were smart and of good character.⁹⁰ The application asked for the usual information: name, age, and address. However, it also asked for height, weight, color, marital status, country of birth for self and husband (if married), and education. The applicant also had to be examined by a physician who was required to fill in more questions on the form, including, “Is her breath odorless or otherwise?” By November of that year, approximately 1800 Texas women had applied to the program.⁹¹ Woman’s Committee units

⁸⁸Eva Perry Moore to The Health and Recreation Chairmen of the State Divisions, “Circular No. 179 Department of Health and Recreation Circular No. 6 Request for Reports,” 1 July 1918, Folder “Material Concerning the Women’s Clubs & Committees,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁹“Protective Officers and Recreation,” in *News Letter of the Woman's Committee Council of National Defense*, 1 June 1918, No. 22, p. 8, Folder “Woman's Committee,” Box 2J381, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁰Letter, Arthur H. Fleming to The Several State Councils of Defense, 16 July 1918, Folder “Research Committee,” Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH; Hannah J. Patterson, “Enrollment of United States Student Nurse Reserve,” Pamphlet, 1 July 1918, Box 2J361, Folder “Research Committee,” TWRC, DBCAH; Bulletin No. 36, J.F. Carl to the Several County Councils, 6 August 1918, Folder “Bell County Council of Defense File No. 4--1918,” Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹¹Letter, Dora Hartzell Fleming to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 5 November 1918, Folder “Woman's Committee, Miscellaneous Minutes of Meetings etc.,” Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH; “WANTED: 25,000 Women to Enroll in the United States Student Nurse Reserve,” Pamphlet, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), Folder “Research Committee,” Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

were in charge of this campaign.⁹²

Not only did society view women as caretakers, it also viewed women as educators. Work with children during Children's Year, and emphasis on education helped convince officials to delegate Americanization work largely to the Woman's Committee. Under the direction of Martha Evans Martin, Chief of the Americanization Section, the CoND defined Americanization as "making the aims and ideals of our democracy so clearly understood by the native born and the foreign-born, that they will work together to support the United States during the present crisis and by their unity of purpose, will add to its strength in the future." The bulletin urged "cooperation" between local Americanization committee members and religious, civic, and social organizations embraced by immigrants. The bulletin specifically warned against "compulsion," and urged librarians, members of organized labor, school superintendents, and church and civic leaders to serve on the Americanization committees.⁹³ In December 1918, the Texas State Council of Defense sent out a bulletin requesting that county councils think about limiting other foreign languages in addition to German in order to facilitate Americanization efforts.⁹⁴

By January 1919, the Department of the Interior had taken over the Americanization work under its Bureau of Education; F.C. Butler was in charge. The next month, Butler wrote to Allie Wilson that "the necessary legislation for the promotion of Americanization and the elimination of illiteracy has been introduced in Congress." This legislation to which

⁹²"25000 Nurses Needed for Immediate Service: Hospitals Will Assist Young Women Through Training Period: Campaign on Over County: Woman's Committee of the Council of Defense in Charge of Recruiting," *The [Weatherford] Daily Herald*, 3 August 1918, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapath646764/m1/3/zoom/?q=%22student%20nurse%20reserve%22&resolution=3&lat=5856.678470140231&lon=2123.3356940280464>, accessed 8 September 2016.

⁹³ Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, "Organization of Local Communities for Americanization," n.d., Folder "Americanization-Council of Defense," Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁴Bulletin No. 56, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 16 December 1918, Folder "Bosque County Council—1919 Information on Finding Work to Demobilized Soldiers," Box 2J367, TWRC, DBCAH.

Butler referred was the Smith-Bankhead Bill that sought to educate illiterate native-born citizens as well as those of foreign birth in order to produce “intelligent American citizenship.”⁹⁵

As shown in the above examples, members of the Woman’s Committee participated in many activities that reinforced the idea that women were society’s nurturers. They conserved food, launched nutrition and recreation programs targeting babies and children, helped to enroll thousands of young women as part of the U.S. Student Nurse Reserve, and participated in an educational campaign focused on Americanization. These were all activities that society deemed acceptable because they did not threaten social norms concerning proper gender roles. However, the war created a necessity and an opportunity for more women to work outside the home in industries not usually associated as “women’s work.” It was only because of the war that large numbers of women could participate in these different types of jobs without scorn and they were expected to return to lives as homemakers following the armistice.⁹⁶

When American young men vacated thousands of jobs following the national draft, employers sought women to fill some of these positions. A November 1917 article in *The Ladies’ Home Journal* emphasized that French and English women had excelled in filling war jobs and American women would likely follow their example. The article stated that available jobs included work in munitions, railroads, steel, canneries, and stenography. It encouraged women to get training in order to secure the best possible jobs and urged them to

⁹⁵Letter, F.C. Butler to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 3 February 1919, Box 2J364, Folder “Woman's Clubs & Committees,” TWRC, DBCAH; *Americanization Bill Hearing Before the Committee on Education and Labor United States Senate Sixty-Sixth Congress First Session on S. 17*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), Hathi Trust Digital Library, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.c3429522>, accessed 20 April 2015.

⁹⁶David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 285.

register with the Woman's Committee as well as the Civil Service Commission (in charge of hiring government clerks). The article spent much time talking about possible jobs as clerks and stenographers yet did not discount women's abilities in other occupations.⁹⁷

While the above, male-written article genuinely encouraged women's movement into non-traditional roles, this attitude was not prevalent. In September 1918, the U.S. Employment Service (under the Department of Labor), launched a campaign to create Community Labor Boards. Part of their responsibility was to guide women into proper working situations in non-war industries. N.A. Smyth, Assistant Director General of the U.S. Employment Service warned Community Labor Boards that "If women go into industry too rapidly, they will suffer from undertaking jobs for which they are not fit, or from laboring under conditions which are not fit for women." It was therefore up to the labor boards to provide a smooth transition of women into the best available jobs for them.⁹⁸ In December, the U.S. Department of Labor issued guidelines for the employment of women to ensure that women were protected in the workplace. Some of these guidelines included: hours women could work (up to eight hours per day or forty-eight hours per week); break periods; the employment of women supervisors; and pay equal to that of men.⁹⁹

Ideas that women were unfit for or incapable of performing certain jobs were shared by many during this time. Woman's Committee members provided several instances of being treated less than their male counterparts. In her 1920 report about the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, Emily Newell Blair, an executive officer in charge of the News

⁹⁷Dudley Harmon, "What are These War Jobs for Women? Where They Are and How to Get Them," *Ladies Home Journal*, November 1917, 39, 91.

⁹⁸Letter, N.A. Smyth to Community Labor Boards, 19 September 1918, Folder "U.S. Labor Department," Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁹"Standards Regarding the Employment of Women in Industry," U.S. Department of Labor, 12 December 1918, Folder "U.S. Labor Department," Box 2J361, TWRC, DBCAH.

Department, reported that the biggest problem the Woman's Committee had was "The inability of various groups of men, of federal departments, of individuals, to accept the WC's status of women." Apparently, the late-1918 merge between the Council of National Defense and the Woman's Committee helped ease the situation, though Blair noted that it was a problem "met again and again."¹⁰⁰ This same lack of respect presented itself at the state and local levels.

Within the Texas State Council of Defense, there had been doubt regarding the wisdom of organizing women for war work. When CoD member Joseph Hirsch, chairman of the Publicity Committee, learned that the Texas Division of the Woman's Committee had organized, he told J.F. Carl, "You will remember that I suggested the appointment of a woman as a member of the State Council of Defense. The idea was rather poo-pooed by a number of my friends. I did not push it. I believe it would have been far better to have the women working with our organization."¹⁰¹ In fact, no woman served as a member of the Texas State Council of Defense.

One incident that occurred in August 1918 helps to illustrate the dismissive manner with which some Woman's Committee members were treated. May Walker, chairman of the Bell County unit of the Woman's Committee, sent to Allie Wilson a letter and a newspaper clipping titled, "Councils of Defense Organize and Hear Prominent Speaker at Their Meeting Here Friday." This article referred to a district meeting involving members of the Bell, Mills, Milam, San Saba, Hamilton, and Coryell County Councils of Defense. Allie Wilson of the Woman's Committee, and Olinthus Ellis, Field Marshall for the State Council of Defense, both spoke to the crowds. However, the article overly emphasized and praised

¹⁰⁰ Blair, *The Woman's Committee*, 22.

¹⁰¹ Letter, Joseph Hirsch to J.F. Carl, 7 June 1917, Folder "J.F. Carl, Secretary-Council of Defense," Box 2J363, TWRC, DBCAH.

the men's work. While the writer did quote Wilson, one of the quotes attributed to her erroneously stated that there was no separate woman's organization from that of the men (meaning the county Councils of Defense). Second, the article said Wilson called for cooperation between the various women members, and coordination with the Council of Defense. The journalist reported, "She [Wilson] advised consultation with the Council of Defense on every important move," making it sound like women could not get along with one another, and that the women had to obtain permission from the predominantly male Councils of Defense before doing any activities or making any decisions. Finally, the writer made it clear that Olinthus Ellis was the "Prominent Speaker" referred to by the article's headline. Whereas Wilson was introduced as "secretary for the State Council of Defense," Ellis was introduced as "Judge Ellis who is well known all over the state as an accomplished and brilliant orator and a gifted exponent of Council of Defense principles."¹⁰²

The biases in this article are readily apparent. First, the supposed quote by Wilson implies that there was not, nor ever had been, a separate Woman's Committee. This was simply not true. Second, it reinforced the stereotype that women could not work well together, hence the need for "co-operation between the women members, the women chairmen, directors and officers, and the women [sic] committees." In fact, most women in the various levels of the WC worked well together and were able to accomplish national, state, and local goals. Furthermore, by describing Wilson as a "secretary" (versus "Executive Secretary") the author minimized her role, making it appear that she was no different from any other secretary instead of a woman who was trying to organize units of the Woman's Council all over the state, traveling to various localities and maintaining correspondence

¹⁰² "Councils of Defense Organize and Hear Prominent Speaker at Their Meeting Here Friday," *Temple Daily Telegram*, 31 August 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

between county units, the State Division, and the national Woman's Committee. Although the article correctly quoted Wilson as promoting rights for women in war time as well as peace time, the majority of the article reflected the male-centered bias as described above.¹⁰³ This idea of women bickering among themselves reflected the deeply ingrained societal attitude of the time regarding gender roles.

When the Woman's Committee state chairman, Dora Fleming, appointed May Walker to head the Bell County WC unit, the Bell County CoD chairman, George Tyler, repeatedly discounted the necessity for the Woman's Committee because he had already established a specified committee for Woman's Work within the local Council of Defense.¹⁰⁴ In the Bell County CoD, the women "have been put on the War Garden Committees" and within in each town, a woman had been "appointed" to send magazines to soldiers. Because May Walker used phrases such as "put to work," one must assume that George Tyler delegated these duties.¹⁰⁵ As correspondence continued with Allie Wilson, Walker persisted in expressing her concern regarding who was going to do what job. Even into late August 1918, Walker said there still remained the persistent fear of "duplication of efforts." Furthermore, she wrote, "Since the organization of the Community Councils women have phoned me from every part of the County protesting that they are not accorded proper recognition on the committees."¹⁰⁶

One important letter, however, introduced a different perspective—the idea of a

¹⁰³ "Councils of Defense Organize and Hear Prominent Speaker at Their Meeting Here Friday," *Temple Daily Telegram*, 31 August 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁴ Letter, Mrs. Sam S. Walker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 11 June 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁵ Letter, Mrs. Sam S. Walker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 18 April 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁶ Letter, Mrs. Sam S. Walker to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 25 August 1918, Folder "Woman's Clubs & Committees," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

strong Woman's Committee unit placating the county Council of Defense. Ida M. Anderson of Wood County reported successful cooperation between the Woman's Committee unit and the county Council of Defense. However, she then went on to clarify the men's and women's roles. She wrote to Wilson, "On getting your letter I telephoned the Man Chairman of State Council of Defense and asked what he had done and he reports very little, in fact the secret of our success has been we ladies pushing the men. Now of course this is strictly confidential as we make them think they do it all." Anderson, member of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, showed confidence in the role women were playing in leadership, as well as the idea that this role had to be kept somewhat secret in order to prevent damaging men's pride.¹⁰⁷ While Anderson's example of strong women leading war work in a local area is likely not an isolated case, the author has found only one other letter remotely similar from Swisher County.

Unlike the women in Wood County, ladies in Swisher County were not pretending that the men were doing everything. In reality, they were frustrated that the men there had done nothing to organize a county Council of Defense. In July 1918, Willie Sternberg wrote to Allie Wilson, "I have waited on the men of this Co. to organize the Council of National Defense hoping that they would take up the work then we women would organize the Co. Unit of the Woman's Committee."¹⁰⁸ It seems that in this county, the women were so busy doing work usually done by Councils of Defense, that they had no time or resources to

¹⁰⁷ Letter, Mrs. Will C. Anderson to [Unknown], n.d., Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH. This letter is written on "Texas Federation of Women's Clubs" stationary and indicates Anderson's position as "chairman third district." Unfortunately, this is the second page of a letter that has at some point become separated from the first page. Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Wood County, Texas, "Ida M. Anderson," Page 191, Sheet 7B, House [Blank], Dwelling 117, Family 129, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 July 2016.

¹⁰⁸ Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Swisher County, Texas, "Willie L. Sternberg," Page 32, Sheet 9A, House [Blank], Dwelling 161, Family 167, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 1 September 2016; Letter, Mrs. A.W. Sternberg to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 29 July 1918, Folder "Room Schedules," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

organize a WC unit.

September 1918 brought news that the Woman's Committee and the State Councils Section of the Council of National Defense would merge together into the "Field Division," in a process officials referred to as "amalgamation." This new effort was initiated to prompt more efficiency and a closer relationship between the Council of National Defense and the Woman's Committee. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, headed a committee of twelve which included six men and six women. The creation of the Field Division was called a "tribute to the contribution of the Women's Committee to the war," yet a man (Lane) led the division.¹⁰⁹

The announcement and process of amalgamation confused many, including state officers. In October, Texas State Council of Defense secretary and manager J.F. Carl wrote to the CoND asking about the "status" of the Woman's Committee in relation to the State CoD. "I am just a little bit foggy on that situation," he said. "Please hold out a light to me or the women will run me crazy."¹¹⁰ Finally, the Texas State Council passed a resolution that the Woman's Committee was to be an auxiliary to the Texas State Council of Defense.¹¹¹ On March 19, 1919, Allie Wilson wrote to Ruth Wilson (Assistant Chief, Organization and Information Section, Council of National Defense) that she had heard the WC had disbanded. However, Allie Wilson pointed out that in Texas, legislators had passed a bill keeping the Council of Defense in operation for another six months following the war's

¹⁰⁹ Letter, Arthur H. Fleming to the Several State Councils of Defense, 18 September 1918, Folder "National Council of Defense," Box 2J381, TWRC, DBCAH. Please also see enclosed press release dated 19 September [1918] in same box and folder. Members of the committee were: Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Clarinda Lamar, Katharine McCormick, Ida Tarbell, Agnes Nestor, Hannah Patterson, Daniel Willard, Fuller Calloway, H.M. Robinson, George L. Berry, R.M. Bissell, and Grosvenor B. Clarkson (Director of the Field Division).

¹¹⁰ Letter, J.F. Carl to Arthur H. Fleming, 1 October 1918, Folder "War Savings Committee," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹¹ Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Ruth Wilson, 5 November 1918, Folder "Woman's Committee," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

termination. Furthermore, she made reference to a bill that would make some of the efforts permanent.¹¹²

In conclusion, the Texas Division had a difficult beginning because of formidable obstacles to organization, particularly a lack of available funds. However, Allie Hendricks Wilson's organizational efforts generated a patriotic and enthusiastic response from many women across the state. Most women belonged to clubs and organizations prior to their affiliation with the Woman's Committee, but WC membership continued this natural progression from the home to the public arena and opened up the possibility for non-club and/or rural women also to participate in these government-sanctioned activities.

To be sure, the Woman's Committee at all levels was deeply entwined with the club movement and Progressive ideas focused on community betterment. Now, under the guise of the "war effort" women were able to continue the work already being done. For instance, the war gave the Texas Congress of Mothers (working under the Woman's Committee, Texas Division) the public support to carry out the ambitious Children's Year campaign. In the guise as a "war on infant mortality," this and other endeavors gained new respect because now they were being done as a patriotic measure.

The right to vote was another goal that many women conveniently tied to the war. In Texas, women used James Ferguson's vow to enter the 1918 governor's race as a rallying call for their own suffrage as a necessary measure to prevent Ferguson's return. They wrapped their efforts in patriotism and proved themselves competent, hard-working, compassionate individuals able to organize to achieve the right to vote in Texas primaries.

¹¹² Letter, Mrs. Reese Wilson to Ruth Wilson, 19 March 1919, Folder "Council of National Defense Woman's Committee," Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH. Please note that this copy of Wilson's letter is unsigned. However, her title was now "Executive Secretary, Committee on Women's Work."

Chapter 3 Identity, Loyalty, and German Texans

“We are of the opinion that if we can acquire the good will” of German Americans, “we will accomplish the desired result without a sting, in preference to using [sic] coercion,” proclaimed Walter Reiffert, secretary of the DeWitt County Council of Defense (CoD). He made this argument because he believed most German Texans were “absolutely loyal even if unable to speak in the language of their adopted country.”¹ Conversely, Reverend J.F. Christiansen, a Lutheran minister in DeWitt County, explained his own situation. “I had done for my Country as much as I could because I gave all I had. Two of my boys were in France now. . . . I bought Liberty Bonds and W.S. Stamps as much as I could but if they ask me to serve in the English Language I must say, I feel sorrow, I can’t.”² Both quotes exemplify the complex relationship between members of the Council of Defense system and local Germans and German Americans during the First World War.

In the first example, Reiffert expressed the sound-minded (yet minority) opinion that gradually assimilating English into public use among German Americans was preferable to abruptly banning the German language. Those who shared his opinion realized the practical and emotional arguments against an immediate ban. New English-language resources for churches and parochial schools had to be ordered. Second, the older parishioners who could not understand English would then be without the spiritual

¹ Letter, Walter Reiffert to J.F. Carl, 20 July 1918, Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas. (Hereafter cited as TWRC, DBCAH).

² Letter, J.F. Christiansen to A.H. Fleming, 16 August 1918, Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

guidance so necessary to them during the war years.³ Reverend Christiansen, meanwhile, exhibited the desire of a naturalized German to show the devotion he felt for his adopted land. His struggle with the English language was apparent, and reinforced his claim to the Council of National Defense (CoND) that he was unable to preach entirely in English, the expectation in some counties to which he traveled to conduct services.

These quotes also provide valuable insights as to how two ethnic Germans identified during the war. Reiffert, a middle-aged bank president whose parents were born respectively in Germany and Texas, seemed to identify less as an ethnic German than as a Texan.⁴ His use of phrases including “our so-called German-American citizens” and “these people” intentionally set himself in a different category than other ethnic Germans, specifically those from Germany. Meanwhile Reverend Christiansen, born in Germany and naturalized as an American citizen in 1904, emphasized to the National Council his “American-ness” evidenced through his purchase of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, as well as his sacrifice of both sons who were then serving overseas.⁵

As these examples show, German Texans were not a monolithic group either before or during the First World War. They had a history of differences within their communities, and cultural conflict with non-German neighbors. For instance, there was never a united stance on secession (1860s). When the United States entered the Great

³ “Council of Defense Modifies Order German Speech: Will Permit Use Where Necessary, But the English Tongue Must Predominate,” *The Cuero Daily Record*, 21 July 1918.

⁴ By “ethnic German,” I mean anyone of German descent whether born in Germany or in the United States.

⁵ Letter, Walter Reiffert to J.F. Carl, 20 July 1918, Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, DeWitt County, Texas, “Walter Reiffert,” Page 53, Sheet 14B, House [Blank], Dwelling 329, Family 328, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 29 August 2015; Letter, J.F. Christiansen to J.F. Carl, 16 August 1918, Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 Population, DeWitt County, Texas, “J.F. Christiansen,” Page 190, Sheet 5B, House [Blank], Dwelling 101, Family 101, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 30 August 2015.

War, German Americans' interactions and experiences with county Councils of Defense varied greatly, even when ethnic Germans served as members. Part of the difference had to do with how each council member self-identified. Did they consider themselves more "American" or "German?" Furthermore, personality played an important part in how members related to those of German descent.

Although the Texas State Council of Defense followed the recommendations of the Council of National Defense regarding the treatment of ethnic Germans, it failed to protect them. In public interactions, the State Council did not speak out decisively against vigilante-led violence. Additionally, it left policy interpretation and enforcement largely in the hands of county Councils of Defense. Thus, at the local level, factors including self-identification and personality of individual CoD members determined the treatment of ethnic Germans within each county. As a result, Texas Germans suffered surveillance, coercion, persecution and violence, but they were not the only ones targeted.

Furthermore, they were not without agency. Most complied with federal and state laws and participated in wartime voluntarism either from a personal sense of genuine patriotism or from fear of neighbors' actions if they did not. Others questioned the laws, wrote to local, state, and national officials with their grievances, or boycotted businesses that had English-only policies in place. These different responses reflected a long history of perseverance as a response to conflicts within their own communities as well as those arising from interactions with non-German neighbors.

Before discussing German participation in the Council of Defense system, it is important to understand where the majority of ethnic Germans were located in Texas and

how they related to old-stock Anglo neighbors before and during the war.⁶ Once the United States entered the First World War, federal and state laws directly impacted those of German extraction who quickly had to negotiate their place in current affairs and decide where to place their loyalties. The relationship between ethnic Germans and all levels of the Council of Defense system remained complex throughout the war and varied significantly.

In order to gain a better perspective on where most German Texans lived during the World War, it is necessary to briefly discuss early immigrant settlement. Prior to 1840, the enterprising Friedrich Ernst established the town of Industry (Austin County), a place he anticipated would entice fellow Germans to settle. In the following years, many Germans did make their homes in Industry; others used it as a stopping point on their way to New Braunfels (Comal County) and Fredericksburg (Gillespie County), two towns that quickly became cultural centers after their establishment in the mid-1840s. Like Industry, these towns attracted some permanent residents. However, the settlements in Comal and Gillespie Counties had been founded primarily as places of rest for immigrants traveling to the Fisher-Miller Grant that was located north of Fredericksburg in the region comprising Mason, Llano, San Saba, and McCulloch counties.⁷ Into the 1860s and 1870s, Germans made their homes within the vast area that then extended from the Texas coast

⁶ By “old stock,” I mean settlers from the United States, most of whom had ties to the South.

⁷ Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas: With Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the County* (Waco: Texian Press, 1967), 16-24. The Society for the Protection of German Immigrants (Adelsverein) was a company founded specifically to settle immigrants in Texas. The Society had purchased the Fisher-Miller Grant for this purpose. However, because the land was so far from the Texas coast, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels, in charge of settling the immigrants, succeeded in securing an area of land to serve as a midpoint. This is the settlement that became New Braunfels. Rudolph Leopold Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1930), v, vi, 111.

northwest into the Hill Country.⁸

By 1910, ethnic Germans who were first or second-generation only made up approximately 5 percent of the total Texas population. Yet Austin, Comal, Gillespie, Washington, and Kendall counties still retained large numbers of ethnic Germans in excess of 20 percent of each county's total population. DeWitt County, home of Walter Reiffert and J.F. Christiansen, had a German population of a little more than 17 percent, placing their county as seventh in the state for the highest percentage of ethnic German residents.⁹

In many parts of the United States Germans had been accepted into American society prior to World War I.¹⁰ However, in the Lone Star State personal and cultural conflict between ethnic Germans and "old-stock" Anglo settlers became evident soon after the immigrants arrived. In the 1850s, Texas traveler Ferdinand Roemer chronicled Prince Carl's "disdain for the American national character."¹¹ Another early visitor, Frederick Law Olmsted, commented on the cultural differences including the value each group assigned to education. Many German immigrants emphasized self-improvement through activities such as reading. New Braunfels residents already had several public and private schools in operation by the time Olmsted visited the town. Their non-German

⁸ Matthew D. Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900-1930* (Austin: Kleingarten Press, 2010), 19.

⁹ Tippens, 9-11, 61. Also see Tippens's chart p. 43 for exact percentages of German-born and first-generation Germans living in the "ten German counties" of Austin, Comal, DeWitt, Fayette, Gillespie, Guadalupe, Kendall, Lee, Medina, and Washington.

¹⁰ Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 2.

¹¹ Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas*, 19,34. Prince Carl wrote a book about his early experiences. See: Carl Solms-Braunfels, *Texas. Geschildert in Beziehung auf seine Geographischen, Socialen und übrigen Verhältnisse mit Besond Ererrücksicht auf die Deurtsche Colonisation. Ein Handbuch für Auswanderer Nach Texas* (1846), The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph29393/>, accessed 27 February 2016.

neighbors, mostly from the southern states, did not place the same emphasis on learning.¹² Anglo Texans particularly noted that most Germans settled together, away from Americans, and fostered their culture through German-language newspapers, social clubs called *Verein*, and organizations including Hermann Sons (a fraternal organization which provided life insurance for members), and the German-American National Alliance (an umbrella organization that promoted German culture).¹³

The perceived exclusivity the Germans exhibited contributed to a sense of distrust among Anglo Texans, several of whom embraced the national, nativist, Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s. Individuals belonging to the Native American Party, initially organized as secret lodges, gained their “Know-Nothing” nickname because when questioned about their policies, they would reply that they knew “nothing.”¹⁴ Texas members favored slavery, but they also feared the dissolution of the United States—an idea that seemed to be gaining favor among several Democrats. Furthermore, Know-Nothings considered foreigners to be cultural and economic threats because they believed all German and Mexican immigrants opposed the idea and practice of slavery. Partly as a result of this backlash against foreigners, Native American Party candidates won a few local and state offices, and successfully elected a United States congressman. Initially a

¹² Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas Or, a Saddle-Trip on the Southwestern Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 117-118, 179.

¹³ Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 27, 53-58. Hermann Sons began in New York in the 1840s, then spread to other states. The first Texas branch was founded in San Antonio in 1860. See: “Hermann Sons Life Insurance: Protecting Families, Enriching Lives,” website, <https://www.texashermannsons.org/who-we-are/history>, accessed 27 February 2016. The National German-American Alliance began in Philadelphia in 1901. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 5.

¹⁴ Richard O’Connor, *The German-Americans: An Informal History* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), 121-123; Ralph A. Wooster, “An Analysis of the Texas Know Nothings,” *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Jan., 1967): 414-423, JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30237906>, accessed 20 February 2016.

challenge to the Democrats, the Know-Nothings inadvertently helped to strengthen their opposition after a split over slavery within the national American Party helped to weaken it in the South.¹⁵

Although the Know-Nothing movement died down, German Texans still found themselves at odds with their predominantly Southern-rooted neighbors over the issues of slavery and secession. Ethnic Germans had never owned many slaves either because of financial reasons or personal opinions against the practice of slavery. Their overall lack of support for the “peculiar institution” differentiated them from many of their Southern neighbors.¹⁶

Furthermore, most Germans disliked the idea of seceding from the United States. However, those who publicly voiced Union sentiments elicited criticism from fellow Southerners as well as from other Germans who felt that Northern sympathizers reflected badly on all Germans living in the South. The majority of German communities voted against secession, even if their particular county favored it. Comal County, however, remained loyal to the South, likely as a means to prevent conflict with old-stock

¹⁵ Roger A. Griffin, "American Party," Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/waa01>, accessed February 27, 2016. Many Texans viewed Germans as a threat after some of them passed a resolution against slavery in 1854. However, the resolution stated that the United States should not eliminate slavery where it already existed; conversely, the United States should help any state that decided to free its slaves. After the convention, many Know-Nothings circulated rumors that the Germans wanted to create a free state in West Texas. See: Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigration* (1910), 97-105, online, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapht29391/m1/106/?q=germans>, accessed 27 February 2016; Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 20-21.

¹⁶ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "New Perspectives on Texas Germans and the Confederacy," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 102, No. 4 (Apr. 1999): 445-447; Walter L. Buenger, "Secession and the Texas German Community: Editor Lindheimer vs. Editor Flake," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (Apr. 1979): 379-402, accessed 4 July 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30236864>; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German Texans: In the Mainstream or Backwaters of Lone Star Society?" *Yearbook of German American Studies*, Vol. 38 (2003), 120-121.

neighbors.¹⁷ Disregarding the facts, many Anglo Texans portrayed Germans as a homogenous group with Union sympathies. In the following years, old-stock Texas continued to think of ethnic Germans as a like-minded group, and they blamed them for standing in the way of prohibition.

In 1887, Texas unsuccessfully tried to pass a prohibition amendment. While heavily German settlements were singled-out as consistently opposing this measure, in reality only thirty total counties in the state supported prohibition, meaning that ethnic Germans were not the only ones favoring the “local option” choice as designated by the 1876 Texas Constitution.¹⁸ In 1911 when another attempt was made to pass a prohibition amendment, again it was defeated. Non-German Texans blamed “foreigners” and African Americans for voting against it. There is some truth in this argument because men associated with the liquor business did buy African American and ethnic Mexican votes. However, many Anglo Texans also voted against the prohibition amendment because they believed local matters should be handled locally and not by the state or federal government.¹⁹ In 1915 concern and criticism again encircled German Texans when Attorney General B.F. Looney sued several German brewers for violating anti-trust laws. Looney accused the dealers and brewers of paying poll taxes for African Americans and

¹⁷Walter D. Kamphoefner, “New Perspectives on Texas Germans and the Confederacy,” 445-447; Walter Buenger, “Secession and the Texas German Community,” 379-402; Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 22.

¹⁸ Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 33-35; Glynn Austin Brooks, “A Political Study of the Prohibition Movement in Texas” (Master’s Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, August 1920), 118-119, 122; James D. Ivey, *No Saloon in the Valley: The Southern Strategy of Texas Prohibitionists in the 1880s* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2003), 63, 91.

¹⁹ Glynn Austin Brooks, “A Political Study of the Prohibition Movement in Texas,” 63-64. Ivey, *No Saloon in the Valley*, 63-64, 92-93, 116-117. Lewis L. Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1992), 47-54; Thomas H. Ball, member of the Texas State Council of Defense, was a well-known prohibitionist at this time. See: Ivey, *No Saloon in the Valley*, 109.

ethnic Mexicans and gaining favors from political candidates.²⁰ Many Americans reasoned that if Germans did not favor the prohibition amendment, they must be supporting alcohol and the associated saloon-generated vice. Feelings toward German Texans continued to harden well into 1917 when the liquor controversy facilitated Governor James Ferguson's departure from office.²¹ Ferguson's impeachment stemmed from his actions in trying to control the University of Texas, as well as an investigation that he had accepted money from brewers in order to pay off personal debts.²² Because Anglos considered ethnic Germans to be unanimous anti-prohibitionists, they were cast in an unfortunate role as now being associated not only with Kaiser Wilhelm II, but also with liquor, and an ethically-questionable governor.

By the time of America's entry into the war, extremists were in a position to freely persecute German Texans under the convenient guise of patriotism. Old-stock Texans had experienced much cultural conflict with their German neighbors since the 1840s when many of the immigrants arrived. For the nativists who had the "us versus them" mindset, Germans were "the other," members of a group unlike themselves because Germans had fostered their own culture and language, lived away from Anglo Texans, and often did not assimilate. Thus, because Anglo Texans had long considered Germans as outsiders, it is

²⁰ Brooks, "A Political Study of the Prohibition Movement in Texas," 118-122; M.F. Ham, *Brewery Rule in Tarrant County* (privately printed, 1916), 9-10, 15; "Vindicated!" *The Brownwood Bulletin*, 13 August 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph343272/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22louis%20adoue%22>, accessed 13 August 2015; "Louis Adoue Dies of Pneumonia: Known as Leader of Many Affairs in Galveston: Held Office in Direction of Large Business Interests and Took Part in Enterprises for Public Good," *The Houston Post*, 4 October 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph443265/m1/13/zoom/?q=%22louis%20adoue%22>, accessed 13 August 2015.

²¹ Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists*, 209-213.

²² Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists*, 203-218.

not surprising that they believed German Texans retained loyalty to Germany. As a result of similar suspicions, federal and state officials passed laws designed to limit the spread of German propaganda at the cost of free speech.

Nationally, the Espionage and Sedition Acts stymied the expression of German culture and language during a time that emphasized conformity to American values. The Espionage Act (June 1917) prohibited criticism of the government via newspapers or mailed materials and further stated that no one was allowed to criticize the American military or in any way negatively affect recruitment. The Trading-With-the-Enemy Act, passed four months later, required foreign-language newspapers to provide to the post office a translation of any articles having to do with the war.²³ Within a year, all German-born, un-naturalized males fourteen and over were classified as alien enemies and had to register with their local chief of police or post office as required by the new Alien Registration Law.²⁴ The final national law, the Sedition Act (May 1918), made it a crime to criticize the American government, military, flag, or president.²⁵

For two months, Texans had been living under a very similar state law known as the “Hobby Loyalty Act” (March 1918) that made a felony the use of “disloyal or abusive” language within hearing of an American citizen. “Abusive language” included criticism of the American flag, armed forces, government officials, or America’s involvement in the war.²⁶ Because the United States was engaged in war against

²³ David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 25, 77.

²⁴ “German Allien [sic] Enemies In United States Must Register,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 18 January 1918; “Over one hundred German aliens. . . .” *New Braunfels Herald*, 22 February 1918.

²⁵ Kennedy, *Over Here*, 80.

²⁶ “House Bill No. 15,” Folder “Texas State Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

Germany, many Texans feared German residents and looked for evidence of disloyalty.

Prompted primarily by security concerns, the Council of National Defense moved to curtail the speaking of German in public in June 1918. As a result, the Texas State Council of Defense issued Bulletin No. 27 which “strongly urged” the use of English.²⁷ These national and state CoD actions animated the super-patriots who made it their mission to eliminate the German language.²⁸ In an effort to end abuses against ethnic Germans, the CoND issued “Loyalty and Sedition: Supplementary to Bulletin No. 99,” to the state councils in July 1918. In stern language, the bulletin addressed recent mob atrocities, calling them “deplorable” acts that “embarrass the Government.” The CoND demanded that state Councils of Defense control vigilantism by using “the full weight of public opinion.” Therefore, since the CoND considered the state councils “the leaders of the organized public opinion,” their task was to persuade would-be activists that persons suspected of disloyalty were to be handled only in lawful ways. Anything else was unacceptable.²⁹

Following the CoND’s issuance of the “Supplementary,” the Texas State Council of Defense published its own accompanying “Bulletin No. 35,” that contained far weaker language compared to that of the CoND. The State Council told county councils the following:

²⁷ “Bulletin No. 27,” J.F. Carl to the County Councils of Defense, 5 June 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

²⁸ By “super-patriot,” I mean one who was excessively patriotic to the extreme of using surveillance, threats, or violence against those they suspected of being disloyal.

²⁹ “Loyalty and Sedition: Supplementary to Bulletin No. 99,” Arthur H. Fleming to The Several State Councils of Defense,” 18 July 1918, Folder “Texas State Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

Your attention is also called to the enclosed supplement to Bulletin #99 by the Council of National Defense, on the question of loyalty and sedition. The point is we want our people to be loyal and patriotic but at the same time to be just and not to permit themselves to become extremists and be led into acts of violence and lawlessness, which are unbecoming a great country and a free people. Just hold steady and do not permit the boat to be rocked. Give publicity to this supplementary bulletin.”³⁰

Thus, the State Council made some effort to discourage mob behavior. However, the threat of punishment of those tempted to take the law into their own hands was noticeably lacking.

Overall, the Texas State Council of Defense followed the CoND’s recommendations for how to treat ethnic Germans. However, sometimes the State CoD or individual members sent mixed messages to the lower councils and the public.³¹ In two pieces of correspondence to individuals, State Council secretary and manager J.F. Carl clearly expressed his distaste for the mistreatment of Germans. In a letter to E.E. Fischer of Guadalupe County, Carl wrote: “If there be among you those thoughtless irresponsible people who take advantage of the War to heap humiliation, or cast suspicion upon the good citizens of German descent in your County, we will be glad to do what we can to handle that situation.”³² In a September 1918 letter, Secretary Carl mentioned a previous discussion he had with a German friend. The friend was talking with a fellow German who asserted that no law forbade him to speak his native language. To this, Carl's friend

³⁰ Bulletin No. 35, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 31 July 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

³¹ Bulletin No. 28, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 20 June 1918, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder “Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

³² Letter, J.F. Carl to E.E. Fischer, 17 September 1917, Folder “Guadalupe County Correspondence on Council of Defense,” Box 2J369, TWRC, DBCAH.

replied, ““There may be no law against it, but there might be a rope.”” At the bottom of the letter Carl wrote, “We don't want it to come to that.”³³

In his letters to other county CoD members regarding the German language, Carl was more ambiguous. He emphasized that individuals who were “patriotic” would stop speaking German. This statement reinforced the idea of being either “for” or “against” the United States, a kind of thinking that left no room for compromise.³⁴ In September 1918, he noted that “thoughtful men of German descent” viewed the speaking of English as a “means of protection to their people and as an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty. Those who are not patriotic will not comply.”³⁵ Carl likely used the above language as a way to encourage German Americans serving on county Councils of Defense to speak only English and to encourage fellow ethnic Germans to do the same. Furthermore, these statements acted as a subtle warning to German Texans that their neighbors might view their use of German as being unpatriotic. Even if Carl’s intent was meant to be helpful, his words reinforced the idea that speaking German was un-American, thus setting Germans apart.

In other instances the Texas State Council of Defense failed to express clear policies to the county councils regarding how they should treat those whom they suspected of disloyalty (who, more often than not, were ethnic Germans). For instance,

³³ Letter, J.F. Carl to A.W. Jordan, 27 September 1918, Folder “Caldwell County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁴ For one example of this idea that patriotism could only be displayed by speaking English, see: Letter, J.F. Carl to R. Crosby, 24 August 1918, Folder “Travis County Council of Defense,” Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH. For two other examples where Carl advises the use of persuasion, please see the following: Letter, J.F. Carl to F. Morris, Jr., 28 October 1918, Folder “Cooke County CoD,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁵ Letter, J.F. Carl to N.T. Stubbs, 28 September 1918, Folder “Texas State Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

bullet four in the state council's "Bulletin No. 13," consisted of only one sentence: "Make evidences of disloyalty decidedly unpopular in your County."³⁶ Because no explanation was provided, this statement read like a proverbial "blank check" to any hyper-patriotic CoD members who believed it their duty to determine what constituted "disloyalty" as well as the punishment for those found guilty.

On one occasion, State CoD Field Marshall Olinthus "Lint" Ellis encouraged people to push patriotism to the limits of individual liberties. Ellis, a practicing Caldwell County attorney, toured the state for the purpose of organizing county Councils of Defense, invigorating apathetic ones, and serving as an invited speaker when county councils requested his presence at a local gathering. While the contents of his speeches are lost to time, at least one newspaper article remains.³⁷ In March 1918, Ellis wrote a response to a recent controversy over a public display of the German flag in Fayette County. The article in the *La Grange Journal* advised residents to be cautious in words and deeds, and emphasized the importance of meetings which should include "patriotic singings, speeches, and readings from works including James W. Gerard's *My Four Years in Germany*." Additionally, Ellis recommended that county Council of Defense members investigate disloyalty cases and take strong action against the accused by requiring them to appear before their county Council of Defense in order to be questioned by CoD members and explain their failure to support the war.³⁸

³⁶ Bulletin No. 13, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 27 December 1917, included in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919* (n.c.: Wagner Printing: 1919), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁷ Letter, J.F. Carl to Lea Beatty, 10 January 1918, Folder "Caldwell County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Lea Beatty to J.F. Carl, 14 February 1918, Folder "Caldwell County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Lea Beatty, 15 February 1918, Folder "Caldwell County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁸ "From Field Marshal O. Ellis: Address to the People and County Councils," 14 March 1918, *La Grange*

Revealingly, Ellis stated, “Please bear in mind that if councils will do their full duty, public whippings will not likely have to be resorted to, and persons cannot make the ridiculous claim that they did not know that certain acts constituted treason or disloyalty.”³⁹ Ellis’s comments about county councils doing “their part” so that whippings would be unnecessary sent a strong message that local Councils of Defense needed to make sure all citizens knew what acts were unlawful, and make examples of those citizens accused of not adequately supporting the war. Most disturbingly, Ellis’s comment about public whippings indicates a knowledge and possible validation of these assaults taking place around the state.

Although the State Council set the tone for various attitudes and supplied basic foundational rules, county Councils of Defense largely determined the treatment of local Germans. Interactions between German Texans and their American neighbors varied substantially from place to place and often depended on several factors including the ethnic composition of the county and ethnic make-up of the county Council of Defense. Those counties with a large number of Germans sometimes had more ethnic Germans on their county Councils of Defense. This was true for Comal County where twelve out of twenty (60 percent) CoD members had at least one parent born in Germany. Of those twelve, two CoD members were German-born, naturalized Americans.⁴⁰ Gillespie County had an eight-member Council of Defense. Of these, seven (87.5 percent) had at

Journal. Ellis toured the state helping to organize county Councils of Defense, and providing motivational talks to those already established.

³⁹“From Field Marshal O. Ellis: Address to the People and County Councils,” 14 March 1918, *La Grange Journal*.

⁴⁰Please see “Appendix F: Council of Defense Members in the Top Ten German Counties of Texas” for census information covering the ten “German” counties.

least one parent born in Germany. In Washington, Kendall, and Austin Counties, the same could not be said because few ethnic Germans served on their county Councils of Defense.⁴¹

In areas with a small German population, one or two naturalized Germans or German Americans might be found on a county's Council of Defense. However, their presence as council members sometimes caused conflict within the organization. The most dramatic example occurred in Martin County, where Lorena Wolcott reported fellow CoD members F.G. Schell and Paul Konz as being "German sympathizers" and "until they are removed and Americans appointed in their stead our Council will remain a joke." Wolcott asked Carl to intervene because the accused men held prominent positions in their small town and Wolcott feared economic retaliation.⁴² Secretary J.F. Carl terminated Schell and Konz, in spite of their insistence they were loyal to the United States.⁴³ Both were American citizens. F.G. Schell had been born in Ohio to a Swiss father and

⁴¹ In some of the counties, not all Council of Defense members could be found in the 1910 or 1920 census. Washington County had a total of sixteen CoD members. Five members reported at least one parent born in Germany. Kendall County had thirteen CoD members. Information was lacking for one member. Of the remaining twelve, four had at least one parent born in Germany. Austin County had eleven CoD members. Information could not be found for one member. Of the remaining ten, only two members had at least one parent born in Germany.

⁴² Letter, Mrs. E.R. Wolcott to J.F. Carl, 6 December 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH. Although Wolcott's letter is dated "1918," I believe she meant to write "1917" based on the fact that all subsequent correspondence regarding this matter takes place in January 1918.

⁴³ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 Population, Martin County, Texas, "Lorena Wolcott," Page 268, Sheet 2B, House [Blank], Dwelling 36, Family 36, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 September 2015; Letter, J.F. Carl to Mr. F.G. Schell, 8 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Mr. Paul Konz, 8 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, F.G. Schell to Hon. J.F. Carl, 11 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Paul Konz to Hon. J.F. Carl, 11 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Mr. Paul Konz, 15 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Mrs. E.R. Wolcott to Mr. J.F. Carl, 18 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; George F. Mulkey to J.F. Carl, 4 February 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

American mother and Paul Konz was born in Illinois in the 1860s to German parents.⁴⁴

The ethnic composition of the County Council of Defense was an important factor in the relationship between Germans and their old-stock Anglo neighbors. Both Gillespie and Comal Counties had a majority of German Texans on their councils, a situation that made some non-German residents uncomfortable. Gillespie County's Rebel L. Robertson insinuated to J.F. Carl that this ethnic German majority resulted in the council pandering to fellow Germans' desire to speak their native language.⁴⁵ In contrast, no such accusation came from any Comal County residents because E.A. Eiband, secretary of the Comal County CoD, expected ample displays of patriotism from all community members, especially fellow Germans.⁴⁶

Just as the county's ethnic makeup and the background of county council members mattered, the personalities of county CoD leadership also played a role in the interactions between the county Council of Defense and ethnic Germans. E.A. Eiband of New Braunfels had a strong personality. He was an American born of German parents whose love for the United States was evident throughout his correspondence with Secretary J.F. Carl. He expected this same level of patriotism from all Comal County residents. If he felt his fellow German Americans were wavering in loyalty, he reported

⁴⁴ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 Population, Martin County, Texas, "Fred G. Schell," Page 257, Sheet 3B, House [Blank], Dwelling 68, Family 72, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 13 October 2015; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 Population, Martin County, Texas, "Paul Konz," Page 4, Sheet 4B, House [Blank], Dwelling 62, Family 63, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 13 October 2015.

⁴⁵ Letter, Rebel L. Robertson to J.F. Carl, 24 July 1918, Folder "Gillespie County Material on Council of Defense," Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁶ At one point, E.A. Eiband did not feel that the town's businessmen were showing enough patriotism for the United States. He asked Carl to write them letters in order to give the men a boost of loyalty. See: Letter, E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 19 February 1918, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

them to the State Council of Defense so that Carl could give them a discreet “talking to.” Eiband corresponded regularly with the State Council, helped the War Department to eliminate the vice district in New Braunfels, and promoted the war by devoting his large storefront window to patriotic materials.⁴⁷

M.A. Shumard also had a strong personality. He was the non-German chairman of the Kendall County CoD who repeatedly expressed his unbending patriotism and lack of sympathy for those who did not whole-heartedly share his views. As expected, conflict occurred early between Shumard and the numerous German Kendall County residents. In January 1918 Shumard reported to Carl, “We have as loyal citizens as can be found anywhere and a lot of them. On the otherhand [sic] we have those whose ‘hearts are not in this war.’ . . . Personally, I do not think that class are [sic] patriotic.”⁴⁸ By October, tensions became so high that Shumard submitted a resignation letter prompted because Kendall County Germans felt he was “‘against them.’”⁴⁹ Secretary Carl refused the resignation because of Shumard’s active cooperation with the State Council.⁵⁰

In addition to Shumard’s strong personality, the county CoD’s association with the local Loyalty League, an oppressive organization, shaped interactions between ethnic

⁴⁷ For letters in which E.A. Eiband instructed Carl to talk to those needing patriotic persuasion, see: Letter, E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 11 December 1917, Folder “Comal County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 19 February 1918, Folder “Comal County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Regarding Eiband’s efforts to eliminate prostitution, see: Letter, E. A. Eiband to War Department, Commission on Training Camp Activities, 13 May 1918, “Comal County Council of Defense” Binder, John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas. Ernst Eiband was one of the partners in the business Eiband & Fischer. To see the mention of his use of the show window, see: E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 24 May 1918, Folder Comal County Council of Defense, Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁸ Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 2 January 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁹ Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 5 October 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁰ Letter, J.F. Carl to M.A. Shumard, 11 October 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

Germans and the Kendall County Council of Defense. In that locale, CoD members were expected also to be members of the local Loyalty League and if they refused they were removed from the Council of Defense.⁵¹ Shumard described Loyalty Leagues as having “originated with Judge [Julius] Real in Kerrville, then spread to neighboring Kendall County.”⁵² In Shumard’s words, the purpose of the Loyalty League was “to endeavor to secure the prosecution and conviction of any in this county who may be found to be disloyal.”⁵³ William Wiedenfeld, a member of the Kendall County CoD served as head of the county’s Loyalty League.⁵⁴ Shumard warned that the local Loyalty League was “a power . . . to be reckoned with,” and that “the Loyalty League can make, or unmake, any organization in this county, or negative [sic] its work, on account of the large membership, and just the way it is organized.” In terms of its relationship to the local Council of Defense, Shumard admitted, “The County Council of Defense must be on terms of cordiality with the Loyalty League. We must have the co-operation of the Loyalty League.”⁵⁵

Colorado, Gillespie, Shelby, and Austin counties also had Loyalty Leagues that not only overlapped in membership with the county Councils of Defense, but sometimes the organizations were entwined, meaning that the Loyalty Leagues had as much power

⁵¹ C.C. McFarland, one of the original members, was removed because he spoke against the Loyalty League. Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 3 June 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵² Letter M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 15 May 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH. Julius Real was a member of the Texas State Council of Defense.

⁵³ Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 16 May 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁴ Please see “Appendix F: Council of Defense Members in the Top Ten German Counties of Texas,” Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 14 October 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁵ Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 15 May 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council, Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

as the CoDs, which were supposed to be superior. The Weimar Loyalty League and Colorado County Council of Defense appeared in the same newspaper article together, in a manner suggesting that the organizations conducted their business simultaneously at a “largely attended” meeting of the Loyalty League. As partners, they formed a committee to find and punish Liberty Bond “slackers.” However, unlike some groups around the state, these two organizations showed an admirable level of tolerance for those who spoke only German. The League adopted a resolution stating “it is no act of disloyalty to speak the German or Bohemian language where good can be accomplished by same.” While membership numbers for the Weimar Loyalty League are lacking, by April 1918 it was reported to be “rapidly growing.”⁵⁶

Gillespie County had a large Loyalty League that consisted of more than one hundred people, including William Bierschwale, former Texas legislator and president of the Gillespie County Council of Defense.⁵⁷ Shelby County had a “Loyalty Club” designed “to encourage loyalty to our government and to secure a speedy response to its demands.” Members included only those men and women who had bought Liberty Bonds or War Savings Stamps, or were Red Cross members. As a locally designated auxiliary to the county Council of Defense, it appeared to function in similar ways as other counties’ Loyalty Leagues but much more organized. For instance, the Loyalty Club had four sub-committees that included War Finance, Woman’s Work, Vigilance, and a Committee on Public Information. The most coercive sub-committee, Vigilance, tasked

⁵⁶ “Loyalty League at Weimar,” *Fredericksburg Standard*, 27 April 1918.

⁵⁷ “Loyalty League Organized: Organization is Permanent and Officers Elected for Year,” 18 May 1918, *Fredericksburg Standard*. William Bierschwale served in the Texas House from January 1909 to January 1917. “William Bierschwale,” Legislative Reference Library of Texas, <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legeLeaders/members/membersearch.cfm>, accessed 22 March 2017.

itself to “investigate all acts of disloyalty and violations of the Food Conservation Regulations and shall report same to the Chairman of the Vigilance Committee of Shelby County.”⁵⁸

The Loyalty League in Austin County was the most menacing. It was an auxiliary of the Austin County Council of Defense, and several members (Dr. J.A. Neely, C.N. Shaver, C.D. Duncan, Herman J. Miller, and Max Bader) served in both organizations.⁵⁹ This Loyalty League exerted tremendous amounts of pressure on local residents because it established a network of lower Leagues similar to the lower Councils of Defense. Community League members, called “auxiliary men,” created lists of every person living in their area and tallied the amount they were spending on Liberty Bonds, War Savings Stamps, and the Red Cross. C.D. Duncan explained to J.F. Carl, that if any Austin County resident “is not doing his full share his assessed [property tax] valuation is put up to him and he is told that 3% of his assessed valuation is the amount of bonds he must have at this time.”⁶⁰

The Austin County Council of Defense made it seem that contributing to the war was mandatory, not voluntary. After someone complained about what was going on there, C.D. Duncan angrily wrote to Carl, “If these citizens . . . did know that their subscriptions to the bond issues were entirely voluntary the amounts of bonds sold wouldnt [sic] buy a decent loaf of bread.” Duncan went on to state that the Austin County resident who got a

⁵⁸ “Constitution and Bylaws for Loyalty Club,” on back of letter from Shelby County Council of Defense to “My dear Sir and Friend,” 26 April 1918, Folder “Shelby County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁹ Flyer, “Austin County Loyalty League,” undated, Folder “Austin County Council of Defense,” Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁰ Letter, C. Douglas Duncan to J.F. Carl, 26 April 1918, Folder “Austin County Council of Defense,” Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH.

whipping in a neighboring county deserved it for not spending enough on bonds, and for speaking out against the Red Cross. Duncan stated to Carl that if it was up to him “What they should have done and they would have had our Sanction,-they should have beat him to death or deported him back to land where his affection was.” Duncan justified his actions: “if we are not to handle these unpatriotic progermans [sic] without gloves we had as well close shop and wait until the end of the war.” He also stated that “if the Council of National Defense is going to take the part of these individuals and their kind . . . we will all gladly forward our commissions.”⁶¹

Austin County is a good example of a locality where someone with a strong personality led the county Council of Defense. Secretary C.D. Duncan’s leadership differed from that of other chairmen. Duncan’s level of anger, his willingness to condone deportation and even death to someone who did not support the war as he did, and his declaration that other council members felt the same way are all extreme characteristics unseen in any CoD correspondence thus far. He stated as fact that someone from Austin County had been whipped, though the assault occurred somewhere else.⁶² Even in Kendall County where the local Germans felt that their chairman M.A. Shumard was “against them,” no reports of violence are known.⁶³ Finally, Comal County’s E.A. Eiband had his own ways of eliciting patriotism without ever using violence, and the tone of the overall correspondence is the least oppressive of the three. These counties provide a good

⁶¹ Letter, C.D. Duncan to J.F. Carl, 7 November 1918, Folder “Austin County Council of Defense,” Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶² Letter, C.D. Duncan to J.F. Carl, 7 November 1918, Folder “Austin County Council of Defense,” Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶³ Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 5 October 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

illustration of the different levels of pressure resident Germans experienced and the power local Councils of Defense had in determining their treatment throughout these difficult years when they lived under the microscope of public surveillance and opinion.

As early as the summer of 1917, people from across the state reported to the Texas State Council of Defense suspicious behavior on the part of ethnic Germans. Most of these reports tended to be little more than vague fears. For example, people from two different counties that bordered Mason County reported worrisome activities in the town of Mason. In July, the Llano County Council of Defense warned of “a disloyalty spirit” and “raw talks” in the streets and advised the State Council to investigate.⁶⁴ Eight months later W.D. Crothers, chairman of the McCulloch County Council of Defense, wrote to State Council secretary J.F. Carl echoing similar concerns. Crothers reported “secret meetings” held in Mason by “a few prominent men.” He advised Carl that the Bureau of Investigation should be called, yet also stated that if “someone in authority” talked to the men, their actions would likely be curtailed. In a separate letter to Carl, Crothers provided names of the suspicious parties, making note of their German ethnicity.⁶⁵ Northeast of Mason County, Bosque County’s chairman, Fred Huggins, sent out a press release warning fellow residents to keep their vigilant eyes open for Germans and Austrians engaged in “peace propaganda” or “hostile criticisms” of the war.⁶⁶

Other complaints were more specific, and fell into one of three main categories:

⁶⁴ Letter, J.H. McLean to Texas State Council of Defense, 30 July 1917, Folder “Llano Co Correspondence Defense Council, Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁵ Letter, W.D. Crothers to J.F. Carl, 23 March 1918, Folder “McCullough [sic] Co. Correspondence—Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH. Letter, W.D. Crothers to J.F. Carl, 23 March 1918, Folder “McCullough [sic] Co. Correspondence—Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁶ Press Release, Fred Huggins to All County Papers, n.d., Folder “Bosque Co.---Council of Defense,” Box 2J398, TWRC, DBCAH.

first, possession or display of the German flag; second, inadequate financial support for Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps; and third, speaking German. On February 12, 1918, dozens of Fayetteville residents including the mayor were arrested for flying the German flag outside the Germania Club. This incident sparked a mini war of words between editors of the *La Grange Journal* (Fayette County) and at least two other newspapers including the *Weimar Mercury* (Colorado County) and the *Texan* (Harris County) a Czech newspaper. B.F. Harigel, editor of the *La Grange Journal* printed transcripts of testimony that recounted the incident in the following way: “the assistant secretary, or clerk . . . went into the nearest room, saw a flag lying there, and that he picked up this flag and displayed it in front of the building, not knowing at the time whether it was a German flag or a American flag.” The account further stated that “the assistant secretary, or clerk, W.I. Drawe . . . did not know that it was wrong or improper to display even a German flag.”⁶⁷ Later reports revealed that “pains had been taken to affix the German flag to the 30-foot mast extending from the second floor gallery of the club, and they found that it had been fastened to the pole with nails and the mast ropes had been removed.”⁶⁸ All those arrested were released after being fined.

B.F. Harigel, editor of the *La Grange Journal*, took offense to those who viewed the Germania Club members as guilty, and he became defensive in his newspaper. Harigel argued that casting the mayor and others in such an unfavorable light hurt the town and the county. He further stated that the accused “are men who stand high in the

⁶⁷ “Deplore Raising German Flag: Attorneys Make Statement for Men Arrested at Fayetteville,” *La Grange Journal*, 21 February 1918. For a discussion of this incident, see also: Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 1-3.

⁶⁸ “Fayetteville Men Released: Heavy Bond Exacted From Our Neighbors,” *La Grange Journal*, 21 February 1918.

estimation of honorable citizens, and these citizens, real, loyal Americans, and not men who profess their loyalty.”⁶⁹ The editor’s comments indicate the tension level of an individual who felt that his county was being ridiculed unjustly. Furthermore, he may have felt personally attacked because he was a Texan born of German parents.⁷⁰

In New Braunfels (Comal County), someone turned in a fellow resident for displaying the German flag inside his private residence. According to the local newspaper, the accused was “prominent,” “highly respected,” and “American born.” Furthermore, his wife was described as “a refined American lady, and of pure American descent.” Upon investigation, two federal agents and the local sheriff entered the home and found not a German flag, but instead an American flag and a French flag. The author of the article explained that possibly the navy, white, and red French flag had been mistaken for the black, white, and red German flag. Nevertheless, the writer expressed his annoyance with the matter and publicly chastised the person who turned in the owner of the flags for having “committed one of those overzealous and blamable acts so often heard of now, and which arouse bitter feeling and may cast an undeserved stigma on innocent and good loyal citizens.”⁷¹

In the above example, the county Council of Defense was not mentioned so it is uncertain if council members played any direct part in this matter. However, this incident provided the subject matter for two documents in the Comal County Council of Defense

⁶⁹ “About People, Politics, Etc.: Remarks By the Editor,” *La Grange Journal*, 28 February 1918.

⁷⁰ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910 Population, Fayette County, Texas, “Benno F. Harrigel,” Page 8, Sheet 8B, House [Blank], Dwelling 164, Family 165, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 28 July 2015; Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 Population, Fayette County, Texas, “Ben F. Harrigal,” Page 52, Sheet 6B, House [Blank], Dwelling 153, Family 154, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 28 July 2015.

⁷¹ “There Was No Disloyalty,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 September 1918.

records, one of which appears almost as a press release but provides no indication of its author. According to that particular paper, the incident may have originated as retaliation for a business dispute. The second paper consists of a letter from the Bureau of Investigation agent to J.F. Carl informing Carl of the Bureau's findings and asking him for the name of the informant so that they could make further investigations.⁷²

Wharton County provided the backdrop for another questionable flag display. Someone alerted the sheriff that they had seen a car around the area that had affixed to it a German flag. The sheriff and some chosen guests promptly drove to a location where they might sit and wait for the car to pass. When the car finally approached, the group realized the banner in question was a Texas flag.⁷³ While two out of the three incidents mentioned turned out to be unsubstantiated, they help illustrate how easily one could place blame or suspicion on another.

Of all the complaints against Germans, the second most common was that Germans were not spending enough on Liberty Bonds, War Savings Stamps, and Red Cross donations. The Comal County Council of Defense sent to William Haas a letter chastising him for not doing enough for his country. In his reply, Haas insisted that he had bought bonds and War Savings Stamps and that the Comal County CoD had been misled about his efforts because of a mistake on the card reporting how much he spent for the Fourth Liberty Loan. In order to account for any shortcomings that the CCCoD might still find, Haas explained that he had a large family and that his crops had failed for the

⁷² "In re: Emil Weilbacker German Flag Matter," 14 September 1918, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH. See also: Letter, C.E. Breniman to J.F. Carl, 18 September 1918, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷³ Ora L. Roades, "A History of Wharton County, Texas, in the World War" (Thesis, University of Texas, 1938), 39-40. Author was quoting *The Wharton Spectator*; 18 May 1917.

last two years.⁷⁴ John H. Shary, chairman of Hidalgo County, complained to Carl, “we have a great many Germans here against subscribing for the Liberty Loan. We have some Germans here that are quite wealthy and are not subscribing a penny and some that should subscribe \$5000.00 are subscribing \$50.00.” He then asked Carl, “Now, what can the Council of Defense do in this matter?”⁷⁵

The county Councils of Defense played the most direct role regarding the third and most often heard complaint—German Texans speaking German. Non-Germans viewed this act as a prohibitive factor that kept ethnic Germans from assimilating into American society. Furthermore, it could be a means of spreading enemy propaganda. As such, letters flooded J.F. Carl’s office demanding an end to spoken German on the street, in schools, and in churches. Writing from Fredericksburg in July 1918, Rebel Robertson lamented to Carl that German was spoken everywhere including in the Red Cross room next to his office. Moreover, even non-Germans regularly conversed in German. He suggested the State Council ban its use because he could not count on the county CoD to do so. According to Robertson, members of the Gillespie County Council of Defense were “all Germans and use the German language in preference to the English.”⁷⁶

Rebel Robertson was not alone in his sentiments. In mid-September, 1918, R.G. Crosby of the Travis County CoD sent a letter to several county CoDs asking their views on the language issue.⁷⁷ An undated response from the Comal County Council of

⁷⁴ Letter, William Haas to Comal County Council of Defense, 23 October 1918, John D. Rightmire Collection.

⁷⁵ Letter, John H. Shary to J.F. Carl, 30 September 1918, Folder “Hidalgo County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J370 TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁶ Letter, Rebel L. Robertson to J.F. Carl, 24 July 1918, Folder “Gillespie County Material on Council of Defense,” Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁷ Letter, R.G. Crosby to R.E. Kloepper, 17 September 1918, “Comal County Council of Defense” Binder, John D. Rightmire Collection.

Defense recommended “the teaching of all foreign languages in schools,” citing the benefits of multilingualism for business pursuits. Additionally, the Comal County CoD asserted that young people should be the ones targeted for English-only campaigns because if older people were forced to abandon German, they would be resentful, become more determined to speak German, and less sympathetic to the American stance. In spite of these reservations, however, the Comal County Council stressed its belief in “unity of language” [meaning the use of English] during this time.⁷⁸ The endorsement of bilingual education was unique to Comal County. Most other county Councils of Defense (including Kendall) unreservedly favored banning the teaching and use of German.⁷⁹

Some reports from county Councils of Defense reflected the desire to eliminate German from every part of their county. In September 1918, M.A. Shumard wrote to Carl that Kendall County was “a hotbed of propaganda” where residents regularly spoke German in order to “[minimize] the effort of” the County Council of Defense.⁸⁰ In this case, the Kendall County CoD felt that residents were acting out from a sense of spite. Meanwhile, the Travis County Council of Defense directly extended their organization’s reach into individuals’ homes by instructing telephone operators to disconnect the parties on the telephone if the operators heard German being spoken.⁸¹

While most county councils did not resort to policing citizens in their own homes, schools and churches became battle zones in the public realm because councils feared the

⁷⁸ “Suggestions to the State Council of Defense, from the Comal County Council of Defense in answer to Bulletin No. 56,” undated, “Comal County Council of Defense,” John D. Rightmire Collection.

⁷⁹ Letter, M.A. Shumard to H.W. Lewis, 2 September 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁰ Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 17 September 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council, Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸¹ Letter, R.G. Crosby to J.F. Carl, 18 September 1918, Folder “Travis County Council of Defense,” Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

spread of enemy propaganda. In particular, local council members worried about school children, a group they considered to be particularly vulnerable. During the war, a large dispute arose between the Bell County CoD and Reverend Theodor Bogisch, who wanted to open a bilingual (English and German) school for children in the small community of Bartlett. Rev. Bogisch explained that the purpose of the school was solely to instruct the children in religion; he provided to the Bell County CoD copies of the religious texts and songbooks to be used, some of which were bilingual. The council decided, however, “That the children and youth of our County, while we are at war with Germany, be not taught anything . . . in school house, church house or elsewhere in the language of that Country [Germany]. The council went on to emphasize its “profound public interest—in the rearing of the children . . . and that they are not poisoned with propaganda.” Thus, the county Council of Defense refused to allow the school.⁸² Two months later member counties comprising the Austin District (Travis, Llano, Burnet, Blanco, Hays, Williamson, and Lampasas) expressed their own concern for school children when they recommended that the State Legislature ban the use of the German language in primary and intermediate schools.⁸³

⁸² Letter, George W. Tyler to [Theodor] Bogisch, 4 June 1918, Folder “Bell County-Minutes on Meetings and Miscellaneous Information on War Measures,” Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH; George W. Tyler, “Memoranda,” 8 June 1918, Folder “Bell County Council of Defense,” Box 2J397, TWRC, DBCAH. Another reason the council did not allow the school had to do with the threat of violence from vigilantes. George Tyler stated, “when public sentiment became sufficiently aroused, it was liable to go beyond the control of the law and we don’t want anything of that kind here.” [See above “Memoranda”]. English-only legislation was part of the “Americanization” work which had been started prior to the First World War. The idea that Americanization should be taught in schools, and that foreign languages should be restricted is discussed in the following works: Guadalupe San Miguel, *“Let All of Them Take Heed”:* *Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 33. Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1981* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 62-65.

⁸³ Resolution, 28 August 1918, Folder “Travis County Council of Defense,” Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH. During this time, Bogisch was the President of the First German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Texas,. See: Letter, Theo Bogisch to “Mein lieber Bruder,” 6 August 1918, Folder “German & English: Copies

By far, the most common grievance involved the use of the German language in church services and other religious rites and practices. Fannin County citizens complained about a local church wanting to conduct burial services in German and asked J.F. Carl what they could do. Carl responded that he did not mind German burial services and elaborated, “I want to be reasonable and humane about this, as well as any other matter I undertake.”⁸⁴ By mid-June, the Travis County Council of Defense called a meeting with church leaders of all denominations to form a committee in charge of enforcing compliance with English-only services as well as reinforcing patriotism in their own and surrounding churches. A little more than a month later, the Travis County council’s position had softened somewhat, perhaps with the realization that many parishioners could not speak or understand English. Although the local CoD decided to allow one church service in German once a month, the chairman also divulged a growing intolerance from community members who sought the elimination of all spoken German. He urged Carl of the need for some word from President Woodrow Wilson or from the Council of National Defense.⁸⁵

In July 1918, the DeWitt County Council of Defense resolved to end the use of German in public. However, a few weeks later the local Cuero newspaper reported that the DeWitt County Council of Defense had met with specified “German citizens”

of Correspondence 1918-1919 Loyalty Declaration,”Karnau Collection 2012.3 Rosa Lee (Wolters) Doerfler Collection Luther League & Others 2009.1, WWI German Language & Patriotism Issues in Texas 2003.13,” FBox 37, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Region 4-South Archives, Texas Lutheran University, Seguin, Texas.

⁸⁴ Letter, L. Bailey to J.F. Carl, 7 November 1918, Folder “Fannin County Council of Defense, Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to L. Bailey, 8 November 1918, Folder “Fannin County Council of Defense, Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁵ Letter, R. Crosby to J.F. Carl, 18 June 1918, Folder “Travis County Council of Defense,” Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, R. Crosby to J.F. Carl, 23 August 1918, Folder “Travis County Council of Defense,” Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

including six members of the clergy. Because these members expressed how challenging it would be for pastors to preach in English as well as the difficulty for older parishioners in understanding, the county council decided to make concessions by occasionally allowing the use of German for some church services.⁸⁶

In Caldwell, Cass, and McCulloch counties, German priests and ministers caused particular ire to overzealous patriots. Caldwell County council members complained about four German Lutheran churches whose preachers were alien enemies. Even though the Caldwell County Council of Defense chairman, A.W. Jordan, admitted that services at all churches were in English, he still suspected disloyalty for he told Carl “you can readily see just what is brewing here.”⁸⁷ H.A. O’Neal in Northeast Texas (Cass County) raised similar suspicions against local preachers who used their position for “resistance to the draft.” Furthermore claimed O’Neal, “they refer to President Wilson as Old Woody,” an unforgivable offense even before the existence of the Hobby Loyalty Law.⁸⁸ A few days later, the McCulloch County CoD chairman, W.D. Crothers, reported to Carl that he knew of a preacher who was trying to lure young men to his church after which they could claim conscientious objector status. Carl thanked Crothers for his report and said that if anything got out of hand in the county, Carl would contact the Bureau of Investigation.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ “Council of Defense Modifies Order German Speech: Will Permit Use Where Necessary, But the English Tongue Must Predominate,” *The Cuero Daily Record*, 21 July 1918.

⁸⁷ Letter, A.W. Jordan to J.F. Carl, 22 September 1918, Folder “Caldwell County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁸ Letter, H.A. O’Neal to J.F. Carl, 11 August 1917, Folder “Cass County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁹ Letter, W.D. Crothers to J.F. Carl, 8 August 1917, Folder “McCullough [sic] Co Correspondence—Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to W.D. Crothers, 10 August 1917, Folder “McCullough [sic] Co. Correspondence—Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

Council of Defense members from Comal and Martin County wrote to Carl to inform him of wrongdoings so that The State would be aware and have the Bureau of Investigation on notice and ready to act. Comal County's E.A. Eiband reported in April 1918, "the Lutheran preacher is being closely watched, and we almost had him, and we'r [sic] going to get him yet."⁹⁰ From Martin County, former lieutenant governor, William Mayes, claimed that an un-naturalized priest there was sympathetic to Germany. As such, the Martin County Council of Defense recommended that the Bureau of Investigation get involved and send the priest to an internment camp.⁹¹

In some cases, citizens with no apparent ties to the Council of Defense system physically assaulted German church leaders whom they believed sympathized with Germany. In the Autumn of 1918, two men were attacked in or around Bishop (Nueces County) in part because the timing of a church function conflicted with a Liberty Loan meeting. Irate residents blamed local Germans for purposely planning the event at that time. A mob reportedly waited at the depot for the elderly visiting minister who escaped a beating because he had arrived by car instead of train. Two other German ministers did not escape violence. One of the men was beaten at the hands of the Boy Scouts for speaking German to someone on the train.⁹²

⁹⁰ E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 4 April 1918, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹¹ Letter, Will[iam] H. Mayes to J.F. Carl, 10 July 1918, Folder "Correspondence W.H. Mayes," Box 2J395, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹² "The Bishop Incident," *Seguiner Zeitung*, 24 October 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph487448/m1/2/?q=flogging%20date:1917-1918>, accessed 20 August 2015. See also: "Bishop Residents are Indicted for Assault on Reverend Moebus: Warrants are Served on Four Men Who Have Been Indicted for Flogging Pastor of the German Lutheran Church Near Bishop," and "Bishop Cases are Set for Hearing Thursday: Men Indicted for Flogging Pastor of German Lutheran Church Near Bishop Ready for Trial," both articles on the same page in *The Corpus Christi Weekly Caller*, 22 November 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph144608/m1/4/zoom/?q=moebus%20date:1917-1918>, accessed 21 August 2015.

C.H. Schroeder, a German in Bowie County, reported that his local minister remained in constant danger in spite of his outward displays of patriotism. According to Schroeder, the minister actively fostered the use of English in his services by having one service in English then the same service in German. He also distributed bilingual (English/German) Bibles, and contributed to the various Red Cross campaigns. Nevertheless, Schroeder lamented, “the wildest reports are circulated, especially about our minister, which once almost resulted in his being mobbed by people known as bad characters.”⁹³

Other violent acts occurred against citizens accused of not supporting the Red Cross. In December 1917 “prominent citizens” flogged six Germans in Brenham (Washington County) for not subscribing to the Red Cross. The writer of the article pointed out the event’s lack of secrecy, perhaps in an effort to justify it or contrast it to Ku Klux Klan activities wherein participants wore hoods. In this case, the Brenham “committee” members did not conceal their identities behind masks and the assault took place during the day.⁹⁴ In the DeWitt/Lavaca County area, a mob of more than one hundred made three men there “ride the rail” for refusing to give enough to the Red Cross and for making disloyal comments.⁹⁵ Of the three men, one had an American surname

⁹³ Letter, C.H. Shroeder to N[ewton] D. Baker, 19 September 1918, Folder “Bowie County Council of Defense,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁴ “Flog Unpatriotic German Farmers: Brenham Citizens Use Whips in Getting Red Cross Membership,” *San Antonio Express*, 27 December 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph433609/m1/4/?q=%22flogged%22>, accessed 5 December 2016. An article in the Plano newspaper elaborates that the committee set aside money to purchase whips on those who refused to adequately support the Red Cross. See: “Men Join Red Cross After Flogging,” *The Plano Star-Courier*, 4 January 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph570410/m1/2/?q=%22flogging%22%20date:1917-1919>, accessed 19 August 2015.

⁹⁵ Making someone “ride a rail” was a form of punishment which usually consisted of a person being made to straddle a fence post or something like this, being carried by two or more men who were part of a mob. The victim was paraded around, then usually dumped outside of town. In this case, the “rail” was a steel

and was listed in the 1910 census for Lavaca County as having been born in Texas. The other two men had German surnames. Following the ordeal, the victims “were made to get on their knees and kiss the U.S. flag three times,” after which two of them were placed in jail “by order of the Council of Defense.”⁹⁶

In extreme cases, mobs used tar and feathers. In May 1918 a Greek confectioner in Wichita County refused to buy Liberty Bonds, War Savings Stamps, or donate to the Red Cross due to religious reasons. Leading citizens tarred and feathered him while a “moving picture” was made of the event with “the proceeds to be directed to the Red Cross.”⁹⁷ Another feathering escapade occurred in Luling (Caldwell County), once again at the hands of “prominent citizens” who assaulted someone refusing to support the war. In order to teach the man a lesson in loyalty, the mob tarred and feathered him and paraded him up and down the main street with a sign around his neck that said “Traitor—All Others Take Warning.”⁹⁸

Testimony in the case of Dr. Walter Shropshire best indicates the level of coercion used at the county level. In the DeWitt/Lavaca County area (where months earlier a mob made three men “ride the rail”), matters became serious when a committee of approximately six men entered Dr. Walter Shropshire’s drug store and told him “we

pipe. Please see: “The Word Detective,” <http://www.word-detective.com/2009/10/ride-out-of-town-on-a-rail/>, accessed 5 August 2015.

⁹⁶ “It Happened at Yoakum: Mob Gives Men Ride on Rail for Disloyal Remarks,” *La Grange Journal*, 4 April 1918; Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Lavaca County, Texas, “Julius Frank,” Page 234, Sheet 17A, House [Blank], Dwelling 352, Family 365, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 19 August 2015.

⁹⁷ “Electra Citizens Tar and Feather Greek Confectioner,” *The Aspermont Star*, 2 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph126131/m1/2/?q=%22tar%20and%20feather%22>, accessed 27 June 2015.

⁹⁸ “Luling Has First Tar and Feather Party,” *Lockhart Post-Register*, 30 May 1918; “Luling Citizens Brand, Tar and Feather Man who Curses the Red Cross,” *Fredericksburg Standard*, 25 May 1918; Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 111.

would like to sell you a nice little bond, \$500.00 or \$1000.00.” When Shropshire repeatedly refused, the men became insistent, prompting Shropshire to lose his temper, grab one of the men by the shirt and lift him off the ground while demanding the men exit the store. For this action, Shropshire was turned in to the State Council of Defense which then referred the matter to the Adjutant General.⁹⁹

Throughout the war Americans suspected ethnic Germans of every kind of wrongdoing from displaying a picture of Kaiser Wilhelm II to engaging in seditious talk. Many of the suspicions were vague and without proof. But people were frightened because they could not easily identify the enemy. Government propaganda posters and films told them about German atrocities and many were unable to differentiate the propaganda-generated Germans from their neighboring German Americans. They wrote to the Texas State Council of Defense in order to get advice, or to feel like they were doing something important to “stop the enemy.” Sometimes, Texans turned to violence in order to gain a sense of control. They targeted anyone they determined to be of questionable loyalty, including and especially Lutheran ministers because these men had influence over a large group of people, and they often spoke German—a language that vigilantes could neither understand nor control the use of except by force.

While violent acts did not happen often, they did send the strong message to ethnic Germans that they must publicly display their patriotism or risk persecution or

⁹⁹ “Testimony Adduced Before Council of Defense with Reference to Alleged Obstruction by Walter Shropshire of the Sale of Liberty Bonds,” 6 November 1918, enclosed within the following: Letter, Walter Reiffert to J.F. Carl, 9 November 1918, Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Walter Reiffert, 8 November 1918, Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH. Dr. Shropshire was the son of two US-born parents. His wife, Mattie, was born in Texas to German-born parents. Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, DeWitt County, Texas, “Walter Shropshire,” Page 292, Sheet 31B, House [Blank], Dwelling 672, Family 734, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 28 August 2016.

violence. Because vigilantes also targeted non-Germans of any class, Germans felt even more susceptible to scrutiny. Dr. Walter Shropshire was a respected member of the community. He was neither German-born, nor the son of German parents. Yet, because he did not cooperate when a hostile group of men demanded monetary support for the Red Cross, the DeWitt County Council of Defense reported him to the State Council.

As might be expected, many Germans felt they were being unjustly persecuted during these difficult years. However, they were not without agency and most chose to comply with local and state council demands. Numerous pastors willingly cooperated with/offered their services to the Texas State Council of Defense. For instance, Reverend Theo. Heisig of Cuero's First Baptist Church (DeWitt County) regularly traveled the state and spoke on behalf of the Texas State Council of Defense.¹⁰⁰ Reverend A.A. Hahn, pastor of Cuero's Evangelical Lutheran Church, publicly praised Field Marshall Olinthus Ellis's visit to DeWitt County, and Ellis's ability to fire up patriotism in German Texans whose loyalty had been divided.¹⁰¹ Members of the DeWitt County Council of Defense (DCCoD) even boasted to their sub-councils about Hahn. They said even though the young minister was "of pure German descent," he was the first in town, and possibly the state, to eliminate the German language from his church services at the Cuero Lutheran Church.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Letter, Theo. Heisig to J.F. Carl, 8 April 1918, Folder "Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council," Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Rev. Theo. Heiser [sic], 2 April 1918, Folder "De Witt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰¹ Letter, A.A. Hahn to J.F. Carl, 27 December 1917, Folder "De Witt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰² Letter, De Witt County Council of Defense to Various Community Councils of Defense," n.d., Folder "De Witt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH. In fact, the DCCoD wrote to Secretary J.F. Carl that they were pleased with the compliance of all local ministers regarding English-only measures. See: Letter, Walter Reiffert to J.F. Carl, 20 July 1918, Folder "De Witt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

No government or organizational action drew as much backlash from ethnic Germans as the attempted elimination of the German language. As a result, individuals and groups used five major ways to express publicly their dislike for new rules promoting English-only. First, some wrote letters to the State Council or other public officials. Reverend Emil Hannemann of Gillespie County sent an urgent letter in July 1918 to Carl asking whether the State Council was going to recommend an end to the use of German in church services. As vice president of the Lutheran Texas Synod, Hannemann pleaded with Carl that if this was the case, then church officials needed time to prepare materials in English for their parochial schools as well as find preachers fluent in English to present Sunday sermons.¹⁰³

German congregation members at a church in Cyclone (Bell County) complained that their congregation consisted of both Germans and Bohemians and that both groups jointly had employed the priest to speak in their native languages for specific services. However, because the Bell County Council of Defense passed a resolution prohibiting German from being spoken in public places, the priest in Cyclone had replaced German-language sermons for those in English (though he still performed services in Bohemian.)¹⁰⁴

Two individuals, J.F. Christiansen (mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this chapter) and C.H. Schroeder, took their grievances to the Council of National Defense. Christiansen, naturalized German minister from DeWitt County, wrote a thoughtful letter

¹⁰³ Letter, Emil Hannemann to J.F. Carl, 17 July 1918, Folder "Gillespie County Material on Council of Defense," Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁴ Minutes, Bell County Council of Defense, 27 September 1918, Folder "Bell County Council of Defense File No. 4—1918," Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

to Arthur Fleming of the Council of National Defense expressing his inability to speak fluent English resulting in occasional lapses into German during his sermons. He not only stated his circumstances but also that he was a true American, having two sons overseas serving with the American forces. He asked Fleming to explain to him the CoND's resolution regarding the use of German.¹⁰⁵ Bowie County resident C.H. Schroeder informed Secretary of War, Newton Baker, that his congregation was loyal and that their minister had incorporated English into his church services long before America's entry into the war. However, vigilantes continued to harass the minister and cast suspicion upon church members. Schroeder closed his letter with a question, "Are not those who unwarrantably spread rumors and excite and enrage the people, more dangerous to the country than those who happen to be of German descent but otherwise loyal and patriotic [?]"¹⁰⁶

A church committee from Milam County also bypassed local and state officials and contacted Secretary of the Treasury, William McAdoo. Church members told McAdoo that their county CoD had forbidden them to use German in their church services. However, the members said they had hired their priest "by the year paying him his salary." They feared that they would have to fire him if forced to have English-only services, and emphasized "our people are just as patriotic as any man in the county."¹⁰⁷

Two congregations from Mills County wrote to President Woodrow Wilson. Their

¹⁰⁵ Letter, J.F. Christiansen to A.H. Fleming, 16 August 1918, Folder "De Witt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁶ Letter, C.H. Schroeder to N[ewton] D. Baker, 19 September 1918, Folder "Bowie County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁷ Letter, W.R. Geistman to [William] McAdoo, 26 Aug. 1918, Folder "Milam Co. Correspondence Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

letter was forwarded to the Council of National Defense, which responded to the two congregations that having English-only services might be a sacrifice, but this was a necessary measure during this time. Mills County conditions seemed to have been so oppressive that Secretary Carl got involved. In a letter that opened cunningly with praise to the local Council of Defense, Carl offered congratulations “on the enthusiasm your Council has shown in carrying into effect this effort to eliminate the German language in public gatherings during the War.” However, he quickly and wisely shifted the letter into one of caution by advising the council “that it may be going a little too strong to station a ranger and thereby accomplish by force what is desired to be accomplished by education and permission.” Carl then advised that, “A willing convert is always much to be desired over one who merely submits through duress or fear.”¹⁰⁸ This letter shows several things including Carl’s use of careful language to curb a county council that had gone too far in fear-tactics. Second, because the letter mentioned that a “ranger” was stationed in the county, one realizes the difficulties under which German Texans lived—the atmosphere of control—which makes one wonder what happened if residents there were caught speaking German.

Reverend Theodor Bogisch, president of the First Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Texas, also wrote to President Wilson asking if using the German language in church services was illegal. Special Assistant to the Attorney General replied evasively that “Whether the Local Councils of Defense . . . have the power under state law to do that

¹⁰⁸ Letter, Arthur H. Fleming to the Trustees of the Evangelical Luther Zion’s and St. John’s Congregation,” 8 August 1918, Folder “Bell County Council of Defense File No. 4—1918,” Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Lewis Hudson, 14 August 1918, Folder “Mills County Correspondence Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

which they are doing to suppress the use of the German language, is a question into which the federal government has not gone.” Even more disappointingly for Bogisch, officials told him they could not “interfere with the activities of local authorities unless those activities violate the federal law or Constitution.”¹⁰⁹

Other Germans laid out their grievances in respectful petitions presented to their county Councils of Defense. The Round Top Lutheran Church asked the Fayette County Council of Defense to make some concessions regarding the use of German in church because doing so previously had prompted patriotic giving from those members who spoke only German. Furthermore, the letter emphasized that older church members would be unable to understand sermons given in English. Their appeals, however, were for naught because the Fayette County Council of Defense stood behind the state and federal councils, even reading a letter from the Council of National Defense acknowledging potential hardships for some members, but emphasizing that these trials would unite Americans under one language.¹¹⁰

Church members in Fayette County remained diligent. Several church officials reasonably requested time to obtain new church materials in the English language. They further inquired whether this English-only mandate applied to all foreign language services, including those which were not German. To this question, the council members

¹⁰⁹ Letter [Illegible Signature] The Special Attorney to the Attorney General for War Work to Theodore Bogisch,” 3 September 1918, FBox37, Folder “German & English Correspondence 1918-1919 Loyalty Declaration,” Karnau Collection 2012.3, Rosa Lee (Wolters) Doerfler Collection Luther League & Others 2009, WWI German Language & Patriotism Issues in Texas 2003.13, Special Collections, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Region IV—South Archives, Texas Lutheran University, Seguin, Texas. A second, unsigned copy of this letter may be found the Texas War Records Collection. See: Letter, United States Attorney to Theodore Bogisch, 4 September 1918, Folder “Bell County-Minutes on Meetings and Miscellaneous Information on War Measures,” Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁰ “A Special Meeting Was Held: Fayette County Requested to Talk English: County Council of Defense Hears Petitioners from Round Top,” *La Grange Journal*, 3 October 1918.

stated that it did.¹¹¹ The next month, ten local ministers responded to the Fayette County Council of Defense's English-only resolution passed in October 1918. The men acknowledged the council's desire, but argued that it should be incorporated gradually into church services.¹¹²

The Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of Victoria (Victoria County) wrote a petition to their county's Council of Defense after the local council recommended the discontinuation of German. Like many others, petitioners based their complaint largely on the idea of hardships which would be suffered by older church members. Notably, this situation appeared to have been taken into consideration in the local council's "Address Suggesting the Abandonment of the Use of German." The document stated: "A few there are who know no other tongue, and are too old to learn another. To these only this demand is not addressed." (One will note that the "suggestion" as appears in the title for not using German morphed into a "demand" within the course of the document).¹¹³

¹¹¹ "A Special Meeting Was Held: Fayette County Requested to Talk English: County Council of Defense Hears Petitioners at Round Top," *La Grange Journal*, 3 October 1918. An almost identical situation occurred in Bartlett, located in Bell County. Petitioners from St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church presented to their county CoD a petition with many of the same concerns as those outlined in Round Top. See: Letter, Theodore Bogisch, et. al to The Honorable Council of Defense of Bell Co. Texas, n.d., Folder "Bell County-Minutes on Meetings and Miscellaneous Information on War Measures," Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹² Letter, Fayette County Council of Defense to Rev. [Form Letter], 8 October 1918, Folder "Fayette County Council of Defense," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, H.C. Biermann et al. to the Honorable [Fayette County] Council of Defense, 1 November 1918, Folder "Fayette County Council of Defense," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹³ Victoria County Council of Defense, "Sixty Years of Germany in America: A Tale in Four Chapters," n.d., Folder "Victoria County Council of Defense," Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH. This pamphlet consists of four "chapters." The first chapter is the Victoria County Council of Defense's "Address Suggesting the Abandonment of the Use of the German Language." Chapter two was the Lutheran Church's petition sent to the county Council of Defense, followed by Chapter 3 consisting of the council's response as to why they were rejecting the petition. The final chapter talked about an earlier letter from the church dated from before the war began, which made the church seem self-indulgent because it bragged about members being catered to in the English language. Of course, while council members later interpreted this letter as bragging, most people today would view it as a statement from Lutherans advocating that Martin Luther's doctrine should be taught in his own German language.

Trinity Church members gave several examples for why they should be allowed to use German for one service each Sunday. First, they argued that English was already being spoken in Sunday School and that eventually it would become the dominant language. Second, they stated that their loyalty to the United States was unquestionable as evidenced through individual and church support of Liberty Loan drives, aid to the Red Cross, and other war efforts. Third, they said they should not be blamed because others had accommodated their use of German. They stated, “Businessmen catered to them in the German language, and even in the public schools German was taught.” They then asked why they should now have to learn English. Fourth, they revealed that they tried having an all-English service after which more than two dozen people complained because they could not understand what was said. Their request was denied and their letter made up one “chapter” in a booklet that the Victoria County Council of Defense then published and distributed.¹¹⁴

Other individuals and organizations offered to compromise with the Texas State Council of Defense. J. Biar of McLennan County said he would be happy to comply with the request to omit German from church services provided Carl wrote to the other churches and convinced them to do the same. Pastor Biar went on to suggest that Carl get someone in Waco to act as a representative in carrying out this message.¹¹⁵ Carl then asked the McLennan County CoD to create a committee to see which churches were holding services in German “and take such steps as are necessary to bring about the

¹¹⁴ Victoria County Council of Defense, “Sixty Years of Germany in America: A Tale in Four Chapters,” n.d., Folder “Victoria County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁵ Letter, J. Biar to J.F. Carl, 26 June 1918, Folder “McLennan Co. Correspondence—Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

compliance.”¹¹⁶

Other groups and individuals used media to voice their criticism of policies. The editor of the *La Grange Journal* criticized the town of Menard for prohibiting the use of German in church services; he reasoned that if the church congregation and pastor were guilty of being disloyal, then they should be arrested or forced to appear in front of the Council of Defense. “If they were not disloyal, and are only worshipping God and the Savior,” emphasized B.F. Harigel, “then let mob law not be practiced.”¹¹⁷ The editor of the *New Braunfels Herald* also used his newspaper as a forum for expressing his views regarding the incident whereby a fellow townsman had been falsely accused of having a German flag displayed in his home. In an example mentioned earlier in this chapter, the editor blamed the informant for the situation for acting hastily without acquiring facts. Furthermore, the individual put into jeopardy the well-being of a patriotic citizen who had done nothing wrong.¹¹⁸

Hurting the oppressor financially proved to be yet another way by which German residents expressed their dislike for certain measures. When Kendall County business owners placed “English-only” signs on their businesses, German community members would not patronize those entities until the business owners removed the signs. One stubborn owner who refused to do so reportedly lost sixteen customers in one day.¹¹⁹ Germans living along the Oklahoma/Texas border also used their purchasing power in the

¹¹⁶ Letter, J.F. Carl to Mrs. Leslie Stegall, 28 June 1918, Folder “McLennan Co. Correspondence—Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁷ “Arrests Have Been Many: Disloyal Remarks Have Caused Some Troublesome Hours,” *La Grange Journal*, 4 April 1918.

¹¹⁸ “There Was No Disloyalty,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 September 1918.

¹¹⁹ Letter, M.A. Shumard to H.W. Lewis, 2 September 1918, Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

same manner as those in Kendall County. In the summer of 1918, the Ellis County (Oklahoma) Council of Defense lamented to the Council of National Defense that many of the Germans in their county were bypassing English-only measures put in place by their county's CoD. According to complainant Wilson Parrill, the ethnic Germans were not simply ignoring the English-only measure but had actively protested it by refusing to do business in Ellis County, Oklahoma and instead going across the state line to the Texas town of Higgins where the businesses and especially the banks encouraged customers to "use all the German language they want to." Parrill asked the Council of National Defense if they could prohibit the use of German along the Texas/Oklahoma border.¹²⁰

Within two weeks, the CoND forwarded this complaint to the Texas State Council of Defense which then brought it to the attention of the Lipscomb County CoD. Henry Coffee, member of the neighboring Ochiltree County CoD, promised Carl that they were getting things under control in that area and using the local newspaper to bring the matter some attention. Coffee assured Carl, "[W]e will guarantee that we will either get these people right or make it so dam[ne]d unpleasant for them that it will be necessary for them to enclose themselves within a Chinese wall for protection. The German language has got to stop in the panhandle even though it becomes necessary to resort to extreme measures."¹²¹

Without a doubt, World War I was difficult for German Texans. After America's entry into the war, ethnic Germans found they were forced to sever any remaining ties to

¹²⁰ Letter, Wilson J. Parrill to "Chairman National Council of Defense," 10 May 1918, Folder "Ochiltree County Council of Defense," Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²¹ Letter, Henry Coffee to J.F. Carl, 23 May 1918, Folder "Ochiltree County Council of Defense," Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

their homeland if they wanted to curb persecution. Federal and state laws stymied their ability to voice their opinions freely for fear that they might be sent to prison or internment camps. For some nativists, and vigilantes, the laws provided a convenient way to bring accusations against others based not on disloyalty, but rather prejudice or revenge for some perceived wrongdoing.

Ethnicity, self-identification, personality of individual CoD members, and whether or not the county council affiliated with the Loyalty League were four factors that impacted the relationship between ethnic Germans and county Councils of Defense. Although a county CoD with a majority of German members might indicate a more sympathetic experience for German residents, this was not always the case. Both Gillespie and Comal Counties had more Germans on their county Councils of Defense. However, the Comal County CoD was equally watchful of both Germans and non-Germans. Much of this vigilance had to do with the self-identification and personality of secretary E.A. Eiband who most closely identified as an American, rather than a German.

In addition to Eiband, many other German Texans served on county Councils of Defense. Walter Reiffert of the DeWitt County Council of Defense used specific language such as “these people” to differentiate himself from those he classified as Germans.¹²² Perhaps most surprisingly, Austin County’s H.J. Miller and Max Bader were members of the Council of Defense as well as the Loyalty League. However, they were businessmen who perhaps thought it was in their best interest for personal as well as financial reasons to appear as patriotic as possible.¹²³ They were not the only ethnic German members of

¹²² Letter, Walter Reiffert to J.F. Carl, 20 July 1918, Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²³ Flyer, “Austin County Loyalty League,” undated, Folder “Austin County Council of Defense,” Box

local Loyalty Leagues. Gillespie County's CoD chairman, William Bierschwale, and Kendall County's William Wiedenfeld were each members of their local Loyalty League. Wiedenfeld served as his League's president.¹²⁴

Throughout the war ethnic Germans used outward displays of patriotism to protect themselves and their families against persecution and violence. Many contributed financially to the various Liberty Bond and War Savings Stamp drives because they felt they had no choice. Others helped the war effort because of their deep patriotism and self-identification as Americans. Finally, some German Texans such as Rev. Theodor Bogisch, openly challenged the authority of the Council of Defense system by questioning whether or not it was illegal to speak German.¹²⁵

The Texas State Council of Defense often has been portrayed as the perpetrator of violence directed against the German people. It was not. However, it may be faulted for not using strong enough language against vigilante actions and for not protecting ethnic Germans at the local level. The State Council could have censured or taken action against county CoD members who abused their power, but the prevailing attitude of all levels of the council system was to leave local matters to local Councils of Defense. In the case of Mills County, State Council of Defense secretary and manager, J.F. Carl, did write a letter encouraging the Mills County CoD to use persuasion, not force, against German residents

2J396, TWRC, DBCAH; Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Austin County, Texas, "Herman J. Miller," Page 116, Sheet 8B, House [Blank], Dwelling 226, Family 228, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 20 February 2016; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Austin County, Texas, "Max Bader," Page 92, Sheet 4B, House [Blank], Dwelling 67, Family 74, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 20 February 2016.

¹²⁴ Loyalty League Organized: Organization is Permanent and Officers Elected for Year," 18 May 1918, *Fredericksburg Standard*; Letter, M.A. Shumard to J.F. Carl, 14 October 1918, Folder "Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council," Box 2J371, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁵ Letter, United States Attorney to Theodore Bogisch, 4 September 1918, Folder "Bell County-Minutes on Meetings and Miscellaneous Information on War Measures," Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

who continued to speak German. This moderate chastisement, written almost as a request, typified the kind of response the State Council provided to those county CoDs enamored with power. The only time the State Council revoked membership on a county Council of Defense membership was done so against two men accused of having loyalties to Germany.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Letter, J.F. Carl to Mr. Paul Konz, 8 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, F.G. Schell to Hon. J.F. Carl, 11 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Paul Konz to Hon. J.F. Carl, 11 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Mr. Paul Konz, 15 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Mrs. E.R. Wolcott to Mr. J.F. Carl, 18 January 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; George F. Mulkey to J.F. Carl, 4 February 1918, Folder "Martin Co. Correspondence_Defense Council," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

Chapter 4 Political Bosses, Ethnic Mexicans and the Texas State Council of Defense

The Duval County Council of Defense (CoD) had, according to member Charles Muil, “come to the conclusion that as the population of the county was 90% [M]exican they could not accomplish anything.”¹ Muil’s assessment reflected typical Anglo views. Dual stereotypes of ethnic Mexicans as either ignorant and docile workers or marauding bandits shaped Anglo reasoning.² Throughout the state, few county judges appointed Mexican Americans to serve as members of county Councils of Defense, even along the Texas/Mexico border where the population of ethnic Mexicans greatly surpassed the number of Anglos.³

Unflattering characterizations of Mexican Americans, combined with the entrenchment of the boss system directly influenced the policies and composition of the State Council and local Councils of Defense. In localities where Tejanos were part of the Democratic machine, there was greater chance that a few Tejanos were on the county’s Council of Defense. In counties that had experienced an influx of Anglo settlers since 1904, odds were lower because of the power struggle still taking place between new settlers and the old boss system. This conflict carried over into open arguments between CoD members in at least two counties.

In a direct way, the Texas State Council of Defense expressed interest in

¹ Letter, Charles Muil to J.F. Carl, 19 September 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas. (Hereafter cited as TWRC, DBCAH). Although the folder is untitled, contents pertain only to Duval County.

² I use the term “Mexican American” to indicate people of Mexican descent who were born in the United States. The words “Mexican” or “Mexican national” indicate a person born in Mexico. “Tejano” or “ethnic Mexican” are terms I use to describe either U.S or Mexican-born residents currently living in Texas.

³ Please see “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties.”

Mexicans/Mexican Americans for only two reasons: as agricultural laborers or as potential security threats. Otherwise, the State Council ignored this population. When brutalities occurred against ethnic Mexicans, the Texas State Council of Defense failed to acknowledge the abuses.

Nevertheless, a large number of Tejanos embraced war activities as a way to emphasize economic and class differences within their ethnic community as well as to prove their loyalty and worthiness of respect and civil rights. Individuals took it upon themselves to “do their part” in the war. They participated in patriotic activities around their cities, held fundraisers (the proceeds of which were donated to the Red Cross), bought Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, and, when allowed, served in county and community Councils of Defense.

Although many ethnic Mexicans demonstrated their loyalty and patriotism during the war in order to increase their visibility in society, their social status remained unchanged. Those who served in local Councils of Defense were already members of the middle or upper classes and remained so. Working class Tejanos who purchased Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, conserved food, tended war gardens, and fought in the war, received temporary praise for their efforts but the recognition was short-lived and did not result in sweeping changes in Anglo attitudes toward ethnic Mexicans.⁴

Before discussing the State Council of Defense and its relationship with ethnic Mexicans, it is first necessary to provide a brief overview of the geographic, social, and economic conditions of South Texas and the border area. Thirteen Texas counties shared

⁴ Julian Cisneros Chapa (discussed later) who donated generously to the Red Cross, was the subject of an article that highlighted his efforts. However, even though the piece was positive, it did not significantly change public opinion about Tejanos or Mexicans as a whole.

a border with Mexico. These counties were (moving from Northwest to Southeast): El Paso, Hudspeth, Presidio, Brewster, Terrell, Val Verde, Kinney, Maverick, Webb, Zapata, Starr, Hidalgo, and Cameron. However, Mexico's influence extended into the above counties and beyond. Most South and West Texas Tejano residents actively engaged in a shared Mexican culture that included the Spanish language, the Catholic religion, similar foodways, music, and ideologies.⁵

Race relations in Texas prior to U.S.-annexation were based on cultural adaptation, usually via Anglo adoption of the dominant Hispanic culture. For example, several newly-arrived Anglo and European men married into elite Tejano families in order to gain social and economic opportunities.⁶ In San Antonio, approximately forty elite Tejanas married Anglo men in the years between 1838 and 1860. Although the number of marriages does not appear to be significant, it should be noted that "at least one daughter from every *rico* [wealthy] family in San Antonio married an Anglo." The Mexican American families sometimes viewed marriage ties to white men as a guarantee to keeping their land while the Anglo men sought political connections.⁷

Following U.S.-annexation of Texas in 1845, race relations worsened. The 1850s were marked by a large number of lynchings fueled by prejudice and economic

⁵ Trinidad Gonzales, "The World of México Texanos, Mexicanos, and México Americanos: Transnational and National Identities in the Lower Rio Grande Valley During the Last Phase of United States Colonization, 1900 to 1930," (PhD diss., University of Houston, 2008), 54-57. In this work, Gonzales discusses the idea of the border as being fluid and Mexican culture remaining in areas that were geographically within the state of Texas, but retained the historic Mexican practices prior to the coming of railroads to those areas. Mario T. García, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 202-203.

⁶ David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 34; Evan Anders, *Boss Rule in South Texas: The Progressive Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979, 1982), xiii-xiv.

⁷ Jane Dysart, "Mexican Women in San Antonio, 1830-1860: The Assimilation Process," *Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Oct. 1976), 369-371.

competition. Anglos believed that their culture was superior and considered Tejanos an inferior race that needed to be pushed aside like the Native Americans. The concept of Manifest Destiny proposed that Anglo civilization had the right and duty to spread from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific.⁸

As more Anglos poured into the area, they competed with Tejanos for resources. The Cart War occurred in 1857 when a mob of Anglo vigilantes, jealous of Tejano success in transporting merchandise, attacked a caravan of Tejanos moving their carts of goods from the coast of Texas into the interior. These Anglos stole, then sold, the merchandise and tried to eliminate their competition via lynchings. Dozens of these murders happened near Goliad. After the Tejano cart men changed their route, the vigilantes took property belonging to other whites. This prompted a mob to execute key vigilante leaders and the violence against the Tejano cart men finally ended.⁹

During this period, Tejanos of all classes suffered financial losses. Elites lost their land because of fees they accrued trying to legitimize their original Spanish land-grant titles, indebtedness from a fluctuating economy, and an inability to compete with Anglo merchants who had ready access to cash.¹⁰ A few decades later, in the 1870s, the growing use of barbed wire fencing negatively impacted cattle ranchers who did not have ready access to water sources. Smaller ranchers who could no longer provide water for their animals had to sell them and become wage laborers.¹¹ Although Tejano land loss was

⁸ William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 51-59; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 24.

⁹ Carrigan and Webb, *Forgotten Dead*, 45-48.

¹⁰ Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 41-47, 51-52, 113; Anders, *Boss Rule*, xiv; Raúl Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 198-203.

¹¹ Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 53-58. Trinidad Gonzales, "The World of México Texanos, Mexicanos, and México Americanos," 138-140.

gradual immediately after annexation, it escalated by the mid-1880s. For instance, Tejanos in Hidalgo County owned less than 50 percent of the land by 1885. The amount of land continued to decrease so that by 1900 they retained only about 30 percent of the land in this county.¹²

Two of the people who acquired thousands of acres of South Texas land in the 1850s and 1860s included Richard King and Mifflin Kenedy.¹³ King owed his ranch's initial success to a hundred Mexicans from Tamaulipas that he had settled there in order to learn their ways of handling cattle. The Mexican vaqueros taught their culture and language to the Anglos living on King's ranch.¹⁴ In exchange, King and his descendants provided living quarters and work for these families and generations of their children who continuously demonstrated loyalty to the King family by self-identifying as *Kineños*.¹⁵ Mexicans employed on Mifflin Kenedy's ranch likewise called themselves *Kenedeños* as a way of showing loyalty to Kenedy and his wife Petra Vela de Vidal.¹⁶ The racial interactions exhibited on the King and Kenedy ranches were reminiscent of the more paternalistic aspects of the patrón-peón system of Mexico wherein large *hacienda* owners (*patrónes*) provided necessities and housing to their workers (*peónes*) in exchange for the workers' labor and loyalty.¹⁷

The boss system emerged in South Texas in the late nineteenth century and

¹² Armando Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 180-181.

¹³ Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 60-70, 111-112; Anders, *Boss Rule*, 6.

¹⁴ Jane Clements Monday and Betty Bailey Colley, *Voices from the Wild Horse Desert: The Vaquero Families of the King and Kenedy Ranches* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), xxi.

¹⁵ Monday and Colley, *Voices from the Wild Horse Desert*, xix-xxi.

¹⁶ Monday and Colley, xxii. Petra Vela de Vidal was an elite Tejana, the daughter of a provincial governor. Cynthia E. Orozco, "Kenedy, Petra Vela de Vidal," Handbook of Texas Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fkerl>, accessed 8 August 2016.

¹⁷ Anders, *Boss Rule*, xii; I. Gutierrez de Lara and Edgcumb Pinchon, *The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914), 13.

operated in a very similar manner as the old patrón system. Political bosses controlled ethnic Mexican votes either through intimidation and violence or outright bribery.¹⁸ In Cameron County, for instance, the Texas Rangers and local law officials intimidated voters by prominently displaying their firearms.¹⁹

Tejanos did find ways to use the boss system to their advantage. When political bosses offered bribes to Tejanos in exchange for their votes, Tejanos benefitted in material ways. For instance, *Kineños* voted for Richard King's favored candidates and the King family reciprocated by ensuring that their workers always had necessities.²⁰ At other times, members of the political machine gathered working-class Tejanos together the day before an election and provided them with music, food, and drinks.²¹ Some bosses gave out local political appointments to hand-picked Tejanos in order to guarantee ethnic Mexican support for the Democratic Party.²² This was true in El Paso where a few Mexican Americans held local offices. José A. Escajeda, a member of the El Paso County Council of Defense during the First World War, was one of several Tejanos associated with the city's political machine. For his support, Escajeda served as El Paso's district clerk.²³

In the South Texas counties of Duval, Cameron, Hidalgo, and Starr the boss system was in place prior to the turn of the twentieth century and flourished with the political rise of James B. Wells.²⁴ Wells was born in 1850 in Aransas County and became

¹⁸ Anders, *Boss Rule*, xii, 49.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in the Investigation of the State Ranger Force*, (Austin, Texas: 1919), Testimony of R.B. Creager, Afternoon Session, 5 February 1919, 371, 388.

²⁰ Anders, *Boss Rule*, 7.

²¹ Anders, *Boss Rule*, 16.

²² Anders, *Boss Rule*, 15, 44, 143, 173; García, *Desert Immigrants*, 7, 163.

²³ García, *Desert Immigrants*, 6-7, 74, 158-163.

²⁴ Anders, *Boss Rule*, vii-x, 5.

a lawyer while in his twenties. When Judge Stephen Powers offered Wells the opportunity to be his law partner Wells accepted and relocated to Cameron County in 1873.²⁵ Wells had political friends all over the state and his ties to state legislators helped get the Burges-Glasscock Water Rights Act of 1913 passed. This beneficial act to Tejano and Anglo farmers in Wells' region created a central agency through which all water-access claims had to be decided.²⁶ Additionally, Wells helped to boost the South Texas economy by backing efforts to extend railroad lines into South Texas.²⁷ In personal interactions with ethnic Mexicans, Wells did favors for them such as paying for unexpected expenses (including burials), or acting as the attorney for those accused of crimes.²⁸ Because of his efforts, Wells gained the loyalty of many Mexican Americans and became the county's most powerful boss.²⁹

After the turn of the century, a series of economic changes occurred in South Texas because of new irrigation techniques and the extension of railroads into the area. In the Lower Rio Grande Valley, the St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railroad was built in 1904, connecting Corpus Christi and Brownsville.³⁰ The presence of this new railroad further enticed land developers to exploit local resources and labor. Nebraska native John H. Shary, for instance, developed a large tract of Hidalgo County land into subdivided

²⁵ Anders, *Boss Rule*, 7.

²⁶ H.B. 37. This act allowed those who had original land grants with river access to have primary use of the water. However, the act also accommodated those who needed water for irrigation by allowing them to access excess water from the Rio Grande. See: Anders, *Boss Rule*, 146. The act created the Board of Water Engineers and it was this body through which people had to apply for water rights. See: "We Will Be Your Rainmakers," *Legislative Reference Library of Texas*, website, <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/whatsNew/client/index.cfm/2013/4/15/We-Will-Be-Your-Rainmakers>, accessed on 20 September 2016.

²⁷ Anders, *Boss Rule*, 12.

²⁸ Anders, *Boss Rule* 12-13.

²⁹ Harbert Davenport, *Life of James B. Wells*, Box 2N206, Harbert Davenport Collection, DBCAH. This brief biography is only sixteen pages in length.

³⁰ Anders, *Boss Rule* 12.

farmsteads and called his enterprise Sharyland. Shary and other land promoters then hired excursion trains to pick up tourists from other parts of the United States and bring them to South Texas in an effort to persuade them to settle there.³¹ The land developers characterized the Lower Rio Grande Valley as a “Magic Valley” because, they claimed, anyone could own and operate a successful farm. The “Magic Valley” myth portrayed the newcomers as bringing civilization and progress to a new frontier.³²

In descriptions of these new developments in South Texas, Tejanos were depicted as docile laborers.³³ For instance, when describing Sharyland, Fred B. Barton of the 1st New York Cavalry (one of many federal troops stationed along the Texas border in 1916) described ethnic Mexicans as “quiet and efficient laborers,” who “work for 75 cents a day and board themselves, where a northern farmhand would require \$35 to \$40 per month plus board and washing.” While Barton’s description was meant to be flattering—differentiating local Tejanos from “bandits”—Barton did not concern himself with whether the workers were actually Mexicans or Mexican Americans, reinforcing the idea that Anglos believed either all ethnic Mexicans were the same, or they were not worth classifying into different national, economic, or social groups. Furthermore, the article’s description of the workers as “Mexican ‘hombres’ who provide all the labor for clearing

³¹ Excursion trains were those trains used specifically for the purpose of transporting tourists. Christian Brannstrom and Matthew Neuman, “Inventing the ‘Magic Valley’ of South Texas, 1905-1940,” *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 91 No. 2 (April 2009), 126-127.

³² Brannstrom and Neuman, “Inventing the ‘Magic Valley’ of South Texas,” 126-129; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 108; Fred B. Barton, “Sharyland A Garden Spot of Farms and Homes and People,” *Rio Grande Rattler*, 20 September 1916. To see an advertisement promoting the “Magic Valley,” see: “Buy W.S.S. First then Buy Land,” advertisement, *Mercedes Tribune*, 1 November 1918, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph635086/m1/7/?q=%22magic%20valley%22%20date:1917-1918>, accessed 27 November 2015. Brannstrom and Neuman, “Inventing the ‘Magic Valley’ of South Texas,” 126-127.

³³ Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in South Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 29.

the land” and who “have a wonderful ability to work in the sun” made clear the men’s roles as laborers and not potential residents of Sharyland.³⁴ Even though this article appeared in a 1916 newspaper, it reflected the same views expressed eleven years earlier in *Gulf Coast Magazine* which boasted to readers that ethnic Mexicans worked for less than African Americans and were available in great supply.³⁵ These characterizations shaped viewpoints and policies of the Texas State Council of Defense.

After the United States entered the World War, the State Council organized as many county Councils of Defense as possible so that it would have a better idea of local conditions. The membership of the Councils of Defense in South Texas and along the border exhibited several characteristics not seen in other places around the state. For example, many Anglo and Tejano members had direct ties to the boss system. Some of the most recognizable bosses during the latter half of the nineteenth century included: Archer “Archie” Parr (Duval County), Winchester Cooley (El Paso County), John Closner (Hidalgo County), and Manuel Guerra (Starr County).³⁶ These men were either members or chairmen of their county Councils of Defense.³⁷

The most powerful political boss, James B. Wells of Cameron County, played multiple roles in the Council of Defense system. He served on the Texas State Council of Defense in the State Protection, and Legal committees.³⁸ Wells’s reputation for

³⁴ One surprising fact that Barton mentioned was that the Mexican laborers were paid 75 cents per day while “An army private gets only 50 cents a day.” Barton, “Sharyland A Garden Spot of Farms and Homes and People,” *Rio Grande Rattler*, 20 September 1916. Brannstrom and Neuman discuss how Mexicans as a “pliable labor force” was part of a myth told to potential settlers in order to make the ethnic Mexicans living in the area appear to be “unthreatening to Anglo farmers.” See: Brannstrom and Neuman, “Inventing the ‘Magic Valley’ of South Texas 129-130, 134.

³⁵ Brannstrom and Neuman, “Inventing the ‘Magic Valley’ of South Texas,” 129.

³⁶ Anders, *Boss Rule*, 20-21.

³⁷ See “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties.”

³⁸ Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), 8, John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New

cooperation with Tejanos promoted his usefulness to the State Council of Defense as a negotiator between the State Council and Mexican Americans in South Texas. J.F. Carl affirmed this belief when he asserted, “I believe he [James B. Wells] has as much influence with the Mexican people as any man in Texas.”³⁹ Furthermore, both James and his wife Pauline served as members of the Cameron County Council of Defense.⁴⁰

In addition to having direct ties to the boss system, many of the border Councils of Defense shared another characteristic: they had a significant number of non-native-Texan members.⁴¹ El Paso had a large county Council of Defense consisting of twenty-five people at the time of dissolution. Of the twenty-eight total members who served throughout the El Paso CoD’s existence, information was available for twenty-six. Of these men, only three were born in Texas. In Hidalgo County, approximately one-third of the appointees were native Texans. Webb County reflected a figure of less than half.⁴² Therefore, men who were newcomers to the area were making or enforcing resolutions onto those who were native residents but lacked social, economic, or political power.

The new settlers disliked the boss system and complained to the State Council about local political machines controlling the county Councils of Defense. For example, Minnesota native Thomas H. Patterson, secretary of the El Paso County Council of Defense, wrote: “These narrow and selfish political rings are the greatest menace to the Council of Defense, and unless they are established on a non-partisan foundation they will develop into a curse rather than a blessing.” In this case, Patterson was directly

Braunfels, Texas. (Hereafter cited as *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*).

³⁹ Letter, J.F. Carl to James F. Harley, 19 September 1918, Folder “Mexican Speaker,” Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁰ For census information, see Appendix H: “Council of Defense Members in the Border Counties.”

⁴¹ Please see “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in the Border Counties.”

⁴² Please see “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in the Border Counties.”

referring to El Paso's CoD chairman, Winchester Cooley, and Judge William Ward Turney, vice-president and president (respectively) of the Rio Grande Valley Bank and Trust. Patterson said these men were members of "the Hudspeth Ring," and emphasized, "It is my opinion that the splendid patriotic organization so far as El Paso is concerned, is sought to be made, and is in danger of being made, a political instrumentality rather than a patriotic institution and blessing to the Country."⁴³ Initially, Patterson urged Judge J.F. Carl, secretary of the Texas State Council of Defense, to help him reorganize the county Council of Defense. However, Patterson eventually gave up on the idea and resigned as CoD secretary, citing irreconcilable differences with chairman Winchester Cooley.⁴⁴

Conflict also occurred in Duval County where Archie Parr headed the Duval County Council of Defense. In contrast to El Paso's chairman who actively participated in the county CoD activities and Red Cross, Parr had been named chairman in 1917 but had done nothing. Parr's continued inaction prompted reorganization of the Duval County Council of Defense; in September 1918, Scotland native C.G. Muil became chairman.⁴⁵ When Parr learned he had been ousted as chairman, he penned a letter of

⁴³ "Rio Grande Bank to Build Home: To Celebrate Tenth Anniversary; Completing Plans to \$150,000 Building," 14 October 1915, *El Paso Herald*, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metpth137467/>, accessed 26 November 2015; Letter, J.H. Patterson to J.F. Carl, 24 April 1918, Folder "El Paso County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH. William Ward Turney had served in the Texas Legislature from 1901-1903, and was at that time, a current member of the Texas State Council of Defense. "W.W. Turney," Legislative Reference Library of Texas, <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legeLeaders/members/memberDisplay.cfm?memberID=3331&searchparams=chamber=~city=~countyID=0~RcountyID=~district=~first=william~gender=~last=turney~leaderNote=~leg=~party=~roleDesc=~Committee=>, accessed 15 November 2015.

⁴⁴ Likely the "Hudspeth Ring" centered around Texas senator, Claude B. Hudspeth from El Paso. Letter, J.F. Carl to T.H. Patterson, 17 April 1918, Folder "El Paso County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.H. Patterson to J.F. Carl, 14 May 1918, Folder "El Paso County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁵ Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Duval County, Texas, "C.G. Muil," Page 233, Sheet 11B, House [Blank], Dwelling 232, Family 243, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 20 August 2016. According to the census record, Muil was a naturalized citizen who had immigrated in 1879. Minutes, Duval County Council of Defense, 7 September 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH. In addition to his Council of Defense position, Winchester Cooley also was one of the campaign managers for the second Red Cross fund drive. Mary Elizabeth Bush, "El Paso County, Texas,

disgust to J.F. Carl citing “politics” as the reason a different council had been organized.⁴⁶ In spite of efforts to unite the old and new members into one harmonious Council of Defense, problems persisted.⁴⁷ J.M. Momeny described the situation in Duval County as having both “good” and “bad” people on both sides and told CoD secretary J.F. Carl, “if you can send a man here that can unite these elements he can accomplish more than God, man, or the devil.”⁴⁸ Carl then wrote a letter to all Duval County Council of Defense members wherein he explained how the two councils evolved. He then used a dose of flattery mixed with a measure of guilt to appeal to members’ sense of reason. He praised their “high character” and told them that he knew they were surely “too big, too patriotic and too enthusiastic to be of service . . . to permit political or factional differences to get in the way of a united effort to aid your Country.”⁴⁹ In the end, the chairman of the second council, Charles Muil, remained chairman, and Archie Parr retained membership.⁵⁰

The general absence of Mexican American members was a third characteristic of the border Councils of Defense. As in society, ethnic Mexicans largely were excluded from positions of power (including membership on county CoDs) because of Anglos’ prejudicial beliefs.⁵¹ The few Tejanos who did serve on county Councils of Defense were already important in their communities because of their association with a local political

in the First World War” (Thesis: University of Texas at Austin, 1950), 65.

⁴⁶ Letter, A. Parr to J.F. Carl, 14 September 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to A. Parr, 17 September 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁷ Letter, Chas. Muil to J.F. Carl, 19 September 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁸ Letter, J.M. Momeny to J.F. Carl, 23 September 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁹ Letter, J.F. Carl to A. Parr, Wm. Turney, et. al, 3 October 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁰ Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), 21-22, John D. Rightmire Collection.

⁵¹ Please see “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties.”

machine, or because they were descended from families who held original Spanish land grants. El Paso CoD member José A. Escajeda had played a part in local politics for more than twenty years and had ties to “the Ring.”⁵² Cameron County’s Tomas Tijerina also had ties to the Democratic Party, serving in 1904 as a member of the Democratic Convention held in Brownsville. At that time and for more than a dozen years after, he was the county’s Cattle and Hide Inspector.⁵³ Tijerina was descended from one of the first settlers to the area and was well-known and prominent in the community.⁵⁴ Webb County CoD member Gonzalo P. Farías, like Tijerina, also came from one of the earliest families to settle in his respective area. Although Farías’s political ties are unknown at this time, he worked as a bank cashier, an occupation held in common with several Anglo CoD members throughout the state.⁵⁵ Laredo merchant Benjamín Salinas was not yet a naturalized citizen but he had filed a Declaration of Intention in 1917.⁵⁶ These two men

⁵² García, *Desert Immigrants*, 74, 159-161.

⁵³ “Democratic Convention: A Harmonious Meeting of Cameron County: All Old County Officers Instructed for With One Exception—Peace and Harmony Prevailed Throughout,” *Brownsville Daily Herald*, 18 July 1904, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth146610/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22tomas%20tijerina%22%20brownsville&resolution=2&lat=5584&lon=2750>, accessed 20 August 2016; Virginia Garrett and Yolanda Gonzalez, “History and Description of the Tijerina House, Brownsville, Texas,” as part of the “Historic Marker Application: Tijerina House,” 6 December 1979, p. 3, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth439614/m1/9/?q=%22tomas%20tijerina%22%20brownsville>, accessed 20 August 2016. (Hereafter cited as “Historic Marker Application: Tijerina House.”)

⁵⁴ Garrett and Gonzalez, “Historic Marker Application: Tijerina House,” 1.

⁵⁵ José Roberto Juárez and Héctor Farías, Jr., 1. José Roberto Juárez and Héctor Farías, Jr., “Juan Francisco Farias Historical Narrative,” as part of “Historic Marker Application: Juan Francisco Farias Residence,” 22, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth491950/m1/23/?q=%22gonzalo%20p.%20farias%22>, accessed 20 August 2016.

⁵⁶ Regarding naturalization, see: “Benjamin Garcia Salinas,” “Declaration of Intention,” 29 January 1917, Texas, Naturalization Records, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 22 January 2016; “Benjamin Garcia Salinas,” “Petition for Naturalization,” 23 June, 1919, Texas, Naturalization Records, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 22 January 2016; “Benjamin Garcia Salinas,” “Oath of Allegiance,” 10 November 1919, Texas, Naturalization Records, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 22 January 2016. On his World War I draft registration card, Salinas stated that he was a naturalized citizen. See: “Benjamin Salinas,” “U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918,” Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 20 August 2016. For census information, please see “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties.” Benjamín Salinas was also involved in offering the prize for patriotic essay competition for Boy Scouts in Laredo. See: José A. Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!: Mexican Texans and*

were the only ethnic Mexicans on a council that had named thirteen different members during its time of operation.⁵⁷

Starr County had a 100 percent Hispanic County Council of Defense, thus serving as a notable exception to the pattern regarding the ethnic composition of most county councils. The predominance of Mexican Americans was directly related to the person making the appointments, Higinio Garza, Jr.⁵⁸ As county judge, Garza appointed seven CoD members including F.D. Guerra. Guerra, the chairman, was most likely Federico “Fred” D. Guerra, son of Manuel Guerra, political boss of Starr County.⁵⁹ Other CoD members included Francisco Uria Vizcaya, Indalecio Sanchez, Manuel Ramirez, P.G. Canales, Macario Solis, and Fortunato Oosterveen, the son of a Mexican mother and Dutch father.⁶⁰ Donna Garza (unknown relation [if any] to county judge Higinio Garza, Jr.) was the only Spanish-surnamed chair of a Woman’s Committee unit in all of Texas. However, Garza was not Mexican American. She was the daughter of Thomas Bryan Norris and Georgia Norris, both of whom had roots in the deep South.⁶¹

World War I, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), 67.

⁵⁷ Please see: “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties.”

⁵⁸ “Higinio Garza, Jr.,” “U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918,” Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 5 December 2016.

⁵⁹ Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 Population, Starr County, Texas, “Manuel Guerra,” Page 130, Sheet 13A, House [Blank], Dwelling 239, Family 247,” Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 19 August 2016; “U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917 to 1918 for Fred D. Guerra,” Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 19 August 2016.

⁶⁰ Letter, A.B. Beilaski to John J. Keeney, 20 December 1917, Folder “Starr County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH. When the young Fortunato passed away in 1919, the family sent to State Secretary J.F. Carl a death notice written entirely in Spanish. See: “Fortunato Oosterveen” death notice sent to J.F. Carl, ca. 22 January 1919, Folder “Starr County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH; “Fortunato Oosterveen” death certificate, 21 January 1919, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 12 September 2015.

⁶¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Starr County, Texas, “Donna Garza,” Page 75, Sheet 3A, House [Blank], Dwelling 40, Family 45, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 4 January 2016; National Parks Service, “Site 326- 500 Block E. Mirasoles Street,” National Register of Historic Places Registration form for Rio Grande City Historic District, Rio Grande City, Texas, submitted 21 April 2005, Section 7, 40; U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918, “Domingo Garza,” Ancestry.com, accessed 6 March 2017; Tenth Census of the United States: 1880 Population, Stephens County, Texas, “Donna Norris,” Page 472, Sheet 24, House [Blank], Dwelling 322, Family 322, Ancestry.com, digital

Although the Texas State Council of Defense pressured county judges to organize their Councils of Defense, some appeared very late, and other councils never formed. Hidalgo County, in far South Texas, did not organize until late 1918 when State CoD secretary J.F. Carl asked senatorial candidate D.W. Glasscock of McAllen for his assistance. This task was finally accomplished in early October under the chairmanship of John H. Shary, the afore-mentioned developer of Sharyland.⁶² Starr, Presidio, El Paso, and Cameron county CoDs organized before the end of 1917. However, several of these later had to reorganize because of a change in leadership, a loss of interest, or some other factor. Out of the thirteen border counties, two—Kinney and Zapata—never organized.⁶³

This formation of county Councils of Defense was especially important in South Texas because of the continued revolution underway in Mexico at that time. When Mexico's president Porfirio Díaz was ousted in 1910, a power struggle began there between various classes. Díaz, a leader favoring American businesses, was overthrown by Francisco Madero, a member of the elite, class who initially promised to help the *peónes*. However, his presidency was short-lived because of a coup led by Victoriano Huerta, commander of Madero's federal troops. Meanwhile, Emiliano Zapata in Chiapas and Francisco "Pancho" Villa from Chihuahua, led revolts in favor of returning land to the Mexican peasants.⁶⁴ Violence often spilled across the border into Texas, including when Carrancistas (supporters of Venustiano Carranza) made raids into Texas during the

image, accessed 9 March 2017.

⁶² Telegram, J.F. Carl to D.W. Glasscock, 19 September 1918, Folder "Hidalgo County Correspondence-Defense Council," Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, John H. Shary to J.F. Carl, 2 October 1918, Folder "Hidalgo County Correspondence-Defense Council," Box 2J370, TWRC, DBCAH; D.W. Glasscock and Archie Parr were political rivals who had both sought a seat on the Texas Senate. See: Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 145-146.

⁶³ This assumption is based on the absence of folders or references to Councils of Defense in the Texas War Records Collection for the counties of Kinney and Zapata.

⁶⁴ de Lara and Pinchon, *The Mexican People*, 344-354; Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 57-58.

late summer of 1915.⁶⁵ These raids were in conjunction with a surge in violence attributed to the Plan de San Diego.

In 1915, authorities discovered a manifesto known as the Plan de San Diego (called such because it was supposed to have originated in San Diego, Duval County, Texas). The plan called for a return of tribal lands to Native Americans, “liberty” for African Americans, and Tejanos to reclaim Texas for Mexico through a bloody rebellion against Anglos that was planned for February 15.⁶⁶ However, the person associated with the plan, Basilio Ramos, was arrested prior to the designated day of attack. Ramos was tried, and set free on bail a few months later. No raids took place in February. Instead, several acts of violence occurred from July to November. Some linked these raids to the original Plan de San Diego or its second manifestation that was dated February 20, 1915 (the date the original raid was supposed to have occurred). Others blamed violence on Tejanos who were jealous of neighbors, or who had a grievance against specific people. Some said the Plan de San Diego had been written by whites in order to stir hatred against the Tejanos.⁶⁷ To protect their communities and discourage banditry, “citizen posses” of Anglo men regularly patrolled Cameron and Hidalgo counties, thus protecting their communities but also intimidating resident Tejanos.⁶⁸

The next year, Pancho Villa’s raids heightened tensions even further. In January 1916, Villa killed Americans on a train in Santa Isabel, Chihuahua, Mexico because these passengers had permission from the Carrancistas, but not the Villistas to be in that area. A

⁶⁵ Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 100-101.

⁶⁶ Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 72.

⁶⁷ Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 71-85.

⁶⁸ *Investigation of the Texas Rangers*, James B. Wells Testimony, Afternoon Session, 8 February 1919, 692-693, online, “1919 Texas Rangers Investigation (Canales Investigation),” Texas State Library and Archives Commission, <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/collections>, accessed 22 September 2016.

few months later, Villa and his men murdered several residents in Columbus, New Mexico, a location Villa had targeted because of its American military presence, and because this was a location where several merchants had promised arms to Villa but then refused to deliver the weapons after receiving earlier payment.⁶⁹

The publication of the Zimmermann Telegram in March 1917 intensified Anglo fears even further. The telegram suggested the return of the Southwestern states back to Mexico in exchange for a partnership between Germany and Mexico against the United States.⁷⁰ All of these intrigues created fear and suspicion among the Anglo Texans who sought protection from the Texas State Council of Defense after its formation. W.W. Irvine of Pharr (Hidalgo County), emphasized to State Council secretary J.F. Carl that locals had no protection as compared to McAllen (located three miles away) where soldiers were stationed. Irvine said that the men in his town stood guard at night because they feared a raid from Mexicans.⁷¹

In response to Anglo pleas, the Texas State Council of Defense asked Governor William Hobby to send more Texas Rangers to the border.⁷² During the war, more than one hundred Texas Rangers were in service. Additionally, each county had three Loyalty Rangers; Governor Hobby appointed these men in an effort to guard resources and

⁶⁹ John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, Tenth Anniversary Edition 1997), 320; Don M. Coerver and Linda B. Hall, *Texas and the Mexican Revolution: A Study in State and National Border Policy 1910-1920* (n.c.: Trinity University Press, 1984), 95; John Milton Cooper, Jr. *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, Inc., 2009, 2011), 319.

⁷⁰ Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson*, 374; Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1958, 1966), 175.

⁷¹ Letter, W.W. Irvine to J.F. Carl, 20 November 1917, Box 2J370, Folder "Hidalgo County Correspondence-Defense Council," TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷² "Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in Austin, Texas, Monday, November 26, 1917," Folder "Drought Relief Material—(Campaigns, Contributions & Committees)," Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

suppress sedition.⁷³ The Texas Rangers, however, had a reputation for intimidating and killing ethnic Mexicans. R.B. Creager, a long-time Cameron County resident, blamed the Ranger presence for increasing bandit activity along the border. According to Creager, the Rangers killed innocent Tejanos whose deaths then prompted friends and family members to turn against the United States because this country failed to protect their loved ones.⁷⁴ The years between 1915 and 1917 were so violent for Tejanos living in South Texas that many ethnic Mexicans chose to go to Mexico even though the country was still in chaos.⁷⁵

During what came to be called the “Mexican Exodus” hundreds of Tejanos left Texas; reasons given for their departures varied. Undeniably, South Texas was unsafe. From 1915 to 1918, hundreds or possibly thousands of ethnic Mexicans were killed.⁷⁶ In January 1918 masked Texas Rangers and vigilante residents murdered fifteen Tejanos in Presidio County (some of whom were American-born citizens), in retaliation for a raid that Mexican bandits had carried out on a ranch owned by L.C. Brite. During these years, any local Tejano could be suspected, and this was the situation for the men killed in retaliation for the Brite ranch murders. The United States military officer who investigated this case believed the fifteen victims were innocent and emphasized his opinion to Governor William Hobby in the following statement: “There was not a single bandit in the 15 men slain.”⁷⁷ However, even if these men had been guilty of the robbery

⁷³ Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 166.

⁷⁴ *Investigation of the Texas Rangers*, R.B. Creager Interview, Afternoon Session, 5 February 1919, 371, 380.

⁷⁵ Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 121-122.

⁷⁶ An exact number will never be known of how many ethnic Mexicans were murdered. Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 119-120.

⁷⁷ *Investigation of the Texas Rangers*, Report to Governor William Hobby from Captain Anderson Co. G 8th Cav. Camp Evett, et. al. as part of the “Investigation Filed in Adjutant General’s Department,” 849-852.

and murders committed on the Brite ranch, they were not given due process of law and their deaths were intended to make local Tejanos fearful; this tactic worked. Most of the relatives of these men left for Mexico.⁷⁸

Other sources corroborated the magnitude of violence. In 1917, the *San Antonio Express* reported that “one of the greatest fears [among older Mexican Americans] is for the Rangers, who are said to have little patience with the peon once he believes that information of value is being withheld.”⁷⁹ In fact, one of the postcards sold at this time pictured Texas Rangers on horseback with lassos around several dead Tejano men lying on the ground.⁸⁰ Therefore, Tejanos not only had to endure this fear in real time, but they were constantly reminded of the danger in which they lived and the perilousness of their situation. Furthermore, the existence of such a postcard reminded Tejanos that the Texas Rangers could kill them in cold blood with no repercussions.

Because the Texas Rangers had this reputation for brutality, and because they and other law enforcement officials pursued draft dodgers during the war, one Tejano father asked his community Council of Defense to ensure protection for his twenty-two-year-old son who had fled to Mexico but later wished to return to Texas.⁸¹ Payton Ochoa of Kleberg County wrote a letter in English to a Mr. Saluban. The elder Ochoa stated that he wanted his son to come back, but he emphasized that he did not, “want him [Hilario] to

⁷⁸ *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in the Investigation of the State Ranger Force*, (Austin, Texas: 1919), Masedonia Huerta, Affidavit, 15 March 1918, 842-843. *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in the Investigation of the State Ranger Force*, (Austin, Texas: 1919), Felipa Mendez Castaneda, Affidavit, 5 April 1918, 846.

⁷⁹ “German Influence Causing Mexicans to Leave Country,” *San Antonio Express*, 2 June 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth434088/>, accessed 23 November 2015.

⁸⁰ *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in the Investigation of the State Ranger Force*, (Austin, Texas: 1919), R.B. Creager Interview, Afternoon Session, 5 February 1919, 364-366.

⁸¹ *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in the Investigation of the State Ranger Force*, (Austin, Texas: 1919), James B. Wells Testimony, Afternoon Session, 8 February 1919, 701.

be molested” by anyone if he returned.⁸² This letter was referred from the Riviera community Council of Defense to the Kleberg County CoD with the recommendation that Hilario be allowed to return.⁸³ The secretary of the community council vouched for Hilario and attested to his good character saying, “he is a mexican [sic], 22 years old,” and “belongs to a good family who have lived here for years.”⁸⁴ The local draft board advised that young Ochoa should return to Riviera, but would be immediately registered then sent to training camp.⁸⁵ Hilario was just one of hundreds of Mexicans and Mexican Americans who chose to leave the state during the war years.

Though South Texas violence undoubtedly contributed to ethnic Mexican departures, other ethnic Mexicans blamed humiliation and poor treatment as the main reasons for leaving the state. One anonymous subscriber to *La Prensa* provided several instances of discrimination in the central Texas counties of Comal and Guadalupe where Tejanos either were refused service or had to sit in segregated areas.⁸⁶ Even Comal County’s Loyalty Parade in May 1917—an event that was supposed to highlight unity in loyalty to the United States—showcased a segregated population. Mexican Americans

⁸² Letter, Payton Ochoa to Mr. Saluban, n.d., Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense January to November 1918,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸³ “Riviera Council met pursuant to adjournment, on September.11918 [sic],” Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense January to November 1918,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁴ Letter, L.A. Kaufer to W.A. Clampitt [sic], 13 November 1918, Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense January to November 1918,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁵ Letter, Unsigned [likely from W.A. Clampitt] to L.A. Kaufer, Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense January to November 1918,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁶ “Una Carta Reveladora: Las verdaderas causas del éxodo,” *La Prensa*, 24 June 1917, America’s Historical Newspapers, Newsbank/Readex, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=C5AG4EJGMTQ2ODk4MTk2Mi4xMzE4ODoxOjEyOjEyOS43LjE1OC40Mw&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=3&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=3&p_docnum=1&p_docreft=v2:11F30FF2F63C9976@EANX-1208CD63B266B1D8@2421404-1207D6EF4EBA6A90@6-124B2293CA7D02E1@Una%20Carta%20Reveladora%20Las%20verdaderas%20causas%20del%20exo do, accessed 19 July 2016.

marched at the back of the parade, ahead only of the African Americans.⁸⁷ This same exhibition of segregation was put on display in El Paso when, on June 7, 1917, various local organizations appeared in that city's Loyalty Parade in a designated order based on importance to the Anglo community. Confederate veterans rode in cars at the front of the parade, followed by the American Navy League, the American Red Cross, the Daughters of the Confederacy and other organizations. The only reported Tejanos in the parade were members of a "Mexican-American band" that "marched just ahead of the automobiles which brought up the rear of the parade."⁸⁸

Anglo Texans also blamed German propaganda for causing the movement of ethnic Mexicans to Mexico. Many Americans, including the owner of *El Imparcial de Texas*, Francisco A. Chapa, insisted that the mass departures resulted from German rumors that Mexican nationals would be drafted into the United States Army. Chapa urged Mexican laborers to stay, assuring them that "the agriculturists will not be molested because they are the most important soldiers the Government has as they are necessary to produce the food for the active armies."⁸⁹ James B. Wells, member of the Texas State Council of Defense, also cited German propaganda that told young Tejanos that "if they were put in the Army they would not be treated like we [Anglos] were but like dogs and got out of the way."⁹⁰

Whereas ethnic Mexicans chose to leave the state in great numbers as part of the exodus, this deliberate departure was not the sole reason Mexican laborers were not

⁸⁷ "Our Loyalty Parade," *New Braunfels Herald*, 4 May 1917.

⁸⁸ Bush, "El Paso County, Texas, in the First World War," 19-21.

⁸⁹ In addition to owning the newspaper, Colonel Chapa worked for Governor James Ferguson. "Effort Being Made to stay Exodus of Mexican Laborers," *San Antonio Express News*, 25 May 1917.

⁹⁰ *Investigation of the Texas Rangers*, James B. Wells Testimony, Afternoon Session, 8 February 1919, 700.

available. The Burnett Immigration Act sponsored by John Burnett (D-AL) became a federal law that required immigrants to pay an \$8 head tax as well as pass a literacy test before entering the United States.⁹¹ Expectedly, it reduced the number of immigrants allowed to cross the border, thus worsening the labor shortage throughout the state. Central Texas growers complained that they did not have the labor they needed to pick their cotton. Meanwhile, the Maverick County Council of Defense sought workers for local mines.⁹²

In several ways, the Texas State Council of Defense reinforced this idea of ethnic Mexicans as laborers via resolutions, bulletins, and correspondence with county Councils of Defense. For example, the State CoD created a resolution on April 22, 1918 requesting the immigration law be modified to allow more Mexican laborers to cross the border into Texas. The resolution asked that Mexican workers receive “full protection and immunity from draft in the United States Army,” and stated that “a committee of five members of the Council of Defense be appointed by the Chairman to go to Washington, [D.C.] and confer with the proper authorities and arrange to secure and carry out the purposes of this resolution.” State CoD chairman O.E. Dunlap then appointed a small committee consisting of Alvin C. Owsley, James Callan, F.G. Pettibone, H.W. Lewis and R.J.

⁹¹ “Immigration Bill Passed,” *The Bryan Daily Eagle and Pilot*, 5 February 1914, the Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth324660/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22burnett%20bill%22>, accessed 21 November 2015; Don Wolfensburger, “Woodrow Wilson, Congress and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in America: An Introductory Essay,” Congress Project Seminar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 12 March 2007, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/immigration-essay-intro.pdf>, accessed 7 August 2016.

⁹² This bill originated as H.R. 10384. Sarah Starkweather et. Al, “U.S. Immigration Legislation Online,” University of Washington-Bothell, http://library.uwb.edu/static/USimmigration/1917_immigration_act.html, accessed 20 December 2015. Immigration Act, Sixty-Fourth Congress, Session II, p. 874-898, available online as link from above site. See: HeinOnline, <http://library.uwb.edu/static/USimmigration/39%20stat%20874.pdf>, accessed 20 December 2015; Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 52; Letter, J.F. Carl to Secretary of Labor, 13 July 1918, Folder “Maverick Co. Correspondence Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

Kleberg to go to Washington, D.C. A copy of this resolution then was sent to county Councils of Defense with the suggestion that they write to their congressmen.⁹³

The next month, Walter Reiffert, secretary of the DeWitt County Council of Defense, asked J.F. Carl for an update regarding the State Council's efforts to procure labor. Carl told Reiffert that the committee had left for Washington, D.C. the previous day.⁹⁴ He then reminded Reiffert that members serving on local Councils of Defense should write to their representatives. Reiffert penned a telegram to U.S. Representative Joseph Mansfield (D-TX), asking him to "do all in your power to procure a suspension of Burnett Immigration Law relating to Mexican labor."⁹⁵

Meanwhile, T.W. McClellan, farm specialist for the Federal Department of Agriculture, also related the dire labor conditions in Texas and sought to bring this matter to the attention of Washington officials. McClellan argued that, "the plan to have city people go out on the farms to work the crops is not practicable and is not meeting with any degree of success."⁹⁶ He said he had already received more than two thousand requests for Mexican labor from various counties and wrote to the Federal Department of Agriculture to emphasize this need. Echoing similar concerns, a few Travis County

⁹³ "Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held at Dallas, Texas, on Monday, April 22nd 1918," 22 April 1918, Folder "Drouth Relief Material-(Campaigns, Contributions & Committees)," Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁴ Bulletin No. 24, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 10 May 1918, in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense* (n.c.: Wagner Printery, n.d.), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, Walter Reiffert to J.F. Carl, 6 May 1918, Folder "De Witt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Walter Reiffert, 7 May 1918, Folder "De Witt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁵ W. A. Flachmeier, "Mansfield, Joseph Jefferson," Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fma37>, accessed December 20, 2015; Letter, Walter Reiffert to J.F. Carl, 6 May 1918, Folder "DeWitt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to Walter Reiffert, 7 May 1917, Folder "DeWitt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH; Day Letter, Walter Reiffert to J. Mansfield, 8 May 1918, Folder "DeWitt County Council of Defense," Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁶ "Says Mexican Labor Must be Used on Farms," *The[Austin] Statesman*, 8 May 1918.

Council of Defense members met with McClellan. W.H. Thaxton, a “leading planter” in the county noted that “several hundred Mexican laborers could be profitably employed in Travis County alone.”⁹⁷

Instead of only talking about the labor problem, officials in other counties took advantage of the federal “work or fight” amendment to the draft law that took effect on July 1, 1918. This law became a convenient way for Anglo authorities to control the labor of ethnic Mexicans and blacks by either sending them to the Army, or ensuring they quickly attained “acceptable” work. In San Antonio (Bexar County) and Cuero (DeWitt County), appropriate jobs for “loafers” meant work on chain gangs or in fields.⁹⁸

A San Antonio newspaper publicized negative characterizations of African Americans and ethnic Mexicans with its sensational headline “Idle Negroes and Mexicans Refuse Work.” In the article, the writer reported that H.W. Lewis, federal state director of the United States Employment Service had visited San Antonio to discuss the labor problem. An unnamed source had told Lewis that there were approximately 700 ethnic Mexicans and African Americans who had no jobs. A Mr. Wright, San Antonio’s Commissioner of Fire and Police, called the reports “greatly exaggerated,” and said that most men who had been arrested for being idle actually had jobs.⁹⁹ Even though the reports of mass idleness turned out to be false, Lewis had been quick to believe them because they characterized men of color in expected, negative ways. Furthermore, instead

⁹⁷ “Says Mexican Labor Must be Used on Farms,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 8 May 1918.

⁹⁸ “Police War on Idlers; Arrest Many as Vagrants: Thirty Mexicans Get Terms in City Chain Gang—Fifteen More Arrests,” *San Antonio Express*, 9 May 1918; “Cuero Sheriff Sends Idlers Out to the Farms,” *San Patricio County News*, 24 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph718145/m1/1/>, accessed 14 November 2016.

⁹⁹ “Idle Negroes and Mexicans Refuse to Work, Says Lewis: Head U.S. Employment Service Appeals to City Officials for Aid,” *San Antonio Express*, 2 July 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430592/m1/2/>, accessed 14 November 2016.

of the article's headline saying something to refute the false claim, it reinforced to the reader the idea that blacks and Tejanos were lazy.

In September 1918, the State Council issued Bulletin No. 42 urging county councils to create special committees "to deal with the Mexican situation," which consisted primarily of "counteract[ing] German propaganda" that they blamed for "disturbing Mexican laborers in this country." State CoD members advised county councils to enlist the help of "the priest and local Mexican leaders who are educated" to talk to local Tejanos. Furthermore, the State Council volunteered to supply a designated Spanish-speaker to engage the ethnic Mexican residents in counties that requested them.¹⁰⁰ Colonel Jesús Franco, described in a San Antonio newspaper as being "a distinguished artillery officer and a graduate of one of the leading artillery schools in Mexico," was one known speaker the Council of Defense authorized to talk to Tejano communities.¹⁰¹ Franco made speeches mostly in the Central Texas area with known stops in Wilson and Comal Counties.¹⁰² According to an ethnic German attendee, Franco's speech in Comal County "very ably explained to the audience the necessity of bewareing of any kind of enemy propaganda."¹⁰³ By using ethnic Mexicans in such a

¹⁰⁰ Bulletin 42, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 19 September 1918, in *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense* (n.c.: Wagner Printery, n.d.), Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; Colonel H.J. Slocum of the 13th Cavalry testified that while he and his troops were stationed along the border, he came into contact with German propaganda. See: *Investigation of the Texas Rangers*, Col. H.J. Slocum Testimony, 5 February 1919, 180.

¹⁰¹ Untitled article about the Mexican Independence Day celebration, *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 September 1918; "Mexican Army Officer to Explain Draft Laws: Famous Artillerist Coming to San Antonio Under Auspices of Defense Council," *San Antonio Express*, 14 September 1918, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430389/m1/8/zoom/?q=%22col.%20jesus%20franco%22> accessed 25 November 2015.

¹⁰² Letter, Gus Emler to Whom This May Concern, 28 September 1918, Folder "Mexican Speaker," Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH. Emler's letter said that Franco would speak at Sasparamco and Canaverde, both in Wilson County. "The Mexican Independence Celebration," *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 September 1918.

¹⁰³ "The Mexican Independence Celebration," *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 September 1918.

capacity, members of the various levels of the Council of Defense hoped to provide credulity to their claims that Mexican nationals would not be drafted into the war.

Following the relaxation of immigration requirements in 1918, planters, farmers, miners, and railroad operators secured laborers according to government regulations.¹⁰⁴ Employers promised to “properly care for them [their laborers], give them employment at fair compensation and return them to their own country within six months.”¹⁰⁵ The initial stipulation that laborers would stay in the United States for less than one year clearly indicated that Americans wanted only their labor, not their human presence.

Whereas the Texas State Council of Defense portrayed ethnic Mexicans primarily in the role of laborers, local Councils of Defense varied in their attitudes toward Tejano residents. In the opening quote of this chapter, the Duval County Council of Defense revealed that their practice was to ignore ethnic Mexicans because the Anglos did not believe Tejanos would be either willing or capable of war service.¹⁰⁶ Cattle rancher C.W. Hellen expressed a similar viewpoint when he reported to the State Council: “We have no community councils here as we have no American communities in Jim Hogg County outside Hebronville. The good American women are doing their part in all war work.”¹⁰⁷ This comment indicates a dismissal of any local Mexican Americans and portrays the “American women” as having to do all war work that other women would

¹⁰⁴ “Lets Mexicans Come to Work,” *El Paso Herald*, 17 June 1918, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph138661/m1/12/zoom/print/?resolution=2&lat=3606.905483423888&lon=3632.905483423888>, accessed 28 September 2016.

¹⁰⁵ “Many Mexicans for Farm Work,” *Honey Grove Signal*, 14 June 1918, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph621623/>, accessed 23 November 2015.

¹⁰⁶ Letter, Charles Muil to J.F. Carl, 19 September 1918, Untitled Folder, Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH. Contents of this folder pertain only to Duval County.

¹⁰⁷ Letter, C.W. Hellen to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 10 September 1918, Box 2J365, “Woman's Committee,” TWRC, DBCAH.

not or could not do. Lillian Bailey of Presidio County questioned Allie Wilson whether her unit of the Woman's Committee should "register the Mexican women or just the American" women for a survey to find out women's abilities and aptitudes for war work.¹⁰⁸

Other Councils of Defense monitored ethnic Mexicans for signs of disloyalty, regardless of their social class. The Comal County Council of Defense informed the State Council about suspicions they had regarding school teacher Gregorio J.M. Cardona. Local CoD members accused Cardona of disloyalty in 1917 because he had written a lengthy letter to the editor regarding a recent trip to Mexico; council members claimed this letter encouraged Mexicans to leave Texas. J.F. Carl then passed along the letter to the Bureau of Investigation.¹⁰⁹ Two years earlier, following discovery of the Plan de San Diego, unknown parties in Comal County accused Cardona of "inciting or advising the Mexican people to take up arms." At that time, he wrote a letter to the editor of the local newspaper to refute these claims.¹¹⁰ These two instances of suspicion are surprising when one considers that in 1917, Cardona already had been living in the town and teaching at the local Mexican school for nine years. He was a well-known and well-respected member of the community who was praised often by German neighbors in the local newspaper.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Letter, Mrs. Charles Bailey to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 21 June 1918, Box 2J365, "Woman's Committee," TWRC, DBCAH; 1920 U.S. Census, Presidio County, Texas, Population Schedule, p. 1 (stamped) Sheet 1A, Dwelling 1, Family 1, "Charles Bailey," Digital Image, Ancestry.com, Accessed 2 January 2016.

¹⁰⁹ G.J.M. Cardona, Letter to the Editor, *The New Braunfels Herald*, 9 November 1917; Letter, E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 15 November 1917, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, C.G. B[illegible] to J.F. Carl, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense," Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹⁰ G.J.M. Cardona, "Open Letter to the Public, *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 August 1915.

¹¹¹ Letter, E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 15 November 1917, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense, Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to E.A. Eiband, 30 November 1917, Folder "Comal County Council of Defense, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, C.G. B[illegible] to J.F. Carl, 24 Nov. 1917, Folder "Comal

Whereas the above county Councils of Defense varied in their opinions/suspicious of ethnic Mexicans, the Starr County CoD was in the unique position of having an all-Tejano membership. As such, its ethnic composition drew criticism from at least one local resident. Attorney E.L. Gammage reported to J.F. Carl, “I note that not an American is on the list, and only two members of the same that speak and write the english [sic] language.” He called the CoD members “race haters” who “dream only for Mexico.”¹¹² What is interesting is that Gammage described them as being something other than “American,” a common practice at that time used to differentiate Anglos from ethnic Mexicans, even when the Tejanos were born in the United States. In a sense, however, Gammage’s observation was partly true. According to a border crossing record as well as the 1920 and 1930 federal censuses, one Starr County CoD member was not a citizen of the United States. Merchant Patricio Garza Canales had been born in Mexico and immigrated to the United States in either 1893 or 1894. He was not a naturalized citizen.¹¹³ Regarding Gammage’s claim that only two members spoke English, census records reveal this assessment was an exaggeration. F.D. Guerra, Fortunato Oosterveen, Indalecio Sanchez, Manuel Ramirez, and Macario Solis all spoke English. Only Francisco Uria Vizcaya, and P.G. Canales spoke Spanish exclusively according to the census.¹¹⁴

County Council of Defense, TWRC, DBCAH

¹¹² Letter, E.L. Gammage to J.F. Carl, 24 November 1917, Box 2J370, Folder “Hidalgo County Correspondence-Defense Council, TWRC, DBCAH. Note that this paper is not (and should be) in the “Starr County Council of Defense,” folder which is actually in a different box.

¹¹³ “Patricio G. Canales,” Border Crossing Record, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 January 2016; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Starr County, Texas, “Patricio Garza Canales,” Page 140, Sheet 7A, House [Blank], Dwelling 95, Family 99, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 January 2016; Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Population, Starr County, Texas, “Patricio Garza Canalez,” Page 78, Sheet 3B, House [Blank], Dwelling 46, Family 46, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 January 2016.

¹¹⁴ Please see Appendix H: “Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties.”

Contrary to what many Anglos believed, Tejanos throughout the state did not comprise a monolithic group. Ethnic Mexicans were included in more than one economic and social class. Those in the economic upper class, for instance, came from long-established families, many of whom held early land grants and maintained large ranches. Attorney and state legislator José Tomás Canales (Cameron County) was part of the elite class, as was preservationist Adina de Zavala of Bexar County.¹¹⁵ Adina de Zavala's grandfather was Lorenzo de Zavala, vice-president of Texas for a short time.¹¹⁶ Adina de Zavala enjoyed wealth, power, and social connections because her family had attained "whiteness," (acceptance) long before the first World War. Her historic preservation efforts to save the San Antonio missions, and particularly the Alamo, had earned de Zavala much admiration.¹¹⁷ Her association with the Daughters of the Republic of Texas reinforced her social status, and enabled her to serve as an officer in the Texas Division of the Woman's Committee even as other well-connected, powerful Tejanos such as Legislator J.T. Canales struggled against prejudicial treatment.¹¹⁸

Middle class Tejanos included teachers (*profesores*), newspaper editors, businessmen, and intellectuals who were scattered throughout the state. Some of these notable men included educator José de la Luz Sáenz (Comal County), and newspaper publishers Ignacio Lozano (Bexar County) and Nicasio Idar (Webb County).¹¹⁹ These

¹¹⁵ Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 43.

¹¹⁶ Raymond Estep, "Zavala, Lorenzo De," Handbook of Texas Online <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fza05>, accessed January 03, 2016.

¹¹⁷ Lewis F. Fisher, *Saving San Antonio: The Precarious Preservation of a Heritage* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1996), 44-60.

¹¹⁸ While J.T. Canales served in the Texas legislature, a fellow House member called him "the little greaser from Brownsville." See: "The House," *The Houston Post*, 7 April 1909, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph604153/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22greaser%20from%20brownsville%22>, accessed 17 January 2016.

¹¹⁹ Adela Sloss-Vento, *Alonso S. Perales: His Struggle for the Rights of Mexican-Americans* (San Antonio: Artes Graficas, 1977), 2.

men were part of the *gente decente*, or Tejano Progressives, a social class comprised of individuals who promoted education, civil rights, and morality. Anyone from any economic class could be part of the *gente decente* because members were united by a sense of values and civic goals, not financial status.¹²⁰

Working class Tejanos also were present in all parts of the state but were especially numerous along the Texas/Mexico border and in South Texas. Their experiences in types of work depended on where they lived or places to which they were willing to travel for employment. For instance, by 1910, Tejanos around El Paso worked for railroads or at the local smelter or mines.¹²¹ As land passed out of Tejano families in South Texas, many then became wage workers for farmers, ranchers, railroads, and land developers.

Another way ethnic Mexicans differed from one another was based on nativity, a circumstance that influenced how they self-identified. After the Mexican Revolution began in 1910, steady tides of immigrants crossed the border into Texas. Some Mexican Americans welcomed the newcomers because of a common history, language, and customs. In South Texas, many ethnic Mexicans felt a kinship with the immigrants because they, too, considered Mexico to be their homeland and lived under the idea of

¹²⁰ For a discussion about *gente decente* see: Trinidad Gonzales, "The World of México Texanos, Mexicanos, and México Americanos," 153, 158-159. In his work regarding Laredo, Texas, Elliott Young said the following about the *gente decente*: "The *gente decente* do not fit into a strict economic class category, and cannot be adequately defined only by their relationship to the means of production. Anyone from a skilled worker, to a poorly paid teacher, to a wealthy land owner may have been part of the *gente decente*. Belonging to the *gente decente* depended upon one's education, comportment, family background, and participation in Laredo's civic societies." Elliott Young, "Deconstructing La Raza: Identifying the *Gente Decente* of Laredo, 1904-1911," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 98 No. 2 (Oct., 1994), 229. Benjamin Heber Johnson calls Nicasio Idar and José Canales "Tejano Progressives," a term he defines as those "who sought to create a new kind of accommodation, one based on equal economic opportunity, ethnic pluralism, and respect for Mexican cultural heritage." See: Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 42-51. Direct quote p. 42.

¹²¹ García, *Desert Immigrants*, 15-21. Monica Perales, *Smelertown: Making and Remembering a Southwest Border Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 27-33.

“occupied Mexico,” meaning that they identified as Mexicans living in a conquered land. Tejanos in this region maintained their language and cultural heritage, and many residents used Mexican currency.¹²²

Sometimes, however, the immigrants did not feel a kinship with Tejanos born in the United States. Their viewpoints reflected an ideological rift within the ethnic Mexican community aptly described by scholar David Gutiérrez in the following way:

“Considering themselves part of what they called Mexico *de afuera*—Mexico outside Mexico—they [Mexican immigrants] believed themselves the only true Mexicans and often dismissed the Mexican Americans,” as not being true Mexicans.¹²³ The criticism was mutual. By the time of the United States’ entry into the World War, one sector of Mexican Americans felt a greater allegiance to the United States than they did for Mexico, the homeland of their fathers. Many spoke English and identified as Mexican Americans, a significant differentiation from self-identifying as “*Mexicanos*” or *Mexicano Tejanos*.¹²⁴

Mexican Americans who sought to distance themselves from Mexican nationals did so for various reasons including jealousy toward those they viewed as job competitors, or prejudicial views of immigrants as uneducated and impoverished laborers. The group of Mexican Americans who followed this line of thinking wanted to

¹²² Gonzales, “The World of México Texanos, Mexicanos, and México Americanos,” 53-54.

¹²³ David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 63.

¹²⁴ Trinidad Gonzales classifies ethnic Mexicans in South Texas as self-identifying in one of three ways: *Mexicanos* (Mexican Nationals), *Mexicano Tejanos* (Mexican Americans born in Texas but having a greater allegiance to Mexico), and *Mexicano Americano* (Mexican Americans who identified with the United States). Gonzales argues that it was not until the 1920s that *Mexicano Americanos* evolved. By this term, Gonzales means that they were bilingual and retained their Mexican culture though they considered themselves United States citizens. *Mexicano Tejanos*, in contrast, held the viewpoint of a conquered people living on conquered land. Their viewpoint lingered until the 1930s. See Gonzales, “The World of México Texanos, Mexicanos, and México Americanos,” 10-11.

emphasize differences within the ethnic Mexican community at a time when most Anglos viewed all ethnic Mexicans under the same monochrome lens of homogeneity.¹²⁵ Payton Ochoa, the Kleberg County father who contacted local Council of Defense officials about his son returning to Texas, anglicized his name from its original “Epitacio” to “Payton” when he corresponded with Anglos about his son Hilario. This intentional act (in addition to writing the letter in English) was Ochoa’s way of portraying himself as an American.¹²⁶

In order to combat negative stereotypes as well as highlight national and class differences, ethnic Mexicans felt it was in their best interest to be patriotic and they exhibited their loyalty to the United States several ways. Many Tejanos became soldiers for Uncle Sam. The best-known Mexican American soldier from Texas, José de la Luz Sáenz served overseas during the war and kept a diary of his experiences. In 1933, Sáenz published *Los México-americanos en la Gran Guerra y su contingente en pro de la democracia, la humanidad, y la justicia*. The work promoted the idea that Mexican Americans should be entitled to all the liberties and justices for which they fought and died during the First World War. Sáenz claimed to have used his position as a soldier to fight for Tejanos on the home front. He said, “Now that I wear the warrior’s uniform I hope to win other battles and bring justice to our people.”¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Emilio Zamora, *The World of the Mexican Worker in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993), 88-89; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas*, 115.

¹²⁶ Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Cameron County, Texas, “Epitacio Ochoa,” House [Blank], Dwelling 11, Family 11, Page 306, Sheet 1B, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 16 August 2016.

¹²⁷ Emilio Zamora, Editor and Translator, *The World War I Diary of José de la Luz Sáenz* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014), 14-15, 117. In an earlier work, Emilio Zamora claims that Sáenz did not join the military out of a sense of patriotism, but rather as a means to prove that Mexican Americans were worthy of various rights. See: Emilio Zamora, *The World of the Mexican Worker in Texas*, 89.

Tejanos on the home front also believed they were entitled to these same rights, privileges, and respect Anglo Americans enjoyed. They felt they could best exhibit their worthiness through participation in various kinds of war work which included financial donations to the Red Cross, the purchase of Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps, and such activities as making war gardens and serving as Four-Minute Men. Brownsville native and migrant farm worker Julian Cisneros Chapa became a model of patriotism because of his promotion of the Red Cross. Chapa and his sister influenced fellow Tejano laborers working around San Marcos (Hays County) to donate to the San Marcos Red Cross. When Chapa later returned to Cameron County, he not only joined his local Red Cross chapter but he also donated a fifty-dollar Liberty Bond to the same.¹²⁸ Because he was able to join, this chapter must have extended membership to ethnic Mexicans unlike other Red Cross chapters such as one in Houston that required the formation of segregated auxiliary chapters.¹²⁹

Other Tejanos around the state also made monetary or time donations to the Red Cross. In Travis County, the newspaper reported the cancellation of Cinco de Mayo festivities in 1918 because “the Mexicans are too busy with the Red Cross work . . . and have invested so heavily in stamps and bonds they do not feel like holding the celebration until the war is won.”¹³⁰ In New Braunfels (Comal County), Tejanos donated to the Red Cross the money raised at their three-day Mexican Independence Day celebration. Local

¹²⁸ “Makes a Gift Liberty Bond to Red Cross: Texas-Mexican Citizen Says Membership is Not Enough for Stay-At-Homes to Do Contributes Liberty Bond,” *Brownsville Herald*, 30 July 1918.

¹²⁹ “Houston Happenings: Form Mexican Red Cross,” *The Houston Post*, 1 June 1918, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph138616/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22negro%20auxiliary%22%20date:1917-1919>, accessed 4 December 2015.

¹³⁰ “Austin Mexicans Not to Observe Cinco de Mayo,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 6 May 1918. Also for a discussion of Mexican American war efforts pertaining to Liberty Bonds, see Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!*, 118-119.

Germans noted this gesture and wrote a newspaper article praising the celebration committee that included the school principal, Gregorio Cardona.¹³¹ Cardona also collected money for Belgian children and contributed an article about the moniker “Uncle Sam” to the San Antonio newspaper, *La Prensa*. All his efforts were made outside of the council network because as an unnaturalized citizen, he was ineligible to serve on any county or community Council of Defense.¹³²

In addition to raising money for Red Cross efforts, ethnic Mexicans bought Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps. The *Brownsville Herald* reported that at a patriotic rally, Tejano laborers bought enough bonds and stamps to exceed the pre-determined quota. These purchases came after a rousing rally of patriotic speeches in both English and Spanish.¹³³ In Kleberg County, the name of R.M. Alvarez appeared on a list of bond purchasers which included bond denominations of \$50 and more.¹³⁴

Conversely, ethnic Mexicans in Calhoun County reportedly were upset with Francisco

¹³¹ Note that this praise is for the same man, Gregorio Cardona, who had been reported to the Bureau of Investigation the prior year for supposedly encouraging Mexicans to return to Mexico. Untitled article concerning the Mexican Independence Day Celebration, *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 September 1918. On a different page in the same newspaper, there is a second article about the celebration. See: “The Mexican Independence Celebration,” 20 September 1918, *New Braunfels Herald*; “Notas breves foráneas: La Cruz Roja Americana de New Braunfels, Da La Gracias,” *La Prensa*, 24 September 1918, America’s Historical Newspapers, NewsBank/Readex, http://infoweb.newsbank.com.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/iw-search/we/HistArchive/?p_product=EANX&p_theme=ahnp&p_nbid=O59L53XRMTQ1MjE3MzkzMi41MTczNTM6MT0xMjoxMjkuNy4xNTguNDM&p_action=doc&s_lastnonissuequeryname=3&d_viewref=search&p_queryname=3&p_docnum=1&p_docref=v2:11F30FF2F63C9976@EANX-1208C499DDEAD040@2421861-1207D6C5B76751B0@5-124BC2C4CD75CEE1@Notas%20breves%20foraneas%20La%20Cruz%20Roja%20Americana%20De%20New%20Braunfels%2C%20De%20La%20Gracias, accessed 7 January 2016.

¹³² “The Mexican Independence Celebration,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 September 1918; Untitled article about Gregorio Cardona receiving letter from Belgian Countess, Adelin Van de Werve, *New Braunfels Herald*, 15 November 1918; “Por Que Se Llama A Los Estados Unidos ‘El Tio Sam,’” *La Prensa*, 4 February 1919, America’s Historical Newspapers, NewsBank/Readex, accessed 18 November 2015; Texas State Council of Defense, “Brief Statement as to Plan, Purposes and Organization of Texas State, County and Community Councils of Defense,” Pamphlet, Folder “Organizers Handbook,” Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³³ “Border Village Does War Bit,” *Brownsville Herald*, 24 July 1918.

¹³⁴ “Honor Roll Purchasers of SECOND LIBERTY LOAN BONDS,” Folder, “File Binder-Council of Defense From Jan to June 1918,” Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH.

Juarez for not purchasing a war bond.¹³⁵

Also, Tejanos of all ages gardened for Uncle Sam. Students at the Beall Mexican School in El Paso sold the vegetables they raised in their war garden and bought thrift stamps.¹³⁶ In Kleberg County, the County Council of Defense appointed neighborhood committees comprised mostly of women to create and maintain war gardens. In one section of Kingsville known as “Mexican Town,” Sarah Walters served as the chairman of the War Garden Committee.¹³⁷ Her assistants included Mrs. Jose Garcia, Eulalia Cantu Castaneda, Manuela Truan, and Nieves Saldaña.¹³⁸ In a report to the local CoD, Walters reported that they had gone around their neighborhood and visited each house. She included with her letter a list of the households with gardens, the majority of which were owned by ethnic Mexicans. Walters called their committee’s efforts a “success,” claiming that approximately 90 percent of her neighbors had pledged to have a garden.¹³⁹

Other Mexican Americans used their talents to serve as Four Minute Men, though their presence remained limited. When the local Four Minute Men chairman from San

¹³⁵Letter, W.J. Thomas to J.F. Carl, 2 July 1918, Folder “Calhoun County,” Box 2J368, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³⁶ Bush, “El Paso County, Texas, In the First World War,” 85.

¹³⁷ U.S. Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918, “Joe Walters,” Ancestry.com, accessed 23 July 2016. On this card, Joe Walters is identified as “Spanish American.” Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Kleberg County, Texas, “Sarah Walters,” Page 50, Sheet 17A, House [Blank], Dwelling 303, Family 356, Page 50, Sheet 17A, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 23 July 2016.

¹³⁸ “Mrs. Jose Garcia,” may have been “Herlinda Garcia,” the wife of a grocery clerk named Jose Alejo Garcia. However, it is difficult to discern if this is the correct person. U.S. Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918, Kleberg County, Texas, “Jose Alejo Garcia,” Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 23 July 2016; U.S. Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918, Kleberg County, Texas, “Isidoro Castaneda,” Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 23 July 2016; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population, Kleberg County, Texas, “Manually Truan,” Page 53, Sheet 20A, House 303, Dwelling 372, Family 341, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 23 July 2016; Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Nueces County, Texas, “Nieves Saldana,” Page 201, Sheet 25A, House [Blank], Dwelling 357, Family 385, Page 201, Sheet 25A, Ancestry.Com, digital image, accessed 23 July 2016; “Nazario Saldaña,” U.S. Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918, Kleberg County, Texas, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 23 July 2016.

¹³⁹ I have recorded names as found in the sources, mostly without accent marks. Mrs. Joe Walters to Council of Defense of Kleberg County, 6 February 1918, Folder “File Binder-Council of Defense From Jan to June 1918,” Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH.

Antonio sent a list of speakers to state chairman Joseph Hirsch, there were no Hispanic-surnamed individuals included.¹⁴⁰ The same was true in Alice, the county seat of Jim Wells County in South Texas. Of the nine listed speakers, none of them had Spanish surnames. However, the organization's chairman reported elsewhere in his letter, "we have organized our Mexican speakers, who will make speeches in Spanish and English to the Mexican people and have arranged for a meeting next Friday night." It is uncertain from this quote whether Spanish-speaking Anglos filled these roles, or whether unnamed ethnic Mexicans served as Four Minute Men for a targeted ethnic audience.¹⁴¹ In Donna (Hidalgo County), apparently the latter was the case. Eltweed Pomeroy, local Four Minute Men chairman, reported to officials in Washington, D.C. that "on the 14th, I expect a U.S. born Mexican to speak in Spanish at the movie. I have to write out his speech and he turns it into Spanish and speaks it."¹⁴² In Brownsville (Cameron County), the only Hispanic-surnamed individual included on a list of fifteen people was J.T. Canales. Notably, the county chairman placed asterisks next to the names of four individuals whom he considered to be "better public speakers" and was recommending to be used county-wide. Canales was not one of the chosen four.¹⁴³

In June 1918, newspaper publisher Clemente Idar suggested to Hirsch the use of Oswaldo Sanchez "a well-known poet and Mexican newspaper man" as a paid speaker to "make a tour of all the Southern States lecturing to Spanish-speaking audiences, so as to perfect the understanding of those people in reference to the great problems of the war

¹⁴⁰ Letter, Harry Hertzberg to Joseph Hirsch, 1 March 1918, Folder "San Antonio," Box 2J376, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴¹ Letter, W.R. Perkins to Joseph Hirsch, 26 March 1918, Folder "Alice," Box 2J376, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴² Letter, Eltweed Pomeroy to Wm. McCormick Blair, 6 June 1918, Unnamed Folder, Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴³ Letter, A. Wayne Wood to Joseph Hirsch, n.d., Folder "Brownsville," Box 2J376, TWRC, DBCAH.

and our participation therein.” Idar further proposed that Sanchez or some other speaker, with permission, could spread these propaganda messages into Mexico. According to Idar, “Mexicans all along the South are gradually becoming a useful factor more and more each day.”¹⁴⁴ It is unknown whether or not Hirsch recruited Sanchez as a speaker on behalf of the Council of Defense.

Many ethnic Mexicans who participated in patriotic endeavors did so in order to combat negative stereotypes as well as to gain more rights. José de la Luz Sáenz stated this objective throughout his diary of experiences during the World War.¹⁴⁵ Gregorio Cardona had this same goal. His writings reveal a highly educated, conscientious individual who taught his students patriotism and respect for both Mexico and the United States well before the Loyalty Act. He wrote letters in English to the editor of the local newspaper and was often praised for doing a good job at the Mexican School.¹⁴⁶ However, the community in which he lived still did not consider him an equal as shown by the suspicion heaped on him by community members in 1915 and 1917. Prior to the second accusation of disloyalty, Cardona and more than 150 others had presented a petition to the New Braunfels City Council asking for better treatment for Tejanos living in Comal County because they were frustrated that they had been “continually in many instances depreciated in all public places and amusements.”¹⁴⁷

An unnamed resident in South Texas aptly described race relations before and after the World War. He noted the common practice of intermarriage between Anglos and

¹⁴⁴ Letter, C.N. Idar to Joseph Hirsch, 10 June 1918, Folder “Laredo, Texas ‘Four-Minute Men Works’” Box 2J376, TWRC, DBCAH. Johnson, *Revolution in South Texas*, 59.

¹⁴⁵ Zamora, *The World War I Diary of José de la Luz Sáenz*, 71.

¹⁴⁶ “Mexican School Close,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 3 July 1914; G.J.M. Cardona, “Open Letter to the Public,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 20 August 1915.

¹⁴⁷ Matilde Chapa, Maurilio Campuzano, P.P. Valderas, G.J.M. Cardona, et.al, “Mexicans Ask for Courteous Treatment,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 8 June 1917.

Tejanos that occurred before the influx of new residents from other parts of the United States. However, after the newcomers arrived:

They made us feel for the first time that we were Mexicans and they considered themselves our superiors. In spite of these things we showed our loyalty during the World War. . . . We hoped that this would change the Americans' attitude toward us, but to them we were still Mexicans.¹⁴⁸

He then acknowledged the arguments that Tejanos refused to assimilate. "Some of us are willing to do that," he said, "but how can we when not for a moment are we allowed to forget the fact that we are Mexicans?"¹⁴⁹

Perhaps no individual Tejano embodied this lived experience more than state legislator José Tomás "J.T." Canales. Canales came from an elite South Texas family, had a refined education, and an illustrious career as a lawyer. When the war came, he was serving as a member of the Texas House. In this capacity as an elected official—one of the most prestigious positions any Texan could hold—Canales, too, was reminded that he was still Mexican. In 1909, in the legislative chamber, a fellow legislator referred to him as "the little greaser from Brownsville."¹⁵⁰ Then nine years later when he brought charges against the Texas Rangers for the violent acts committed against ethnic Mexicans (particularly during the 1915-1916 time period), Canales continued to be disrespected and even threatened with violence. During the court hearings regarding the Texas Rangers, one can discern the disrespect Canales experienced.¹⁵¹

For example, when Adjutant General James A. Harley (head of the Texas

¹⁴⁸ Jovita González, *Life Along the Border*, ed. by María Eugenia Cotera (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 112.

¹⁴⁹ Jovita González, *Life Along the Border*, 112.

¹⁵⁰ "The House," *The Houston Post*, 7 April 1909, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph04153/m1/2/zoom/?q=%22greaser%20from%20brownsvile%22>, accessed 17 January 2016.

¹⁵¹ Evan Anders, "Canales, José Tomás," Handbook of Texas Online <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcaag>, accessed January 20, 2016.

Rangers) examined Colonel H.J. Slocum, Harley appeared in many ways to target J.T. Canales who was present during this examination. Harley began questioning Slocum about his job of identifying smugglers and pro-German propagandists. At one point Harley asked whether Canales had ever taken any steps to root out German propaganda along the border. This question, taken in the context in which it was presented, clearly meant to imply that the Texas Rangers had helped to stymie German propaganda but Canales had done nothing. In an effort to defend himself against Harley's accusations of laxity, Canales inserted his own record of patriotic efforts while cross-examining Col. Slocum.¹⁵²

In those locations where Mexican Americans served on Councils of Defense or participated in war work, one would like to think that prolonged Anglo/Tejano cooperation improved race relations. Scholar Carole E. Christian proposed that World War I enabled Mexican Americans to "join the mainstream" of America.¹⁵³ I disagree. Attitudes remained the same after the war as they were in the years prior. In localities where ethnic Mexicans held office and participated in "mainstream" activities before the war, they continued to do so afterward, particularly when those individuals were tied to the boss system. However, based on the documented experiences of ethnic Mexicans including Gregorio Cardona, and state legislator J.T. Canales, I believe war participation did not deliver on the expectation Tejanos had for an improved status.¹⁵⁴ If an elite Tejano such as Canales still had to defend himself after the official end of the World War, then

¹⁵² *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in the Investigation of the State Ranger Force*, (Austin, Texas: 1919), Testimony of Colonel H.J. Slocum, Morning Session, 4 February 1919, 167-182.

¹⁵³ Carole E. Christian, "Joining the American Mainstream: Texas's Mexican Americans During World War I," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Vol. 92, No. 4 (Apr. 1989): 559-595.

¹⁵⁴ Emilio Zamora, *The World War I Diary of José de la Luz Sáenz*, 14-16.

the encompassing prejudicial conditions existing prior to the war had not changed.

Chapter 5 African Americans and “The Long Arm of Tradition”¹

In 1903, African American Joseph E. Clayton began his association with the African American school near Manor (Travis County). In the next few years, he and his wife Brittie built up the school via land donations and the addition of buildings for the school grounds. Clayton became so linked to the school that it eventually became known as the Clayton Industrial High School, then later the Clayton Institute.²

Clayton’s reputation as an educator who favored an industrial education for African American children earned him a coveted spot as a paid speaker for the Texas State Council of Defense (CoD). By September 1918, Clayton was crossing the state, rallying patriotic support from African Americans primarily in East Texas. Clayton’s dynamic oratory style made him a popular speaker. In October 1918, T.J. Hicks, Anglo deputy sheriff in Simonton (Fort Bend County), wrote to State Council of Defense secretary J.F. Carl about Clayton’s recent visit to the area. According to Hicks, Clayton “did a world of good,” and audience members rushed to buy Liberty Bonds after Clayton’s speech.³ Alex Thompson, an Anglo owner of a lumber company, echoed Hicks’s opinion of Clayton, saying “He has done a great amount of good for the

¹ The phrase “the long arm of tradition” comes from a chapter of the same name in a book by African American WWI veteran Ely Green. He used this phrase to describe his experience in the First World War and after, and the constant struggle against segregation, prejudice, and Anglo control. See: Ely Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, edited by Elizabeth N. Chitty and Arthur Ben Chitty (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1970).

² David L. Bearden, “History of Clayton Vocational Institute,” typescript, Folder “African Americans, Defunct Schools, Clayton Vocational Institute,” Austin Files-Subject, Austin History Center, Austin, Texas.

³ Letter, T.J. Hicks to J.F. Carl, 10 October 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, Texas War Records Collection Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas. (Hereafter cited as TWRC DBCAH).

government” and he asked Carl whether or not Clayton would be available to speak on behalf of the United War Work Campaign.⁴

On a different occasion, S.L. Boyd, one of hundreds of African Americans, had traveled from as far as fifteen miles away to attend one of the patriotic gatherings in which Clayton spoke. Boyd reported to the State Council of Defense that Clayton “organized us a council of defense and ordered us to work under our White council here.” Clayton rallied the audience about the role for African Americans in the war effort, and according to Boyd, “People here who did not know what to do about this war business is stired [sic] up now and say they are going to do everything the Government wants them to do. Prof. Clayton brought us the light as we have never seen before.”⁵

Boyd’s letter offers several insights. First, Clayton was a highly-gifted speaker who elicited praise from both whites and blacks.⁶ In fact, Clayton helped raise more than \$350,000 for the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive in just three weeks.⁷ Second, the quote illustrates the understanding that black auxiliary Councils of Defense were to be under the direction of the white county councils, an acceptable arrangement to Anglos at that time. Finally, Clayton’s work for the Texas State Council of Defense provides some

⁴ Letter, Alex Thompson to J.F. Carl, 10 October 1918, Folder “Organization of Negro[sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵ Letter, S.L. Boyd to J.F. Carl, 25 September 1918, Folder “Organization of Negro[sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶ To get an idea of the various people in Cherokee County, Texas who praised Clayton's work, see the following: Letter, J.N. Bone to J.F. Carl, 2 November 1918, Box 2J383, Folder, “Cherokee County Council of Defense,” TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, M.C. Parrish to J.F. Carl, 2 November 1918, Box 2J383, Folder, “Cherokee County Council of Defense,” TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, I.B. Bryant to J.F. Carl, 2 November 1918, Box 2J383, Folder “Cherokee County Council of Defense,” TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷ Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 27 October 1918, Folder “Cherokee County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

insight as to the levels and enthusiasm with which black Texans participated in patriotic activities.⁸

During these years, dual stereotypes portrayed African Americans as either docile laborers or sources of danger. These characterizations influenced viewpoints and policies regarding African Americans prior to and during the First World War, and subjected them to various forms of racist dominance. Because many Anglo Texans had Southern roots, they shared these views that then shaped how members of the state and local Councils of Defense thought of, treated, and interacted with African Americans.

Like ethnic Mexicans, black Texans hoped that their illustrations of patriotism during the war years would generate more respect and better treatment after the war. African Americans had a long history of participation in religious, civic, and fraternal groups and many used these existing organizations as a base from which to lead patriotic events.⁹ Other African Texans created new outlets specifically for war work, in part to support the black soldiers who equated military service in the war with masculinity and thus were using the military to fight for the respect and recognition they felt they would gain as American soldiers.¹⁰ When the Council of National Defense (CoND) urged the southern states to form African American auxiliaries, black Texans were already

⁸ Letter, S.L. Boyd to J.F. Carl, 25 September 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCH.

⁹ I have chosen to use the terms "black," "African American" and "African Texan" to indicate those of African descent living in Texas. The term "African Texan" comes from Alwyn Barr's chapter "The Influence of War and Military Service on African Texans." See: Alwyn Barr, "The Influence of War and Military Service on African Texans" in *Texans and War: New Interpretations of the State's Military History* ed. Alexander Mendoza and Charles David Gear (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), ProQuest ebrary, accessed 8 October 2016. For an overview of various secular and religious groups, see: Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of African Americans in Texas 1528-1995*, Second Edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973, 1996), 104-111.

¹⁰ Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 75-76. Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 295.

participating in other federal organizations, including the Colored Section of the U.S. Food Administration for Texas, an organization formed in the summer of 1918.¹¹ Even though evidence suggests that a state-level African American Council of Defense never materialized beyond the planning stage, several individual county Councils of Defense did organize black auxiliaries acting under the direction of Anglo county councils.¹²

Black Texans used the Council of Defense system to their best advantage.

Just as the dual “good” versus “bad” stereotypes persisted about ethnic Mexicans, so too were African Americans characterized. The paternalistic view portrayed blacks as good, obedient, kind-hearted, laborers and domestic servants, innocently gullible and prone to superstition.¹³ Many Anglos were fond of African Americans but thought of them as having childish characteristics, rendering them incapable of making wise decisions.¹⁴ These paternalistic views shaped southern Anglo ideas regarding African Americans’ suitability for various economic and social roles. Prior to and during the First World War, whites considered African Americans to be necessary farm laborers and domestic servants whose designated place in society held them to care for Anglos and

¹¹ Letter, Colored Executive Committee for the Federal Food Administration for Texas to The Colored People of Texas, 22 May 1918, Folder “Correspondence-Colored Section of Food Administration, Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹² Bulletin, “Community Council Bulletin No. 3 Issued by the Dallas County Council of Defense,” 5 September 1918, Folder “Dallas County Council of Defense,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; O.C. Rode, “A History of Bursleson County in the World War (M.A., University of Texas, 1929), 143; “Community Council,” *Temple Daily Telegram*, 29 September 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph470379/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22colored%20council%20of%20defense%22>, accessed 6 April 2016.

¹³ Bruce Alden Glasrud mentions Anglo beliefs that African American religion was “overly superstitious.” See: Bruce Alden Glasrud, “Black Texans, 1900-1930: A History” (PhD diss., Texas Technical College, 1970), 18.

¹⁴ Glasrud calls the dual characterizations of blacks “simple” and “sinister,” and points out that newspapers of the early twentieth century often portrayed African Americans in simplistic terms that catered more to the ideologies whites already held about African Americans. Glasrud, “Black Texans,” 156.

uphold their privileged lifestyle.¹⁵ More African Americans worked in agriculture than any other occupation because blacks suffered limited educational and employment opportunities.¹⁶

Whites depended on African American labor to keep the southern economy intact. For instance, a writer for the *Georgia Enquirer Sun* stated, “Our plantations are large, our climate is peculiar, and we ourselves are not accustomed to doing the work that we ask the [N]egro to do.”¹⁷ One Georgia plantation owner complained to draft officials after several of the black men who worked for her were drafted. The woman made a list of the men who had been taken from her plantation, and demanded “that the government return them” so her crops would not rot in the fields.¹⁸ Thus, not only did she believe that African Americans were best suited for the work she needed done, but her actions suggest that she thought of these men as her property. White landholding Texans held these same beliefs, including one unnamed legislator who voted against funding Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College in 1909 because he stated that blacks belonged in the cotton fields.¹⁹

In addition to working as agricultural laborers, African Americans also held jobs as

¹⁵ Emmett J. Scott argues that labor unions excluded African Americans from membership, and prejudice kept African Americans in positions as domestics in the North, and field laborers in the South. Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969 orig. published 1920) 49-50. The employment agency in New Orleans steered educated, black, women to being cleaning ladies. William J. Breen, “Black Women and the Great War: Mobilization and Reform in the South,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Aug. 1978): 425.

¹⁶ Glasrud, “Black Texans,” 97-101.

¹⁷ Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, 155.

¹⁸ Gerald E. Shenk, “*Work or Fight!*”: *Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 12.

¹⁹ “No Race Prejudice Here,” *The [San Antonio] Daily Express* 1 May 1909, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph433826/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22prairie%20view%22%20date:1909-1909>, accessed 17 March 2016. This article is mentioned in Bruce Alden Glasrud’s dissertation, “Black Texans,” 155; George Ruble Woolfolk, “Prairie View A&M University,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kcp06>, accessed March 29, 2016.

chauffeurs and household servants. They spent considerable time with Anglo families but were not considered to be the equals of their employers.²⁰ Southern Anglos thought of African Americans in paternalistic ways. Ely Green, for instance, worked as the chauffeur for Judge Oscar Dunlap (chairman of the Texas State Council of Defense) before and during the war years. Green and the Dunlap family lived intertwined lives. However, Judge Dunlap attempted to control Green's life as if he fully did not trust Green's judgment. When Green informed Judge Dunlap that he wanted to marry, Dunlap convinced him he had not had enough life experiences and that he needed to wait. Then, when Green wanted to enlist in the Army during the First World War, Judge Dunlap tried to dissuade him. This time, Green did not follow Dunlap's advice. Green enlisted, determined to fight in France. However, unbeknownst to Green, Dunlap manipulated Green's wartime experience by influencing Green's rank, commanding officers, and military camp.²¹ In this case, the Dunlaps wanted Green to stay with their family not only because of the labor he provided, but also because of the loyalty, faithfulness, usefulness, and quick-thinking that Green had exhibited repeatedly.²² All of these characteristics reflected the paternalism that shaped such relationships.²³

A contrasting image of African Americans also existed. This characterization,

²⁰ There was a common viewpoint that African American women, particularly, were "less difficult and more submissive" because of the slavery legacy. Therefore, they were naturally "adapted" to domestic work. Enobong Hannah Branch and Melissa E. Wooten, "Suited for Service: Racialized Rationalizations for the Ideal Domestic Servant from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century," *Social Science History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer 2012): 185.

²¹ Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 220, 392.

²² Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 173. There are several places in this work where the Dunlaps express their desire that Green should remain with their family.

²³ The relationship between Ely Green and the Dunlap Family was complex, yet there is a feeling throughout the autobiography that Green and Judge Oscar Dunlap shared a relationship not unlike that of a father and son. Ely Green praised Judge Dunlap throughout the book, and dedicated it to him.

similar to the “bandit” stereotype used to describe ethnic Mexican men, portrayed African Americans as being dangerous. Ideas persisted that black men could cause physical harm to white people. Historically, this threat had manifested itself in slave rebellions. After emancipation, rumors of African American violence still permeated the South. This time, the “blacks-as-dangerous” model seemed to split into two distinct threats: violence enacted by groups of African Americans (race riots), and acts committed by individuals (murder or rape).²⁴ Often, rape allegations were rooted in one of two societal fears: 1. economic advancement of African Americans and 2. consensual relations between white women and black men.²⁵

Both societal fears threatened the foundation of white man’s masculinity which rested so much in the concept of control. Economically, white men were supposed to be superior. If an African American businessman was too successful, then Anglos believed his good fortune was problematic because the money earned by his establishment indicated that this same money was not being spent at the business of his white competitor. Ida B. Wells, the nineteenth century anti-lynching crusader, related a story in which three African American friends were lynched in 1892 for injuring white police officers who forcibly entered the black men’s store. As a result of this incident, more than two dozen African American men were jailed. In the end, only the store owners were lynched, conveniently eliminating economic competition.²⁶

²⁴ Glasrud, “Black Texans,” 145-146.

²⁵ Glasrud, “Black Texans,” 141-145.

²⁶ Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (New York: The New York Age Print, 1892), in *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900*, edited by Jacqueline Jones Royster (Boston: Bedford Books, part of the Bedford Series in History and Culture, 1997), 64-65.

The second societal fear had to do with consensual relationships between black men and white women; these relationships were not tolerated in the South because they also challenged the idea of Anglo masculinity.²⁷ Only white men were supposed to be able to control women's sexuality. On one occasion, the marshal of Waxahachie (Ellis County) and several other men witnessed or participated in the beating of an older Anglo man who had gone to the courthouse to get a marriage license for his son and his son's African American fiancé. Local officials refused to grant the marriage license, and each time the biracial couple appeared together in town, they incited the ire of local racists. Finally, whites beat the old man in order to intimidate him and his family and drive them out of town. The local marshal justified the assault to a bystander by saying, "It is our job to do what is best for our community. If we dont [sic] stop what they [the couple who wanted to marry] are trying to do somebody could be killed later."²⁸

White men also felt they had the right to control the sexuality of black women. Fannie Barrier Williams, a Chicago club woman, spoke on this subject during the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Williams noted the persistence of the immoral black woman myth and she pointed out that although the stereotype of black men as rapists still persisted, the real victims were black women who were abused by white men. Black women were constantly portrayed as having questionable morals and undeserving of the proverbial "pedestal" of respect and protection upon which white women were placed. However,

²⁷ Ida B. Wells wrote in 1894 that "The Southern white man says that it is impossible for a voluntary alliance to exist between a white woman and a colored man, and therefore, the fact of an alliance is proof of force." This quote was in her pamphlet *A Red Record*. See: Ida B. Wells, "A Red Record. Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States 1892-1893-1894," in *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900* (edited by Jacqueline Jones Royster (Boston: Bedford Books, part of the Bedford Series in History and Culture, 1997), 77-79.

²⁸ Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 241-243.

because these same Anglo men rested atop the social hierarchy, they faced no consequences for their actions. Thus, African American women were left unprotected.²⁹

Ely Green recalled an incident in which local policemen attempted to rape three African American school teachers. When Green approached the car in which the women were being assaulted, he heard the policemen tell the women, “You high stepping bitches think what you got is for the nigger Doctors and the big rich but tonight we get it.” This statement indicates that the lawmen recognized not only that the women were of the middle class, but also that as white men, they felt themselves entitled to rape the teachers thus taking from the women control over their own bodies.³⁰ Green was able to prevent these rapes only because the lawmen did not want Green’s employer, influential banker and former judge Oscar Dunlap, to discover their actions. However, even though these particular women were not raped, Green stated that these same lawmen had a reputation for sexually assaulting African American women.³¹ In spite of evidence that whites often brutalized blacks, Anglos were not villainized as a group in the ways that African Americans were.

During the First World War, negative stereotypes that people of color posed health dangers to Anglo society abounded. Mexican nationals were stopped at the border and fumigated because of fears they carried diseases such as typhus.³² One of the reasons resident Tejano children were placed in separate schools was because whites considered

²⁹ Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Class in America*, (New York: William Morrow, 1984), 85-86.

³⁰ Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 361-363. Quote is on page 363.

³¹ Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 361-363.

³² Miguel Antonio Levario, *Militarizing the Border: When Mexicans Became the Enemy* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012), 88-91.

them to be dirty and apt to spread lice.³³ Anglos expressed similar concerns about African Americans as being carriers of diseases, particularly tuberculosis (TB). In Atlanta, Georgia, the white Anti-Tuberculosis Association began work in 1914 to eliminate the spread of TB. This society targeted African Americans because they believed blacks were most likely to spread the disease to whites because of their close association with them as domestic workers.³⁴

In Texas, Anglo fears of TB prompted them to look for ways to stop its spread. In 1917, Reverend C.F. Pearce of the National Free Tuberculosis Sanitarium (in New Mexico) made several stops in Texas churches while on a tour emphasizing the dangers of TB. During these lectures, Pearce claimed that every eight seconds someone died of tuberculosis, resulting in 500 funerals in America per day. Though no articles about Pearce's tour mentioned African Americans, Pearce often referred to Tuberculosis as the "Great White Plague," meaning it was a tragedy specifically targeting Anglos.³⁵

These fears of TB and other diseases found their way into Council of Defense policies and publications. In January 1918, Charles Saville, a Dallas health official working with the State Council of Defense, issued a bulletin for the residents of Orange

³³ Guadalupe San Miguel, *Let All of Them Take Heed": Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 49, 55.

³⁴ Sarah Judson, "Civil Rights and Civic Health: African American Women's Public Health Work in Early Twentieth-Century Atlanta," *NWSA Journal* Vol. 11, No. 3 Appalachia and the South: Place, Gender, and Pedagogy (Autumn 1999): 97-98.

³⁵ "500 Funerals Daily in the United States," *The Bartlett Tribune and News*, 20 April 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph49020/m1/4/zoom/?q=tuberculosis&resolution=4&lat=3386.1238938053098&lon=2872>, accessed 6 October 2016; "Five Hundred Funerals," *The Mexia Weekly Herald*, 22 February 1917, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph302471/m1/2/?q=%22c.f.%20pearce%22>, accessed 6 October 2016; "Rev. C.F. Pearce at Plano Saturday," *The Plano-Star Courier*, 3 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph570471/m1/5/zoom/?q=%22c.f.%20pearce%22&resolution=3&lat=2405.9159524518172&lon=1944.339907214498>, accessed 6 October 2016.

County regarding general health and hygiene practices. He targeted that locale because a large influx of shipbuilders had moved to Orange, a city lacking an adequate sewer system. Saville's pamphlet urged proper hygiene and sanitation and contained suggestions to improve conditions. One of the sections pertained specifically to African Americans who, according to Saville, were more prone to diseases and were "not naturally clean and sanitary." Saville cautioned the public about how closely African Americans worked with Anglos and said that health programs should not only include, but even target, these communities.³⁶

Propaganda elsewhere blamed washer women for spreading tuberculosis. In February 1918, an article in the *New Braunfels Herald* urged residents to investigate the conditions under which their laundry was cleaned and warned that, "Many localities where washing clothes is the chief source of income are unsanitary and dangerous to health." More specifically, the article said that these places often consisted of "yards strewn with decaying refuse, swarms of flies, and sickly children." Although African American women were not named directly, women of color often worked as laundresses. The article was signed "Texas Council of Defense."³⁷ By publishing articles of this nature, the State Council perpetuated the idea that non-Anglo people lived in unsanitary conditions, raised unhealthy children, and had the power to harm unsuspecting whites. This idea was widespread throughout the South.³⁸

³⁶ Charles Saville, "The Importance of Systematic Municipal Health Protection Measures in Orange, Texas: A Report to the People of Orange Including the Orange County Council of Defense, The Mayor and City Commissioners, the Orange Board of Trade," Report, Texas State Council of Defense, January 1918, Folder "Orange County Council of Defense," Box2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁷ Texas Council of Defense, "Help Win the War by Preventing Unnecessary Sickness: Who Washes Your Clothes?" *New Braunfels Herald*, 22 February 1918.

³⁸ Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997, sixth printing 2002), 195-197.

In addition to the negative stereotypes of African Americans that permeated society, recent racial conflicts also contributed to Anglo perceptions and treatment of African Americans in the South before and during the World War. One of the most violent incidents in Texas was Houston's Camp Logan riot that occurred in August 1917. The incident began when a white police officer disrespected and slapped an African American woman named Sara Travers. Private Alonzo Edwards of the all-black 24th Infantry, tried to assist Travers as she and two police officers waited for the paddy wagon that was going to take Travers to jail for being "biggety" (sassy). Later in the day, mulatto Army Corporal Charles Baltimore (also from Camp Logan) began investigating the rumor that Edwards had been beaten and also arrested. The same two policemen involved in the Edwards assault then targeted Baltimore. Because some people inaccurately reported that the police had shot Baltimore (in reality he was bleeding heavily because he had been pistol-whipped), hostile feelings rose inside Camp Logan. Tensions finally exploded when a white mob was reported to be outside the Army camp shooting at the African American men inside. A group of armed soldiers then marched to the police station, killing and injuring several white people along the way. Approximately five whites and four black soldiers died in the riot. The 24th Infantry was moved out of Houston. More than sixty soldiers received sentences of life in prison for their roles, and nineteen soldiers were hanged. Although Anglos viewed these events with fear and anger, African American women praised the soldiers for their honor.³⁹

³⁹ Adriane Danette Lentz-Smith, "The Great War for Civil Rights: African American Politics and World War I, 1916-1920" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2005), 14-63; Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 45-50, 62. Robert V. Haynes, "Houston Riot of 1917," Handbook of Texas Online, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jch04>, accessed 1 October 2016.

Clara Threadgill-Dennis was one African American woman who showed her appreciation for the Camp Logan soldiers. Threadgill-Dennis, an Austin teacher, wrote an inflammatory piece praising the Houston soldiers for defending black women, and pointed out the irony in their role of spreading democracy abroad yet enduring second-class citizenship at home. When G.W. Bouldin, editor of the *San Antonio Inquirer*, printed Threadgill-Dennis's article, both he and Threadgill-Dennis were investigated by the Bureau of Investigation and arrested for violating the Espionage Act. Subsequently, Threadgill-Dennis was portrayed in court as a lunatic, but did not have to serve time in jail. Bouldin was harassed, arrested, and sent to Leavenworth penitentiary.⁴⁰ The incident involving Clara Threadgill-Dennis is notable because as an African American woman, she chose to challenge white authority in a public way at a time when such an action could end in lynching. The repercussions of the teacher's decision to write the letter (and that of the editor to print it) illustrate Anglo society's refusal to tolerate such questioning of white male authority, especially in a time of war. During these years, the nation was supposed to unite against the common German enemy. Yet, there was limited unity across racial lines.

African Americans continued to suffer prejudicial treatment, segregation, surveillance, intimidation, and violence. Anglos used these practices to keep African Americans "in their place" whether it was a physical place, such as a segregated dining area, or an emotional place of inferiority. Furthermore, even when Anglos praised African American accomplishments, paternalism and prejudice tinged their efforts. For

⁴⁰ Lentz-Smith, "The Great War for Civil Rights," 69-71; Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., *Investigate Everything: Federal Efforts to Compel Black Loyalty During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 170.

example, a writer for the *La Grange Journal* praised Jim East of Fayette County whose four sons were in the war. According to the article, East was “a patriot,” and “we are proud of him, even though he be a colored man.”⁴¹

A short letter in a Bastrop County newspaper reflected this same type of surface compliment. The death of an African American soldier was reported via two letters. The first was the notification the parent (Green Chambers) had received from the chaplain of the 301 Stevedore Regiment. Accompanying this communication (and appearing above it), was a small notice from Sarah J. Orgain and her son Frank, testifying that “Johnie Chambers . . . was in our employ during the last few months of his life in Bastrop” and “he was industrious, faithful and trustworthy, meriting the consideration of his employers.” The Orgains’ notice ended with this sentence, “Please publish the letter that others may see how Uncle Sam honors a faithful soldier although colored.” Notably, the Orgains wished to draw attention to the chaplain’s letter that described in detail the “flag-draped coffin,” and other graveside practices. However, their use of the term “although colored” seemed to reflect a subtle disbelief that the U.S. government would honor a black man in this elaborate way. By using the words “industrious,” “faithful” (used twice), and “trustworthy” the Orgains reinforced a paternalistic characterization of their employee, Johnie Chambers. This letter and the piece about Jim East were typical examples of disparate ways African American men were subjugated and emasculated.⁴²

⁴¹ “Four Sons Taken: Negro Farmer Gives Uncle Sam Four Sons for Soldiers,” *The La Grange Journal*, July 1918.

⁴² Mrs. S.J. Orgain and F.A. Orgain, Letter to the Editor, under the heading “Death of a Bastrop Colored Soldier,” *Bastrop Advertiser*, 27 September 1918; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population for Bastrop County, Texas, “Frank Orgain,” Page 42, Sheet 6A, House [Blank], Dwelling 138, Family 148, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 3 April 2016.

A final example comes from Clifton F. Richardson's *Houston Informer*, an African American newspaper. Richardson highlighted a recent article in the *Houston Post* wherein the author praised blacks' loyalty and suggested that every African American soldier should "be rewarded with a watermelon on Juneteenth." Clifton heavily criticized the sentiment, stating "it . . . shows the average white Southerner's idea of what our race deserves for its unparalleled [sic] and unprecedented record in the late world war." He then said that what African Americans really wanted was "justice, equality before the law, education, decent wages, living conditions, suffrage rights and privileges, abolition of lynching, race prejudice, oppression, jim-crowism, segregation, discrimination, disfranchisement, other heathenish, hellish and Hunnish deeds."⁴³ The *Houston Post* article illustrated the disconnect in the minds of Anglos between what African American soldiers wanted, why they were fighting, and what whites thought they deserved for their service. Clifton's description of deeds as "Hunnish" equated Anglo southerners with enemy Germans, a comparison that showed old-stock Anglos to be the true African Americans foes.

During the war, segregated facilities and organizations promoted the continued separation of Anglos and African Americans. Some national organizations, including the Red Cross and Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), established auxiliary chapters for blacks. In Texas, Red Cross auxiliaries existed in several places including Colony (Fayette County), Luling (Caldwell County), Temple (Bell County), El Paso (El

⁴³ "Is Watermelon To Be Our Only Reward for Great Service in Democracy's Martial Conflict?", *The Houston Informer*, 28 June 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth523857/m1/1/>, accessed 8 November 2016.

Paso County), Dallas (Dallas County), and Orange (Orange County).⁴⁴ El Paso had a separate YMCA chapter for ethnic Mexicans.⁴⁵ Other places, including Harris County, had segregated YMCA auxiliaries.⁴⁶ Segregated facilities and organizations were constant reminders to ethnic Mexicans and blacks that they were not equal to whites.

Physical intimidation also affected black organizations including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Since the organization's founding in 1915 more than thirty chapters had formed in Texas by 1920.⁴⁷ Anglos viewed the NAACP as a threat to the racial order. In July 1919, Governor William P. Hobby sent Texas Rangers to heavily-black areas of the state in order to investigate the

⁴⁴ "For the Red Cross," 25 April 1918, *San Antonio Express*, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430445/m1/8/zoom/?q=%22negro%20auxiliary%22>, accessed 6 April 2016; "Colored Red Cross Membership, 13 July 1917, *Temple Daily Telegram*, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph475129/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22negro%20auxiliary%22>, accessed 6 April 2016; *Brenham Daily Banner-Press*, 10 July 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph490848/m1/3/zoom/?q=%22negro%20auxiliary%22%20date:1917-1919>, accessed 4 December 2015; "Negro Auxiliary of Red Cross in 'First Aid' Work, *El Paso Herald*, 20 April 1917, Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph138616/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22negro%20auxiliary%22%20date:1917-1919>, accessed 4 December 2015; Letter, C.W. Dietrich to J.B. Rayner, 26 June 1917, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH; "Negro Y.M.C.A. Gives \$25 to Y.W.C.A. Building Fund," *El Paso Herald*, 3 February 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph138552/m1/9/zoom/?q=%22organization%20of%20negroes%22%20date:1917-1919>, accessed 17 March 2016; "Red Cross Orange Chapter Orange Texas [sic]," *Orange Daily Leader*, 4 February 1918, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph564824/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22colored%20auxiliary%22&resolution=3&lat=3153&lon=2502>, accessed 10 October 2016.

⁴⁵ Mary Elizabeth Bush, "El Paso County, Texas, In the First World War," (Master's Degree, University of Texas, June 1950), 78-79.

⁴⁶ "Music Program Will Be Given By Negro Y.M.C.A.," *The Houston Post*, 11 June 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph609224/m1/9/zoom/?q=%22negro%20YMCA%22&resolution=3&lat=4498&lon=1413>, accessed 6 October 2016.

⁴⁷ Michael L. Gillette, "National Association For the Advancement of Colored People," Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ven01>, accessed 17 November 2016. Merline Pitre, *In Struggle Against Jim Crow: Lulu B. White and the NAACP, 1900-1957* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 26; Ernest Obadele-Starks, "Black Labor, the Black Middle Class, and Organized Protest along the Upper Texas Gulf Coast, 1883-1945," in *The African American Experience in Texas: An Anthology*, ed. By Bruce A. Glasrud and James M. Smallwood (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2007), 202-217; Reich, "Soldiers of Democracy Black Texans and the Fight for Citizenship, 1917-1921," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (March 1996): 1490.

potential for race riots; Hobby believed agitators were inciting racial problems.⁴⁸

However, the presence of the Texas Rangers escalated concern and fear in the black communities because the Rangers “urged local sheriffs to prepare for trouble.”⁴⁹ In Longview, these fears came to fruition.

After a jailed Longview inmate was taken from his cell and killed by a mob, an article appeared in the *Chicago Defender* on July 5, 1918 that ignited controversy. The person who wrote the article claimed that the mob had killed African American Lemuel Walters because a white woman professed her love for him, a radical act that incited fears of miscegenation. This publicity this article drew caused outrage among the Longview whites who blamed two local African Americans, Dr. C.P. Davis and S.L. Jones for writing the article. Although Davis and Jones denied the accusation, Anglo mobs pursued them and destroyed their houses. Davis and Jones escaped Longview, but the mob killed Davis’s father-in-law, Marion Bush.⁵⁰

In an effort to pressure the NAACP to leave the state, Governor Hobby began investigating the Austin branch a month after the Longview violence. When John R. Shillady, the Anglo executive director of the NAACP, went to Austin to learn more about the investigation, the county judge and local constable attacked him and made him leave town. Shillady’s assault convinced many NAACP members that their involvement with the organization was too risky. By 1921 only seven chapters were still in operation.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Reich, “Soldiers of Democracy,” 1490-1501.

⁴⁹ Reich, “Soldiers of Democracy,” 1499.

⁵⁰ William M. Tuttle, Jr., “Violence in a Heathen Land: The Longview Race Riot of 1919,” *Phylon* (1960-), Vol. 33, No. 4 (4th Qtr., 1972): 324-333.

⁵¹ Reich, “Soldiers of Democracy,” 1500; “Man is Beaten and Ordered to Leave Capital: County Judge and Constable at Austin Drive Out Secretary Negro Association,” *San Antonio Express*, 23 August 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapht430677/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22shillady%22&resolution=3&l>

Though there is rarely a clear-cut case of intimidation evident in the Texas State Council of Defense records, there are a few instances that indicate an impending threat or past incident of violence. In 1918, the corresponding secretary of the Harrison County Council of Defense complained to the State Council that the dependent wives and children of black soldiers were not doing their part in the war effort. The secretary started out by saying that their council wanted to be “impartially just,” yet council members also desired “relief from the impertinence of the idle [N]egro as well as from the lack of help which the idleness complained of imposes on us.” The corresponding secretary then expressed his hope that the situation could be resolved as they hoped, “through lawful means.” However, he warned that “if no such relief is in prospect the south, as in the past, will doubtless find a remedy.”⁵²

While there is one letter in the Council of Defense materials from McLennan County that accused local Anglo women and girls of shirking responsibilities during the war effort, this Harrison County letter is the only one that spoke negatively about the wives and children of soldiers.⁵³ Although it is possible that people were offended because some were not “doing their part” as everyone was expected to do during the war, it is most likely that those who complained blamed black women and children for inconveniencing them by withholding their labor. Furthermore, the letter hinted at some form of impending retaliation if no legal solution could compel the black women and

at=2575&lon=2376, accessed 12 December 2016.

⁵² Letter, F.S. Littlejohn to the State Council of Defense, 5 October 1918, Folder “Our Community War Service Memorial,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵³ Letter, L.S. Downs to Woodrow Wilson, 24 June 1918, Folder “McLennan Co. Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

children to work.⁵⁴

An incident in Red River County suggests intimidation on the part of the county Council of Defense, and additionally illustrates the “proper role” whites thought blacks should have during the war. The trouble began when a minstrel show from the North entered northeastern Texas by train and attempted to perform. In April 1918, R.J. Easley, a member of the Red River County Council of Defense (RRCCoD) contacted State Council secretary J.F. Carl suggesting, “that you lend aid toward having city councils prohibit the putting on of cheap shows, [N]egro minstrels and that class of amusements which neither educate nor uplift.” Easley described the performers as “25 negro bucks.” He claimed “they did not show, owing to the weather,” but “there was a strong feeling against them as they were all able to do farm or trench work either.”⁵⁵

Although R.J. Easley made the incident sound benign—that the weather was bad and the performers were unable to do their show—the situation was not so simple. Eleanor Phillips, the operator of A.G. Allen’s Minstrels, presented her side of events in a letter to Secretary of State Robert Lansing whose office then forwarded the letter to the Council of National Defense. Phillips claimed that the Councils of Defense in both Red River and Lamar counties refused to allow the actors to perform even though the troupe had obtained local licenses prior to their arrival. More specifically, Phillips described the scene when she and her performers rolled into town. According to Phillips, the “Defence

⁵⁴ Letter, F.S. Littlejohn to the State Council of Defense, 5 October 1918, Folder “Our Community War Service Memorial,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH; Chad L. Williams notes that some exemption boards refused to grant dependency claims to African American soldiers because locals depended on the labor of the soldiers’ wives. If the soldiers’ pay was able to support these women, then the women would not work. See: Chad L. Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 55.

⁵⁵ Letter, R.J. Easley to J.F. Carl, 15 April 1918, Folder “Red River County Council of Defense” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

[sic] Committee meets the train with the sheriff, and has him tell me that he will shoot my company down if I attempt to unload and put up my tent.” Elsewhere in the letter, Phillips stated that the sheriff of Clarkesville (Red River County) then went over to Blossom (Lamar County) and convinced the people there not to let the company perform. Thus, not only had Phillips and her performers been threatened, but she was left with at least two cities from which she was unable to collect revenue.⁵⁶

R.L. McMillan, chairman of the Red River CoD wrote to Carl that he was not present when the group met Phillips at the train station. However, he stated that he and other CoD members tried to find Phillips and dissuade her from coming beforehand; he denied that anyone had made threats at the station. McMillan avowed that Phillips’ letter to the Secretary of State was “greatly overdrawn,” and that he and the council were acting on the wishes of the public who did not want any “amusements of this kind” in their county when the minstrels “could have done a great deal more good helping to produce something rather than trying to amuse.” McMillan also mentioned that one of the planters in that area claimed that “the last Minstrel show visiting this town took away with them three of his [N]egro hands.”⁵⁷

Arthur H. Fleming, Chief of Section for the CoND, told J.F. Carl to take care of the matter, and warned the Texas State Council about the dangers of too much power in the hands of some county Councils of Defense. Fleming stated, “All the efforts of the State Council should be directed toward making the county and community councils

⁵⁶ Letter, Eleanor Phillips to Secretary of State, 29 April 1918, Folder “Red River County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁷ Letter, R.L. McMillan to J.F. Carl, 17 May 1918, Folder “Red River County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

democratic organizations representative of all citizens of the community and dealing with any measures which come to their attention in a broadminded unprejudiced manner which will represent as nearly as possible the sentiment of the community and not any one faction in the community.”⁵⁸

The Texas State Council of Defense did not send this fair-minded message to the RRCCoD. In his correspondence with the Red River council, J.F. Carl seemed to validate the county council’s response by saying, “I do not want you to understand that I am criticizing you for the action you took. My personal opinion is that these buck [N]egroes running around over the country ought to be put to work.” Furthermore, Carl stated to chairman R.L. McMillan, “I think you people have done exactly the right thing. I merely sent you this in order that you would know the character of the kick registered.”⁵⁹ These words sent the message that the State Council of Defense did not find fault with the Red River Council’s actions. Moreover, this correspondence devalued Eleanor Phillips’ claim and gave the local council license to further subjugate African Americans.

Unquestionably, however, the Council of National Defense had expressed justifiable concern and did not approve of the treatment Eleanor Phillips and her troupe had received.

A closer examination of this incident is warranted because of its complexity. A.G. Allen’s Minstrel Show had previously appeared to favorable audiences in Lamar County in 1913. This former showing proves that Lamar County residents were not opposed to

⁵⁸ Letter, Arthur H. Fleming to J.F. Carl, 9 May 1918, Folder “Red River County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁹ Letter, J.F. Carl to R.L. McMillan, 19 May 1918, Folder “Red River County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

this kind of entertainment.⁶⁰ But that was prior to the First World War. In chairman R.L. McMillan's May 1918 letter to Carl, he stated that the Red River CCoD did not want any kind of public events that, in his opinion, did not provide the right kind of "entertainment" nor were "instructive."⁶¹ McMillan may have been expressing a genuine concern. In fact, the minstrel show was not the only public show the local council discouraged. In late May, Clarkesville resident Charles Horner complained to J.F. Carl about the Red River County Council of Defense refusing to allow a chautauqua that was being funded by numerous local citizens. Even though this type of meeting was more of a learning-opportunity (as opposed to entertainment), McMillan sent a telegram to Carl saying that the RRCCoD was not allowing any "outside entertainments" and that all money that had been forwarded for chautauquas was to be given to the Red Cross.⁶² State CoD Secretary J.F. Carl replied to Horner that the State Council of Defense left matters such as these to the discretion of the county Councils of Defense, a common response.⁶³ County Councils of Defense, then, had power to determine their own actions without having to be overly concerned about State Council oversight.

During this time period, some Anglo Texans felt that intimidation was not a strong

⁶⁰ "Read What the Press Says," *The Crockett Courier*, 27 March 1913, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph177698/m1/5/zoom/?q=%22a.g.%20allen%22%20minstrel>, accessed 17 February 2016.

⁶¹ Letter, R.L. McMillan to J.F. Carl, 17 May 1918, Folder "Red River County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶² Telegram, Charles F. Horner to Chairman State Council [sic] of Defense, 23 May 1918, Folder "Red River County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Telegram, R.L. McMillan to J.F. Carl, 24 May 1918, "Red River County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH. It appears that the Chautauqua did take place because money which had been paid beforehand could not be refunded. Unnamed clipping, *Honey Grove Signal*, 31 May 1918, Folder "Red River County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Telegram, Charles F. Horner to Chairman State Council [sic] of Defense, 23 May 1918, Folder "Red River County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶³ Letter, J.F. Carl to R.L. McMillan, 23 May 1918, "Red River County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

enough deterrent and that African Americans had to be emotionally and physically brutalized in order to keep them “in their place” and prevent any uprisings, or threats to the accepted social norms. Lynchings, the most extreme means of subjugation, frequently occurred across all the southern states including Texas.⁶⁴ In fact, during the World War, the number of lynchings in Texas increased. Approximately two hundred African Texans were lynched after 1900, particularly in East Texas where most blacks were concentrated.⁶⁵

According to Ely Green, State Council of Defense chairman Oscar Dunlap’s chauffeur, Dunlap prevented a lynching in 1915. African American Joe Larkin was accused of killing a white man. When Oscar Dunlap learned of the gathering mob, he and a Reverend Parker immediately went to the scene where they found Larkin suspended from a rope being raised and lowered over stacked cotton bales for the purpose of “trying to make him confess to the crime.”⁶⁶ The judge and Parker climbed up the cotton and according to Ely Green, “made a sandwich of Larkin, bringing him between them to lessen the opportunity of a shot.” Eventually, they calmed the crowd and the judge “look[ed] at the rope pullers. Many young men of the better class had fallen victim of this nervous contagious [sic] dilemma.” The sheriff and officers “was [sic] pouring kerosene on the cotton” when Dunlap arrived, though they started helping to control the mob after Judge Dunlap began speaking. Dunlap and the others successfully got Larkin to the jail, then snuck him out and transported him to Dallas.⁶⁷ Dunlap claimed to have risked his

⁶⁴ Glasrud, “Black Texans,” 10-11.

⁶⁵ Glasrud, “Black Texans,” 10-11, 139.

⁶⁶ Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 280.

⁶⁷ Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 280-286; direct quotes on page 281.

life in order to spare his town the shame of lynching. Furthermore, he said, “If I had let this [lynching] happen, I couldnt [sic] have ever looked any one of my colored friends in the face again.”⁶⁸

Thus far, Ely Green’s autobiography provides the only account of this incident and may be viewed as suspect because of Green’s loyalty to Oscar Dunlap and the Dunlap family. However, a newspaper article from April 1915, verifies the existence of Joe Larkin, the nature of the crime for which he was accused, and that Larkin had been moved to Dallas because of threats made against him when first arrested. Therefore, if Oscar Dunlap did prevent a lynching, he did so at great personal risk and showed himself to be different from the many Waxahachie Anglos who wanted to see the torture and death of Joe Larkin in February 1915.⁶⁹

Rarely did Anglos suffer consequences for threatening, harming, or killing African Americans.⁷⁰ The Red River County CoD’s threats against Eleanor Phillips and her troupe, and the Harrison County CoD’s complaints about black women and children being impertinent, indicate that African Americans faced a viable threat of violence at the county level from members of the local population.⁷¹ Most disturbing, the Texas State Council of Defense made no attempts to discourage such threats or actions.

⁶⁸ Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 282, 287.

⁶⁹ Ironically, two months later a mob did watch Joe Larkin die at the end of a rope via a legal public execution at which several thousand attended. “Negro Hanged at Waxahachie: Said on the Scaffold He Held the Victim While Another Negro Killed Him,” *The Bryan Daily Eagle and Pilot*, 17 April 1915, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph325028/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22joe%20larkin%22&resolution=3&lat=2740.950428850514&lon=2611.2623927873715>, accessed 6 October 2016.

⁷⁰ William D. Carrigan notes that prior to 1900, Texas Anglos looked to violence as a means to keep blacks subjugated. See: William D. Carrigan, *The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836-1916* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 139.

⁷¹ Letter, Eleanor Phillips to Secretary of State, 29 April 1918, Folder “Red River County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, F.S. Littlejohn to the State Council of Defense, 5 October 1918, Folder “Our Community War Service Memorial,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

Understandably, black leaders at this time reacted to prejudice, racism, and violence in carefully measured ways. W.E.B. Du Bois, noted activist and leader, published a controversial—what some called an “accommodationist” piece—in the *Crisis*, the NAACP’s newsletter. In a July 1918 editorial entitled “Close Ranks,” Du Bois advised African Americans to put aside their immediate desires for civil rights in favor of uniting with Anglos in support of World War I. Readers puzzled over the sudden change in Du Bois's characteristic philosophical direction. Many African Americans felt he had “sold out” after the U.S. Army offered him a position of captain in the Military Intelligence Bureau. Some scholars believe that Du Bois was sincere in his motivations for wanting all Americans to unite behind the war. Others imply that Du Bois traded positive wartime propaganda publicity in his newspaper *The Crisis*, for the commission.⁷² It is logical that Du Bois did what was pragmatic for him at a time when Bureau of Investigation agents had sharp eyes on *The Crisis*.⁷³

When Major General Leonard Wood announced that an all-black officer training camp would be organized in May 1917, Joel Spingarn of the NAACP encouraged black men to apply. Even though the camp was segregated, many leading blacks including W.E.B. Du Bois viewed its establishment as a stepping stone for future opportunities.⁷⁴ Several hundred college-educated African Americans trained at Fort Des Moines, Iowa

⁷² David Levering implies that Du Bois wanted to do what was best for the country. David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race 1868-1919*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 553-555.

⁷³ William Jordan offers a historiography of perspectives regarding W.E.B. Du Bois's “Close Ranks.” See: William Jordan, “The Damnable Dilemma’: African-American Accommodation and Protest During World War I,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Mar., 1995):1562-1565; Nikki L.M. Brown, “‘Your Patriotism is of the Purest Quality,’: African American Women and World War I” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2002), 52-53; Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 75-76.

⁷⁴ Jonathan Rosenberg, “For Democracy, Not Hypocrisy: World War and Race Relations in the United States, 1914-1919” in *The International History Review*, 21, No. 3 (Sep. 1999): 593, 597, 599; Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois*, 528-530.

with the intention of becoming officers in the Army. In October, more than 600 black men were commissioned as officers then sent to one of seven camps around the United States.⁷⁵

African Americans enlisted in the Army because they viewed being a soldier as an opportunity to escape the racism under which they lived. Furthermore, they looked forward to the stability in clothing, food, and housing which they believed the military would provide to them. Above all, they wanted the chance to feel like and be treated as men—an idea they closely associated with military service.⁷⁶ Approximately 400,000 African Americans served in the First World War. However, they all did not go overseas. Only half of those served in the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) stationed in France and commanded by General John Pershing. Furthermore, only 42,000 saw combat. The others were assigned stateside to labor units called Services of Supply (SOS).⁷⁷ The Army drafted approximately 91,000 Anglos and 31,000 blacks from Texas.⁷⁸ Of the 31,000, only 10,000 of these served overseas.⁷⁹ Black men in Cuero (DeWitt County) reportedly filled the streets in anticipation of leaving for the war.⁸⁰

Other individuals participated in home front war activities led by church groups. In Travis County, the Ebenezer Baptist Church held a Loyalty Day Parade in June 1917 that included the presence of several speakers, and a free breakfast for all attendees.⁸¹ The

⁷⁵ Emmett J. Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, (Chicago: Homewood Press, Getzville, NY: William S. Hein & Company, 1919), 84-91.

⁷⁶ Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 75-76; Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 295.

⁷⁷ Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 2, 77.

⁷⁸ Scott, *Scott's Official History*, 68.

⁷⁹ Glasrud, "Black Texans," 70; Alwyn Barr, "The Influence of War and Military Service on African Texans," 105-106.

⁸⁰ "Over a Hundred Negroes Leave for Camp Travis: An Even Hundred Form Quota in DeWitt's Largest Call. Two Transfers Are Also Sent," *The [Cuero] Record*, 18 July 1918.

⁸¹ "Austin Negroes to Have Loyalty Day Celebration: Will Discuss Labor Problems and Food

next year, the church hosted former judge William Harrison from Oklahoma, an African American whom President Woodrow Wilson had assigned the duty of publicly speaking on behalf of the war. The local paper praised the church's efforts for "arousing the fire of patriotism among the [N]egroes of this city."⁸² Elsewhere in the state, C. E. Ware, pastor of Abilene's St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, volunteered to tour the state teaching African American students about food conservation and production. Furthermore, he said he could help establish savings clubs in approximately 200 counties by appointing people there.⁸³

In addition to taking advantage of church networks, African Texans formed new clubs and organizations specifically to aid in the war effort. In 1918, Travis County blacks formed the Colored Welfare Board located in Austin under the direction of Dr. W.H. Crawford. This group sought to better the community through its numerous committees: Health Welfare, Girl Welfare, Boy Welfare, Moral Welfare, Vocational Welfare, Civic Welfare, and Economic Welfare. The Board also established a canning center at Anderson High School.⁸⁴ Judge J.F. Carl was familiar with Dr. Crawford and described him as being "intelligent," and "a splendid organizer."⁸⁵ An Austin newspaper quoted Crawford as saying that African Americans wanted to participate in the war effort but were unsure how to go about doing so. Once instructed, however, Crawford declared that they would "follow with characteristic loyalty, whether on the battlefield, the farm,

Conservation," *The [Austin] Statesman*, 31 May 1917.

⁸² "Celebration to Be Held by Negroes," *The [Austin] Statesman*, 5 May 1918.

⁸³ Letter, C.E. Ware to Joseph Hirsch, 5 November 1917, Folder "Abilene," Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁴ "Colored Welfare Board Has Meet," *The [Austin] Statesman*, 11 May 1918.

⁸⁵ Letter, J.F. Carl to D.C. Giddings, 14 August 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH. The 1910 US Census reported Crawford as being a physician. Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Travis County, Texas, "Dr. W.H. Crawford," Page 262, Sheet 19A, House 1409, Dwelling 332, Family 283, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 14 April 2016.

or in the shop.”⁸⁶

Fort Worth’s Northside Community Council led by Professor S.H. Fowler, was another active group. By May 1918, participants had met three times. The first meeting had been for the purpose of teaching school children about the war and their part in home front activities. It was also likely at this first meeting that Fowler organized the students into a Little Citizens League.⁸⁷ Approximately 300 people attended the Northside Council’s May program that consisted of speakers, songs, and activities featuring the school children.⁸⁸ In August, the group staged their “1918 Musical Revue” proceeds from which benefitted the Red Cross.⁸⁹ L.A. Freeman, secretary of the Tarrant County Council of Defense called Fowler “a very able man” and suggested to State CoD secretary J.F. Carl that Fowler “should have some recognition for forming this Council.”⁹⁰ In response to Freeman’s letter, Carl sent an acknowledgement to Fowler.⁹¹ The Northside Community Council appears to have been an independent organization with no direct affiliation with the Tarrant County Council of Defense.⁹²

In September 1917, the Harrison County Council of Defense (HCCoD) enlisted the help of Dr. Matthew Dogan, longtime president of Wiley College in Marshall, urging

⁸⁶ “Austin Negroes to Have Loyalty Day Celebration,” *The [Austin] Statesman*, 31 May 1917.

⁸⁷ Letter, S.H. Fowler to State Council of Defense, 27 February 1918, Folder “Tarrant County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁸ Program, “Don’t Miss the Great Meeting,” Folder “Tarrant County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁹ Program, “1918 Musical Revue at the Coliseum,” Folder “Tarrant County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁰ Letter, L.A. Freeman to J.F. Carl, 16 May 1918, Folder “Tarrant County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹¹ Letter, J.F. Carl to S.H. Fowler and I.C. Walker, 20 May 1918, Folder “Tarrant County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹² The stationary used by the Northside Community Council claimed that the organization had a chairman (S.H. Fowler), and an executive secretary (I.C. Walker). It also listed eight additional members (men and women) who made up the Board of Directors. See: Letter, S.H. Fowler to J.F. Carl, 6 August 1918, Folder “Tarrant County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

him to convince African Americans to plant wheat.⁹³ Two months later, the HCCoD was working with two additional men: Professor Henry B. Pemberton, Sr. (principal of the African American high school in Marshall), and Elder Moore.⁹⁴ Pemberton organized some community Councils of Defense, and was chairman of his county's African American auxiliary.⁹⁵ In December, corresponding secretary of the Harrison County CoD, F.S. Littlejohn, encouraged Dogan to have the kitchen staff at Wiley College sign and return the Hoover food conservation pledge cards.⁹⁶ While it is certain that Harrison County Anglos reinforced the idea of blacks as farmers, it should be noted that this county's CoD may have been the first to reach out to African Americans and begin steps for organization.

In addition to local groups, African Americans also participated nationwide in large federally-created entities. In May 1918, the Committee on Public Information (CPI) launched the Committee of One Hundred, an idea that had originated from Houston, Texas native Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War.⁹⁷ The purpose of the Committee was to teach African Americans about the war and what roles they could play in home front activities. Prominent, middle class African American men from all over the United States served as these patriotic messengers.⁹⁸ Similar to how the Council

⁹³ Kharen Monsho, "Dogan, Matthew Winfred," Handbook of Texas Online <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fdo54>, accessed January 20, 2016; Letter, F.S. Littlejohn to D.W. Dogan, 22 September 1917, Folder "Our Community War Service Memorial," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁴ Letter, F.S. Littlejohn to M.W. Dogan, 28 November 1917, Folder "Our Community War Service Memorial," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁵ "The Harrison County Council of Defense," Meeting Minutes, 1 October 1918, Folder "Our Community War Service Memorial," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁶ Letter, F.S. Littlejohn to M.W. Dogan, 7 December 1917, Folder "Our Community War Service Memorial," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁹⁷ Barbara L. Green, "Scott, Emmett Jay," Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsc42>, accessed October 13, 2016.

⁹⁸ Scott, *Scott's Official History*, 355.

of Defense used speakers to reach targeted audiences, in most places the CPI used African American speakers instead of whites to lend credibility and authenticity to their message. By June 1918, the CPI worked with African Americans in several places including Chicago, Illinois; Brunswick, Georgia; and Miami, Florida. William McCormick Blair, Director of the Division of Four Minute Men, highlighted these particular localities because each illustrated a different way in which Four Minute Men engaged with the African American community. In Brunswick, the Anglo chairman appointed the African American chairman who worked as his assistant. In Chicago, the white chairman chose a few African American leaders who worked under a black leader of their choice. Anglo members of the “Checking Committee” monitored speakers. The work in Birmingham differed because this city did not organize African American speakers but instead used members of the Anglo CPI to give talks at black meetings.⁹⁹ These African American men urged patriotism for all fellow black Americans and all reported to a white chairman.¹⁰⁰ When the Committee on Public Information sent out its names of proposed African American speakers for Texas, the list revealed the names of more than twenty middle-class men of accomplishment including Dr. Matthew Dogan of Wiley College, Joseph E. Clayton of the Clayton Institute, Clifton Richardson of Houston’s NAACP, and C.N. Love who would challenge the white primary in the 1927 Supreme Court Case *Love v. Griffith*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Letter, William McCormick Blair to Local Chairmen, Committee on Public Information, 18 June 1918, Folder “4 Minute Men-Washington,” Box 2J359, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁰ Letter, William McCormick Blair to Local Chairmen, 18 June 1918, Box 2J359, Folder “4 Minute Men-Washington,” TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰¹ Letter, William McCormick Blair to Local Chairmen, 18 June 1918, Unnamed Folder, Box 2J392, TWRC, DBCAH. There are several sheets of paper with two to five names and addresses of men typed per sheet. I believe these are the individuals whom McCormick recommended. The men listed are: W.H. Noble, Jr., F.E. Stewart, C.N. Love, Clifton Richardson, I.M. Terrell, Dr. S.F. Floyd, M.W. Dogan, Dr.

In terms of organizing African Texans, the U.S. Department of Agriculture had joined with the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas to establish home extension work as early as 1915. Led by E.L. Blackshear of Prairie View State Normal, this extension work was designed to help African Americans to improve their farming techniques. During the World War, Blackshear encouraged the farmers to grow truck-farming crops, plant fruit trees and feed grain, and raise poultry, and dairy cows. It was understood that home extension agents provided guidance to those farmers who were “willing to help themselves.”¹⁰²

The U.S. Food Administration (USFA) also made attempts to reach African Americans during the war years. On or before the summer of 1918, the USFA created a black auxiliary under the direction of Ernest T. Attwell.¹⁰³ By early December, the USFA reported that eighteen states had in operation a special section for work among African Americans.¹⁰⁴ Texas was one of these states, a Colored Section having been organized in the summer of 1918.¹⁰⁵ Dr. E.J. Howard, pastor of Houston’s African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, served as Negro State Director of the Colored Section of the

L.W. Thomas, J.F. Clayton, Bishop M.F. Jamison, Dr. S.R. Prince, R.C. Houston, J.K. Williams, Dr. A.S. Jackson, R.L. Smith, Dr. J.S. Anderson, Rev. H.M. Kinsley, H.L. Price, Dr. B.J. Brown, Dr. J.R. Starks, N.N. Rodgers, and W.E. King. For information about the *Love v. Griffith* case, see: Merline Pitre, *In Struggle Against Jim Crow: Lulu B. White and the NAACP, 1900-1957*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 20; Douglas Hales, "Love, Charles N.," Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/floac>, accessed October 13, 2016.

¹⁰² “Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics State of Texas,” Bulletin, “To the Colored Farmers of Texas,” 4 January 1918, Folder “Partial List of Colored Farmers of Texas,” Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰³ Ernest T. Attwell, Bulletin No. 1, “A Message to the Colored People of Texas,” 15 August 1918, Folder “Colored Section Food Admin. Bulletins,” Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁴ Negro Press Release, 2 December 1918, Folder “Colored Section Food Admin. Bulletins,” Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁵ Letter, Educational Director to G.F. Taylor, 26 July 1918, Folder “Correspondence-Colored Section of Food Administration,” Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH; Bulletin No. 521, “Negro Citizenship Organize for Food Conservation,” 9 May 1918, Folder “Correspondence-Colored Section of Food Administration,” Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

Federal Food Administration for Texas (CSFFAT). Professor W.L. Davis was named secretary, and nine other members rounded out the organization; their base of operation was Houston (Harris County). Dr. Howard appointed a deputy in each county whose position was endorsed by the local Anglo food administrator. Each deputy then chose five local citizens to serve on a committee.¹⁰⁶

The CSFFAT continued to make strides in food conservation efforts as well as providing opportunities for African American participation. By early May, Mary Gearing, Director of Home Economics at the University of Texas, had appointed an unnamed African American woman to help organize cooking classes.¹⁰⁷ Shortly thereafter, the CSFFAT established a Negro Press Section that reported accomplishments in food conservation and production.¹⁰⁸ A few months later, a Department of Publicity for Colored Newspapers of Texas was organized. C.F. Richardson of the *Houston Observer* served as head of this department.¹⁰⁹

Although the United States Food Administration empowered African Americans in many ways, it (along with the CoND) perpetuated some of the stereotypes that were

¹⁰⁶ Members of this committee included: E.J. Howard, W.L. Davis, J.D. Ryan, E.O. Smith, W.J. Smith, J.W. Hubert, M.W.C. Dickson, Mrs. W.B. Woodruff, W.J. King, J.P. Burdette; and F.L. Light. Letter, Colored Executive Committee for the Federal Food Administration for Texas to The Colored People of Texas, 22 May 1918, Folder "Correspondence-Colored Section of Food Administration," Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH; "United States Food Administration Federal Food Administration for Texas. E.A. Peden Administrator, Houston, Texas," 5 June 1918, Folder "Correspondence-Colored Section of Food Administration," Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH; "Negro Adjunct Named for Food Administration," *The Aspermont Star*, 21 November 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:67531/metaph126160/>, accessed 21 March 2016.

¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Roy Campbell, "Report of Mrs[.] Roy Campbell, Chairman Woman[']s Committee Foo[d] Administration. San Antonio Texas. May 1, 1918," Folder "Woman's Committee (Counties Beginning With "H")," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁸ Negro Press Section, Educational Division, Press Release, 15 July 1918, Folder "Bulletins Issued by Colored Section," Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁰⁹ Letter C.F. Richardson to "My dear Sir," 5 October 1918, Folder "Bulletins Issued by Colored Section," Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

common in that time. First, both the USFA and the CoND linked African Americans to agriculture so that African Americans had difficulty being thought of in any ways other than as laborers (thus creating limited economic opportunities). Arthur H. Fleming of the Council of National Defense advised the Texas State Council of Defense to cooperate with the state Food Administrator because “the chief defense work which can be accomplished by the Negroes is along the lines of Food production and conservation.”¹¹⁰ Second, the United States Food Administration (USFA) exhibited its paternalistic viewpoints when it issued a bulletin in 1918 from white members of the USFA that suggested how African Americans should celebrate the 4th of July.¹¹¹

In a letter to the Federal Food Administrator for Texas, the USFA provided five possible speeches to be given at the festivities. These were: “Mr. Hoover’s Appeal to the Twelve Million Negroes of the United States”; “Why We Celebrate July 4th”; “Why We Are At War”; “Food Will Win the War”; and “Labor for Victory.”¹¹² Furthermore, the bulletin’s author stipulated that the appropriate “spirit of the meeting must be serious and convey the critical condition of the war; the men and women are to be present that they may learn what they can do to help stop the destruction of their own liberty and the liberty of all free people; to help escape enslavement by the Germans.” Finally, the bulletin’s author warned the food administrators, “DO NOT LET THE MEETING BE TOO LONG”¹¹³ This last sentence served as a warning that any large gathering of

¹¹⁰ Letter, Arthur H. Fleming to State Council of Defense, 11 June 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹¹ United States Food Administration to Federal Food Administrator, 5 June 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹² United States Food Administration to Federal Food Administrator, 5 June 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹¹³ “Exhibit A: Notes for County Food Administrators in RE July 4th Celebrations for Negroes,” Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

African Americans carried the possibility for racial violence; as such, it was up to Anglos to determine the proper length of time for the meeting. Federal organizations including the Red Cross, Young Men's Association, and the Texas State Council of Defense often perpetuated these stereotypes, guaranteeing that African Americans were never "equal" in the oversight they could exercise in their own auxiliary war time organizations.

Brief accounts exist showing how African Americans in Bell and Bexar counties celebrated the Fourth of July 1918. Bell County African Texans held a parade, followed by speeches including "Mr. Hoover's Appeal to the Twelve Million Negroes of the United States." Music and a canning demonstration rounded out the celebration.¹¹⁴ San Antonio blacks did not have a parade, but they gathered at the "[N]egro playgrounds, [at] Crockett and Monumental Streets," to hear various speeches, including the Gettysburg Address. Dancing, and listening to music provided by an African American band from Camp Travis filled the rest of the evening.¹¹⁵ Attorney Harry Hertzberg, an ethnic German, delivered the patriotic message to the San Antonio group. Noted local African American men including Dr. J.T. Walton, O.J. Carter, S.J. Sutton, and J.O. Robinson spoke after Hertzberg.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ "Negros Celebrate 4th," *Temple Daily Telegram*, 2 July 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph470501/m1/3/zoom/print/?resolution=3&lat=2780&lon=-223>, accessed 9 October 2016; "Negro Meeting Tonight: Colored People Will Hold Patriotic Celebration at 8 o'Clock-Parade to Bon Ton Park at 6," *Temple Daily Telegram*, 4 July 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph470032/?q=%22negro%20Fourth%20of%20July%22>, accessed 9 October 2016.

¹¹⁵ "Negroes Celebrate at Crockett Playgrounds," *San Antonio Express*, 5 July 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430493/?q=%22negroes%20celebrate%20at%20crockett%22>, accessed 9 October 2016.

¹¹⁶ "Negroes Celebrate at Crockett Playgrounds," *San Antonio Express*, 5 July 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430493/?q=%22negroes%20celebrate%20at%20crockett%22>, accessed 9 October 2016; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population for Bexar

By late January 1918, the Woman's Committee (WC) of the Council of National Defense already was organizing separate African American state and county units throughout the United States. Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to Secretary of War Newton Baker, greatly aided these efforts when he suggested the appointment of a black woman to serve as a field representative for organizing African American women. The Woman's Committee appointed Alice Dunbar-Nelson, a well-known writer, teacher, and club woman, to travel to the southern states to get an idea of what war work resident African American women were doing and what relationship (if any) they had with the Anglo members of each state's Woman's Committee or State Council of Defense. Dunbar-Nelson visited Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland in August 1918.¹¹⁷

Not surprisingly, Dunbar-Nelson found that a wide range of interracial cooperation existed that depended largely on the Anglo chairwoman of that state's Woman's Committee. Florida and Maryland each had in place smoothly-running statewide networks of African American Woman's Committee units led by a black state chairwoman. Mississippi was also doing well. The Anglo state chairwoman there had appointed and personally funded the African American chairwoman. Other state units of the Woman's Committee only consulted black women when they were needed and this action was taken at the county (not state) level. States that used this approach included North and South Carolina. Other states did not have a statewide organization for African American women, but there were counties or towns with pockets of patriotic activity led

County, Texas, "Harry Hertzberg," Page 47, Sheet 13A, House 521, Dwelling 190, Family 259, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 9 October 2016.

¹¹⁷ Breen, "Black Women and the Great War," 422-425.

by Woman's Committee units in cooperation with each other. Louisiana, Alabama, and Tennessee were examples. In Kentucky, the State Council of Defense had organized a parallel black Council of Defense to which two women were appointed. There was no organized WC work taking place in Georgia because the Anglo chairwoman of the WC was apathetic and made no effort to meet Dunbar-Nelson when she visited the state.¹¹⁸ Texas was not one of the states that Dunbar-Nelson visited, though a reason for this absence is unknown at this time.

Starting in February 1918 the Council of National Defense sent letters to southern state Councils of Defense urging them to create African American auxiliaries to their state and local Councils of Defense. The CoND approached the subject in a non-threatening way, stated more as a request. "We ask your opinion of this plan as to its wisdom both in general and in the light of the local conditions in your own State," said the letter from the National Defense. Furthermore, "We hope that this matter will receive your thoughtful consideration and that you will advise us promptly as to your views."¹¹⁹ The accompanying "Program for Organization of Negroes" seemed to ease potential fears of a racially-equal Council of Defense organization (made up of African Americans) being formed at the state or county levels. Instead, the CoND stated that it was most important to organize African Americans in lower councils (as opposed to state councils) that were to be composed of both men and women, similar to the community Councils of Defense.¹²⁰ If, however, states wanted to organize an auxiliary to their state Council of

¹¹⁸ Breen, "Black Women and the Great War," 429-434.

¹¹⁹ Letter, W.S. Gifford to the Several Southern State Councils of Defense, 23 February 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁰ "Program for Organization of Negroes by the Southern State Councils," included with Letter, W.S. Gifford and George Porter to State Councils Section, 23 February 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes

Defense, the national council advised that each state first organize an all-black committee of “prominent Negro men and women.” The committee would then create a state-level auxiliary. Additionally, each white State Council of Defense would appoint black field agents to help organize county CoD auxiliaries.¹²¹

To create lower councils, the CoND advised county Councils of Defense (Anglo) to meet first with all local African Americans, then with black community leaders to explain the work and African American responsibilities. Next, the white council “with the approval of the Negroes,” would appoint the black chairman as well as a woman in order to help organize African American women.¹²² Finally, the bulletin’s author advised that “A county council of Negroes should be created. It should be parallel to the county council in organization and should work under its direction. In most cases the Negroes will no doubt be pleased to have a representative of the other body present at their meetings.”¹²³

The Council of National Defense assigned several tasks to the state-level African American Councils. First, members were to rally patriotism by publicizing war information in newspapers. Next, the councils were to emphasize the idea of growing food, feed grains, and cotton. These agricultural expectations were couched in patriotic

[sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²¹ “Program for Organization of Negroes by the Southern State Councils,” Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic], Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²² “Program for Organization of Negroes by the Southern State Councils,” Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic], Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²³ Council of National Defense, “Program for Organization of Negroes by the Southern State Councils,” n.d., Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic], Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH. Though there is no date on the “Program for Organization,” this document is attached to a letter from W.S. Gifford to the Several Southern State Councils of Defense and is dated 23 February 1918. In this letter, Gifford asked for the opinions of these State Councils of Defense. It is possible that a delay in response accounts for Alice Dunbar-Nelson’s later tour of the South organizing African American units of the WC. Clearly, the CoND encouraged formation of auxiliary African American councils made up of both men and women, rather than separate WC units.

rhetoric that linked field labor to winning the war. The Council of National Defense suggested that [Anglo] state councils, “show them [African Americans] that cotton . . . is a prime necessity of modern warfare and that they render direct patriotic service by remaining at their work on Southern farms.” Finally, the African American councils were supposed to motivate residents to help the Red Cross, buy war bonds and liberty stamps, and “[e]ncourage general saving and thrift.”¹²⁴

Not surprisingly, there was to be Anglo oversight for any African American organization. In a statement that was meant to sound helpful, the CoND said, “In all this work members of the State and white local or county councils should give the Negroes every assistance.” However, the language quickly took a paternalistic turn when the CoND further advised: “individuals should be encouraged to visit Negro homes to help members of the individual families to carry out the program outlined under the preceding list of suggestions.”¹²⁵ The last statements reflected the assumption that African Americans were unable to help themselves and needed Anglo intervention and oversight in order to accomplish anything.

Texas, unlike several other southern states, began planning organization work as early as February 1918. At this time, State Council secretary and manager, J.F. Carl, notified Colonel D.C. Giddings (Brenham), J.R. Astin (Bryan), D.J. Niell (Gorman), N.A. Shaw (Texarkana), and Frank Kell (Wichita Falls) that they were to “select with or without the advice of prominent negroes [sic], a suitable State Chairman and State

¹²⁴ Council of National Defense, “Program for Organization of Negroes by the Southern State Councils,” n.d., Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁵ Council of National Defense, “Program for Organization of Negroes by the Southern State Councils,” n.d., Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

Council or Executive Committee” of African Americans. Carl then mentioned that he had already promised Fort Worth’s Northside Community Council that they could appoint a member. He then told Giddings and the other committee members, “if this meets your approval, I would be pleased to have you respect that promise.” The goal of this committee was to choose members to serve on the African American State Council of Defense.¹²⁶

H.W. Lewis, chairman of the Texas State CoD’s “Labor Committee” favored organizing African Texans. Lewis wrote to J.F. Carl, state CoD secretary and manager, “I believe much good can be accomplished.”¹²⁷ A.J. Eilers, member of the CoD’s “Transportation” and “Coordination of Societies” committees was more specific. He suggested to Carl the use of a black secretary “to take up and organize the colored people of Texas in their different departments.” He further stated to Carl, “My private opinion is that you have as much work as you can do and that it would be well to have a colored Secretary. However, I would like to have your views on this matter.” The letters from Lewis and Eilers are significant because they indicate the private thoughts of at least two members of the State Council, each of whom favored organizing African Americans. Eilers’s comment was noteworthy because of its practicality as well as its sensitivity in his recognition that “we have now two regiments of colored men on the Western Front fighting and I believe this is one part of citizenship of Texas that we have overlooked.”¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Letter, J.F. Carl to D.C. Giddings, et.al, 7 August 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁷ Letter, H.W. Lewis to J.F. Carl, 26 March 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹²⁸ Letter, A.J. Eilers to J.F. Carl, 9 August 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

There is no evidence, however, that the State Council of Defense ever followed through with Lewis's suggestion of having a black secretary to help J.F. Carl with the workload.

In April 1918, the Texas State Council of Defense suggested to lower councils that they should target African Americans for patriotic education. Noting the connection between churches and communities, the letter suggested the use of ministers and other community leaders.¹²⁹ Then, in July, the Texas State Council of Defense advised individual counties to start organizing their African American residents into separate Councils of Defense.¹³⁰

The idea of organizing and working with African Americans met with some resistance in southern States. The Georgia State Council of Defense, for instance, seemed offended with the CoND's enclosed list of suggested African American speakers and claimed disapproval on the basis that a federal organization was dictating decisions that council members felt rested with the state. Members of the Georgia State Council said that they "promised to co-operate to the best of our ability, although we question the advisability of these appointments being made from Washington." To clarify, the pamphlet explained: "In no spirit of jealousy or sensitiveness, it is suggested that better results would be accomplished by having such appointments made by the Georgia Council, and in that way the State Council can expect a better co-operation."¹³¹

¹²⁹ Bulletin No. 19, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 3 April 1918, attached with other bulletins together in a softcover book titled *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919*, Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³⁰ Bulletin No. 35, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils of Defense," 31 July 1918, attached with other bulletins together in a softcover book titled *Circular Letters & Bulletins Sent Out by the Texas State Council of Defense June 1917 June 1919*, Folder "Council of Defense Letters & Bulletins," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³¹ "Georgia State Council of Defense" pamphlet, p. 18-19, Folder "Georgia State Council of Defense, Box 2J377, TWRC, DBCAH.

By July 1918, little progress had been made in organizing southern African Americans. The Council of National Defense reported that only two or three state CoDs had “effected a satisfactory Negro organization.” Therefore, the CoND reiterated the idea that African Americans could contribute to the war effort while simultaneously keeping “in their place” as field workers. The CoND’s letter stated: “War work with the Negro is essentially patriotic education and work for increased food production and conservation.” However, unlike the CoND’s February letter, this correspondence used much stronger language in order to get the southern states to comply with their request for organizing blacks. The closing line stated: “We can not urge upon you too strongly the need for some immediate action in this matter.”¹³²

In October, the CoND sent out a circular regarding the ongoing organization efforts. The National Council stated that there should not be a separate Woman’s Committee for African American women, likely because the Woman’s Committee had already merged with the Council of National Defense in September 1918.¹³³ Instead, African American women and men should work together in Councils of Defense in the same way that Anglo community-level Councils of Defense had operated since their initial founding. The circular further recommended that the Labor Department, Food Administration, and Council of Defense should cooperate in “carrying on all work with the Negroes jointly with them”¹³⁴

¹³² Letter, Arthur H. Fleming to The Several Southern State Councils of Defense, 24 July 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³³ Letter, Arthur H. Fleming to the Several State Councils of Defense, 18 September 1918, Folder “National Council of Defense,” Box 2J381, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹³⁴ Grosvenor B. Clarkson, Circular No. 3, “Negro Organization,” 8 October 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

Organizing African Americans made sense for several reasons. First, Texas needed farm laborers and the State Council of Defense sought ways to encourage blacks to stay in the South. However, the State Council first wanted to end the practice of northern labor recruiters enticing away African Americans. Southern crops depended on African American and immigrant labor. However, the United States had significantly curtailed immigration because of the World War. Whereas more than one million Europeans had entered the United States yearly prior to 1914, this number was drastically reduced in the following years, thus creating job opportunities in the North for African Americans.¹³⁵ In order to slow this migration, local officials in southern states sought ways to discourage labor recruiters from working in their cities. Recruiters operating in Jacksonville, Florida, for instance, had to pay \$1000, or risk a fine and jail time. The city council in Macon, Georgia charged a \$25,000 fee for a license, and required recommendations from forty-five leading citizens. In September 1916, Montgomery, Alabama passed laws charging a fine and/or jail time for anyone who promoted African American migration whether done in person, or via a written article.¹³⁶

Approximately 400,000 African Americans left the South during the war years; of these, between 15,000 and 20,000 were Texans.¹³⁷ Various factors influenced the migration: the desire to escape prejudicial treatment, a chance for better economic and educational opportunities, higher wages, and clean, safe places to live. News circulated that a laborer working in the North could often make the same amount in one day as his

¹³⁵ Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, 52-53.

¹³⁶ Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, 73-76.

¹³⁷ Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, 3; Barr, *Black Texans*, 145.

southern counterpart earned in one week.¹³⁸

The Texas State CoD did several things in order to stymie the exodus north. First, CoD members drafted resolutions at their July and August meetings in 1917. Both resolutions asked the Council of National Defense “and others in authority” to prevent northern labor organizations from coming into Texas and enticing away African Americans.¹³⁹ In reply to the Texas State Council’s initial concerns about labor agents, the CoND responded in July that they had received other complaints about this subject and they were investigating the matter.¹⁴⁰

About this same time, an editorial appeared in the *Houston Post* that stated labor agents were not the problem, and that threatening them “would be merely superficial treatment of a deep-seated disease.” Instead, the author briefly explained the unequal education, the lower pay, and the overall poor treatment African Americans endured, and called on white men to “take hold of fundamental causes of the negro’s [sic] discontent and do more to protect and help him, to encourage him and to assist him to independence and self-respect.”¹⁴¹ It is unknown whether any State Council members saw this article,

¹³⁸ Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, 4, 13-25, 79; “The ‘Exodus’ in Texas,” *The [Weatherford] Daily Herald*, 10 July 1917, originally printed in the *Houston Post*, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph645394/m1/2/zoom/print/?resolution=3&lat=2718.7270374024065&lon=2653.244594347562>, accessed 10 October 2016.

¹³⁹ “Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in San Antonio, Texas, July 6th and 7th, 1917,” 6 and 7 July 1917, (p.5), Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material—(Campaigns, Contributions & Committees), Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH; “Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in Galveston, Texas, August 20, 1917,” (p. 3), Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material—(Campaigns, Contributions & Committees), Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH. Please note that all bulletins are attached together into a soft-cover notebook. It is doubtful this notebook was originally included in the “Drouth Relief” folder.

¹⁴⁰ Letter, George F. Porter to J.F. Carl, 19 July 1917, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴¹ “The ‘Exodus’ in Texas,” *The [Weatherford] Daily Herald*, 10 July 1917, originally printed in the *Houston Post*, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph645394/m1/2/zoom/print/?resolution=3&lat=2718.7270374024065&lon=2653.244594347562>, accessed 10 October 2016.

but Reverend J.R.M. Lee, an African American, referenced this editorial in his December letter to State Council of Defense member H.W. Lewis. Lee reiterated why African Americans were attracted to the North, and that all black men who were speaking to audiences on behalf of the CoD desired “that some measures be taken, looking toward the betterment of the [N]egro in the South.”¹⁴² Lee also stated that the African American orators who claimed blacks were satisfied with their conditions were not being truthful. Lee summarized the situation to Lewis with the following: “There is a great unrest among my people, and with this great opportunity before them, it will take something besides a mere Santa Claus story to keep them.”¹⁴³

In response to the realization that the agricultural economy depended largely upon African American labor, southerners initiated half-hearted efforts to entice blacks to stay. In Mississippi, for example, Anglos made several promises of good will. To improve education, officials planned to build an agricultural school in Bolivar County. Furthermore, the Mississippi State Council of Defense “passed a resolution calling upon the State to put a farm demonstrator and home economics agent in rural communities” to improve living conditions. Perhaps most ambitiously, some officials vowed to treat African Americans better overall.¹⁴⁴

The Texas State Council of Defense also realized there had to be improvements made, or at least gestures of good will. When fellow CoD member H.W. Lewis wrote to CoD secretary J.F. Carl about Rev. J.R.M. Lee’s letter, Lewis stated that all the African

¹⁴² Letter, W.H. Lewis to J.F. Carl, 24 December 1917, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴³ Letter, J.R.M. Lee to H.W. Lewis, 12 December 1917, “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴⁴ Scott, *Negro Migration During the War*, 89-91. Quote is from 90-91.

Americans he knew echoed Lee's feelings that life had to improve in the South in order for African Americans to stay. Lewis concluded, "I am strongly of the opinion that it will be necessary to take action of this kind before long, if, we expect to compete with the Northern Labor Market."¹⁴⁵ This statement is in line with Lewis's previous recommendation that lower Councils of Defense reach out to black community leaders in order to use them to influence others of their race. "Tell them that the white people are going to protect them and improve their conditions as much as possible," Lewis advised. Furthermore, he recommended council members should, "Tell the Negroes that you are going to improve their churches . . . cover the holes in their schoolhouses, and other things of this nature that could have been done years ago, with very little expense." He ended his letter with the emphasis that councils had to make these promises immediately in order to stop African Americans from leaving.¹⁴⁶ These enticements were not designed to benefit the well-being of the African Americans as much as they were measures to preserve the southern economic and social systems.

Members of the Texas State Council of Defense realized that organizing African Americans made sense for two reasons. First, African Americans who were part of the Council of Defense system would be more inclined to make financial contributions to Liberty Bond and War Savings Stamp sales. While there is evidence that blacks made financial contributions to war work prior to any Anglo attempts at formal organization,

¹⁴⁵ Letter, H.W. Lewis to J.F. Carl, 24 December 1917, Folder "Organization of Negroes," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴⁶ Thus far, I have been unable to find this letter cited by Oran Elijah Turner. See: Letter, H.W. Lewis to J.F. Carl, 29 September 1917, [no folder or box number provided], cited in Oran Elijah Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense," (M.A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1926), 65.

these donations increased dramatically once community auxiliaries were organized.¹⁴⁷

“The colored farmers in all parts of Texas except the West have plenty of money and they need to let the Government have it,” said Joseph E. Clayton, the prominent black speaker introduced in the chapter’s opening.¹⁴⁸

Second, Texas State Council of Defense members wanted to foster ideas of patriotism and loyalty within African American communities because they feared uprisings instigated by German spies. German propagandists posed a legitimate concern, and there were rumors that they were targeting African Americans in order to hamper wartime activities or stir up race riots.¹⁴⁹ In November 1917, the State Council of Defense investigated several rumors of potential uprisings of African Americans. “I have found another serious movement on foot in Bastrop County,” wrote J.W. Neill, Director of the Division of Farmers Institute of the Department of Agriculture. He continued: “[I]n sending around the pledge cards for food conservation, the enemies of the government have the idea among the negroes [sic] that if they sign those cards that they will soon be put on starvation rations and later back into slavery.” According to Neill's unnamed source, Germans started the rumor in order to discourage blacks from cooperating with the government. This same letter mentioned two other areas of potential problems in two East Texas counties of Grimes and Angelina. Neill asked State Council

¹⁴⁷ “Red Cross Notes: New Members for the Local Red Cross Chapter—All Employees of the Landa Industries,” *New Braunfels Herald*, 22 February 1918.

¹⁴⁸ Letter, S.L. Boyd to J.F. Carl, 25 September 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 2 October 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁴⁹ Germans dropped propaganda on African American soldiers who were serving in France. These flyers emphasized the racial inequality existing in the United States and urged the soldiers to stop fighting the Germans because the German people were not the real enemy. See: Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 127-128.

chairman Oscar Dunlap what to do.¹⁵⁰

One of the most important ways that the Texas State Council of Defense fostered patriotism is through its outreach via African American speakers. These men not only discouraged migration to the North, but also encouraged patriotism through voluntarism and financial support.¹⁵¹ H.W. Lewis, chairman of the CoD's Labor Committee reported in December 1917 that he had "several [N]egroes commissioned to lecture to the colored people of Texas." Lewis described the speakers as "public spirited, patriotic [N]egroes, who tender their services free of charge."¹⁵² It is uncertain which volunteers the State Council of Defense used because no paper yet has been found identifying names of the volunteers. However, there are letters from J.B. Rayner and Professor P.A. McMeans, two of several men who made their services available to the State Council of Defense.

J.B. Rayner was a well-known African American Populist leader in Texas in the 1890s. He lived in Calvert (Robertson County), and had exercised considerable control over the African Texan population prior to the turn of the twentieth century. When several Texas brewers were sued in 1915 for violating anti-trust laws, officials seized much of the correspondence between brewers, as well as letters exchanged with individuals. Many of these letters had been written by J.B. Rayner who apparently had been paid by the brewers to purchase the black vote in several counties. The brewers paid poll tax receipts for African Americans in exchange for certain votes—in this case, votes against

¹⁵⁰ Letter, J.W. Neill to O.E. Dunlap, 7 November 1917, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁵¹ Letter, H.W. Lewis to J.M. Aydelotte, 24 December 1917, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁵² Letter, H.W. Lewis to J.F. Carl, 24 December 1917, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

prohibition.¹⁵³ It was this highly influential man, John B. Rayner, who pleaded to CoD chairman, Oscar Dunlap, “Give us colored people responsibilities, and we will give you irrefutable evidences of our immaculate Americanism. Give us the plow and the hoe, and we will feed the world, while you white people conquer the world for democracy and human solidarity.”¹⁵⁴ Rayner believed that African Americans should stay in the South, and that the white councils should organize them before they fell victim to socialist propaganda.¹⁵⁵ Although these thoughts appear to be accommodationist in character, Rayner was optimistic that the war would bring new opportunities for African American civil rights. He discounted the notion that black men were good only as agricultural laborers and stated ““I tell my people if the country calls for you to go on the battle field, to go, and face the enemy and never retreat and never surrender.””¹⁵⁶

Professor P.A. McMeans of Tyler (Smith County) also offered to engage in patriotic work. McMeans, a school teacher, volunteered to work with other African American teachers. He told Joseph Hirsch, chairman of the State CoD’s Publicity Committee that black teachers should spend at least fifty dollars on war bonds or savings stamps. McMeans urged the CoD to appoint him as a speaker, and he volunteered to show patriotic movies and slide shows to other African Americans. McMeans also made

¹⁵³ M.F. Ham, *Brewery Rule in Tarrant County*, (privately printed, 1916), 40-45. In his book, *No Saloon in the Valley*, James D. Ivy claimed Rayner to be a prohibitionist. See: James D. Ivy, *No Saloon in the Valley: The Southern Strategy of Prohibitionists in the 1880s* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2003), 61; Gregg Cantrell, *Kenneth and John B. Rayner and the Limits of Southern Dissent* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 278-279.

¹⁵⁴ Letter, J.B. Rayner to O.E. Dunlap, 21 June 1917, Box 2J362, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁵⁵ Letter, J.B. Rayner to O.E. Dunlap, 21 June 1917, Box 2J362, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁵⁶ Cantrell, *Kenneth and John B. Rayner*, 286. Cantrell is quoting a letter from John B. Rayner to John H. Kirby. See: Letter, John B. Rayner to John H. Kirby, 19 April 1917, John H. Kirby Papers, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston, Texas.

Hirsch aware of German propaganda he heard.¹⁵⁷ In spite of McMeans' plans, he was unable to help the war effort because he died of tetanus just two months after writing this letter to Hirsch.¹⁵⁸

Professor Joseph E. Clayton (introduced in the beginning of the chapter) is the only known African American speaker that the Texas State CoD employed (for \$100 per month for four months beginning in September 1918).¹⁵⁹ This money was well-earned. Clayton traveled to East Texas in order to stir patriotism and organize African American community Councils of Defense. Prior to visiting a new place, Clayton sent a letter of introduction to the particular county's Council of Defense. The letter explained who he was, that he would work under direction of the Anglo county council, and that any and all African American councils that he organized would likewise work under the Anglo county Council of Defense.¹⁶⁰ By the end of September, Clayton had organized African American auxiliary councils in Lee (7 councils), Fayette (20 councils), Smith (4 councils), Upshur (1 council), Wood (1 council), and Cherokee counties.¹⁶¹

Boosting patriotism, and organizing black councils were not Clayton's only contributions on behalf of the State Council of Defense. He also worked as an informant,

¹⁵⁷ Letter, P.A. McMeans to Joseph Hirsch, 14 June 1918, Folder "Tyler," Box 2J377, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁵⁸ Death Certificate, "Prince McMeans," Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 10 October 2016; Twelfth Census of the United States: Population Schedule, Anderson County, Texas, "Prince A. McMeans, Page 188, Sheet 8A, House [Blank], Dwelling 119, Family 119, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 10 October 2016.

¹⁵⁹ "Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in Austin, Texas, on August 27th. 1918.," attached with brads in folder, Folder "Drouth Relief Material-(Campaigns, Contributions & Committees)," Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁶⁰ Letter, J.E. Clayton to the County Council of Defense of Fayette County, 16 September 1918, Folder Fayette County Council of Defense," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH. This was a typed form letter. The county's name and date of visit were left blank then hand written at the appropriate time. The letter was on "Texas State Council of Defense" letterhead.

¹⁶¹ Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 27 September 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]" Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

unearthing then reporting rumors of defiance and insurrection. In the summer of 1918, Clayton revealed trouble in Gonzales County where two African American men were advising others to go to Mexico temporarily and return at a later date for the purpose of engaging in violence.¹⁶² A similar situation also existed in the counties of Guadalupe and Ellis.¹⁶³ Sometimes he was able to diffuse these thoughts and actions through his own speeches. When he could not extinguish the dangers, he informed Secretary J.F. Carl who then alerted the Bureau of Investigation.¹⁶⁴

Clayton proved to be such a valuable spokesman that he barely could keep up with his numerous speaking engagements. On October 10, 1918, Clayton reported to state CoD secretary J.F. Carl, "I am speaking both day and night for the 4th Liberty Loan. I have not had off my shoes or been in bed for 5 nights."¹⁶⁵ Clayton's speaking tour must be appreciated within the context that during these same years he worked without pay for the Negro Division of the Texas Agriculture Extension Service, an organization created in 1915 to help blacks successfully farm their land.¹⁶⁶ Clayton's rigorous schedule physically weakened him at the precise time when the influenza epidemic was raging. Yet, Clayton persisted. He wrote, "The Influenza took me, and forced me in home, but there were so many calls for me until I could not stay at home until I could get well. I just remained in a day or two to get out of real danger, and went on the field again to help my

¹⁶² Letter, J.W. Neill to J.F. Carl, 18 July 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁶³ Letter, J.W. Neill to J.F. Carl, 7 August 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁶⁴ Letter, J.W. Neill to J.F. Carl, 18 July 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁶⁵ Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 10 October 1918, Folder "Organization of Negroes [sic]," Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁶⁶ Debra A. Reid, *Reaping a Greater Harvest: African Americans, the Extension Service, and Rural Reform in Jim Crow Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007), 22, 42.

Government.”¹⁶⁷ In November 1918, Clayton began working for the Department of Labor. As a result, J.F. Carl had to tell hopeful hosts that Clayton would no longer be available for speaking engagements.¹⁶⁸

In addition to the many community Councils of Defense that Prof. Clayton formed in East Texas, some other Texas counties also had organized African American councils. These included Dallas, Burleson, and Bell counties. Dallas initiated its efforts among African Americans in September 1918, purportedly spurred by the Fourth Liberty Loan drive. The county Council of Defense (Anglo) created a War Board comprised of African Americans who took care of matters pertaining to blacks living in rural areas. Within the city, African Americans participated in their own community Councils of Defense.¹⁶⁹ Referred to as the “Colored Council of Defense,” the organization in Burleson County “held one of the largest colored meetings ever known in Caldwell, a meeting at which it was decided to increase the \$15,000 that had been raised in the county to \$30,000.” The event took place in early October 1918 and unfortunately the author did not provide the identities of specific members.¹⁷⁰

A local body referred to as the “Colored Council of Defense No. 112” was in operation in Bell County by the end of September 1918. A.B. Green served as chairman and Ed. Ratliff was the secretary.¹⁷¹ In December, members wrote to George Tyler,

¹⁶⁷ Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 21 October 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁶⁸ Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 27 October 1918, Box 2J383, Folder, “Cherokee County Council of Defense,” TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.F. Carl to I.B. Bryant, 6 November 1918, Folder “Cherokee County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁶⁹ Bulletin, “Community Council Bulletin No. 3 Issued by the Dallas County Council of Defense,” 5 September 1918, Folder “Dallas County Council of Defense,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁷⁰ Rode, “A History of Burleson County in the World War,” 143.

¹⁷¹ “Community Council,” *Temple Daily Telegram*, 29 September 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph470379/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22colored%20council%20of%20>

chairman of the Bell County Council of Defense, regarding an incident that occurred in that county between a white landowner and the son of an African American tenant. The board related that there had been some type of verbal exchange; then, the white owner beat the young man and his mother. Furthermore, the letter expressed that the tenants were not allowed to leave the farm and were “virtually in a state of peonage.” War Board members said they did not condone whatever wrong the youth may have done, but sought fair treatment for the tenants from the “best white people.” The board emphasized their patriotism expressed through fighting, the purchase of Liberty Bonds, and War Savings Stamps, and ended with the line, “In the name of loyal American citizens we make this appeal.”¹⁷²

The Bell County group’s actions demonstrate two very crucial points. First, African Americans tried to use the Council of Defense system to their advantage. The Colored Council of Defense in Bell County contacted the Bell County CoD for the purpose of helping the tenants. Although it is uncertain whether or not the Bell County Council of Defense remedied the situation, the act of reporting these abuses indicates a reliance on the government to solve problems, and a belief that the Council of Defense system had the power to help. Most importantly, it reveals an active group of African Americans interested in social justice and using the means available in order to exercise their rights.

African Americans who spoke on behalf of the State Council of Defense also used

defense%22, accessed 6 April 2016.

¹⁷² Letter, War Board No. 112 Temple, Texas to George W. Tyler, 16 December 1918, Folder “Bell County-Council of Defense Minutes on Meetings and Miscellaneous Information on War Measures,” Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

the Council of Defense system. These speakers placed themselves in a position of power above German propagandists—a group associated with whiteness. Not only did they tour the state in attempts to stir patriotism, but they served also as informants regarding German propaganda. A “colored lecturer” (very likely Joseph Clayton) reported to J.W. Neill the propaganda being circulated in Bastrop County. This same African American then went to Grimes County to investigate the buying and selling of guns.¹⁷³

In another instance, the Council of Defense system enabled African Americans to testify against DeWitt County resident, Herman Regner. The German immigrant Regner was charged with disloyalty and forced to appear before a judge and jury composed of county Council of Defense members. The men who testified against Regner were “[N]egroes, one of whom had been a renter on his place and with whom he had fallen out over the necessity of chopping some cotton.”¹⁷⁴ In this case, the racial status quo was subverted because African Americans were in a position of power over a white man. Furthermore, another level is added when one considers the possibility that the testimony may have been given based on some level of retaliation over past labor disputes. African Americans used these kinds of power positions to gain trust and make themselves appear as the heroes, the “true Americans” as opposed to immigrants.¹⁷⁵

Finally, well-known African Americans helped influence the committee that was in charge of forming the auxiliary State Council of Defense. In August 1918, African

¹⁷³ Letter, J.W. Neill to O.E. Dunlap, 7 November 1917, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁷⁴ “Disloyalty Charge Was Publicly Aired Yesterday,” *The [Cuero] Record*, 23 July 1918; Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920 Population for DeWitt County, Texas, “Herman Regner,” Page 32, Sheet 9B, House [Blank], Dwelling 186, Family 186, Ancestry.com, digital image, accessed 18 August 2015; “Disloyalty Charge Was Publicly Aired Yesterday,” *The Cuero Daily Record*, 23 July 1918.

¹⁷⁵ “Disloyalty Charge Was Publicly Aired Yesterday,” *The [Cuero] Record*, 23 July 1918.

American Dr. W.H. Crawford of Austin actively assisted State Council member Col. D.C. Giddings by sharing with Giddings his own plans for organization. In addition to helping in organization, Crawford also was able to choose three or four members of the auxiliary.¹⁷⁶

A final point the Bell County Colored Council letter shows is that African Americans incorporated patriotic rhetoric to emphasize their own place in society as “loyal” Americans. Black Texans who used phrases emphasizing their American-ness did so in order to contrast themselves with immigrants, particularly Germans. By doing so, African Americans placed themselves above the Germans as people deserving of basic civil rights. Emmett J. Scott, for instance, stressed the long history blacks had in the United States. He said, “America is indeed the Negro's Country for he has been here three hundred years, which is about two hundred years longer than many of the white racial groups.”¹⁷⁷

In addition to a pattern incorporating American-ness, there also occurred during the war years a harkening back to the threat of slavery. J.W. Neill reported that German propagandists in Bastrop County had told local blacks “that if they sign those [food conservation pledge] cards . . . they will soon be put on starvation rations and later back into slavery.”¹⁷⁸ In this instance, propagandists used the idea of slavery as a means to dissuade African Americans from participating in the war effort.

Various levels of the Council of Defense also used slavery as a threat to African

¹⁷⁶ Letter, W.H. Crawford to J.F. Carl, 22 August 1918, Folder “Bowie County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁷⁷ Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, 412.

¹⁷⁸ Letter, J.W. Neill to O.E. Dunlap, 7 November 1917, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

Americans. The Harrison County Council of Defense published a bulletin addressed to the African Americans of that county. The bulletin stated: “If you do not want any more slavery, you must help win the battles of our country. If the Germans win this war, all America will be conquered, and all American citizens, white and black, will be slave[s] to work in the fields which will be owned by the German people.”¹⁷⁹

Even the Federal Food Administration used this same warning. In its bulletin regarding Fourth of July celebrations for African Americans, the bulletin had stated, “the men and women are to be present that they may learn what they can do to help stop the destruction of their own liberty and the liberty of all free people; to help escape enslavement by the Germans.”¹⁸⁰ In all of the above examples, people conjured the historical memory of slavery and used it as a warning in materials specifically targeting African Americans. In the first example, German propagandists told African Americans that their own country could and would send them back into slavery. Other organizations reversed the imagery and portrayed Germans as the new masters should Germany win the war. Regardless of whom the perceived enemy was—the language of slavery sought to shape contemporary actions on the part of African Americans.

Surprisingly, Anglos were not the only ones who used the idea of slavery for their own purposes. African Americans did as well. When Emmett J. Scott spoke in October 1918 at the Howard Theatre in Washington, D.C. regarding the Fourth Liberty Loan, he too, conjured up this same imagery. Scott said, “The American Negro is beginning to

¹⁷⁹ Letter, “President” and “Secretary” to “the colored citizens of Harrison County,” 22 September 1917, Folder “Our Community War Service Memorial,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁸⁰ “Exhibit A: Notes for County Food Administrators in RE July 4th Celebrations for Negroes,” Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

realize that if the American white man is enslaved by reason of this Republic's inability to rout the Hun in the present struggle, the ultimate result will be his own re-enslavement and the loss of all that he has gained since the Emancipation Proclamation.”¹⁸¹ This example completely transforms the historical memory of slavery to include both blacks and whites.

In conclusion, African Americans in Texas were treated in the same paternalistic, and sometimes oppressive ways as African Americans living in other southern states. Because the majority of Texas State Council of Defense members hailed from states in the Deep South, their experiences shaped their policies and procedures regarding African Americans. Secretary and manager Judge J.F. Carl’s reference to African American men as “negro bucks” mirrored the language used by the Red River County Council of Defense in its correspondence to Carl. Yet, Carl’s correspondence regarding the Northside Community Council was respectful and he expressed willingness to meet with prominent African American leaders. In his case, it is difficult to gauge his personal feelings, though his failure to condemn the Red River Council of Defense seems to offer the most insight.¹⁸²

Judge Oscar Dunlap, based on Ely Green’s autobiography, expressed care for African Americans, putting himself in harm’s way against a lynch mob. Although it is doubtful that he considered African Americans to be equal to whites, it is likely he used his influence to make public statements against segregation and barbarity. There is relatively little correspondence from Dunlap in the State Council records as compared to

¹⁸¹ Scott, *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, 357.

¹⁸² Letter, J.F. Carl to R.L. McMillan, 19 May 1918, Folder “Red River County Council of Defense,” Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

the volume of letters Judge Carl wrote as the secretary. However, Dunlap's previous experiences undoubtedly shaped State Council workings in ways that have yet to be discovered.

The State Council's designated committee attempted to organize an African American auxiliary to the State Council of Defense but it appears that the auxiliary was never fully organized because the war ended. However, a bulletin issued from the United States Food Administration in May 1918 referred to a "State Advisory Board," and the "creation of a State Council." This "State Advisory Board" consisted of the presidents of Texas's black colleges. Although there is a possibility this could be the advisory board the State Council organized, it just as easily could have been an advisory board solely formed to aid the Food Administration.¹⁸³

What is certain is that African Texans expressed their patriotism in many ways as individuals and through organizations both within and outside of the Council of Defense system. Individuals who wrote to the Texas State Council of Defense were educated, prominent men within the African American community. Men who worked with or spoke on behalf of the Texas State Council of Defense also tended to share these same characteristics of being middle-class intellectuals.

Although the Council of Defense system tried to relegate African Americans solely to farm labor, the CoD system also provided a means of participation. African

¹⁸³ These men were: I.M. Terrell (Prairie View State Normal); W.M. Dogan (Wiley University); M.S. Davage (Samuel Huston College); J.K. Williams (Paul Quinn College); O.A. Fuller (Bishop College); Jesse Washington (Guadalupe College); J.W. Strong (Central Texas College); W.M. Faust (Tillotson College); David Abner, Jr. (Conroe College); J.A. Brown (Fort Worth I&M College); J.T. Hodges (Houston College); E.L. Blackshear (Prairie View State Normal); and R.L. Smith (F.I.S. College). Bulletin No. 521, 9 May 1918, Folder "Correspondence-Colored Section of Food Administration," Box 2J220, TWRC, DBCAH.

Americans organized community Councils of Defense and engaged in activities that proved their allegiance and their sense of belonging. In at least one case, they used the CoD system to subvert the idea of whiteness and gain for themselves a superior place over ethnic Germans.

Epilogue

The signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918 did not immediately end the Council of Defense system, though a letter from State Council of Defense (CoD) secretary and manager, Judge J.F. Carl, reflected a belief (or hope) that the hardest work was over. On November 21, 1918, Carl wrote a lengthy, good-natured letter to chairman Oscar Dunlap proposing a last meeting of State Council of Defense members. In it, he chided his colleagues for their idiosyncrasies in a way that revealed the racial, ethnic, and gender biases of their past work. Carl wrote: “At this meeting we should by all means have Bob Knight fish out one of his Greek and Roman speeches; we should have Gus Shaw there with his cotton resolution; [H.W.] Lewis there with his Labor problems; [D.J.] Neil [sic] with his [N]egro bogey man” and “Jim Wells to deliver an [sic] eulogy on the greatness of the Texas people.” Carl continued his suggestions to Dunlap, “You and I should probably be on the program to discuss the great parli[a]mentary problem of keeping harmony among a bunch of the hardest headed men of Texas. . . . A record of this meeting would furnish the future historian food for thought out of which he might construct all manner of phantasmagorical historical imaginary.”¹

The letter above offers a unique glimpse of J.F. Carl, a man who wrote thousands of professional letters as Texas State CoD secretary and later manager. His note to Dunlap provided some optimism from a man who had devoted his life since May 1917 to working for Uncle Sam. In fact, one of Carl’s closing lines to Dunlap stated, “if we do not

¹ Letter, J.F. Carl to O.E. Dunlap, 21 November 1918, Folder “Explanations & Reports of the Organization (State Council of Defense),” Box 2J356, Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas. (Hereafter cited as TWRC, DBCAH).

write three or four hundred letters a day, we feel like we are doing nothing.”²

Perhaps disappointingly for Judge Carl, the Council of National Defense (CoND) was not yet ready to disband the State Council system. On December 3, 1918, Grosvenor B. Clarkson, acting director of the CoND, sent a notice to the Texas State Council emphasizing the need to retain the CoD network.³ The Council of National Defense still had two big jobs: finding employment for returning soldiers, and continuing Americanization work started during the war.

One of the agencies with which the CoND cooperated to solve labor problems during the war had been the United States Employment Service (USES), an organization put into operation on January 1, 1918 under the Department of Labor.⁴ During the World War, the national and state Councils of Defense urged counties to set up local employment bureaus to match men who needed jobs with open positions. These bureaus operated throughout the war and continued after the armistice was signed.⁵ The USES placed more than 90,000 Texans into jobs between May and December 1918.⁶

In January 1919, J.F. Carl sent a bulletin to the county Councils of Defense urging them to help returning soldiers find work. Carl warned, “A hungry man is a discontented man. Revolutions and disorder do not come from those who are employed and doing

² Letter, J.F. Carl to O.E. Dunlap, 21 November 1918, Folder “Explanations & Reports of the Organization (State Council of Defense),” Box 2J356, TWRC, DBCAH.

³ Letter, Grosvenor Clarkson to the Texas State Council of Defense, 3 December 1918, Folder “Bell County Council of Defense File No. 4- 1918,” Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴ Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, (San Antonio: n.d. privately printed), 49, “Comal County Council of Defense” Binder, John D. Rightmire Collection, Private Collection, New Braunfels, Texas.

⁵ William J. Breen, *Labor Market Politics and the Great War: The Department of Labor, the States, and the First U.S. Employment Service, 1907-1933*, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1997), 134.

⁶ “Federal Employment Service,” 24 February 1919, *San Antonio Express*, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430605/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22united%20states%20employment%20service%22&resolution=2&lat=4065.8303574679016&lon=1547.9092664795464>, accessed 31 October 2016.

well.” Carl also advised county councils that “women . . . must be considered” and emphasized “they cannot be thrown out” of their jobs. He told county Councils of Defense to be “more vigilant than ever” and if their county or city needed to begin public improvements they should do so immediately so that veterans could have jobs.⁷

In February 1919, the Department of Labor pushed to keep the USES in operation via funding provided from passage of the Sundry Civil Bill.⁸ An article appeared in the *Brenham Daily Banner-Press* wherein Judge Carl pledged his support for the USES and warned that Bolsheviks would be able to find converts among those soldiers who were without work.⁹ Additionally, the article about Carl’s support of the Sundry Civil Bill included a copy of a letter he had written to Rep. Thomas L. Blanton (D-TX), an opponent of continuing the USES. In the letter to Blanton, Carl implied that Blanton withheld support because of rumors that African Americans would join the American Federation of Labor (AFL) “resulting in [an] eight-hour day on farms with enormous wages demanded by all negro [sic] farmhands.” Carl assured Blanton that this rumor was false.¹⁰

Some months later, Blanton provided reasons why he did not support the Sundry Civil Bill, none of which included the scenario wherein African Americans joined the

⁷ Bulletin No. 57, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils, 14 January 1919, Folder “Bosque County Council--1919 Information on Finding Work to Demobilized Soldiers,” Box 2J367, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸ Breen, *Labor Market Politics and the Great War*, 137-138.

⁹ These early fears would later become a national hysteria called the Red Scare during which time Bolsheviks were blamed for any racial agitation or violence in the United States. Historian Matthew Tippens argues that the Red Scare was not as bad in Texas as it was in other places because “the state had relatively few of the unionized workers and foreign-born radicals that so frightened Americans.” See: Matthew D. Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900-1930* (Austin: Kleingarten Press, 2010), 178.

¹⁰ “Carl Makes Plea for Employment Service of U.S.: Says Its Discontinuance Will Invite Bolsheviks [sic] to Set Up Shop,” *The Brenham Banner Daily-Press*, 28 February 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph491043/m1/3/zoom/?q=%22employment%20service%22&resolution=2&lat=4550.169014084508&lon=2540>, accessed 20 October 2016.

AFL. Instead, Blanton complained of corruption within the USES and he published letters from people claiming to have personal knowledge of officials misusing funds. Charles Burroughs, former Chief of Transportation and Revolving Fund Section of the USES, described wasted travel vouchers and government money spent on trips; in particular, Burroughs claimed that the sister of USES director John Densmore traveled around the United States at the expense of the Employment Service. Additionally, government employee J. Raynes Lilestone stated that she had witnessed USES officials require returning soldiers to join a union before being placed in jobs.¹¹ A final letter from the editor of the *Austin American* chastised Texas State CoD member and Federal Director of the Department of Labor, H.W. Lewis, as part of the money mismanagement problem. According to the editor, Lewis sent multi-page letters to various newspapers around the state so frequently that many editors simply threw the correspondence in the garbage.¹²

In spite of criticism, the thirteen USES bureaus in Texas (in cooperation with other organizations including the State CoD, the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association [YMCA], the Red Cross, the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Welfare Board) reported matching thousands of people with available work. In the month of May 1919, more than 11,000 Texas men had found employment, with numbers

¹¹ Thomas L. Blanton, "Public Opinion," *Brownwood Bulletin*, 20 June 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph342622/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22thomas%20l.%20blanton&resolution=2&lat=5412.9716078312185&lon=2711.4791459840662>, accessed 22 October 2016. John Densmore refuted claims about his sister abusing traveling privileges. See: *Congressional Record Proceedings and Debates of the First Session of the Sixty-Sixth Congress of the United States of America*, Vol. LVIII-Part 2 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, June 13 to June 30, 1919), 1713.

¹² Thomas L. Blanton, "Public Opinion," *Brownwood Bulletin*, 20 June 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph342622/m1/4/zoom/?q=%22thomas%20l.%20blanton&resolution=2&lat=5412.9716078312185&lon=2711.4791459840662>, accessed 22 October 2016.

projected to escalate with the return of soldiers of the 36th and 90th divisions.¹³ In June and July 1919, the San Antonio and Houston bureaus placed an average of 300 men per day into jobs.¹⁴ A few months later, officials from the Houston branch stated that hundreds of men had found work, and that the office had calls for “1000 laborers, 3000 cotton pickers and 450 other classes of help.”¹⁵

In order to waste as little time as possible, USES officials sent information cards to each man of the 90th division while the soldiers were still in France. A duplicate card was then sent to H.W. Lewis’s office in Texas. In late June 1919, Lewis claimed that the soldiers’ employment cards had been arriving at the office ““at the rate of more than a thousand a day”” and that staff was ““working day and night in sorting out and redistributing the cards”” to the closest employment bureau to where each soldier wanted to live. Cards listed the type of work the soldier desired, as well as his qualifications. Lewis stated that in most cases, the men were able to get their old jobs back. However, he also claimed that “there is [a] small percentage of the men in the two divisions that do not

¹³ “Good Record Made By Employment Bureau,” *The Denison Herald*, 26 June 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph723104/m1/2/>, accessed 16 November 2016. Branch offices of the USES were in the following cities: Dallas, San Antonio, Houston, Fort Worth, El Paso, Galveston, Beaumont, Austin, Waco, Laredo, Paris, Orange, and Smithville. See: *Sundry Civil Bill, 1919: Hearings Before Subcommittee of House Committees*, Vol. II (Government Printing Office, 1918), 1596-1602, Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/sundrycivilbill100unit_1, accessed 21 November 2016.

¹⁴ “U.S. Employment Service Makes Record During May: Local Branch Find Work for 400. Expect to Do Even Better in June,” *San Antonio Express*, 15 June 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph430825/m1/18/?q=%22h.w.%20lewis%22>, accessed 22 October 2016; “When About to Close Bureau Ordered Reopened,” *The Houston Post*, 3 July 1919, the Portal to Texas History, [https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph609084/m1/12/zoom/?q="h.w.lewis"&resolution=2&lat=812&lon=886](https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph609084/m1/12/zoom/?q=), accessed 22 October 2016.

¹⁵ “Employment Work Will Close Unless Given Aid,” *The Houston Post*, 3 October 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph608995/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22h.w.%20lewis%22&resolution=2&lat=939&lon=3718>, accessed 22 October 2016. For a table of all the men and women placed by the USES bureaus in Texas, please see: Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 49.

wish to work on the farm” indicating that some men who had previously been agricultural laborers wanted to expand their skills and experience.¹⁶

Because of the encouraging reports regarding soldier placements, members of the Texas State Council of Defense wrote to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate in June 1919 encouraging them to support the Sundry Civil Bill.¹⁷ In July the bill passed, but it provided only a small amount of money to finance the USES for the fiscal year. The appropriation had been merely an “emergency measure” allotment, with the idea that the proposed Kenyon-Nolan Bill (H.R. 4305) would then take over funding the USES. The Kenyon-Nolan Bill was a measure that would have made the USES a permanent agency existing with cooperation between the state and federal governments. However, employers’ organizations, manufacturers, and those who worried that the USES would be “a proselyting organization for the American Federation of Labor,” did not like the Kenyon-Nolan Bill. Furthermore, there were still charges of USES inefficiency. As a result, the bill failed and the effective end date for the United States Employment Service was October 10, 1919.¹⁸

Though the USES placed hundreds of Anglo WWI veterans into jobs when they

¹⁶ “Many Soldiers of the 36th and 90th Need New Jobs,” *Brenham Daily Banner-Press*, 24 June 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph491235/m1/4/>, accessed 15 November 2016.

¹⁷ Letter, O.E. Dunlap to Speaker of the House and President of the Senate, 8 June 1919, referenced in “Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in Dallas, June 7th, 1919,” located with all Minutes in one bradded folder, Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material- (Campaigns, Contributions & Committees),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

¹⁸ *National Employment System Hearings Before the Joint Committees on Labor Congress of the United States Sixty-Sixth Congress First Session* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 587-588, 595-599, Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=rag_AAAAYAAJ&pg=PA587&lpg=PA587&dq=%22kenyon+nolan+bill%22&source=bl&ots=WHBBAulBj-&sig=HgaRxYrxNqUD1-Jv7E87aTHv_-4&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjHoNTVoLzQAhWjxFQKHdJ7ADoQ6AEIGzAA#v=onepage&q=%22kenyon%20nolan%20bill%22&f=false, accessed 22 November 2016; Direct quote is from *National Employment System Hearings*, 595; Breen, *Labor Market Politics and the Great War*, 136-139.

returned, the level of aid provided for ethnic Mexican and African American soldiers is uncertain.¹⁹ In his World War I diary, soldier José de la Luz Sáenz mentioned filling out employment cards, an act indicating that these were made available to Tejanos.²⁰ A newspaper article in the *Houston Post* supported the idea of an employment office for African American veterans because “the [N]egroes who served in the army deserve such assistance.” Although the tone of the article initially appears sympathetic to black veterans, the same writer ended the article with the following statement: “A large number of idle [N]egroes would not be good, either for the [N]egroes or for the city.” The writer may have been conjuring the memory of the Camp Logan riot, or maybe revealing his own conceptions of “slackers” rounded up in the name of the “work or fight” amendment.²¹ The types of jobs to which ethnic Mexicans and African American soldiers were referred, and the consistency of help the USES provided, are largely unknown, though some Tejano soldiers from El Paso did receive city jobs.²²

When placing these men, officials noted that the soldiers had undergone a transformation in attitude from the time they left. The veterans had hardened and were less likely to accept limited job prospects such as agricultural labor.²³ In Chicago, for instance, a YMCA official stated that African American soldiers “‘returned with ‘a consciousness of power hitherto unrealized,’” and the worker feared the upcoming arrival

¹⁹ Chad L. Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 226.

²⁰ Emilio Zamora, Editor and Translator, *The World War I Diary of José de la Luz Sáenz* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2014), 449.

²¹ “Opening of an office in Houston . . .,” *The Houston Post*, 5 March 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph609210/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22idle%20negroes%22&resolution=3&lat=6037.045556925308&lon=1560.106049230521>, accessed 13 December 2016.

²² José A. Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!: Mexican Texans and World War I* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), 117.

²³ Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 248.

of the bulk of black troops.²⁴ When African American Ely Green returned from France and tried to resume his previous life as Oscar Dunlap's chauffeur in Ellis County, Green had a difficult time re-adjusting to southern paternalism and oppression especially when he learned that Judge Dunlap had manipulated his [Green's] military assignments. However well-meaning the Dunlap family may have thought themselves, Oscar Dunlap's actions undermined Green's quest for independence and manhood which he believed a soldier's life could provide. Green marveled "how a white man could sit in a small town in Texas and guide his Negro through a war from a thousand miles away with three million men. Keep him where he wanted him." Green then asked, "How can there ever be any right of law for a Negro?"²⁵

African Texan and Tejano soldiers returned home to the same prejudicial, disrespectful, and violent circumstances they had left when they went to war. However, even though these soldiers viewed their experiences as a personal turning point, larger society remained entrenched in old views. Ethnic Mexican soldiers, while treated better than blacks, often were denied service in restaurants and other establishments, or forced to sit in segregated areas.²⁶ Black soldiers were harassed when they wore their uniforms yet many soldiers (of all races) had no change of clothes immediately available when they returned home.²⁷ During the time Ely Green waited for civilian clothes to be made, he too, wore his uniform and was subsequently harassed by the local marshal who asked

²⁴ Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 250-251.

²⁵ Ely Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, edited by Elizabeth N. Chitty and Arthur Ben Chitty (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1970), 476.

²⁶ Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!*, 120-122

²⁷ Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 238-239.

him, “When are you going to pull off that dam [sic] stuff of the Army?”²⁸

Seeing black soldiers in uniform bothered Anglos for several reasons.

Ideologically, the presence of black veterans challenged the idea that African Americans in the South did not deserve citizenship rights including the right to vote. More to the point, whites could see the visible pride and assertiveness black soldiers displayed. When these veterans refused to take orders from Anglos, they challenged the societal expectation of black submission. Most fearsome to whites were the soldiers who had been trained to kill Germans.²⁹

Whereas Tejano and black soldiers embraced their war experiences as proof of manhood, ethnic Mexicans and African Americans who remained on the home front used their voluntarism as leverage when making requests to influential Anglos. In March 1919, several middle-class African Americans in Austin talked to the city’s mayor and city commissioners to persuade them to prevent the showing of *The Birth of a Nation*, a movie that they called “Negro slandering.” Dr. E.W.D. Abner, president of the Travis County chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was one of the members of this committee that subsequently invited prominent city officials to a meeting in the Ebenezer Baptist Tabernacle at which Dr. W.H. Crawford (head of the Colored Welfare Board) presided and Professor Joseph E. Clayton (speaker employed by the Texas State Council of Defense) participated. The journalist who wrote about the events for *The Dallas Express* (an African American newspaper) emphasized the loyalty shown by African Americans stating, “they had

²⁸ Green, *Ely: Too Black, Too White*, 479.

²⁹ Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 229-231; William M. Tuttle, Jr., “Violence in a ‘Heathen’ Land: The Longview Race Riot of 1919,” *Phylon*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (4th Qtr. 1972): 324.

proven one hundred per cent [loyalty] in Red Cross, Liberty Loan and War Saving Stamp Drive while more than 200,000 Black Americans had fought to make the world safe for Humanity.” He then asked, “Why should law-abiding Negroes at home be humiliated with Tom Dixson’s [sic] Negro hating picture of the Birth of a Nation?” Thus, the writer was using African Americans’ patriotism and voluntarism as reasons why they should not be dishonored by having Dixon’s film shown in Austin.³⁰

African Texans at the Austin event further reminded Anglos of their wartime contributions and used their patriotism as justification for an end to lynching, a practice that did not exclude black veterans as victims.³¹ J. Gordon McPherson (known as “Black Billy Sunday” because of his stirring oratorical style) pointed out the hypocrisy of African Americans’ lack of civil rights. He pointed out, “that while President Wilson is battling for the League of Nations to give protection to the Serfs of Europe . . . Negroes are being lynched here in America . . . with the exhibition of the Birth of a Nation to stir up racial hatred against the Negroes.” McPherson and others hoped to overturn paternalistic and negative characteristics of African Americans as assigned to them by Anglos and portrayed in *The Birth of a Nation*. McPherson further “warned the South that the hour was coming when a race that had proven invincible fighters would not submit to their women being lynched as they had struck the blow for the world freedom.”³² This

³⁰ “‘Birth of a Nation’ Debarred from Capital City: ‘Black Billy Sunday’ and Colored Citizens Score a Signal Victory in Their Fight Before the City Commission,” *The Dallas Express*, 22 March 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph278253/m1/1/>, accessed 23 October 2016.

³¹ Williams, *Torchbearers of Democracy*, 223-224, 232-246.

³² “‘Birth of a Nation’ Debarred from Capital City: ‘Black Billy Sunday’ and Colored Citizens Score a Signal Victory in Their Fight Before the City Commission,” *The Dallas Express*, 22 March 1919, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph278253/m1/1/>, accessed 23 October 2016.

statement affirmed that military participation had changed African American men and they sought to challenge mistreatment from Anglos in more direct ways.

Texas blacks and Tejanos at home had worked within the existing paternalistic system in order to make economic, social, and political gains before, during, and after the war. In 1910, African Americans helped start the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to fight for African American rights primarily through the court system.³³ The first Texas branch of the NAACP organized in El Paso in 1915, and the second opened in Houston after the 1917 race riot.³⁴ Middle-class Mexican Americans including José de la Luz Saéñz and José T. Canales formed a similar organization called the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in Corpus Christi in 1929. LULAC members in particular stressed the American identity of their organization by refusing to allow any but Mexican Americans to join. Furthermore, the men used English in all LULAC meetings.

Wartime change threatened the racial status quo to which old-stock Anglos had become accustomed. They perceived any challenge as a threat to society and they pushed for conformity using any available means. One of these tools Anglos used was the CoD's Americanization program that had originally focused primarily on ethnic Germans as a way to turn them into good Americans.³⁵

In January 1918, the Council of National Defense urged State Councils to "take

³³ Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1979, 2003), 95-104.

³⁴ Michael L. Gillette, "National Association For the Advancement of Colored People," Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ven01>, accessed 17 November 2016. Merline Pitre, *In Struggle Against Jim Crow: Lulu B. White and the NAACP, 1900-1957* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 26.

³⁵ Cynthia Orozco points out that the idea of Americanization preceded the First World War, starting approximately in the year 1914. See: Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed*, 48.

measures to strengthen the loyalty of the German-speaking people of the state” by working with loyal German individuals or organizations to discover the most effective way to reach all ethnic Germans. CoND director, Walter S. Gifford, and Chief of State Councils Section, George F. Porter, encouraged state CoD members to use “the utmost tact and understanding” when interacting with ethnic Germans and trying to gain their loyalty.³⁶ In the following months, the scope of Americanization broadened to include all immigrants.

In February, the CoND sent to the state councils a bulletin containing information about Americanization work. The state councils were to cooperate with the Bureau of Education (the organization leading Americanization efforts) to create Americanization committees, and begin “an immediate campaign under the slogan of ‘Make English the language of your state.’” In order to accomplish these goals, the National Council suggested night schools, cooking classes and home extension work.³⁷

The next month, Texas legislators passed the Fly-Poage Bill that prohibited the teaching of any language other than English in elementary schools. Children who attended public schools no longer would be taught any foreign language in elementary grades, though there were no restrictions on foreign language classes in private and parochial schools.³⁸ Americanization proponents and members of the national, state, and

³⁶ Bulletin, W.S. Gifford and George F. Porter to the Several State Councils of Defense, “Bulletin No. 82 Reaching the German-Speaking People” 4 Jan. 1918, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁷ Bulletin No. 59, J.F. Carl to the Various County Councils of Texas, 14 February 1919, Folder “Bosque County Council-1919 Information on Finding Work to Demobilized Soldiers,” Box 2J367, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, George F. Porter, to the Several State Councils of Defense, 23 February 1918, Folder “Community Councils,” Box 2J395, TWRC, DBCAH; Bulletin, W.S. Gifford and George F. Porter to the Several State Councils of Defense, “Bulletin No. 86 Americanization of Aliens,” 12 February 1918, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

³⁸ Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas 1836-1981* (College Station:

local Councils of Defense then expanded their English-only goals beyond the classroom.

Throughout the summer, the Council of National Defense encouraged state councils to promote English as the only language for public use.³⁹ In July 1918, Frances A. Kellor, assistant chairman of the National Americanization Committee wrote to the Texas State Council of Defense to solicit a list of county-level Americanization committees.⁴⁰ Curiously, J.F. Carl, the State Council's manager, responded to Kellor that Texas had "very few foreigners" so the State Council had not created a state-level Americanization committee at that time.⁴¹

A short time later, the Bureau of Education provided for each state a list of cities that had more than 500 "foreigners" so that the states would put into place local (if not state) Americanization committees. The Bureau of Education included in its statistics not only ethnic Germans, but people from all other countries, and based their figures on 1910 census statistics. San Antonio, with more than 17,000 immigrant residents topped the list, followed by El Paso (14,504), Laredo (7,330), and Houston (6,408).⁴² The CoND suggested to the state CoDs that they should facilitate English-language classes for adults, ensure enough textbooks for language schools, provide specialized training for

Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 64-66.

³⁹ Bulletin, Arthur H. Fleming to the Several State Councils of Defense, "Americanization State Councils Section Bulletin No. 108 Woman's Committee Circular No. 204 Supplementary to Bulletin No. 86 and Circular No. 103," 10 August 1918," Folder "Americanization Correspondence" Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁰ The National Americanization Committee was not affiliated with the Council of National Defense. Letter, Frances A. Kellor to J.F. Carl, 19 July 1918, Folder "Americanization Correspondence," Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴¹ Letter, J.F. Carl to Frances A. Kellor, 1 August 1918, Folder "Americanization Correspondence," Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH. Carl made this same statement in another, undated, letter to the Council of Organization for Work Service. See: Letter, J.F. Carl to the Council of Organization for Work Service, n.d., Folder "Americanization Correspondence," Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴² Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, Typed List, "Communities with upward of 500 foreign-born residents in 1910 in which Americanization committees should be appointed," 29 August 1918, Folder "Americanization Correspondence," Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

teachers, and maintain strong cooperation between community CoDs, teachers, and students.⁴³ Additionally, the CoND asked state councils to help procure facilities to be used as schools for English-language classes.⁴⁴

At the end of the year the Texas State Council of Defense solicited from county CoDs their recommendations for the best ways to Americanize residents.⁴⁵ The Travis County Council replied that Americanizing immigrants who wanted to conform to American culture and use the English language would be easy because of a personal desire to change. However, county councils would require some plan to be in place for those who wanted to retain their own culture and language. Travis County CoD chairman R.G. Crosby stated, “As this latter class can only be forced into Americans, a method of force must be devised and I suggest first that, if there are no such laws now, State and Federal laws be enacted declaring the English language to be the official language and National Language.”⁴⁶

The Bosque County CoD echoed similar sentiments in calling for an English-only law. Bosque County members believed parochial schools should close so that students would be taught only in the English language of their public school. Interestingly, the Bosque County CoD also mentioned that local banks and businesses had “always given preference to a German or Norwegian,” over an “American.” This statement indicates the

⁴³ “Schedule for Immediate Campaign to Make English the Language of the State to be Conducted by the Council of Defense Americanization Committees in Cooperation with the Schools,” 10 August 1918, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁴ Bulletin, Arthur H. Fleming to the Several State Councils of Defense, “Americanization State Councils Section Bulletin No. 108 Woman’s Committee Circular No. 204 Supplementary to Bulletin No. 86 and Circular No. 103,” 10 August 1918,” Folder “Americanization Correspondence” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁵ Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 163

⁴⁶ Letter, R.G. Crosby to J.F. Carl, 23 December 1918, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH. Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 163-164.

possibility of long-held jealousies regarding upward mobilization (either economically or socially) for those of German or Norwegian ancestry, and reinforces the idea that “American” was equivalent to “old-stock Anglo.”⁴⁷

J.J. Faulk, former Texas senator (D), and chairman of the Henderson County Council of Defense favored stricter laws for immigrants. Faulk recommended that they should not be able to vote unless they were literate in the English language and had been U.S. citizens for twenty-one years or more. Faulk also believed immigrant children should attend vocational and industrial schools.⁴⁸

The Mason County CoD agreed with the idea of Americanization, but expressed trepidation. Council of Defense members said the German language should not be taught to students below the tenth grade, Sunday schools should be conducted only in the English language, and English should be the sole language used during mass meetings of any kind. However, elsewhere in their letter to Judge J.F. Carl, CoD members recommended that Americanization “should be approached in a broad open minded way” without “too drastic measures” being “resorted to in order to reach and accomplish this object.”⁴⁹

As the next year began, several Texans called for more restrictive, English-only

⁴⁷ Letter, Fred M. Huggins to J.F. Carl, 10 January 1918 [1919?], Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁴⁸ “J.J. Faulk,” Legislative Reference Library of Texas, <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legeLeaders/members/memberDisplay.cfm?memberID=3156&searchparams=chamber=~city=~countyID=0~RcountyID=~district=~first=~gender=~last=faulk~leaderNote=~leg=~party=~roleDesc=~Committee=>, accessed 1 November 2016; Letter J.J. Faulk to J.F. Carl, 19 December 1918, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH; Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 25.

⁴⁹ Letter, Charles Bierschwale, J.C. Lemburg Jr., John T. Banks, R.E.L. Clark, and C.S. Vedder to the Texas State Council of Defense, 20 December 1918, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

legislation. Maude Murphy, resident of Knox County, argued that “every child of scholastic age should be in an English speaking school and no German should be taught to a young child by a German school teacher[.]” She continued by saying that people suspected the German teachers of “treason” and that the American citizens should “put them [the teachers] all where we can watch them in the future.”⁵⁰

J.C. Darroch (D), member of the Texas House of Representatives and chairman of the Mills County Council of Defense, wrote to Judge Carl that he wanted to put “the language of the Hun . . . out of commission in Texas.” Darroch then asked Carl for his recommendations.⁵¹ Carl replied that the State Council had met and asked Attorney General Calvin Maples Cureton to sponsor a bill by which English would be the only language taught in any school for any grade. Carl also reported that the State CoD was starting “a vigorous Americanization campaign.”⁵² Undoubtedly, Maude Murphy and J.C. Darroch did not feel that the Fly-Poage Act (which had eliminated foreign languages being taught in public elementary schools) had been inclusive enough. They and other proponents of English-only measures fought for total exclusion of foreign language instruction for all elementary school children regardless of type of school attended. A stricter law requiring English-only for all elementary school children passed in 1923.⁵³

⁵⁰ Letter, Mrs. Maude Murphy to Mrs. Reese Wilson, 7 January 1919, Folder “Council of National Defense Woman’s Committee,” Box 2J365, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵¹ Letter, J.C. Darroch to J.F. Carl, undated, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH; “J.C. Darroch,” Legislative Reference Library of Texas, [, accessed 31 October 2016; Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 32.](http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legeLeaders/members/memberDisplay.cfm?memberID=2459&searchparams=chamber=~city=~countyID=0~RcountyID=~district=~first=~gender=~last=darroch~leaderNote=~leg=~party=~roleDesc=~Committee=)

⁵² J.F. Carl to J.C. Darroch, 12 February 1919, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH; William C. Pool, “Cureton, Calvin Maples,” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcu26>, accessed 31 October 2016.

⁵³ Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas*, 64-66.

In the summer of 1919, a committee comprised of State Council members D.C. Giddings, James B. Wells, N.A. Shaw, J.R. Astin, W.H. Fuqua, and Alvin C. Owsley met together to discuss successful Americanization programs they could present to Governor William Hobby and the Texas state legislature.⁵⁴ It is uncertain if or when such a meeting with the governor took place, or how long this committee remained involved in Americanization work because the Texas State Council of Defense disbanded in June 1919.⁵⁵

Americanization efforts, aimed most directly at ethnic Germans during the war years, negatively impacted the visibility and practice of German culture. The number of Texas schools accredited to teach the German language dropped from 102 (before 1918) to twenty-four (after November 1918), and the publication of German-language newspapers in Texas declined.⁵⁶ The German language remained, though used selectively following the First World War.⁵⁷ Although German culture had survived the war in limited ways, a new threat to it soon emerged which had ties to some former members of local Councils of Defense.

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK), an 1870s white-supremacist, terror organization re-emerged in Georgia in the early 1920s. This group targeted Catholics, people of color, and immigrants; it called for “100 percent Americanism,” a familiar slogan often heard

⁵⁴ Letter, D.C. Giddings to James B. Wells, N.A. Shaw, J.R. Astin, W.H. Fuqua, and Alvin C. Owsley, 20 June 1919, Folder “Americanization Correspondence,” Box 2J357, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁵ “Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in Dallas, June 7, 1919,” located in a bradded folder, Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material- (Campaigns, Contributions & Committees),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁵⁶ Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas*, 67; Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 186.

⁵⁷ Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans*, 187-192.

during the First World War.⁵⁸ The Klan in Texas started in Houston in 1920 through recruitment of middle class and elite residents, though membership was open to all classes and both genders.⁵⁹ In early 1921 KKK members began leaving threatening calling cards tacked up in Houston's black neighborhoods warning against racial mixing.⁶⁰ Klan presence continued to grow in Texas, culminating in the publicly-pro-Klan candidate, Earle Mayfield winning a U.S. Senate race in 1922.⁶¹

Several of the Texas counties with a significant German population experienced Klan activity in the 1920s. In Washington and Austin counties the KKK inflicted violence against those of German descent. In June 1921, Klan members attacked Dr. R.H. Lenert of Washington County for alleged disloyalty during the World War and for "speaking German."⁶² Other violence erupted in Sealy (Austin County) where several people died.⁶³ Because of the secrecy the KKK usually maintained, it is difficult to know how many former CoD members were involved in Klan activities in the 1920s but Washington County's sheriff, Burney Parker, and banker W.M. Morris, [both former Washington

⁵⁸ Norman D. Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug: Texas Politics 1921-1928*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1984), 49; Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 4-5.

⁵⁹ Brown, *Hood, Bonnet, and Little Brown Jug*, 51; MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*, 10-11; Nancy Beck Young, *Wright Patman: Populism, Liberalism, & the American Dream* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2000), 17; Kathleen Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991, paperback 1992), 121.

⁶⁰ "Proclamation of Ku Klux Klan Appears in Houston," *The Houston Post*, 23 January 1921, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph608844/m1/6/zoom/?q=%22ku%20klux%22&resolution=3&lat=3969.5&lon=2443.5>, accessed 29 October 2016.

⁶¹ Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas*, 67.

⁶² Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The Handwriting on the Wall: The Klan, Language Issues, and Prohibition in the German settlements of Eastern Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Vol. CXII, No. 1, July 2008): 57; Tippens, *Turning Germans into Texans*, 176; "Brenham Resident is Tared and Feathered," *Burleson County Ledger and News Chronicle*, 17 June 1921, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph169125/m1/1/zoom/?q=%22r.h.%20lenert%22&resolution=2&lat=3359.144197685234&lon=3167.635429491732>, accessed 29 October 2016.

⁶³ Kamphoefner, "The Handwriting on the Wall," 61-63.

County CoD members] later had known ties to the Klan.⁶⁴

How women and particular members of racial and ethnic groups interacted with and participated in the county Councils of Defense was based on a combination of factors including pre-existing concepts of “place” and “belonging;” how county CoD members and their fellow residents self-identified, and the personalities of those involved.

Although most Councils of Defense included at least one woman member, the *Final Report* lists only two women chairmen of county Councils of Defense, lending credence to the idea among both men and women that the organization was “a man’s council.”⁶⁵

Throughout the state, women who served on their local CoD were put in charge of work pertaining directly to women, children, and the home, thus reinforcing traditional notions of a “woman’s place.”⁶⁶

During the war, ethnic Germans had the most ambivalent relationship with the Council of Defense system. In many Texas communities, German Texans served on the county CoDs and showed as much patriotism as their old-stock Anglo neighbors, even targeting fellow Germans they thought were lacking in U.S. loyalty.⁶⁷ In other places,

⁶⁴ Kamphoefner, “The Handwriting on the Wall,” 57-58.

⁶⁵ Harrison and Pecos counties had women chairmen. See: Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919*, 25, 33.

⁶⁶ For an example of a gendered view of work, see: Letter, Mrs. S.S. Walker to Mrs. Allie Wilson, 19 August 1918, Folder “Woman’s Clubs & Committees,” Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁶⁷ Letter, E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 11 December 1917, Folder “Comal County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, E.A. Eiband to J.F. Carl, 19 February 1918, Folder “Comal County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383, TWRC, DBCAH. For examples of ethnic Germans persecuting other ethnic Germans during the First World War, see: Walter D. Kamphoefner, “The German-American Experience in World War I: A Centennial Assessment,” *Yearbook of German-American Studies* Vol. 49 (2014): 14-15.

Anglo (as well as ethnic German) CoD members spied on Germans, wrote letters of complaint to the State Council about disloyalty, and strictly enforced county-made, English-only resolutions.

In Texas, individuals or groups not directly associated with the Council of Defense carried out most physical acts of violence (particularly against ethnic Germans). In particular, the various loyalty leagues that emerged had no governmental oversight and had the most potential for extremism. The American Protective League (APL), operating under the Bureau of Investigation (BI), was supposed to be monitored but the BI was so busy with work that few if any checks were made on APL members.⁶⁸ Very often newspaper articles attributed acts of violence not to the county Councils of Defense, but rather to the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, or other groups or individuals without any known affiliations.⁶⁹

Antagonism was not the dominant characteristic of interactions between the Texas State Council of Defense and the public; yet, the State Council's complacency towards

⁶⁸ Theodore Kornweibel, Jr., *Investigate Everything: Federal Efforts to Compel Black Loyalty During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 14.

⁶⁹ For a few articles regarding violence committed by non-Council of Defense entities or individuals, see: "Men Join Red Cross After Flogging," *The Plano Star-Courier*, 4 January 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph570410/m1/2/?q=%22flogging%22%20date:1917-1919>, accessed 19 August 2015; "Electra Citizens Tar and Feather Greek Confectioner," *The Aspermont Star*, 2 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph126131/m1/2/?q=%22tar%20and%20feather%22>, accessed 27 June 2015; "The Bishop Incident," *Seguiner Zeitung*, 24 October 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph487448/m1/2/?q=flogging%20date:1917-1918>, accessed 20 August 2015; "Bishop Residents are Indicted for Assault on Reverend Moebus: Warrants are Served on Four Men Who Have Been Indicted for Flogging Pastor of the German Lutheran Church Near Bishop," and "Bishop Cases are Set for Hearing Thursday: Men Indicted for Flogging Pastor of German Lutheran Church Near Bishop Ready for Trial," both articles on the same page in *The Corpus Christi Weekly Caller*, 22 November 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph144608/m1/4/zoom/?q=moebus%20date:1917-1918>, accessed 21 August 2015.

the actions of more aggressive county Councils of Defense is problematic. In Austin County, for instance, several Council of Defense members also were part of the county's coercive Loyalty League, an organization that made a point of knowing exactly how much each person spent on Liberty Bonds. One of these Austin County CoD/Loyalty League members, C.N. Duncan, wrote to State CoD secretary and manager J.F. Carl that people who did not purchase Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps according to their means should be physically punished.⁷⁰ However, the Texas State Council did not remove Duncan from the county Council of Defense even though he expressed these extreme opinions. Also, the State Council's failure to chastise the Red River County CoD for its malfeasance shown toward Eleanor Phillips and her minstrel troupe reflect the State CoD's willingness to reinforce the racial status quo wherein intimidation of blacks was acceptable.⁷¹ These cases typified the State Council's overall "hands-off" approach regarding how county councils interpreted and conducted national and state CoD-sponsored programs.

Ethnic Mexicans and African Texans also suffered surveillance and sometimes violence during this time because Anglos feared them as spies or saboteurs under the influence of German propaganda.⁷² This concern was rooted in a common social idea that African Americans and Tejanos were either dangers to society, or nameless agricultural workers whose labor must be controlled. The Texas State Council of Defense enlisted speakers to talk to African Texans and ethnic Mexicans in efforts to boost patriotism and

⁷⁰ Letter, C. Douglas Duncan to J.F. Carl, 26 April 1918, Folder "Austin County Council of Defense," Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷¹ Letter, Eleanor Phillips to Secretary of State, 29 April 1918, Folder "Red River County Council of Defense," Box 2J372, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷² Kornweibel, "Investigate Everything", 38-39; Ramírez, *To the Line of Fire!*, 33.

discourage their migration during the war years when a labor shortage existed.⁷³

Additionally, State CoD members were instrumental in temporarily modifying immigration laws so that more Mexican nationals could work in the United States.⁷⁴

Local officials used the federal “work or fight” legislative amendment to further control the labor of ethnic Mexicans and African Americans by placing them in agricultural work.⁷⁵

Because of these negative stereotypes, Tejanos and African Americans were not appointed to county Councils of Defense except under certain conditions. In South Texas and the border region, political bosses named to the county Council of Defense only ethnic Mexicans who had ties to the boss system or those whose families had a long history in the area. The Starr County Council of Defense, with its absence of Anglo members, is a prime example.⁷⁶ In other counties, the composition of the county CoD reflected a backlash against the boss system. There, the county councils included no Tejanos, and very few native Anglo Texans. Newcomers to the area made up a large percentage of CoD members.⁷⁷ African Americans were not allowed to be on a county

⁷³ Letter, Gus Emler to Whom This May Concern, 28 September 1918, Folder “Mexican Speaker,” Box 2J396, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, J.E. Clayton to The County Council of Defense of Fayette County, 16 September 1918, Folder “Fayette County Council of Defense,” Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH; Letter, R.G. Crosby to J.F. Carl, 6 September 1918, Folder “Travis County Council of Defense,” Box 2J375, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁴ “Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held at Dallas, Texas, on Monday, April 22nd 1918,” 22 April 1918, Folder “Drouth Relief Material-(Campaigns, Contributions & Committees),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁵ “Police War on Idlers; Arrest Many as Vagrants: Thirty Mexicans Get Terms in City Chain Gang—Fifteen More Arrests,” *San Antonio Express*, 9 May 1918; “Cuero Sheriff Sends Idlers Out to the Farms,” *San Patricio County News*, 24 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph718145/m1/1/>, accessed 14 November 2016.

⁷⁶ Letter, A.B. Beilaski to John J. Keeney, 20 December 1917, Folder “Starr County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁷ Please see: “Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties.”

Council of Defense anywhere in the state except in auxiliaries that worked under Anglo supervision.⁷⁸ Although plans were underway to create a state-level African American CoD, there is no evidence that one materialized before the war ended.

Yet, ethnic Mexicans and African Texans attempted to use the CoD network to their advantage. Payton Ochoa in Kleberg County who contacted a community Council of Defense member to request his son's safe return from Mexico is one example.⁷⁹ The African Americans on the Bell County War Board also tried to use the CoD system to their advantage. These men sought justice from the Bell County Council of Defense for black tenants who had been mistreated by Anglo landowners.⁸⁰ In both cases, the individuals who contacted the Council of Defense members sought help from them as opposed to local law enforcement.

Tejanos and African Americans worked within these prejudicial and segregated constraints to improve their lives. Their goals were better treatment, more respect, and civil rights. Middle class Tejanos used voluntarism partly as a way to distinguish themselves from Mexican nationals during a time when old-stock Anglos did not make distinctions in nationality, social, or economic class.⁸¹ Several African American college professors and teachers including M.W. Dogan, E.L. Blackshear, S.H. Fowler, and Joseph

⁷⁸ Letter, J.E. Clayton to the County Council of Defense of Fayette County, 16 September 1918, Folder Fayette County Council of Defense," Box 2J388, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁷⁹ Letter, Payton Ochoa to Mr. Saluban, n.d., Folder "File Binder-Council of Defense January to November 1918," Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁰ Letter, War Board No. 112 Temple, Texas to George W. Tyler, 16 December 1918, Folder "Bell County-Council of Defense Minutes on Meetings and Miscellaneous Information on War Measures," Box 2J366, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸¹ Trinidad Gonzales, "The World of México Texanos, Mexicanos, and México Americanos: Transnational and National Identities In the Lower Rio Grande Valley During the Last Phase of United States Colonization, 1900 to 1930" (Ph.D diss., University of Houston, 2008), 10.

Clayton led patriotic efforts and cooperated with members of the Anglo state and county Councils of Defense.⁸² Yet, all classes participated in patriotic activities. In East Texas working class blacks did not have leadership roles but they did join African American CoD auxiliaries and purchase Liberty Bonds.⁸³

Members of the Woman's Committee (at the state and county levels) negotiated their wartime experiences within specified gender roles based on the home and family. However, they excelled within this sphere and were able to accomplish many Progressive-era goals for community betterment. Ella Caruthers Porter, Ruth Sadler, and Anna Watters were three women involved in the Texas Congress of Mothers. They used the Woman's Committee to broaden their ability to help babies and children beyond their own localities. Involvement with the Woman's Committee provided them the government's backing because saving babies was considered a war measure. As such, their efforts gained more publicity, a new respect, and a sense of urgency.⁸⁴ Suffragists like Minnie Fisher Cunningham used their patriotic work in the Woman's Committee as a means of public visibility to show worthiness of the vote. They were rewarded for their efforts in early 1918 when they gained the right to vote in Texas primaries.⁸⁵

⁸²“Letter, W.L. Martin to M.W. Dogan, 22 September 1917, Folder “Our Community War Service Memorial,” Box 2J393, TWRC, DBCAH; “Patriotic Appeal Made to Negroes: Three Thousand Attended Meeting at City Auditorium: Prof. E.L. Blackshear Made Principal Address Which Was Cheered to the Echo—Enlistments Were Urged,” *The Houston Post*, 11 April 1917, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph609000/m1/10/>, accessed 21 November 2016; Letter, L.A. Freeman to J.F. Carl, 16 May 1918, Folder “Tarrant County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸³ Letter, J.E. Clayton to J.F. Carl, 27 September 1918, Folder “Organization of Negroes [sic],” Box 2J362, TWRC, DBCAH.

⁸⁴ Judith N. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 125.

⁸⁵ McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*, 134.

The Texas State Council of Defense existed from May 10, 1917 to June 7, 1919.⁸⁶ During this time, it directly impacted the lives of every Texan through its extensive network of county and community councils. Men and women from all parts of Texas saw the Texas CoD as a personification of the State able to solve their problems. J.F. Carl received hundreds of letters daily from individuals asking about financial aid during the drought, requests for information on how to procure labor, or solicitations for advice on how to make fellow residents cease speaking the German language. For more than two years, people around the state relied on the Council of Defense, a government entity that had been as physically accessible and geographically close as their neighboring Council of Defense members.

⁸⁶ For dates of operation regarding the Texas State Council of Defense, see: Council of Defense Minutes, 10 May 1917, as well as “Minutes of the Meeting of the Texas State Council of Defense, Held in Dallas, June 7, 1919,” both located with all Minutes in one bradded folder, Folder “Drouth [sic] Relief Material-(Campaigns, Contributions & Committees),” Box 2J358, TWRC, DBCAH. Although the last meeting is dated June 7, 1919, copies of correspondence included with these minutes date from June 8, 1919 and June 9, 1918.

Explanation of Symbols and Sources for Appendices

Appendix C: Members of the Texas State Council of Defense

* next to a person's name indicates that this person was one of Governor James Ferguson's originally-appointed members, whether or not they served. Although named to the State Council of Defense, neither J.S. Cullinan nor Sam Sanger actually served.

+ next to the Committee Name (Column 2) indicates that this person was the chairman of that particular committee.

All information for Texas State Council of Defense members comes from the following sources:

Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919* (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas; Folder "Biographies of Officers-State Council of Defense," Box 2J389, Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas; The Texas Legislative Reference Library online, <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legeLeaders/members/lrlhome.cfm>; Ancestry.com; Letter, John L. Wroe to Churchill J. Bartlett, 14 May 1917, Box 301-380, Unnumbered Volumes, Vol. 4, p. 274, Letterpress books, Texas Governor James Edward Ferguson papers, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission; "Members of Council Receive Commissions," *The Houston Post*, 19 May 1917, *The Portal to Texas History*, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph608965/ml/3/>, accessed 24 February 2017.

Appendix D: Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense

Please note that I used the woman's married name as well as her given name because in most correspondence and newspaper references, women are listed as "Mrs. John Smith" for instance.

Abbreviations for organizations are as follows:

GFWC-	General Federation of Women's Clubs
IGWU-	International Glove Workers' Union
NCWUS-	National Council of Women in the United States
NLWS-	National League for Woman's Service
NSCD-	National Society of Colonial Dames
NWSA-	National Woman Suffrage Association

Appendix E: Texas Division, Woman's Committee

* next to a woman's name indicates that she was the original committee chairman

Information comes from the following sources:

Texas State Council of Defense. *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919* (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas; State Committee," typed list, n.d., Folder "Womens [sic] Organization (National Defense)," Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; "Texas Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense," *El Paso Morning Times*, 15 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth199654/m1/7/zoom/?q=%22mrs.%20reese%20wilson%22&resolution=2&lat=2530.4257205832164&lon=2343.25543234993>, accessed 4 December 2016.

Appendix F: Council of Defense Members in the Top Ten German Counties of Texas

* next to a name indicates (when known) that this person was one of the original CoD members

[Illg] means “Illegible”

If a name has no information next to it, that means that either I could not find the person in a census, or else (in the case of initials) there could have been several men with the same initials and I could not determine which man was the Council of Defense member.

All information comes from the following sources:

Ancestry.com; Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas; Folder “Austin County Council of Defense,” Box 2J396; Folder “Comal County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383; Folder “De Witt County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384; Folder “Fayette County Council of Defense, Box 2J388; Folder “Gillespie County Material on Council of Defense,” Box 2J370; Folder “Guadalupe County Correspondence on Council of Defense,” Box 2J369; Folder “Kendall County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J371; Folder “Washington County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373. All of the above folders and boxes are located in the Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas.

Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties

* next to a name indicates (when known) that this person was one of the original members.

[Illg] means “Illegible”

If a name has no information next to it, that means that either I could not find the person in a census, or else (in the case of initials) there could have been several men with the same initials and I could not determine which man was the Council of Defense member.

All information comes from the following sources:

Ancestry.com; Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense, 1917-1919*, (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), John D. Rightmire Collection, Privately Held, New Braunfels, Texas; Folder “Brewster County Council of Defense, Box 2J385; Folder “Cameron County Council of Defense,” Box 2J383; Folder “El Paso County Council of Defense,” Box 2J384, Folder “Hidalgo County Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J370; Folder “Maverick Co. Correspondence-Defense Council,” Box 2J372; Folder “Starr County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373; Folder “Terrell County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373; Folder “Val Verde County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373; Folder “Webb County Council of Defense,” Box 2J373; All of the above folders and boxes are located in the Texas War Records Collection, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Texas.

Appendix A: Organization of the Council of National Defense¹

Council of National Defense Members (Walter S. Gifford, Director)

Newton D. Baker (Chairman)	Secretary of War
Josephus Daniels	Secretary of the Navy
Franklin K. Lane	Secretary of the Interior
David F. Houston	Secretary of Agriculture
William C. Redfield	Secretary of Commerce
William B. Wilson	Secretary of Labor

Advisory Committee to the Council of National Defense

Daniel Willard	President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad
Howard E. Coffin	Vice President, Hudson Motor Company
Bernard M. Baruch	Banker
Dr. Hollis Godfrey	President of the Drexel Institute
Samuel Gompers	President of the American Federation of Labor
Dr. Franklin H. Martin	Regent, American Society of Surgeons
Julius Rosenwald	President, Sears, Roebuck & Co.

¹ Oran Elijah Turner, "History of the Texas State Council of Defense" (Master's Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1926), 14; *Council of National Defense*, pamphlet, [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917], Hathi Trust Digital Library, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009599973>, accessed 1 June 2016.

Appendix B: Organization of the Texas State Council of Defense¹

Officers, Cities of Residence, Occupation, and Position on Council

1. Oscar E. Dunlap	Waxahachie	Judge	Chairman
2. Robert J. Kleberg	Kingsville	Cattleman	Vice-Chairman
3. Thomas H. Ball	Houston	Lawyer	Second Vice-Chairman
4. John F. Carl	San Antonio	Judge	Secretary
5. Royal A. Ferris	Dallas	Banker	Treasurer

Committees and Chairmen

1. Food Supply and Conservation	Frank Kell
2. Transportation	Frank G. Pettibone
3. Sanitation and Medicine	Dr. Selwyn P. Rice
4. Legal	Thomas H. Ball
5. State Protection	Robert J. Kleberg
6. Co-ordination of Societies	Robert E.L. Knight
7. Finance	Royal A. Ferris
8. Publicity	Joseph Hirsch
9. Military Affairs	Robert L. Ball
10. Labor	Hardie W. Lewis

¹ Texas State Council of Defense, *Final Report of the Texas State Council of Defense 1917-1919* (San Antonio: Texas State Council of Defense, 1919), 1-14.

Appendix C: Members of the Texas State Council of Defense

Name	CoD Position/ Committees	Census Co. Residence	Cen Yr	House	Dwel	Fam
Adoue, Louis*	Trans.; Labor	Galveston	1920	1526	213	25
Astin, James R.*	Food Supl. & Con.; Mil. Affairs	Brazos	1920	Blank	149	175
Ball, Robert L.*	Mil. Affairs+	Bexar	1920	340	107	267
Ball, Thomas H.*	Legal+	Harris	1920	4218	43	76
Brachfield, Charles L.	Labor	Rusk	1920	Blank	161	157
Brashear, S.H.*	Legal	Harris	1920	1006	220	188
Burnett, Samuel B.		Tarrant	1920	1424	50	189
Callan, James	Food Supl. & Con.	Menard	1920	Blank	11	260
Capps, William	Publicity	Tarrant	1920	1120	38	186
Carl, John Franklin*	Sec./Manager	Bexar	1920	1031	Blank	98
Carter, George H.*	Mil. Affairs	Falls	1920	Blank	112	129
Connors, John J.		El Paso		Blank		81
Cullinan, J.S.*		Harris	1920	Blank	309	310
Dunlap, Oscar E.*	Chairman	Ellis	1920	705	81	8
Eilers, August J.*	Trans.; Coord. of Soc.	Travis	1920	311	36	79
Ferris, Royal A.*	Treasurer; Finance+	Dallas	1920	3920	Blank	263
Foscue, Philip H.*	Finance	Hopkins	1920	331	257	118
Fox, Henry S. Jr.*	Finance	Harris	1920	Blank	257	208
Fuqua, W.H.*	Publicity	Potter	1920	1400	Blank	553
Giddings, D.C.*	State Prot.; Sanit. & Med.	Washington	1910	804	Blank	5
Hare, Silas*	Mil. Affairs; Legal	Grayson	1920	818	818	244

Name	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Father Born	Mother Born
Adoue, Louis*	58	1B	22	Texas	France	Louisiana
Astin, James R.*	201	9B	43	Texas	Alabama	Arkansas
Ball, Robert L.*	167	17A	60	Missouri	Kentucky	Virginia
Ball, Thomas H.*	54	4B	60	Texas	Georgia	Alabama
Brachfield, Charles L.	71	7B	48	Mississippi	Austria	Prussia
Brashear, S.H.*	222	9A	53	Texas	Tennessee	Texas
Burnett, Samuel B.	[Illg]	8A	71	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Callan, James	94	13A	57	Texas	Ireland	Missouri
Capps, William*	63	8A	69	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Carl, John Franklin*	181	5A	46	Arkansas	Arkansas	Arkansas
Carter, George H.*	54	13A	43	Texas	Vermont	Texas
Connors, John J.	88	3A	54	Iowa	Ireland	Ireland
Cullinan, J.S.*	70	13B	59	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Dunlap, Oscar E.*	77	1A	70	Mississippi	Mississippi	Tennessee
Eilers, August J.*	206	5A	52	Texas	Holland	Texas
Ferris, Royal A.*	81	14A	68	Texas	New York	Kentucky
Foscue, Philip H.*	71	5B	59	Texas	North Carolina	Alabama
Fox, Henry S. Jr.*	95	12A	45	Texas	[Illg]	Texas
Fuqua, W.H.*	256	25A	58	Mississippi	Virginia	Virginia
Giddings, D.C.*	147	1A	55	Texas	Texas	Mississippi
Hare, Silas*	116	9B	58	Texas	Ohio	Indiana

Name	Occupation	Pol. Office	Yrs	Birth	Death
Adoue, Louis*	Merchant Dry Goods			8 Sep. 1886	3 Oct. 1918
Astin, James R.*	Attorney	TX Senate	1911- 1917	16 July 1855; or 16 July 1866	21 July 1931
Ball, Robert L.*	Lawyer			24 May 1861	11 July 1940
Ball, Thomas H.*	None	U.S. Congress	1896- 1903	14 Jan. 1859	7 May 1944
Brachfield, Charles L.	Lawyer	TX Senate	1903- 1911	10 Jan. 1871	6 Jun. 1947
Brashear, S.H.*	Lawyer			9 July 1866	17 Sep. 1941
Burnett, Samuel B.	Cattleman			1 Jan. 1849	22 Jun. 1922
Callan, James	Farmer	TX House	1897- 1899	24 Oct. 1863	23 Jan. 1934
Capps, William*	Lawyer			20 May 1858	5 Oct. 1925
Carl, John Franklin*	Lawyer			11 Dec. 1873	10 Mar. 1960
Carter, George H.*	Lawyer			25 Sep. 1875	13 Nov. 1951
Connors, John J.	Business Retired			15 Apr. 1865	12 Dec. 1937
Cullinan, J.S.*	President Oil Co.				
Dunlap, Oscar E.*	President Bank			30 Nov. 1849	30 Aug. 1925
Eilers, August J.*	Merchant Wholesale			23 Jan. 1864	29 Dec. 1939
Ferris, Royal A.*	Banker			5 Aug. 1851	2 Mar. 1929
Foscue, Philip H.*	President Bank			Apr. 1860	28 Sep. 1925
Fox, Henry S. Jr.*	Vice President Bank			23 Jan. 1874	19 Apr. 1925
Fuqua, W.H.*	President Bank			13 Sep. 1862	30 May 1950
Giddings, D.C.*	Banker	TX House	1895- 1897	27 Jan. 1863	27 Nov. 1927
Hare, Silas*	Judge District Court			30 Oct. 1862	10 Mar. 1931

Name	CoD Position/ Committees	County Lived Census Yr	Census Year	House	Dwel	Fam
Henry, R.L.*	Trans.; Coord. of Soc.	McLennan	1920	1625	169	202
Hirsch, Joseph*	Publicity+	Nueces	1920	411	44	69
Huff, Charles C.*	Trans.; State Protection	Dallas	1920	3801	164	180
Hunter, Sam J.*	Legal	Tarrant	1920	612	33	36
Kell, Frank*	Food Supl. & Con.+	Wichita	1920	900	24	25
Kenedy, John G., Sr.*	State Prot.; Sanit. & Med.	Willacy	1920	Blank	9	9
Kirkpatrick, Elbert W.	Food Supl. & Con.; Labor	Collin	1920	600	99	45
Kleberg, R.J.*	State Protection+	Kleberg	1920	Blank	27	26
Knight, Robert E.L.	Coord. of Soc.+	Dallas	1920	2804	1098	1143
Lewis, Hardie W.*	Labor+	Bexar	1920	421	50	54
Neill, David J.*	Publicity	Eastland	1910	Blank	163	163
Owsley, Alvin C.*	Coord. of Soc.; Mil. Affairs	Denton	1920	Blank	249	252
Pettibone, Frank G.*	Trans.+	Galveston	1930	1822	292	347
Poole, Tom Reed	Mil. Affairs	Hunt	1910	339	110	104
Pope, Henry N.*	Food Supl. & Con.	Tarrant	1920		121	121
Real, Julius*	Food Supl. & Con.	Kerr	1920	Blank	120	129
Rice, S.P.	Sanit. & Med.	Falls	1920	549	115	117
Riesner, Benjamin A.*	Labor; Sanit. & Med.	Harris	1920	61	175	257
Sanger, Sam*		McLennan	1910	1604	107	10

Name	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Father Born	Mother Born
Henry, R.L.*	184	9A	55	Texas	Tennessee	Arkansas
Hirsch, Joseph*	56	3B	46	Texas	Germany	Louisiana
Huff, Charles C.*	122	8B	43	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Hunter, Sam J.*	152	2A	74	Kentucky	U.S.A.	U.S.A.
Kell, Frank*	252	27B	60	Texas	Indiana	South Carolina
Kenedy, John G., Sr.*	246	1B	63	Texas	Pennsylvania	Mexico
Kirkpatrick, Elbert W.*	135	6A	75	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Kleberg, R.J.*	75	1B	66	Texas	Germany	Germany
Knight, Robert E.L.	257	12B	55	Texas	Virginia	Virginia
Lewis, Hardie W.*	250	3A	35	Texas	Texas	Texas
Neill, David J.*	157	8B	55	Arkansas	Tennessee	Tennessee
Owsley, Alvin C.*	46	14B	64	Missouri	Kentucky	Kentucky
Pettibone, Frank G.*	214	14A	68	Illinois	New York	Canada
Poole, Tom Reed	98	6A	19	Texas	Alabama	Alabama
Pope, Henry N.*	169	5B	60	Arkansas	Tennessee	Arkansas
Real, Julius*	213	6A	59	Texas	Germany	France
Rice, S.P.	53	12B	65	Georgia	South Carolina	South Carolina
Riesner, Benjamin A.*	12	12A	63	Texas	Germany	Germany
Sanger, Sam*	58	15B	69	Germany	Germany	Germany

Name	Occupation	Pol. Office	Yrs.	Birth	Death
Henry, R.L.*	Lawyer			12 May 1864	9 July 1931
Hirsch, Joseph*	Bank President			1873	1 July 1948
Huff, Charles C.*	Lawyer			29 July 1875	28 Mar. 1943
Hunter, Sam J.*	Lawyer			31 Oct. 1845	22 Jan. 1937
Kell, Frank*	Grain Dealer			2 Dec. 1859	17 Sep. 1941
Kenedy, John G., Sr.*	Stockman Ranch			22 Apr. 1856	7 Nov. 1931
Kirkpatrick, Elbert W.*	[Illg.]			1844	1924
Kleberg, R.J.*	Mgr. Santa Gertrudis			5 Dec. 1852	10 Oct. 1932
Knight, Robert E.L.	Lawyer			7 Apr. 1864	6 Mar. 1936
Lewis, Hardie W.*	General Chairman B. of R. S.			8 Apr. 1884	17 Aug. 1967
Neill, David J.*	Editor Newspaper	TX House	1917-1920	25 Mar. 1857	28 Jun. 1937
Owsley, Alvin C.*	Lawyer	TX House	1889-1892; 1895-1897	8 Apr. 1856	27 Apr. 1938
Pettibone, Frank G.*	Gen. Manager Railroad			27 Sep. 1861	23 Jan. 1939
Poole, Tom Reed	None			23 March 1891	1 Mar. 1965
Pope, Henry N.*	Farm Operator			23 Apr. 1859	13 June 1956
Real, Julius*	Farmer	TX Senate	1909-1915; 1925-1929	7 May 1860	29 May 1944
Rice, S.P.	Doctor			13 Nov. 1854	22 Sep. 1929
Riesner, Benjamin A.*	Proprietor Contractor & Manufact.			19 Feb. 1856	8 Jan. 1932
Sanger, Sam*	[Blank]			11 Sep. 1843	18 Dec. 1919

Name	CoD Position/ Committees	County Lived Census Yr	Cens us Year	House	Dwel	Fam
Seley, W.W.*	Finance	McLennan	1910	224	136	140
Shaw, N.A. "Gus"*	Labor; Sanit. & Med.	Bowie	1920	907	159	188
Sonfield, Leon*	Coord. of Soc.	Travis	1920	500 W. 6th	Blank	Blank
Thompson, J.A.	Finance	Navarro	1920	220	35	66
Turney, William W.	Mil. Affairs	El Paso	1920	1205	67	80
Wagstaff, John M.*	Sanit. & Med.+	Taylor	1920	1340	57	72
Wells, James B.*	State Prot.; Legal	Cameron	1920	1004	257	279
West, Frank P.*	Finance	Johnson	1920	203	22	25
Wortham, Louis J.	Publicity	Tarrant	1920	[Illg.]	[Illg.]	[Illg.]

Name	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Father Born	Mother Born
Seley, W.W.*	82	13A	54	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Shaw, N.A. "Gus"*	107	7B	57	Mississippi	Alabama	Mississippi
Sonfield, Leon*	264	12B	53	Tennessee	Germany	Germany
Thompson, J.A.	178	2B	52	Mississippi	U.S.	Virginia
Turney, William W.	208	4B	56	Texas	Tennessee	Texas
Wagstaff, John M.*	77	4A	57	Tennessee	North Carolina	Kentucky
Wells, James B.*	139	14A	65	Texas	Georgia	Mississippi
West, Frank P.*	134	1B	51	Mississippi	Alabama	Mississippi
Wortham, Louis J.	181	12B	[?]	Texas	Tennessee	South Carolina

Name	Occupation	Pol. Office	Yrs.	Birth	Death
Seley, W.W.*	Banker President			5 Oct. 1853	26 Dec. 1918
Shaw, N.A. "Gus"*	Vice President Bank	TX House	1891-1893	19 May 1863	Unknown
Sonfield, Leon*	Judge Comm. of Appeals			1867	15 Dec. 1934
Thompson, J.A.	President Bank			1 Dec. 1865	24 Mar. 1922
Turney, William W.	Lawyer	TX House; TX Senate	H-1893-1897; S-1897-1903	11 July 1861	23 Mar. 1939
Wagstaff, John M.*	Lawyer	TX House	1913-1917	19 Aug. 1862	21 Apr. 1952
Wells, James B.*	Lawyer			12 July 1850	21 Dec. 1923
West, Frank P.*	Banker			3 July 1867	19 July 1931
Wortham, Louis J.	[Illg.]	TX House	1909-1917	1 Nov. 1858; or 27 March 1859	10 Sept. 1927

Appendix D: Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense¹

Officers and Occupation, Organization, or Club Involvement

- | | |
|--|--------|
| 1. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw (Chairman) | NAWSA |
| 2. Hannah J. Patterson | NAWSA |
| 3. Mrs. Stanley [Katharine Dexter] McCormick | NAWSA |
| 4. Ida M. Tarbell | Writer |
| 5. Mrs. Joseph [Clarinda Huntington Pendleton] Lamar | NSCD |
| 6. Agnes Nestor | IGWU |
| 7. Mrs. Josiah Evans [Ione Virginia Hill] Cowles | GFWC |
| 8. Mrs. Philip North [Eva Perry] Moore | NCWUS |
| 9. Carrie Chapman Catt | NAWSA |
| 10. Antoinette Funk | Lawyer |
| 11. Maude Wetmore | NLWS |

Committees and Chairmen

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. State Organization | Clarinda Lamar |
| 2. Registration | Hannah J. Patterson |
| 3. Food Production and Home Economics | Katharine McCormick |
| 4. Food Administration | Ida Tarbell |
| 5. Women In Industry | Agnes Nestor |
| 6. Child Welfare | Ione Cowles |
| 7. Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies | Eva Perry Moore |
| 8. Education | Carrie Chapman Catt |
| 9. Liberty Loan | Antoinette Funk |
| 10. Home and Foreign Relief | Maude Wetmore |
| 11. News | Ida Tarbell |

¹ Emily Newell Blair, *The Woman's Committee, United States Council of National Defense: An Interpretive Report, April 21, 1917, to February 27, 1919* (United States Council of National Defense Committee on Women's Defense Work. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 9, The Gerritsen Collection of Aletta H. Jacobs, ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 2006, accessed 1 April 2014; Hannah J. Patterson, editor, *The Handbook of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention Held at Atlantic City, N.J. September 4-10 (Inclusive) 1916* (Atlantic City: The National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1916), 14, Google eBook, accessed 21 April 2015.

Appendix E: Texas Division, Woman's Committee¹

Officers

Name	City	Position
Mrs. Fred [Dora Hartzell] Fleming	Dallas	Chairman
Mrs. Lee [Lily] Joseph	San Antonio	First Vice-Chairman
Mrs. C.W. [Louise Taylor] Connery	Fort Worth	Second Vice-Chairman
Nonie B. Mahoney	Dallas	Secretary
Adina de Zavala	San Antonio	Treasurer
Mrs. Reese [Allie Hendricks] Wilson	San Antonio	Field Secretary

Departments

Name of Dept.	Chairman	City
Child Welfare	Mrs. E.A. [Anna Gray] Watters* ²	Fort Worth
Education	M. Anne Moore*	Denton
Education	Mrs. William [Elisabeth] Bacon	Dallas
Food Administration and Publicity	Mrs. William [Elisabeth] Bacon*	Greenville
Food Conservation	Mrs. Roy [Rena] Campbell	San Antonio
Food Production & Home Economics	Mary E. Gearing*	Austin
Health and Recreation	Mrs. C.W. [Louise Taylor] Connery*	Dallas
Home and Allied Relief	Mrs. A.A. [Blanche F.] Slaughter*	Dallas
Liberty Loan	Minnie Fisher Cunningham*	
Maintenance of Existing Social Service Agencies	Mrs. Amos [Catherine] Graves*	San Antonio
Women in Industry	Mrs. Henry B. Fall*	Houston
Women in Industry	Mrs. Silas D. [Katherine] Reid	Galveston
Women in Industry	Mrs. S.J. Wright	Paris

¹ "State Committee," typed list, n.d., Folder "Womens [sic] Organization (National Defense), Box 2J364, TWRC, DBCAH; "Texas Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense," *El Paso Morning Times*, 15 May 1918, The Portal to Texas History, <https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph199654/m1/7/zoom/?q=%22mrs.%20reese%20wilson%22&resolution=2&lat=2530.4257205832164&lon=2343.25543234993>, accessed 4 December 2016.

² Anna Watters served as State Chairman of the Child Welfare Committee. Ella Caruthers Porter, founder of the Texas Congress of Mothers, served as the Executive Chairman.

Appendix F: Council of Defense Members in the Top Ten German Counties of Texas

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Austin	Bader, Max	Bellville	1920	67	74
Austin	Brown, Walter T. Dr. W.T.]*	Wallis	1920	179	184
Austin	Duncan, C. Douglas [Douglas]*	Bellville	1920	47	48
Austin	Frnka, J.J.	San Felipe	1920	324	327
Austin	Glenn, C.C. [Charles]*	Sealy	1920	126	130
Austin	Haynes, R.H.	Wallis	1920	81	82
Austin	Knolle, B.E. [Dr. B.E.]	Wallis	1920	59	61
Austin	Martin, A.J. [Andrew]*	Sealy	1920	181	187
Austin	Miller, Herman J.*	Bellville	1910	226	228
Austin	Neely, J.A. [Jubal A.]	Wallis	1920	65	72
Austin	Nelson, F.E. [Fritz E.]*	San Felipe	1910	295	297
Austin	Reese, K.W. [Kinion W.]	San Felipe	1910	4	4
Austin	Shaver, C.N.	Williamson Co., Texas	1920	[Blank]	4
Austin	Sigler, I.B. [Innis B.]*	Smith Co., Texas	1920	192	247
Austin	Tellas, Frank	Wallis			
Comal	Abrahams, J.E. [Joseph E.]	New Braunfels	1920	8	8
Comal	Crawford, Charles*	New Braunfels	1920	217	256
Comal	Druebert, Fritz	New Braunfels	1920	469	495
Comal	Eiband, E.A.*	New Braunfels	1920	245	262
Comal	Eiband, George [George E.]	New Braunfels	1920	5	5

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
Austin	Bader, Max	92	4B	43	Texas	
Austin	Brown, Walter T.*	280	9B	52	Texas	
Austin	Duncan, C. Douglas*	75	2B	31	Texas	
Austin	Frnka, J.J.	228	31A	54	Bohemia	Unk.
Austin	Glenn, Charles C.*	165	5B	57	Texas	
Austin	Haynes, R.H.	164	4A	44	Texas	
Austin	Knolle, B.E.	203	6A	53	Texas	
Austin	Martin, Andrew J.*	179	4A	36	Iowa	
Austin	Miller, Herman J.*	116	8B	44	Texas	
Austin	Neely, Jubal A.	92	4B	31	Louisiana	
Austin	Nelson, Fritz E.*	196	14B	24	Texas	
Austin	Reese, Kinion W.	287	24A	68	Texas	
Austin	Shaver, C.N.	220	4A	35	Texas	
Austin	Sigler, Innis B.*	169	1B	46	Texas	
Austin	Tellas, Frank					
Comal	Abrahams, Joseph E.	48	1A	42	Texas	
Comal	Crawford, Charles*	81	13B	62	Texas	
Comal	Druebert, Fritz	66	19B	58	Texas	
Comal	Eiband, E.A.*	57	10B	40	Texas	
Comal	Eiband, George E.	72	1A	59	Texas	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Austin	Bader, Max	Germany	Germany	Manager General Store
Austin	Brown, Walter T.*	South Carolina	South Carolina	Doctor
Austin	Duncan, C. Douglas*	Texas	Texas	None
Austin	Frnka, J.J.	Bohemia	Bohemia	Merchant
Austin	Glenn, Charles C.*	U.S.	U.S.	Lawyer
Austin	Haynes, R.H.	Kentucky	Illinois	Mattress Manufacturer
Austin	Knolle, B.E.	Texas	Texas	Doctor
Austin	Martin, Andrew J.*	Canada	Unknown	Salesman Traveling
Austin	Miller, Herman J.*	Germany	Austria	Retail Merchant
Austin	Neely, Jubal A.	Louisiana	Louisiana	Physician
Austin	Nelson, Fritz E.*	Sweden	Sweden	Farmer
Austin	Reese, Kinion W.	Virginia	South Carolina	Farmer
Austin	Shaver, C.N.	Texas	Arkansas	School Supt.
Austin	Sigler, Innis B.*	Alabama	Alabama	Dentist
Austin	Tellas, Frank			
Comal	Abrahams, Joseph E.	England	Texas	Postmaster
Comal	Crawford, Charles*	Texas	Texas	Ranchman
Comal	Druebert, Fritz	Germany	Germany	Merchant Groceries
Comal	Eiband, E.A.*	Germany	Germany	Merchant
Comal	Eiband, George E.	Germany	Texas	Retired Merchant

County	Members	WWI Town or 1920 County	CenYr	Dwel	Fam
Comal	Fuchs, John R.*	New Braunfels	1920	488	515
Comal	Garwood, Mrs. A. [Bertha]	New Braunfels	1920	158	168
Comal	Halstead, D.W. [G.W.]	New Braunfels	1920	365	390
Comal	Henne, Adolph [Adolf]	New Braunfels	1920	473	499
Comal	Henne, H.G. [Herbert]	New Braunfels	1920	302	328
Comal	Holm, J.F. [John F.]	New Braunfels	1910	43	43
Comal	Klopper, R.E.*	New Braunfels	1920	34	34
Comal	Konken, E.A.	New Braunfels	1920	113	120
Comal	Landa, Harry*	New Braunfels	1920	443	469
Comal	Moeller, Ad. F. [Adolph]*	New Braunfels	1910	136	139
Comal	Nebergall, B.F. [Franklin]	New Braunfels	1920	239	255
Comal	Suttle, W.S. [William S.]	New Braunfels	1920	480	506
Comal	Voight, L.A. [Louis A.]*	New Braunfels	1920	32	32
Comal	Wagenfeuhr, R.H. [Robert]	New Braunfels	1920	134	134
Comal	Wille, L.G. [Dr. Louis]	New Braunfels	1920	438	464
DeWitt	Breeden, C.G. [Charles]*	Cuero	1920	156	175
DeWitt	Burns, Tom [Thomas]	Yoakum	1920	304[?]	368
DeWitt	Eckhardt, M.G. [Marcellus]*	Yorktown	1920	359	359
DeWitt	Elder, J.F.*	Cheapside	1910	313	319
DeWitt	Hamilton, Alexander*	Cuero	1920	313	341

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
Comal	Fuchs, John R.*	67	20A	33	Texas	
Comal	Garwood, Mrs. A. [Bertha]	54	7A	52	Illinois	
Comal	Halstead, D.W. [G.W.]	62	15B	74	Wisconsin	
Comal	Henne, Adolph [Adolf]	66	19B	42	Texas	
Comal	Henne, H.G. [Herbert]	60	13B	37	Texas	
Comal	Holm, J.F. [John F.]	223	3A	42	Germany	[No Yr.]
Comal	Kloeppe, R.E.*	73	2A	36	Texas	
Comal	Konken, E.A.	52	5A	52	Texas	
Comal	Landa, Harry*	65	18A	56	Texas	
Comal	Moeller, Ad. F. [Adolph]*	236	15B	38	Texas	
Comal	Nebergall, B.F. [Franklin]	57	10A	46	Texas	
Comal	Suttle, W.S. [William S.]	66	19B	40	Illinois	
Comal	Voight, L.A. [Louis A.]*	72	1B	43	Texas	
Comal	Wagenfeuhr, R.H. [Robert]	78	7A	39	Texas	
Comal	Wille, L.G. [Dr. Louis]	[Blank]	18A	56	Germany	1898
DeWitt	Breeden, C.G. [Charles]*	46	7B	59	Texas	
DeWitt	Burns, Tom [Thomas]	251	14B	43	Texas	
DeWitt	Eckhardt, M.G. [Marcellus]*	138	21A	46	Texas	
DeWitt	Elder, J.F.*	214	18A	40	Texas	
DeWitt	Hamilton, Alexander*	53	14A	39	Texas	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Comal	Fuchs, John R.*	Germany	Germany	Lawyer
Comal	Garwood, Mrs. A. [Bertha]	Germany	Germany	None
Comal	Halstead, D.W. [G.W.]	New York	Canada	None
Comal	Henne, Adolph [Adolf]	Germany	Texas	Merchant
Comal	Henne, H.G. [Herbert]	Texas	Germany	Lawyer
Comal	Holm, J.F. [John F.]	Germany	Germany	General Manager Mercantile
Comal	Kloepper, R.E.*	Texas	Texas	Bank Cashier
Comal	Konken, E.A.	Germany	Germany	Minister
Comal	Landa, Harry*	Prussia	England	Manufacturer Cotton Oil & Flour
Comal	Moeller, Ad. F. [Adolph]*	Texas	Texas	Contractor General
Comal	Nebergall, B.F. [Franklin]	Ohio	Texas	Printer
Comal	Suttle, W.S. [William S.]	Tennessee	Tennessee	Superintendent Flour Mill
Comal	Voight, L.A. [Louis A.]*	Pennsylvania	Kentucky	Retail Merchant
Comal	Wagenfeuhr, R.H. [Robert]	Germany	Texas	Secretary Flour Mill
Comal	Wille, L.G. [Dr. Louis]	Germany	Germany	Physician
DeWitt	Breeden, C.G. [Charles]*	Mississippi	Louisiana	Proprietor Wholesale
DeWitt	Burns, Tom [Thomas]	Texas	Texas	Stockman
DeWitt	Eckhardt, M.G. [Marcellus]*	Germany	Germany	Rancher
DeWitt	Elder, J.F.*	Georgia	Tennessee	Farmer
DeWitt	Hamilton, Alexander*	Kentucky	Texas	Stockman

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
DeWitt	Jaeggli, F.W. [F. Will Jaggli]	Cuero	1920	250	275
DeWitt	Johnston, W.L. [Will L.]	Yoakum	1920	32	38
DeWitt	McManus, D.B. [David B.]*	Thomaston	1920	55	55
DeWitt	Reiffert, Walter*	Cuero	1920	329	358
DeWitt	Welhausen, Philip*	Yoakum	1920	363	585
Fayette	Alexander, Essie*	La Grange	1920	112	112
Fayette	Alexander, Jake	La Grange	1920	85	85
Fayette	Arnim, Mrs. E.A. [Paula]	Flatonia	1920	179	180
Fayette	Baumgarten, J.C.* [Christian J.]	Schulenburg	1920	102	108
Fayette	Chupik, J.F.* [John F.]	Fayetteville	1920	68	69
Fayette	Dobrava, J.V.* [Joseph V.]	Ammonsville	1920	41	41
Fayette	Frede, Leo	La Grange	1920	98	98
Fayette	Killough, J.H. [John H. Kellough]	La Grange	1920	250	253
Fayette	Krause, C.D. [Carl D.]	Schulenburg	1920	224	227
Fayette	Lenert, George [Geo. E.]	La Grange	1920	284	287
Fayette	Nesrata, C.E.*	Flatonia			
Fayette	Robson, C.G. [Charles G.]	Schulenburg	1920	297	300
Fayette	Sebesta, J.S. [Julius S.]	La Grange	1920	40	40
Fayette	Shelbourne, S.A.*	West Point			
Fayette	Smith, T.L.	La Grange			

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
DeWitt	Jaeggli, F. Will	55	16A	34	Texas	
DeWitt	Johnston, Will L.	239	2B	50	Ohio	
DeWitt	McManus, David B.*	261	3A	50	Texas	
DeWitt	Reiffert, Walter*	53	14B	45	Texas	
DeWitt	Welhausen, Philip*	258	21A	45	Texas	
Fayette	Alexander, Essie*	51	5A	48	Texas	
Fayette	Alexander, Jake	50	4A	40	Texas	
Fayette	Arnim, Paula	236	9B	50	Texas	
Fayette	Baumgarten, J.C.* [Christian J.]	310	5A	44	Texas	
Fayette	Chupik, J.F.* [John F.]	59	4A	30	Texas	
Fayette	Dobrava, J.V.* [Joseph V.]	242	3A	46	Bohemia	1906
Fayette	Frede, Leo	50	4B	53	Texas	
Fayette	Killough, J.H. [John H. Kellough]	56	10A	51	Texas	
Fayette	Krause, C.D. [Carl D.]	55	9A	45	Germany	1895
Fayette	Lenert, George [Geo. E.]	57	11B	48	Texas	
Fayette	Nesrata, C.E.*					
Fayette	Robson, C.G. [Charles G.]	57	[Illg]	41	Texas	
Fayette	Sebesta, J.S. [Julius S.]	48	2A	39	Texas	
Fayette	Shelbourne, S.A.*					
Fayette	Smith, T.L.					

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
DeWitt	Jaeggli, F. Will	Switzerland	Russia	Bank President
DeWitt	Johnston, Will L.	United States	United States	Real Estate
DeWitt	McManus, David B.*	Mississippi	Tennessee	Retail Merchant Groceries
DeWitt	Reiffert, Walter*	Germany	Texas	Bank President
DeWitt	Welhausen, Philip*	Germany	Texas	Capitalist Banker
Fayette	Alexander, Essie*	Germany	Germany	None
Fayette	Alexander, Jake	Germany	Germany	Wholesale Merchant
Fayette	Arnim, Paula	Germany	Germany	None
Fayette	Baumgarten, J.C.* [Christian J.]	Germany	Germany	Lumber Dealer
Fayette	Chupik, J.F.* [John F.]	Texas	Texas	Farmer
Fayette	Dobrava, J.V.* [Joseph V.]	Bohemia	Bohemia	Farmer
Fayette	Frede, Leo	Germany	Germany	None
Fayette	Killough, J.H. [John H. Kellough]	Alabama	Texas	Proprietor Electric Light Plant
Fayette	Krause, C.D. [Carl D.]	Germany	Germany	Lawyer
Fayette	Lenert, George [Geo. E.]	Germany	Germany	Lawyer
Fayette	Nesrata, C.E.*			
Fayette	Robson, C.G. [Charles G.]	Germany	Texas	Manager Telephone Company
Fayette	Sebesta, J.S. [Julius S.]	Austria	Austria	Auto Tax Collector
Fayette	Shelbourne, S.A.*			
Fayette	Smith, T.L.			

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Fayette	Young, E.R.	La Grange			
Fayette	Zelesky, Joe J. [Joseph J. Zeleskey]	Fayetteville	1920	147	147
Fayette	Zielss, H.* [Herman]	Winchester	1920	98	99
Gillespie	Bierschwale, William	Fredericksburg	1920	178	183
Gillespie	Estill, Julia [Julia H.]	Fredericksburg	1920	49	50
Gillespie	Hahn, Fred	Doss	1920	16	16
Gillespie	Henke, Otto	Doss	1920	7	6
Gillespie	Jordan, William [Wm]	Fredericksburg	1920	[Blank]	3
Gillespie	Klett, R.S. [Robert S.]	Fredericksburg	1920	146	149
Gillespie	Kramer, Otto	Fredericksburg	1920	419	422
Gillespie	Weinheimer, Adolph [Adolf]	Stonewall	1920	56	78
Guadalupe	Coffman, S.A.*	Schertz			
Guadalupe	DeLaney, Neill* [Neal G.]	Kingsbury	1920	37	40
Guadalupe	Dockery, Ada B.	Seguin			
Guadalupe	Donegan, C.H. [Henry]	Seguin	1920	388	407
Guadalupe	Fischer, E.E.* [Ernst]	Seguin	1920	143	144
Guadalupe	Herbold, John*	Seguin	1920	9	10
Guadalupe	Hicks, John	Marion	1920	274	274
Guadalupe	Jenkins, J.H. [James H.]	Staples	1920	393	423
Guadalupe	Koebig, Alfred	Geronimo	1920	25	25
Guadalupe	Koehler, August	McQueeney	1920	12	13

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
Fayette	Young, E.R.					
Fayette	Zelesky, Joe J. [Joseph J. Zeleskey]	91	8B	25	Texas	
Fayette	Zielss, H.* [Herman]	148	5B	72	Germany	1887
Gillespie	Bierschwale, William	192	7B	63	Texas	
Gillespie	Estill, Julia [Julia H.]	165	2B	72	Alabama	
Gillespie	Hahn, Fred	247	1B	53	Texas	
Gillespie	Henke, Otto	216	10A	54	Texas	
Gillespie	Jordan, William [Wm]	208	2A	63	Texas	
Gillespie	Klett, R.S. [Robert S.]	169	6B	38	Texas	
Gillespie	Kramer, Otto	181	18B	48	Texas	
Gillespie	Weinheimer, Adolph [Adolf]	262	4B	48	Texas	
Guadalupe	Coffman, S.A.*					
Guadalupe	DeLaney, Neill* [Neal G.]	267	2B	30	Texas	
Guadalupe	Dockery, Ada B.					
Guadalupe	Donegan, C.H. [Henry]	69	17B	43	Texas	
Guadalupe	Fischer, E.E.* [Ernst]	80	8A	71	Germany	1867
Guadalupe	Herbold, John*	43	1B	48	Germany	1912
Guadalupe	Hicks, John	107	15B	52	England	Papers Submitted
Guadalupe	Jenkins, J.H. [James H.]	244	22B	71	North Carolina	
Guadalupe	Koebig, Alfred	188	2A	39	Texas	
Guadalupe	Koehler, August	136	15B	32	Texas	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Fayette	Young, E.R.			
Fayette	Zelesky, Joe J. [Joseph J. Zeleskey]	Texas	Bohemia	Bank Cashier
Fayette	Ziels, H.* [Herman]	Germany	Germany	None
Gillespie	Bierschwale, William	Germany	Germany	Bank President
Gillespie	Estill, Julia [Julia H.]	Tennessee	Georgia	None
Gillespie	Hahn, Fred	Germany	Texas	Farmer
Gillespie	Henke, Otto	Germany	Germany	Stock Farm
Gillespie	Jordan, William [Wm]	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Gillespie	Klett, R.S. [Robert S.]	Germany	Germany	Commission Merchant
Gillespie	Kramer, Otto	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Gillespie	Weinheimer, Adolph [Adolf]	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Guadalupe	Coffman, S.A.*			
Guadalupe	DeLaney, Neill* [Neal G.]	Texas	Texas	Grocery Store Merchant
Guadalupe	Dockery, Ada B.			
Guadalupe	Donegan, C.H. [Henry]	United States	Texas	Bank
Guadalupe	Fischer, E.E.* [Ernst]	Germany	Germany	None
Guadalupe	Herbold, John*	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Guadalupe	Hicks, John	Ireland	France	Merchant
Guadalupe	Jenkins, J.H. [James H.]	North Carolina	North Carolina	Retired Farmer
Guadalupe	Koebig, Alfred	Germany	Texas	Storekeeper
Guadalupe	Koehler, August	Texas	Texas	Proprietor General Store

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Guadalupe	Kroesche, Albert	New Braunfels	1910	107	116
Guadalupe	Lowman, J.A.* [Joel]	Staples	1920	103	114
Guadalupe	Matthis, Fred	Seguin			
Guadalupe	McGee, W.M.* [Walter M.]	Seguin	1920	73	72
Guadalupe	Muelder, Otto	Seguin	1920	2	2
Guadalupe	Weinert, M.H.* [Max H.]	Seguin	1910	[Blank]	314
Guadalupe	Werner, Fritz	Cibolo	1920	61	65
Guadalupe	Woods, Ed	Luling			
Guadalupe	Woods, J.M. [J. Myddleton]	Bexar County, TX	1920	103	113
Guadalupe	Zuehl, Henry [Henry L.Z.]	Marion	1920	36	43
Kendall	Flach, Otto	Comfort	1920	145	147
Kendall	Langbein, Gus*[Gustav Sr.]	Sisterdale	1920	21	21
Kendall	Matter, T.N. [Theodore N.]	Boerne	1920	207	210
Kendall	McAteer, V.J. [Vincent]	Comfort	1920	113	116
Kendall	McCrocklin, A. J.* [Andrew]	Kendalia	1920	10	11
Kendall	McFarland, C.C.*	Boerne	1920	38	39
Kendall	Perrin, Charles*	Boerne	1920	10	10
Kendall	Pitman, H.C.	Boerne			
Kendall	Shepard, P.W. [Percy]	Boerne	1920	244	257
Kendall	Shumard, M.A.	Boerne	1920	13	13

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
Guadalupe	Kroesche, Albert	89	6A	40	Texas	
Guadalupe	Lowman, J.A.* [Joel]	228	6B	54	Alabama	
Guadalupe	Matthis, Fred					
Guadalupe	McGee, W.M.* [Walter M.]	130	4B	45	Texas	
Guadalupe	Muelder, Otto	169	14A	47	West Virginia	
Guadalupe	Weinert, M.H.* [Max H.]	31	14B	21	Texas	
Guadalupe	Werner, Fritz	143	3B	50	Texas	
Guadalupe	Woods, Ed					
Guadalupe	Woods, J.M. [J. Myddleton]	181	5B	40	Texas	
Guadalupe	Zuehl, Henry [Henry L.Z.]	123	2B	52	Texas	
Kendall	Flach, Otto	258	6B	62	Texas	
Kendall	Langbein, Gus* [Gustav Sr.]	265	2A	66	Germany	1886
Kendall	Matter, T.N. [Theodore N.]	261	9A	56	Pennsylvania	
Kendall	McAteer, V.J. [Vincent]	257	5B	50	Kentucky	
Kendall	McCrocklin, A. J.* [Andrew]	245	1B	40	Texas	
Kendall	McFarland, C.C.*	221	2B	51	Pennsylvania	
Kendall	Perrin, Charles*	220	1A	54	Iowa	
Kendall	Pitman, H.C.					
Kendall	Shepard, P.W. [Percy]	238	11B	51	Pennsylvania	
Kendall	Shumard, M.A.	20	1B	56	Kentucky	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Guadalupe	Kroesche, Albert	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Guadalupe	Lowman, J.A.* [Joel]	South Carolina	South Carolina	Farmer
Guadalupe	Matthis, Fred			
Guadalupe	McGee, W.M.* [Walter M.]	Kentucky	Mississippi	Farmer
Guadalupe	Muelder, Otto	Germany	Germany	Merchant
Guadalupe	Weinert, M.H.* [Max H.]	Texas	Texas	School Teacher
Guadalupe	Werner, Fritz	Germany	Germany	Hardware Merchant
Guadalupe	Woods, Ed			
Guadalupe	Woods, J.M. [J. Myddleton]	Kentucky	Texas	Lawyer
Guadalupe	Zuehl, Henry [Henry L.Z.]	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Kendall	Flach, Otto	Germany	Germany	[None listed]
Kendall	Langbein, Gus*[Gustav Sr.]	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Kendall	Matter, T.N. [Theodore N.]	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Farmer
Kendall	McAteer, V.J. [Vincent]	Ireland	Kentucky	Newspaper Publisher
Kendall	McCrocklin, A. J.* [Andrew]	Texas	Georgia	Farmer
Kendall	McFarland, C.C.*	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Dairyman
Kendall	Perrin, Charles*	Pennsylvania	Connecticut	Farmer
Kendall	Pitman, H.C.			
Kendall	Shepard, P.W. [Percy]	Pennsylvania	Scotland	None
Kendall	Shumard, M.A.	Kentucky	Missouri	Farmer

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Kendall	Wiedenfeld, William	Comfort	1920	111	114
Kendall	Willke, William J.	Boerne	1920	145	156
Kendall	Wollschlaeger, Gus*	Boerne	1920	146	160
Kendall	Wray, Paul*	Wareing	1910	43	54
Lee	Alexander, P.J. [Phillip J.]	Giddings	1920	242	245
Lee	Beaman, Joe [Joe W.]	Giddings	1920	270	280
Lee	Bowers, Wm. I, Jr. [William O., Jr.]	Giddings	1920	141	144
Lee	Bringle, H.I.	Giddings			
Lee	Burr, W.W. [William W.]	Giddings	1920	246	249
Lee	Cherry, W.H., Sr.	Giddings	1920	146	149
Lee	Curlee, Robert [Robert T.]	Tanglewood	1920	23	23
Lee	Field, Charles [Fields, Charles W.]	Dime Box	1920	235	238
Lee	Folkes, J.R. [John R.]	Giddings	1920	171	174
Lee	Hillsman, J.S. [James S.]	Giddings	1920	123	126
Lee	Johnson, J.M. [John M.]	Giddings	1920	122	125
Lee	Longley, John	Giddings	1920	261	264
Lee	Matlock, W.A. [Wm. A.]	Lexington	1910	42	50
Lee	Mayfield, Richard W.	Giddings	1920	24	24
Lee	Merchant, Carl M.	Giddings	1920	143	146
Lee	Pariss, L. [Fariss, Lafayette]	Giddings	1920	121	124

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
Kendall	Wiedefeld, William	257	5B	57	Texas	
Kendall	Willke, William J.	234	7A	44	Texas	
Kendall	Wollschlaeger, Gus*	226	7B	52	Germany	1890
Kendall	Wray, Paul*	117	2A	36	Texas	
Lee	Alexander, P.J. [Phillip J.]	151	10B	35	Texas	
Lee	Beaman, Joe [Joe W.]	236	14B	65	Texas	
Lee	Bowers, Wm. I, Jr. [William O., Jr.]	147	6B	24	Texas	
Lee	Bringle, H.I.					
Lee	Burr, W.W. [William W.]	152	11A	56	Texas	
Lee	Cherry, W.H., Sr.	147	6B	56	Indiana	
Lee	Curlee, Robert [Robert T.]	252	1B	47	Mississippi	
Lee	Field, Charles [Fields, Charles W.]	151	10B	35	Texas	
Lee	Folkes, J.R. [John R.]	148	7B	45	Texas	
Lee	Hillsman, J.S. [James S.]	146	5B	51	Virginia	
Lee	Johnson, J.M. [John M.]	146	5B	50	Texas	
Lee	Longley, John	152	11B	28	Texas	
Lee	Matlock, W.A. [Wm. A.]	75	2B	35	Missouri	
Lee	Mayfield, Richard W.	142	1B	37	Texas	
Lee	Merchant, Carl M.	147	6B	35	Texas	
Lee	Pariss, L. [Fariss, Lafayette]	146	5B	47	Texas	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Kendall	Wiedefeld, William	Germany	Germany	Cream Tester
Kendall	Willke, William J.	Texas	Texas	Pharmacist
Kendall	Wollschlaeger, Gus*	Germany	Germany	Farmer
Kendall	Wray, Paul*	Tennessee	Tennessee	Farmer
Lee	Alexander, P.J. [Phillip J.]	Kentucky	Kentucky	Lawyer
Lee	Beaman, Joe [Joe W.]	Arkansas	Georgia	Stock Farm
Lee	Bowers, Wm. I, Jr. [William O., Jr.]	Texas	Texas	Lawyer
Lee	Bringle, H.I.			
Lee	Burr, W.W. [William W.]	Mississippi	Mississippi	Baptist Minister
Lee	Cherry, W.H., Sr.	Illinois	Kentucky	Retail Merchant
Lee	Curlee, Robert [Robert T.]	United States	United States	Farmer
Lee	Field, Charles [Fields, Charles W.]	Virginia	Texas	Manager Cotton Compress
Lee	Folkes, J.R. [John R.]	Alabama	Alabama	Postmaster
Lee	Hillsman, J.S. [James S.]	Virginia	Virginia	Retail Merchant Lumber
Lee	Johnson, J.M. [John M.]	Kentucky	Alabama	Physician
Lee	Longley, John	Texas	Texas	Teacher
Lee	Matlock, W.A. [Wm. A.]	Missouri	Missouri	Clerk Lumber Yard
Lee	Mayfield, Richard W.	Texas	Texas	Lawyer
Lee	Merchant, Carl M.	Kentucky	Texas	Manager Cotton Oil Mill
Lee	Pariss, L. [Fariss, Lafayette]	Alabama	Missouri	Manager Wholesale Grocery

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Lee	Ramsey, Edward H.	Giddings	1920	125	129
Lee	Saunders, Sam [Sanders, Sam]	Beaukiss	1920	25	25
Lee	Scarborough, William D.	Giddings	1920	91	91
Lee	Simmang, Emil T.	Giddings	1920	196	199
Lee	Sinks, Ed R.	Giddings	1910	66	66
Lee	Stamps, Frank [David F.]	Dime Box	1920	110	111
Lee	Tate, J.T. [John H.]	Giddings	1920	241	244
Medina	Brucks, L.J. [Louis J.]	Hondo	1920	65	65
Medina	Burrell, L.W. [Louis W. Burell]	Castroville	1920	190	209
Medina	Finger, John	Hondo	1920	76	76
Medina	Kercheville, Mack	Frio County, TX	1910	1	1
Medina	Reinhart, Paul	D'Hanis	1920	65	81
Medina	Smith, W.H. [Dr. Wm. H.]	Hondo	1920	208	208
Medina	Wilson, H.G.		1920	115	121
Washington	Bird, Rev. S.M.	Brenham	1920	28	28
Washington	Ewing, W.R.	Brenham	1920	266	298
Washington	Falkenberg, T.W. [Theodore W.]	Brenham	1920	333	368
Washington	Hasskarl, Dr. W.F.	Brenham	1920	263	268
Washington	Hohlt, H.F.	Brenham	1920	33	35
Washington	Kennedy, James C. [James Conway]	Dallas Co., TX	1920	93	5A
Washington	Morris, W.M.	Brenham	1920	71	73
Washington	Muller, Henry	Brenham	1920	208	236
Washington	Neu, Jacob L. [Jacob L. New]	Brenham	1920	132	135
Washington	Parker, Burney	Brenham	1920	86	103

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
Lee	Ramsey, Edward H.	146	5B	39	Texas	
Lee	Saunders, Sam [Sanders, Sam]	190	2A	42	Texas	
Lee	Scarbrough, William D.	145	4A	57	Texas	
Lee	Simmang, Emil T.	149	8B	41	Texas	
Lee	Sinks, Ed R.	123	4A	55	Texas	
Lee	Stamps, Frank [David F.]	244[?]	6A	42	Texas	
Lee	Tate, J.T. [John H.]	151	10B	49	Texas	
Medina	Brucks, L.J. [Louis J.]	20	4A	50	Texas	
Medina	Burrell, L.W. [Louis W. Burell]	48	9B	52	Texas	
Medina	Finger, John	20	4B	36	Texas	
Medina	Kercheville, Mack	243	1A	27	Texas	
Medina	Reinhart, Paul	52	5B	47	Texas	
Medina	Smith, W.H. [Dr. Wm. H.]	27	11A	40	New Mexico	
Medina	Wilson, H.G.	111	7B	54	Texas	
Washington	Bird, Rev. S.M.	169	1B	42	Texas	
Washington	Ewing, W.R.	134	11A	50	Texas	
Washington	Falkenberg, T.W. [Theodore W.]	136	13B	39	Texas	
Washington	Hasskarl, Dr. W.F.	158	12A	34	Iowa	
Washington	Hohlt, H.F.	148	2A	60	Texas	
Washington	Kennedy, James C. [James Conway]	93	5A	41	Indiana	

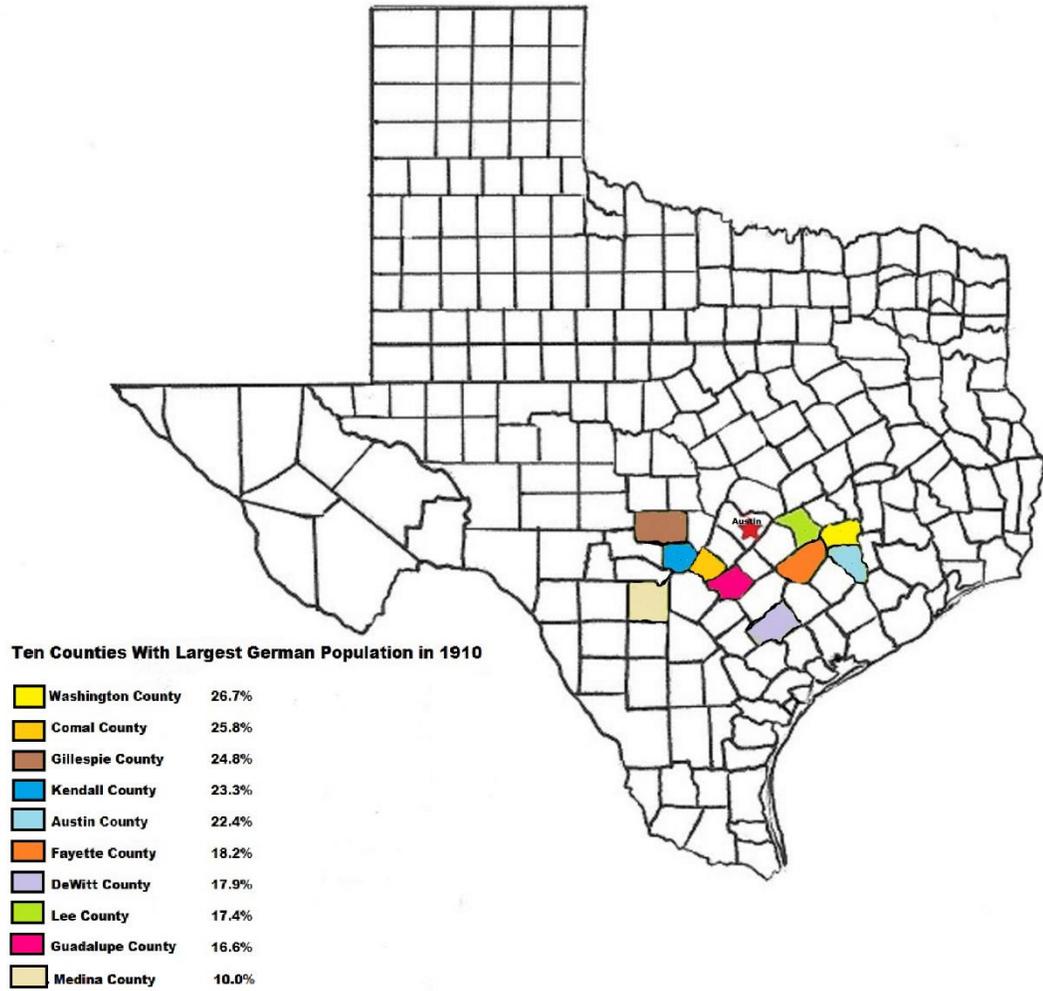
County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Lee	Ramsey, Edward H.	Texas	Texas	Cotton Buyer
Lee	Saunders, Sam [Sanders, Sam]	Georgia	Georgia	Farmer
Lee	Scarborough, William D.	Mississippi	Mississippi	None
Lee	Simmang, Emil T.	Germany	Germany	Lawyer
Lee	Sinks, Ed R.	Ohio	Ohio	District Court Judge
Lee	Stamps, Frank [David F.]	Mississippi	Texas	Merchant Merc Store
Lee	Tate, J.T. [John H.]	North Carolina	Tennessee	Lawyer County Judge
Medina	Brucks, L.J. [Louis J.]	Germany	Texas	Lawyer
Medina	Burrell, L.W. [Louis W. Burell]	Alsace Lorraine	Alsace Lorraine	Farmer
Medina	Finger, John	Alsace Lorraine	Texas	President Bank
Medina	Kercheville, Mack	Texas	Texas	Cotton Buyer
Medina	Reinhart, Paul	Bavaria	Saxony	Stock Farmer
Medina	Smith, W.H. [Dr. Wm. H.]	Massachusetts	Alsace Lorraine	Physician
Medina	Wilson, H.G.	Missouri	Texas	Stock Farmer
Washington	Bird, Rev. S.M.	Texas	Texas	
Washington	Ewing, W.R.	Mississippi	Mississippi	
Washington	Falkenberg, T.W. [Theodore W.]	Texas	Germany	
Washington	Hasskarl, Dr. W.F.	Pennsylvania	Michigan	
Washington	Hohlt, H.F.	Germany	Germany	
Washington	Kennedy, James C. [James Conway]	Indiana	New York	

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Washington	Morris, W.M.				
Washington	Muller, Henry				
Washington	Neu, Jacob L. [Jacob L. New]				
Washington	Parker, Burney				
Washington	Routt, J.R. [Jack R.]				
Washington	Schuerenberg, F.W.				
Washington	Searcy, W.W. [William W.]	Brenham	1920	13	14
Washington	Thompson, R.P. [Robert P.]	Brenham	1910	18	18
Washington	Wilkins, C.L.	Brenham	1920	213	241
Washington	Yates, W.A.	Brenham	1920	100	101

County	Member	Page	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat. Yr.
Washington	Morris, W.M.	149	3B	48	Texas	
Washington	Muller, Henry	131	8B	35	Texas	
Washington	Neu, Jacob L. [Jacob L. New]	166	5B	45	Texas	
Washington	Parker, Burney	127	4A	45	Texas	
Washington	Routt, J.R. [Jack R.]	61	1A	50	Texas	
Washington	Schuerenberg, F.W.	164	1B	48	Texas	
Washington	Searcy, W.W. [William W.]	132	9A	65	Texas	
Washington	Thompson, R.P. [Robert P.]	165	4A	61	North Carolina	
Washington	Wilkins, C.L.	170	2B	50	Texas	
Washington	Yates, W.A.	149	3B	57	England	Unk.

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Washington	Morris, W.M.	Tennessee	Tennessee	Banker
Washington	Muller, Henry	Germany	Germany	Manager Drug Store
Washington	Neu, Jacob L. [Jacob L. New]	France	Germany	College President
Washington	Parker, Burney	Texas	Texas	Sheriff
Washington	Routt, J.R. [Jack R.]	Virginia	Mississippi	Farmer
Washington	Schuerenberg, F.W.	Germany	Germany	Blacksmith
Washington	Searcy, W.W. [William W.]	Alabama	Tennessee	Lawyer
Washington	Thompson, R.P. [Robert P.]	Virginia	North Carolina	Manager Oil Mill
Washington	Wilkins, C.L.	Texas	Texas	Banker
Washington	Yates, W.A.	England	England	Co. Agent Agriculture

Appendix G: Map of the Ten German Counties



Information based on the following: Matthew D. Tippens, *Turning Germans Into Texans: World War I and the Assimilation and Survival of German Culture in Texas, 1900-1930* (N.C.: Kleingarten Press, 2010), 24, 43.

Appendix H: Council of Defense Members in Texas Border Counties

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Brewster	Bains, J.W., Jr. [George W. Bains, Jr.]	Alpine	1920	213	218
Brewster	Brown, Sam W. [Samuel W.]	Alpine	1920	149	154
Brewster	Caldwell, W.E. [Walter E.]	Alpine	1920	107	108
Brewster	Clark, Fred	Marathon	1920	43	43
Brewster	Gillett, Mrs. F.E. [Mary]	Alpine	1920	161	165
Brewster	Hancock, W.B. [William B.]	Alpine	1920	220	225
Brewster	Hord, Clarence	Alpine	1920	50	51
Brewster	Townsend, E.E. [Everett]	Alpine	1920	11	12
Brewster	Wilson, Jim P.*	Alpine	1920	38	39
Cameron	Bell, S.H.*	Brownsville	1920	Blank	Blank
Cameron	Bennett, J.C.*	Olmito	1920	112	113
Cameron	Bryer, M.H.*	Raymondville			
Cameron	Graham, James A.*	San Benito	1920	81	103
Cameron	Jourdan, Prof. W.F. * [William]	Val Verde County, TX	1920	36	37
Cameron	Tijerina, Tomas*	Brownsville	1920	Blank	Blank
Cameron	Wells, James B.	Brownsville	1920	257	279
Cameron	Wells, Mrs. Pauline J.*	Brownsville	1920	257	279
El Paso	Albro, Bliss* [A. Bliss Albra]	Washington, D.C.	1920	Blank	29
El Paso	Bassett, C.N. [Chas]	El Paso	1910	Blank	583
El Paso	Brown, W.L. [William L.]	El Paso	1920	186	313
El Paso	Coles, A.P. [Alfred P.]	El Paso	1920	76	137
El Paso	Coles, Otis C.	El Paso	1920	72	85
El Paso	Cooley, Winchester*	El Paso	1910	9	9
El Paso	Dale, L.A. [Leander A.]	El Paso	1920	140	142
El Paso	Davis, Charles	El Paso			
El Paso	Doerr, Kuno	El Paso	1920	145	149
El Paso	Escajeda, J.A. [Jose A.]	El Paso	1920	250	279

County	Member	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat
Brewster	Bains, J.W., Jr. [George W. Bains, Jr.]	239	9B	36	Texas	
Brewster	Brown, Sam W. [Samuel W.]	237	7A	44	Kentucky	
Brewster	Caldwell, W.E. [Walter E.]	235	5B	52	Tennessee	
Brewster	Clark, Fred	274	2B	59	New York	
Brewster	Gillett, Mrs. F.E. [Mary]	237	7B	49	England	Unk
Brewster	Hancock, W.B. [William B.]	239	9B	59	Texas	
Brewster	Hord, Clarence	233	3A	42	Texas	
Brewster	Townsend, E.E. [Everett]	243	1A	48	Texas	
Brewster	Wilson, Jim P.*	232	3B	57	Texas	
Cameron	Bell, S.H.*	101	9A	70	Tennessee	
Cameron	Bennett, J.C.*	37	7A	44	Texas	
Cameron	Bryer, M.H.*					
Cameron	Graham, James A.*	259	5A	49	North Carolina	
Cameron	Jourdan, Prof. W.F. * [William]	75	2B	54	Mississippi	
Cameron	Tijerina, Tomas*	73	7A	60	Texas	
Cameron	Wells, James B.	139	14A	65	Texas	
Cameron	Wells, Mrs. Pauline J.*	133	14A	55	Texas	
El Paso	Albro, Bliss* [A. Bliss Albra]	91	2A	40	Indiana	
El Paso	Bassett, C.N. [Chas]	180	25A	29	Texas	
El Paso	Brown, W.L. [William L.]	248	12B	47	Iowa	
El Paso	Coles, A.P. [Alfred P.]	175	6B	58	Tennessee	
El Paso	Coles, Otis C.	209	5A	42	Tennessee	
El Paso	Cooley, Winchester*	271	1A	35	Missouri	
El Paso	Dale, L.A. [Leander A.]	71	6A	48	Arkansas	
El Paso	Davis, Charles					
El Paso	Doerr, Kuno	84	6B	46	Iowa	
El Paso	Escajeda, J.A. [Jose A.]	207	13A	53	Texas	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Brewster	Bains, J. W., Jr. [George W. Bains, Jr.]	Louisiana	England	Cashier Bank
Brewster	Brown, Sam W. [Samuel W.]	Virginia	Missouri	Bank President
Brewster	Caldwell, W.E. [Walter E.]	Tennessee	Tennessee	Placer Gold Mine
Brewster	Clark, Fred	United States	New York	Cashier Bank
Brewster	Gillett, Mrs. F.E. [Mary]	England	England	None
Brewster	Hancock, W.B. [William B.]	United States	United States	Ranching
Brewster	Hord, Clarence	Texas	Texas	Retail Merchant
Brewster	Townsend, E.E. [Everett]	Florida	Alabama	Sheriff
Brewster	Wilson, Jim P.*	Tennessee	United States	Ranching
Cameron	Bell, S.H.*	Tennessee	Tennessee	None
Cameron	Bennett, J.C.*	Texas	Georgia	Farmer
Cameron	Bryer, M.H.*			
Cameron	Graham, James A.*	North Carolina	North Carolina	Salesman Automobile
Cameron	Jourdan, Prof. W.F. * [William]	Alabama	Mississippi	Instructor High School
Cameron	Tijerina, Tomas*	U.S.	Texas	Hide Inspector County Officer
Cameron	Wells, James B.	Georgia	Mississippi	Lawyer
Cameron	Wells, Mrs. Pauline J.*	France	Louisiana	None
El Paso	Albro, Bliss* [A. Bliss Albra]	New York	New York	Officer U.S. Army
El Paso	Bassett, C.N. [Chas]	Texas	Texas	Banker
El Paso	Brown, W.L. [William L.]	Iowa	Iowa	Physician
El Paso	Coles, A.P. [Alfred P.]	Tennessee	Tennessee	Real Estate
El Paso	Coles, Otis C.	Tennessee	Tennessee	Real Estate
El Paso	Cooley, Winchester*	New York	New York	Manager Bank
El Paso	Dale, L.A. [Leander A.]	Arkansas	Arkansas	Lawyer
El Paso	Davis, Charles			
El Paso	Doerr, Kuno	Germany	Germany	General Manager Smelter
El Paso	Escajeda, J.A. [Jose A.]	Texas	Texas	County Auditor

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
El Paso	Gillis, Don*				
El Paso	Goggin, J.M.*	El Paso	1920	50	82
El Paso	Harwell, Rowland [Roland]	El Paso	1920	72	78
El Paso	Hawkinson, C.G.*	El Paso	1910	117	150
El Paso	Johnston, W.M.*	El Paso	1910	143	176
El Paso	Krakauer, J.A. [Julius A. Krakauer]	El Paso	1910	228	289
El Paso	LeBaron, George R.	El Paso	1920	141	189
El Paso	McBroom, J.H. [Joseph H.]	El Paso	1920	115	115
El Paso	McClintock, E.B. [Edward B.]	El Paso	1920	61	67
El Paso	McNary, James G.	El Paso	1920	42	42
El Paso	Nealon, Joseph M.	El Paso	1910	186	229
El Paso	Orndorff, R. Burt	El Paso	1920	83	84
El Paso	Patterson, T.H. [Thomas H.]	Labette, KS	1910	28	28
El Paso	Roe, W.G. [William G.]	El Paso	1920	27	38
El Paso	Stevens, C.B. [Charles B.]	El Paso	1920	172	411
El Paso	Walker, Roy M.*	Maricopa, AZ	1920	Blank	166
El Paso	Williams, Joseph F.	El Paso	1920	30	45
El Paso	Wyatt, John M.	El Paso	1920	Blank	402
Hidalgo	Buck, Charles [C.B.]	Mercedes	1910	11	11
Hidalgo	Closner, John*	Edinburg	1920	32	32
Hidalgo	Crow, Mrs. Frank G. [Fay Crow]	McAllen	1920	Blank	Blank
Hidalgo	Duffy, S.M.*	Mission			
Hidalgo	Gause, John P.* [Jno. P.]	Mercedes	1920	Blank	246
Hidalgo	Gawthrop, S.R.*	Pharr			
Hidalgo	Gossage, W.H.	Edinburg	1920	Blank	15
Hidalgo	Hester, Frank [Frank A.]	Donna	1920	6	6
Hidalgo	Hunt, Mrs. Charles*	San Juan			

County	Member	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat
El Paso	Gillis, Don*					
El Paso	Goggin, J.M.*	204	4A	55	Virginia	
El Paso	Harwell, Rowland [Roland]	224	4B	32	Oklahoma	
El Paso	Hawkinson, C.G.*	7	7A	47	Wisconsin	
El Paso	Johnston, W.M.*	8	8B	37	Indiana	
El Paso	Krakauer, J.A. [Julius A. Krakauer]	29	15A	31	Texas	
El Paso	LeBaron, George R.	213	9B	38	Florida	
El Paso	McBroom, J.H. [Joseph H.]	120	2B	48	Illinois	
El Paso	McClintock, E.B. [Edward B.]	59	12A	45	Illinois	
El Paso	McNary, James G.	67	2A	42	Indiana	
El Paso	Nealon, Joseph M.	10	10B	28	Louisiana	
El Paso	Orndorff, R. Burt	69	4A	43	Missouri	
El Paso	Patterson, T.H. [Thomas H.]	172	2A	25	Minnesota	
El Paso	Roe, W.G. [William G.]	283	2B	57	New York	
El Paso	Stevens, C.B. [Charles B.]	62	14A	55	Maine	
El Paso	Walker, Roy M.*	97	6A	29	Missouri	
El Paso	Williams, Joseph F.	73	2B	48	Illinois	
El Paso	Wyatt, John M.	28	15B	52	Georgia	
Hidalgo	Buck, Charles [C.B.]	130	2A	40	Maine	
Hidalgo	Closner, John*	222	2A	65	Wisconsin	
Hidalgo	Crow, Mrs. Frank G. [Fay Crow]	57	4A	33	Kansas	
Hidalgo	Duffy, S.M.*					
Hidalgo	Gause, John P.* [Jno. P.]	248	9B	48	Tennessee	
Hidalgo	Gawthrop, S.R.*					
Hidalgo	Gossage, W.H.	186[?]	1B	34	Tennessee	
Hidalgo	Hester, Frank [Frank A.]	39	1A	34	Texas	
Hidalgo	Hunt, Mrs. Charles*					

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
El Paso	Gillis, Don*			
El Paso	Goggin, J.M.*	Virginia	Virginia	Lawyer
El Paso	Harwell, Rowland [Roland]	Louisiana	Kentucky	County Agriculturist
El Paso	Hawkinson, C.G.*	Sweden	Sweden	Bookkeeper Foundry
El Paso	Johnston, W.M.*	Indiana	Indiana	Chief Clerk Railroad
El Paso	Krakauer, J.A. [Julius A. Krakauer]	Germany	Texas	Merchant Hardware
El Paso	LeBaron, George R.	Florida	Louisiana	Salesman Real Estate
El Paso	McBroom, J.H. [Joseph H.]	Ohio	Ohio	Attorney
El Paso	McClintock, E.B. [Edward B.]	Virginia	Kentucky	County Judge
El Paso	McNary, James G.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Banker
El Paso	Nealon, Joseph M.	Louisiana	Louisiana	Attorney
El Paso	Orndorff, R. Burt	Kentucky	Louisiana	Manager Hotel
El Paso	Patterson, T.H. [Thomas H.]	Unknown	Iowa	Telegraph Operator
El Paso	Roe, W.G. [William G.]	New York	New York	Proprietor Farm Imp.
El Paso	Stevens, C.B. [Charles B.]	Maine	Maine	Insurance Real Estate
El Paso	Walker, Roy M.*	Missouri	Missouri	Contractor
El Paso	Williams, Joseph F.	[Illegible]	Maine	Vice President City National Bank
El Paso	Wyatt, John M.	Georgia	Georgia	Vice President First National Bank
Hidalgo	Buck, Charles [C.B.]	Maine	Maine	Physician
Hidalgo	Closner, John*	Switzerland	Switzerland	Agent Real Estate
Hidalgo	Crow, Mrs. Frank G. [Fay Crow]	Ohio	Iowa	Blank
Hidalgo	Duffy, S.M.*			
Hidalgo	Gause, John P.* [Jno. P.]	Tennessee	Tennessee	Lawyer
Hidalgo	Gawthrop, S.R.*			
Hidalgo	Gossage, W.H.	Tennessee	Tennessee	Real Estate
Hidalgo	Hester, Frank [Frank A.]	Mississippi	Texas	Merchant Dry Goods
Hidalgo	Hunt, Mrs. Charles*			

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Hidalgo	Lissner, Alfred*	Donna	1920	89	113
Hidalgo	McDaniel, E.A.* [Ernest A.]	Coleman County, TX	1910	14	16
Hidalgo	McNeil, W.A. [Walter P.]	Mercedes	1920	Blank	105
Hidalgo	Osborne, Frank E.	McAllen			
Hidalgo	Platt, F.C.	San Juan			
Hidalgo	Shary, John H.	Omaha, NE	1910	373	398
Hidalgo	Strickland, F. [D.F.]	Mission	1920	281	308
Hidalgo	Thomas, George	Pharr	1920	43	48
Hudspeth	Carson, W.C. [Pat]	Sierra Blanca	1920	34	34
Hudspeth	Cox, Mrs. R.B.	Sierra Blanca			
Hudspeth	Deal, Mrs. O.H. [Louise]	Sierra Blanca	1920	46	46
Hudspeth	Ellison, J.J. [Jake]	Sierra Blanca	1920	31	31
Hudspeth	Love, G.W. [George W.]	Sierra Blanca	1920	Blank	126
Hudspeth	Love, R.C.	Sierra Blanca	1920	88	88
Hudspeth	Moore, Harry [Hairy]	Sierra Blanca	1920	48	48
Hudspeth	Parker, J.P. [Jim P.]	Sierra Blanca	1920	29	29
Hudspeth	Polk, A.E.	Sierra Blanca	1920	44	44
Hudspeth	Polk, Mrs. A.E. [Lottie E.]	Sierra Blanca	1920	44	44
Hudspeth	Schrock, Mrs. W.H. [Ethel G. Shroch]	Sierra Blanca	1920	16	16
Hudspeth	Traylor, W.A.	Sierra Blanca	1920	9	9
Hudspeth	Walling, J.M.	Atascosa County, TX	1920	66	71
Kinney	Not Organized				
Maverick	Brown, H.F.	Eagle Pass	1920	19	21
Maverick	DeBona, R.C. [Rocco]	Eagle Pass	1920	161	177
Maverick	Hollis, William	Eagle Pass	1920	164	180
Maverick	Murphy, J.A. [A.J.]	Eagle Pass	1920	17	19
Maverick	Schrossler, Charles J. [Charles J.D. Schuessler]	Eagle Pass	1920	111	130

County	Member	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat
Hidalgo	Lissner, Alfred*	43	5B	36	Texas	
Hidalgo	McDaniel, E.A.* [Ernest A.]	14	1B	28	Texas	
Hidalgo	McNeil, W.A. [Walter P.]	243	4B	46	Mississippi	
Hidalgo	Osborne, Frank E.					
Hidalgo	Platt, F.C.					
Hidalgo	Shary, John H.	92	19A	37	Nebraska	
Hidalgo	Strickland, F. [D.F.]	194	13B	36	Texas	
Hidalgo	Thomas, George	257	3A	53	Alabama	
Hudspeth	Carson, W.C. [Pat]	124	2A	43	Tennessee	
Hudspeth	Cox, Mrs. R.B.					
Hudspeth	Deal, Mrs. O.H. [Louise]	124	2A	29	Texas	
Hudspeth	Ellison, J.J. [Jake]	124	2A	66	Texas	
Hudspeth	Love, G.W. [George W.]	134	1A	41[51]	Texas	
Hudspeth	Love, R.C.	125	3B	42	Texas	
Hudspeth	Moore, Harry [Hairy]	124	2B	33	Texas	
Hudspeth	Parker, J.P. [Jim P.]	124	2A	31	Texas	
Hudspeth	Polk, A.E.	124	2A	42	Tennessee	
Hudspeth	Polk, Mrs. A.E. [Lottie E.]	124	2A	41	Texas	
Hudspeth	Schrock, Mrs. W.H. [Ethel G. Shroch]	123	1A	32	Texas	
Hudspeth	Traylor, W.A.	123	1A	45	Georgia	
Hudspeth	Walling, J.M.	154	4A	46	Louisiana	
Kinney	Not Organized					
Maverick	Brown, H.F.	44	2A	33	Texas	
Maverick	DeBona, R.C. [Rocco]	71	8B	28	Texas	
Maverick	Hollis, William	71	8B	62	Massachusetts	
Maverick	Murphy, J.A. [A.J.]	44	2A	38	Texas	
Maverick	Schrossler, Charles J. [Charles J.D. Schuessler]	6	6B	47	Texas	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Hidalgo	Lissner, Alfred*	New York	Germany	Real Estate Broker
Hidalgo	McDaniel, E.A.* [Ernest A.]	Tennessee	Tennessee	Lawyer
Hidalgo	McNeil, W.A. [Walter P.]	Kentucky	Kentucky	Bank President
Hidalgo	Osborne, Frank E.			
Hidalgo	Platt, F.C.			
Hidalgo	Shary, John H.	Austria	Austria	Real Estate Agent
Hidalgo	Strickland, F. [D.F.]	Texas	Texas	Atty. At Law
Hidalgo	Thomas, George	Alabama	Alabama	Farmer
Hudspeth	Carson, W.C. [Pat]	Tennessee	Tennessee	Merchant
Hudspeth	Cox, Mrs. R.B.			
Hudspeth	Deal, Mrs. O.H. [Louise]	Texas	Illinois	None
Hudspeth	Ellison, J.J. [Jake]	Alabama	Mississippi	Butcher
Hudspeth	Love, G.W. [George W.]	Texas	Mississippi	[Illegible]
Hudspeth	Love, R.C.	Texas	Mississippi	Ranchman
Hudspeth	Moore, Harry [Hairy]	Alabama	Missouri	Sheriff
Hudspeth	Parker, J.P. [Jim P.]	Texas	South Carolina	Merchant
Hudspeth	Polk, A.E.	Tennessee	Tennessee	County Clerk
Hudspeth	Polk, Mrs. A.E. [Lottie E.]	Tennessee	Texas	Asst Clerk Office
Hudspeth	Schrock, Mrs. W.H. [Ethel G. Shroch]	Texas	Texas	Music Teacher
Hudspeth	Traylor, W.A.	Georgia	Georgia	Merchant
Hudspeth	Walling, J.M.	South Carolina	Georgia	Farmer
Kinney	Not Organized			
Maverick	Brown, H.F.	Africa	New York	Dept. Manager Lumber Co.
Maverick	DeBona, R.C. [Rocco]	Italy	Texas	Merchant Dry Goods
Maverick	Hollis, William	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	President Bridge Co.
Maverick	Murphy, J.A. [A.J.]	Louisiana	Texas	Manager
Maverick	Schrossler, Charles J. [Charles J.D. Schuessler]	Germany	Germany	Proprietor Men's [Illeg.]

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Maverick	Snyder, G.B.M. [George B.M.]	Eagle Pass	1920	190	216
Maverick	Stafford, W.N. [W.M.]	Eagle Pass	1920	11	13
Presidio	Cleveland, W.H.	Marfa	1920	4	4
Presidio	Darracott, Dr. J.C.	Marfa	1920	106	131
Presidio	Ellison, W.M. [Walter]	Marfa	1920	229	280
Presidio	Gleim, E.M. [Edgar M.]	Shafter	1910	171	171
Presidio	Kleinman, I.L.	Presidio			
Presidio	Murphy, W.P.	Marfa	1920	16	18
Presidio	Potter, Mrs. A.M.	Marfa			
Starr	Canales, P.G.* [Patricio Garza]	Salineo	1920	95	99
Starr	Guerra, F.D.* [Fred D.]	Rio Grande City	1920	2	4
Starr	Oosterveen, Fortunato*	Rio Grande City	1910	173	184
Starr	Ramirez, Manuel*	Roma	1920	312	328
Starr	Salis, Macario* [Macario Solis]	Grulla	1920	74	77
Starr	Sanchez, Yndalescio* [Yndalecio]	Rio Grande City	1920	7	8
Starr	Vizcaya, F. Ulria * [Francisco Uria]	Rio Grande City	1920	6	7
Terrell	Downie, Charles [Charlie Downie Sr.]	Sanderson	1920	208	212
Terrell	Ferguson, W.J.	Sanderson	1920	153	154
Terrell	Gatee, Henry L.	Sanderson			
Terrell	Kerr, Joe	Sanderson	1920	238	245
Terrell	Kuykendall, T.R.	Sanderson	1920	154	158
Terrell	McKee, Mrs. J.W. [Sylvia?]	Sanderson	1920	240	247
Terrell	Rogers, J.A. Jr.	Sanderson			
Terrell	Smith, Chester	Sanderson	1920	242	249
Terrell	Stansell, J.C. [Calvin J.]	Sanderson	1920	194	196
Terrell	Whistler, John	Sanderson	1920	243	250
Val Verde	Berlin, J. [Joseph]	Del Rio	1920	354	386

County	Member	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat
Maverick	Snyder, G.B.M. [George B.M.]	10	10A	53	New York	
Maverick	Stafford, W.N. [W.M.]	44	2A	38	Texas	
Presidio	Cleveland, W.H.	25	25A	61	Texas	
Presidio	Darracott, Dr. J.C.	5	5A	39	Texas	
Presidio	Ellison, W.M. [Walter]	10	10B	61	Texas	
Presidio	Gleim, E.M. [Edgar M.]	297	8B	29	Colorado	
Presidio	Kleinman, I.L.					
Presidio	Murphy, W.P.	25	55A	52	Maine	
Presidio	Potter, Mrs. A.M.					
	Canales, P.G.* [Patricio Garza]	140	7A	51	Mexico	AL
Starr	Guerra, F.D.* [Fred D.]	59	1A	31	Texas	
Starr	Oosterveen, Fortunato*	155	14A	28	Texas	
Starr	Ramirez, Manuel*	126	19A	50	Mexico	1898
Starr	Salis, Macario* [Macario Solis]	162	4B	43	Texas	
Starr	Sanchez, Yndalescio* [Yndalecio]	59	1A	50	Texas	
Starr	Vizcaya, F. Uria * [Francisco Uria]	59	1A	53	Spain	AL
Terrell	Downie, Charles [Charlie Downie Sr.]	76	9B	64	Michigan	
Terrell	Ferguson, W.J.	74	7B	37	Texas	
Terrell	Gatee, Henry L.					
Terrell	Kerr, Joe	77	10B	46	Ireland	
Terrell	Kuykendall, T.R.	74	7B	[illeg]	Texas	
Terrell	McKee, Mrs. J.W. [Sylvia?]	77	10B	40	Texas	
Terrell	Rogers, J.A. Jr.					
Terrell	Smith, Chester	77	10B	38	Illinois	
Terrell	Stansell, J.C. [Calvin J.]	76	9A	26	New Mexico	
Terrell	Whistler, John	77	10B	37	Texas	
Val Verde	Berlin, J. [Joseph]	31	20A	41	Ohio	

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Maverick	Snyder, G.B.M. [George B.M.]	New Jersey	New York	Supt. City School
Maverick	Stafford, W.N. [W.M.]	Texas	Texas	Ranchman
Presidio	Cleveland, W.H.	Georgia	Georgia	Stockman
Presidio	Darracott, Dr. J.C.	Georgia	North Carolina	Physician
Presidio	Ellison, W.M. [Walter]	Mississippi	Missouri	Ranchman
Presidio	Gleim, E.M. [Edgar M.]	New York	New York	Clerk Silver Mine
Presidio	Kleinman, I.L.			
Presidio	Murphy, W.P.	Maine	Maine	Manager Store
Presidio	Potter, Mrs. A.M.			
Starr	Canales, P.G.* [Patricio Garza]	Mexico	Mexico	Merchant Gen. Store
Starr	Guerra, F.D.* [Fred D.]	Mexico	Texas	Bank Cashier
Starr	Oosterveen, Fortunato*	Blank	Mexico	School Teacher
Starr	Ramirez, Manuel*	Mexico	Mexico	Retail Merchant
Starr	Salis, Macario* [Macario Solis]	Mexico	Mexico	Farmer
Starr	Sanchez, Yndalescio* [Yndalecio]	Mexico	Texas	Wholesale Merchant
Starr	Vizcaya, F. Ulria * [Francisco Uria]	Spain	Spain	Wholesale Merchant
Terrell	Downie, Charles [Charlie Downie Sr.]	Scotland	Scotland	Ranchman
Terrell	Ferguson, W.J.	Texas	Texas	Salesman
Terrell	Gatee, Henry L.			
Terrell	Kerr, Joe	Ireland	Ireland	Merchant Manager
Terrell	Kuykendall, T.R.	Texas	Louisiana	Cashier Bank
Terrell	McKee, Mrs. J.W. [Sylvia?]	Kentucky	Kentucky	Telephone Operator
Terrell	Rogers, J.A. Jr.			
Terrell	Smith, Chester	Illinois	Illinois	Clerk Grocery Store
Terrell	Stansell, J.C. [Calvin J.]	Georgia	Texas	Lawyer
Terrell	Whistler, John	Texas	Arkansas	Barber
Val Verde	Berlin, J. [Joseph]	Russia	Russia	Merchant

County	Member	Town of CoD Work or Census Residence	Cen Yr	Dwel	Fam
Val Verde	Block, E.S.* [Edwin S.]	Del Rio	1920	257	268
Val Verde	Boggess, W.F.* [William T. {or F.}]	Del Rio	1920	79	82
Val Verde	Bonnett, E.E. [Ed E.]	Del Rio	1920	339	359
Val Verde	Foster, John J.	Del Rio	1920	1	1
Val Verde	Hunnicuttt, R.T.*	Del Rio	1920	373	393
Val Verde	LaCross, L.A. [Lewis]	Del Rio	1920	6	6
Val Verde	Measles, E.F. [Edgar F.]	Del Rio	1920	377	397
Val Verde	Miner, L.S.* [Lyman]	Del Rio	1920	264	291[?]
Val Verde	Robinson, John F.	Del Rio			
Val Verde	Rust, L.* [Llewellen]	Del Rio	1920	392	427
Val Verde	Scales, C.P.*				
Val Verde	Stafford, Mrs. B.G.* [Elizabeth]	Del Rio	1920	385	420
Webb	Alexander, I.* [Ike]	Laredo	1920	Blank	Blank
Webb	Brown, Sam W.* [Samuel W.]	Laredo	1920	144	160
Webb	Deutz, Adolph	Laredo	1920	207	207
Webb	Farias, G.P.* [Gonzalo P.]	Laredo	1920	28	58
Webb	Kenney, J.W.*	Laredo			
Webb	Mally, F.W. [W. Fred]	Laredo	1920	184	184
Webb	Mann, T.C. [C. Thomas]	Laredo	1920	231	231
Webb	Mims, Roy K.* [K. Roy]	Laredo	1920	11	11
Webb	Moore, J.R.*	Laredo	1920	233	254
Webb	Richter, August C.*	Laredo	1920	137	137
Webb	Salinas, P.G. Salinas [Benjamin G.]	Laredo	1920	7	7
Webb	Sames, W.J.	Laredo	1920	162	168
Webb	Winch, J.H. [James H.]	Laredo	1920	130	130
Zapata	Not Organized				

County	Member	Pg	Sh	Age	Place Born	Nat
Val Verde	Block, E.S.* [Edwin S.]	87	14A	55	Texas	
Val Verde	Boggess, W.F.* [William T. {or F.}]	77	4B	45	Texas	
Val Verde	Bonnett, E.E. [Ed E.]	92	19B	48	Texas	
Val Verde	Foster, John J.	74	1A	52	England	1880[?]
Val Verde	Hunnicut, R.T.*	94	21A	36	Alabama	
Val Verde	LaCross, L.A. [Lewis]	12	1B	72	France	Un
Val Verde	Measles, E.F. [Edgar F.]	94	21A	38	Texas	
Val Verde	Miner, L.S.* [Lyman]	26	15A	48	Iowa	
Val Verde	Robinson, John F.					
Val Verde	Rust, L.* [Llewellen]	33	22A	46	Virginia	
Val Verde	Scales, C.P.*					
Val Verde	Stafford, Mrs. B.G.* [Elizabeth]	33	22A	40	Iowa	
Webb	Alexander, I.* [Ike]	211	11A	47	New York	
Webb	Brown, Sam W.* [Samuel W.]	181	8A	51	Texas	
Webb	Deutz, Adolph	220	9A	Blank	Texas	
Webb	Farias, G.P.* [Gonzalo P.]	155	2B	37	Texas	
Webb	Kenney, J.W.*					
Webb	Mally, F.W. [W. Fred]	219	8A	50	Iowa	
Webb	Mann, T.C. [C. Thomas]	221	10A	45	Texas	
Webb	Mims, Roy K.* [K. Roy]	234	23A	42	Alabama	
Webb	Moore, J.R.*	41	13A	48	Missouri	
Webb	Richter, August C.*	241	6B	56	Texas	
Webb	Salinas, P.G. Salinas [Benjamin G.]	174	1A	44	Mexico	1919
Webb	Sames, W.J.	181	8B	53	Connecticut	
Webb	Winch, J.H. [James H.]	241	6B	41	Canada	1918
Zapata	Not Organized					

County	Member	Father Born	Mother Born	Occupation
Val Verde	Block, E.S.* [Edwin S.]	Maryland	South Carolina	Merchant
Val Verde	Bogges, W.F.* [William T. {or F.}]	Texas	Texas	Attorney
Val Verde	Bonnett, E.E. [Ed E.]	Germany	Germany	Hardware Store
Val Verde	Foster, John J.	England	England	Lawyer
Val Verde	Hunnicut, R.T.*	Alabama	Alabama	Assistant Cahier Bank
Val Verde	LaCross, L.A. [Lewis]	France	France	Editor Newspaper
Val Verde	Measles, E.F. [Edgar F.]	Texas	Texas	Lumber Man
Val Verde	Miner, L.S.* [Lyman]	Iowa	Iowa	Engineer Rail Road
Val Verde	Robinson, John F.			
Val Verde	Rust, L.* [Llewellen]	Virginia	Virginia	Cashier Bank
Val Verde	Scales, C.P.*			
Val Verde	Stafford, Mrs. B.G.* [Elizabeth]	Scotland	Ohio	None
Webb	Alexander, I.* [Ike]	Germany	Germany	Merchant Gents Furnishing
Webb	Brown, Sam W.* [Samuel W.]	Virginia	Virginia	Cashier Bank
Webb	Deutz, Adolph	Germany	Germany	Partner Hardware Store
Webb	Farias, G.P.* [Gonzalo P.]	Mexico	Mexico	Cashier Bank
Webb	Kenney, J.W.*			
Webb	Mally, F.W. [W. Fred]	Germany	Germany	Agr. Dem.
Webb	Mann, T.C. [C. Thomas]	Texas	Texas	Lawyer
Webb	Mims, Roy K.* [K. Roy]	U.S.	Alabama	President Bank
Webb	Moore, J.R.*	Missouri	Missouri	Wholesale Grocer
Webb	Richter, August C.*	Germany	Germany	Owner Dry Goods Store
Webb	Salinas, P.G. Salinas [Benjamin G.]	Mexico	Mexico	Grocer Wholesale
Webb	Sames, W.J.	England	Ireland	Grocer Wholesale
Webb	Winch, J.H. [James H.]	Canada	Canada	Druggist
Zapata	Not Organized			

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