Houston History

VOLUME 10 • NUMBER 3 • SUMMER 2013

A Patchwork of Our Past

UNIVERSITY of HOUSTON
CENTER FOR PUBLIC HISTORY

Houston History Announces Exciting New Change To Partial Digital Format



I hate computers. Reading page after page of dissertations and student papers on my computer has hastened the decline of my old eyes. Writing on a computer ranks up there with traffic jams on the Gulf Freeway on my list of things that plague my daily life. When I face a writing deadline, my computer takes great pleasure in holding me hostage with the threat of some new virus unleashed

by a pre-teen starved for attention. If no viruses are available to eat my hard-drive, my computer simply sends me down some dark cyber alley where I am mugged by glitches I cannot escape. In short, computers hate me as much as I hate them.

I love the printed word in all of its published forms. Books, newspapers, and magazines have been central parts of my life. I take great pleasure in reading books, writing in their margins for future reference, holding them, smelling them. I still have almost every book I have ever owned, meaning that I have moved some of them cross country six or seven times. I look forward to rereading my favorites in retirement. The marginal notes will teach me about my younger self, and unexpected bookmarks made with photos or plane tickets or newspaper clippings will bring back places and times deeply buried in my memory. Why read a "book" in digital form and miss the joy of turning the pages of a real book?

I love newspapers. I have been fortunate at different stages of my life to live in major cities with once great newspapers: the Saint Louis Post-Dispatch, Baltimore Sun, Washington Post, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Boston Globe, and San Francisco Examiner. I recall several glorious Sunday mornings long ago in Boston spent reading three of these papers. Sundays now bring sad reminders that newspapers are shrinking away as computers deliver news more quickly, more stridently, and less accurately. After pulling the ads from the Sunday Houston Chronicle these days, I am left with a paper roughly the size of the Port Arthur News that I delivered on my paper route in the early 1960s. Surfing the internet is no substitute for the substance—ink smears and all—of a good newspaper; reading a newspaper on the internet is not the same as paging through the various sections and trading comments about important events with someone in the room with you.

Finally we arrive at magazines. My family did not subscribe to magazines as I was growing up, but barber shops did. There I read *Sports Illustrated, National Geographic, Life*, and *Newsweek*. Relatives subscribed to the *Readers' Digest*, an engaging mix of Americana, "It Pays to Increase Your Word Power," and mediocre jokes. With money from my paper route, I bought *MAD Magazine*, which exposed me to a weirder sense of humor. A highlight of my magazine reading days came after I got out of the army and lived for a while in my deceased grandparents' home in East Texas. I spent several very pleasant weeks looking through a big stack of old *Life* magazines from the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, which Grandma Pratt had stashed in her wash house. I mourned the death of *Life* when it ceased weekly publication in 1972.

All of these earlier experiences with the printed word helped convince me to take on the responsibilities and the costs of publishing the *Houston History* magazine ten years ago. At the time I made one emphatic point: I was signing on to publishing a printed magazine. I had no intention of producing a digital magazine. If circumstances dictated that we do so, I would step aside.

I lied. Indeed, I am almost pleased to announce the release of our first digital issue. Our decision to substitute a digital publication for one of the three issues each year is a delayed acknowledgement of the financial reality of publishing a specialty magazine for a small audience. The addition of a digital issue opens opportunities for audio and video material, adding new dimensions to the printed word. This will help us expand the training available to the public history students who staff the magazine while also cutting costs and perhaps even attracting new subscribers. Please note that we have never had a price increase, and when we began publication, the magazine came out twice a year. Two issues a year still will be printed, and those who want can order a printed copy of the digital issue from www.magcloud.com.

The dedication of the current staff to the magazine forced me to reconsider my old codger's attitudes toward its format. Ten years on, I have developed a deep commitment to *Houston History* and to those past and present who have built it into an outstanding magazine. It is a source of pride to all of us, and we will continue to make changes aimed at improving the magazine and expanding its audience. Meanwhile, I am stashing copies of the printed version in various obscure places with the hopes that my grandsons might someday happen upon them and take pleasure from dusting off the covers, opening the pages, and discovering the pleasures of the printed and bound booklet once called a magazine.

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A Patchwork of **Our Past**

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Houston History is published three times a year by the Center for Public History in the History Department at the University of Houston. We welcome manuscripts, interviews, and photographic essays on the history and culture of the Houston region, broadly defined, as well as ideas for topical issues. All correspondence should be sent to Houston History, University of Houston, Center for Public History, 337 McElhinney Hall, Houston, TX 77204-3007 (713-743-3123), or emailed to: HoustonHistory@uh.edu.

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COVER PHOTO: Houston City Hall, designed by architect Joseph Finger, was completed in 1939. Construction took twenty months and approximately 800,000 man hours to complete. Pay rates for the work crew, all American Federation of Labor members, ranged from forty cents to \$1.85 an hour. Here City Hall is lit in red to celebrate the University of Houston's undefeated regular football season in 2011.

Photo courtesy of Brian Reading, wikicommons.

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TOSEDAL LINGER THE WAN BEHIND HORSTON'S ICONIC UPCHILECTORE

By Josh Levine

The period between World War I and World War II saw trends in Houston's architecture that bore little resemblance to anything that had come before them. Imported from Europe, these new styles grew out of people's increasing desire to put the Great War behind them and look to the future and, as economic depression set in, to do so in an economical way. The widespread destruction in Europe following World War I and advances in modern technology left much of Europe disenchanted with the classical styles of architecture. The art deco style satisfied people's desire for a modern way to express sophistication. Some of Houston's most iconic structures, including the Gulf Building, theaters such as River Oaks The-



Shown left to right: Mayor Oscar Holcombe; owner | developer Michele DeGeorge; Dupree Fountain, hotel manager 1926-1931; and Joseph Finger. Taken at the groundbreaking for the Auditorium Hotel in March 1926, this is one of only two public images of Joseph Finger known to exist. Photo courtesy of Miki Lusk Norton, The Lancaster Hotel.

ater, and City Hall are products of these trends known collectively as both art deco and moderne. One of the first and most prolific Houston architects of these styles, a Jewish immigrant named Joseph Finger, helped change the face of Houston through his trendsetting architecture.

Joseph Finger (who bears no relation to Houston's Finger Furniture family) was born in 1887 in a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that is now in Poland.¹ His father Henri Finger wanted him to take over the family dry-goods store, but Joseph had other plans for his life. After training at the Royal School in Vienna, Joseph immigrated to New Orleans with his family in 1905. There he found a city with an established architectural scene operating more on cronyism than merit. He needed to find a city where he could demonstrate his skills as a young architect, and he found it in Houston. Finger moved to Houston in 1908 and started working as a draftsman for the Dallas-based firm of C. D. Hill. After proving his architectural skill at Hill for five years, Finger

moved to leading a series of design firms in the role of partner from 1913 to 1922, starting as a junior partner in the firm of Green & Finger (with Lewis Sterling Green) and ending this period as the senior partner in the firm Finger & Cato (with Lamar Q. Cato).

During his partnership with Green, Finger built the first in a series of upscale hotels. Michele DeGeorge, a fellow immigrant, asked Finger to design the DeGeorge Hotel, which opened in 1914 at the corner of Preston and La Branch, Between 1925 and 1930, Finger became very well known for his hotel designs that served mostly upper-class clientele, even though most of them represented classical styles of architecture more than

anything moderne.² During this period, he designed the Plaza Hotel, the Auditorium Hotel, the Ben Milam Hotel, and the Texas State Hotel, as well as three hotels outside of Houston.



Joseph Finger designed the DeGeorge Hotel for owner Michele DeGeorge, which opened in 1914. Today the hotel offers housing for homeless veterans as well as other veterans' services.

Photo courtesy of Miki Lusk Norton, The Lancaster Hotel.

A *Houston Chronicle* article discussing Houston's top hotels put the Auditorium, the Ben Milam, and the DeGeorge in Houston's top five.³ Most of these swanky hotels had all of the modern amenities, including room service, ice water taps, mini-fridges that made ice in every room, and a primitive form of air conditioning known as "mechanical refrigeration." Many of the rooms actually went to wealthy permanent residents of the hotels, which had unrivaled standards for maid service.

The prosperity of some of the hotels did not last, as the Great Depression was just around the corner. Some of the wealthy clientele that could afford to live in one of Finger's buildings in the 1920s were unable to pay the same fees in the 1930s. The Plaza Hotel faced other unique challenges. Despite a good location, the hotel was too small, lacked adequate parking, and only provided views of office buildings and a grocery store. The developer, however, was so happy with the hotel that he soon decided to build another similar hotel, the Warwick (now Hotel ZaZa). It stood only three blocks away from the Plaza, was larger, had better parking, and offered beautiful views of Hermann Park.4

All five of Finger's Houston hotel buildings remained until 2012. The DeGeorge is a center for veterans, and the Plaza on Montrose Boulevard adjacent to the Museum of Fine Arts is now a bank. Two still operate as hotels, the Auditorium Hotel under the name Lancaster, and the Texas State Hotel as Club Quarters. In December 2012, the Ben Milam was demolished to make way for upscale apartments.5



The interior of the Ben Milam Hotel exhibited the tremendous detail in Finger's work. In 2012, the Ben Milam, which had been vacant for decades, was razed. Photo courtesy of Texas Bob Travels.

The first wave of art deco architecture in America, sometimes known as Zig-zag Deco, emphasized and exaggerated buildings' heights. Their often-fluted exteriors soared upwards, and the buildings would narrow the higher they went (such as Alfred C. Finn's Gulf Building). The modern designs would often be accented with bas-reliefs (sculptures with minimal depth built directly onto the exterior walls) that frequently used very angular designs and paid tribute to ancient civilizations and cultures. The style's popularity in the twenties is due in part to the discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922. The discovery inspired interest in Egyptian civilization all over the country, and people wanted to express their

new fascination with an ancient culture in a modern way, a task to which the art deco style was perfectly suited.⁶

Finger opened his own firm in 1923 and immediately began designing structures that boosted his reputation as one of Houston's finest architects. The first in 1925 was for his Jewish congregation, Temple Beth Israel. Its oversized columns create a larger-than-life feeling with a design inspired by ancient Egyptian architecture. Today the building serves as the Heinen Theater of Houston Community College with an unaltered exterior.



Built in 1925, Temple Beth Israel was designed for Finger's own Jewish congregation. Beth Israel used the structure until 1967. Today it serves as the Heinen Theater of Houston Community College.

Photo courtesy of Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

Although his hotel designs remained conservative, Finger's other work reflected a more progressive style than that of most architects of his day. In 1929, he built one of the city's most significant works of art deco architecture. Designed for a German social and recreational club, the Houston Turn-Verein Clubhouse was unlike anything in the city that had come before it. This one-story building of concrete and brick with cast stone ornaments emphasized horizontal lines, geometric shapes, and structural sturdiness. It featured details rooted in Greek antiquity and a stone sculpture of an eagle sitting above the main entrance.7 It represented one of Houston's first buildings to use the Zig-zag Deco architectural style almost exclusively. Although this style first became popular in Paris a few years earlier, it had its roots in design trends from Austria. Consequently, although the Turn-Verein was regarded as an art deco masterpiece, Finger described it as a product of the Viennese modern style known as the Sezession. The Turn-Verein demonstrated how Finger's exposure to Austrian design styles when he was young and his Austrian training, unique among Houston architects, impacted his work and prepared him to explore the new American moderne styles.8

While Finger preferred to design commercial and institutional structures, friends and wealthy Houston businessmen alike commissioned him to design their private homes. One of these friends, Abe Weingarten, a fellow congregant at Beth Israel, had Finger design his



Finger designed over thirty Weingarten's grocery stores for his friend and fellow Beth Israel congregant, Abe Weingarten. Most of these stores bore a similar design to the one shown here, in a more streamlined moderne style, which Finger explored later in his career. The style was characterized by metallic, smooth, rounded features and emphasized the horizontal instead of the vertical. Quite a few of the structures that Finger designed for Weingarten's still stand today, such as this one on Washington Avenue, but they have been altered so much that they bear only a skeletal resemblance to their original glory and are not easy to locate.

Photo from Bob Bailey Studio Photographic Archive, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.



In 1938, Joseph Finger designed this 5,500 square foot, four-bedroom home for Joseph Weingarten. This house sits at South MacGregor Way and Oakcrest Drive in the Riverside Terrace subdivision.



Houston City Hall stands as a lasting tribute to the art moderne architectural style for which Joseph Finger is known. Photo courtesy of wikicommons.

home in Riverside Terrace. In addition, over the course of their careers, Finger designed almost thirty Weingarten's grocery stores in Houston, some with interesting art deco detailing (and few of which still stand today).

Of Finger's residential clients, the most prominent was James M. West, a lumberman, cattleman, oil man, and banker.9 The home Finger designed for James West in the Clear Lake area in the 1920s was one of the largest in Houston at the time. Employing an Italian Renaissance style, Finger cared deeply about perfecting every detail of the home's design. He designed each guest bathroom, of which there were at least seven, to have a specific color scheme. When he could not find the specific color grout that he wanted for one of the bathrooms, he had coral shipped in from the South Pacific to create the right color. The home, which had multiple swimming pools, stables, and fish ponds, was valued at \$750,000 or the equivalent of \$9.7 million today. Finger designed many other homes, almost all of them in Riverside Terrace, which had the city's largest Jewish population at the time. Finger usually did not enjoy designing houses, actually claiming that the wives were too difficult to work with and had a frustrating tendency to change their minds.

In 1928, Finger designed a four-story building for Jesse Jones that was to house the Houston Chamber of Commerce on the upper floors and Levy Bros. Dry Goods on the street level. After the designs were made in the ornate art deco style, Jones turned the plans over to Alfred C. Finn to add five floors to the design. Another of Houston's prominent architects, Finn essentially served as Jones's personal architect. He stripped most of Finger's art deco embellishments from the design, and Jones had the building constructed according to Finn's revisions. Later, Jones had Finn alter the building again, adding thirteen more floors. The building still stands downtown today, but is unrecognizable due to modern redesigns. 10

Despite the competition that naturally may have arisen between Houston's two greatest architects, Finger and Finn later collaborated on one large-scale project that took seven years to complete: Jefferson Davis Hospital on Allen Parkway. By this point, the Great Depression had caused the ostentatious art deco style to fall out of fashion, and the more practical moderne style had taken its place. While Finger and Finn designed a less ornate building than would have been built in the 1920s, lack of funds forced them to strip away much of the decoration from their design. The hospital was completed in 1937 and demolished in 1999. The Federal Reserve Branch Building now occupies its former site. The collaboration may have made it seem like relations between the two architects had improved, but this was not entirely the case. Finger claimed that he had done most of the work on the hospital, and Finn received most of the credit.¹¹

Finger and Finn later found themselves fighting over one of the most important buildings in Houston, and the most important building of Finger's career. In 1928, the City Planning Commission's vision for Houston's fifth city hall encompassed a building, which would be part of a larger civic center and match the Spanish Renaissance style of the Houston Public Library's Julia Ideson Building. Houston voters approved bonds for the project, and the commission hired Finn to design this city hall. When Finn revealed his initial design, however, he unveiled a modernistic twenty-story skyscraper modeled on one recently built in Los Angeles. The Great Depression halted the entire project, but eventually plans reemerged to build a new city hall, without the accompanying civic center, and were approved in 1938. When it came time to choose an architect, then mayor R. H. Fonville wanted to give the contract to Finn because Fonville felt obligated to give the job to the architect who had worked on it in the early stages. The city council disagreed with the mayor about obligations to Finn and, instead, awarded the contract to Finger. Although Finger was chosen by city council, the switch from Finn to Finger resulted in a disastrous lawsuit for Finger. The court forced him to pay \$11,500 of his commission, the equivalent of about \$180,000 today, back to the city to redistribute the money to Finn and other architects who had drawn the previous city hall plans.12

When Finger returned with his modern design for city hall, Fonville, in favor of a more classical design, again criticized it as being "ultra-modernistic." Finger responded by saying, "Here in America we are rapidly developing our own type of architecture which is far above that of foreign countries . . . We are building for the masses, not the classes." In spite of Mayor Fonville's remarks, Finger's city hall design garnered much praise for its unification of both conservative and progressive trends in architecture.

The overall structure of this Depression-era, PWAfunded building is a simple and architecturally sound ten-story skyscraper that is narrower on top than it is at the ground level. The building is made from Texas Limestone, which was not Finger's first choice. Finger wanted to use Indiana Limestone, but Jesse Jones pressured Finger to go with the native Texas Limestone.¹⁴ Compared to this simplicity, the sculptures in relief surrounding the outside of the building are incredibly ornate, depicting idealistic scenes of industry, agriculture, and civic service. 15 The conservative, "stripped" moderne exterior contrasts with the height of moderne opulence found inside the building's main lobby. Four large murals depicting industry, culture, social activities, and municipal activities cover the ceiling and surround another mural of a stylized globe with Houston represented by a large lone star. Water fountains of marble dot the lobby walls, and signs using fonts typical of the 1930s

direct citizens to various public service departments. Finger's Houston City Hall combined conservative and progressive elements; it strongly represented Houston as a city whose past had led to its prosperity and that eagerly embraced the future.

Finger's success with City Hall earned him more contracts for public buildings, such as Houston's first airport terminal designed specifically for commercial passenger aviation. Finger's terminal and hangar opened at Houston Municipal Airport in 1940 and featured fun art deco aviation-themed ornamentation sculpted into the buildings. After falling into disrepair, the Houston Aeronautical Heritage Society restored and reopened the building as the 1940 Air Terminal Museum, which sits adjacent to Hobby Airport (formerly Houston Municipal Airport). It is one of a very small number of aviation-themed art deco structures remaining in the United States today.



The Temple of Rest art deco mausoleum is the second building Joseph Finger designed for Congregation Beth Israel. It is unique for many reasons, one of which is that Joseph Finger himself is interred there. His body is right next to that of his wife and some of Houston's most prominent Jewish families, including the Weingartens.

Photo by Jim Parsons.

Joseph Finger, like his fellow architects and citizens in all professions, suffered in the Great Depression when work was scarce. Unlike most others, though, Finger preferred to slowly pay off his debts rather than go into bankruptcy. The outbreak of World War II affected his financial situation so greatly that in 1940 he had a serious stroke, from which he never fully recovered. With declining health, Finger hired George Rustay as a new architectural partner. As Finger's health declined, Rustay gradually did more of the work in the firm for projects such as Battlestein's department store downtown, which was built in 1950. Finger died in 1953, and is interred in Beth Israel's Temple of Rest, an art deco mausoleum that he designed.

Josh Levine, a native Houstonian, is an undergraduate choral music education major in the Moores School of Music and a member of the Honors College at the University of Houston.

HOUSTON: CRAFT BREW CITY

By Anjelica Guevara

During Beer Week in Houston, Texas, a quick Google search will render over fifty events taking place in honor of beer. It is "Tap-a-cask" night at The West End, a new bar in the Galleria Area. Thursday is \$2 Dutch beer day at Onion Creek Café in The Heights, and Rudyard's in Montrose has its legendary "Burger and Beer" lunch special Monday through Friday. In addition, Houston has a handful of microbreweries that roll out special brews just for Beer Week, hosting beer-making and cooking classes around the city, and, making their weekly tours larger celebrations of libations than usual. This might come as a surprise to some, who are unaware of the colorful and decorated past of Houston's breweries and the love Houstonians have for their beer. In 1837, Houston emerged as a brand new city on the map, and although it had not built up much yet, it already had a saloon.¹

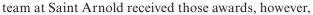
Saint Arnold Brewing Company began with its Amber beer and quickly developed a variety of beers to appeal to Houston's diverse palates.

Photo courtesy of Saint Arnold Brewing Company.



Beer has marked human societies since the Sumerian civilization some 6,000 years ago.² Egyptians used beer as a form of payment for those helping to build the pyramids, and in Medieval times, people drank beer more frequently than water, due to the water's high risk of contamination. So, it is no surprise that beer has taken on a cult-like following around the world. This adoration of beer has most recently hit the United States with a microbrewery craze. From Anchor Steam Brewery in San Francisco to Brooklyn Brewery in New York City, Americans have taken a liking to the art of brewing, and

our nation's young palate is maturing. Beer-lovers no longer confine themselves to drinking Bud or Miller, now they also drink the likes of No Label's El Jefe and Dog Fish Head's Midas Touch. Houstonians stand at the head of the beer connoisseur pack, with at least five microbreweries around town from which to choose with Saint Arnold Brewing Company as our oldest and most decorated, taking home three World Beer Cups in May 2012.³ Almost 100 years before Brock Wagner and his





Frantz Brogniez created prizewinning beers for Houston Ice and Brewing Company.

Photo courtesy of Magnolia Ballroom.

Houston Ice and Brewing Company's Southern Select and its brewer, Frantz Brogniez, beat out over 4,000 other entries winning the grand prize for best beer at the International Conference of Breweries in 1913.4

The long and storied history of brewing in Houston is said to have begun in 1849 when Peter Gabel, a Bavarian native, opened his own brewery. Although a couple of family-owned craft breweries operated throughout the late 1800s, the Peter Gabel Brewery was the most well-known.

Founded by 1893, Houston Ice and Brewing expanded its building and changed its name to Magnolia Brewery after taking over an old ice company's production plant. Upon opening, the Magnolia Brewery held a brewery tour and open house. The festivities began at 10:00 a.m., and the beer flowed for nearly twenty-four hours, quenching the thirst of an estimated 10,000 patrons. The open house continued the tradition of open breweries, where patrons came to taste the beer at its freshest, straight from the source. Today, most large-scale breweries and even the microbreweries give tours and tastings. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Magnolia Brewery produced about 35,000 barrels of beer a year.⁵





Magnolia Brewery became Houston's first commercial Protected Landmark. Photo courtesy of Magnolia Ballroom.

At the time, Houston breweries used the latest technologies, with steam-operated industrialized equipment in their production plants and newly-developed crown caps for beer bottles.⁶ Just as the city's beer-making boomed with three large-scale breweries employing a full complement of workers, who often got paid higher wages than laborers in other industries, Prohibition went into effect.

With the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment on January 20, 1920, the country went "dry," forcing sixteen Texas breweries to close. For Houston, Prohibition meant a loss of jobs as well as opportunity. Much like in other major American cities, one could still find beer and booze in Houston. Brewers with the know-how and spirit to produce contraband opened small-scale operations out of their homes. The nation's experiment with Prohibition failed miserably. Just a little over a decade later, in December of 1933, the states ratified the Twenty-first Amendment, repealing the law. By this time, the major players in the city of Houston had changed.

Howard Hughes Jr.'s Gulf Brewing Company produced the first legal batch of beer brewed in Houston post-Prohibition. Hughes partnered with Edwin Mergele, and they changed the face of beer in the city. The men sought out Brogniez, the man who had created the Southern Select beer that had won Houston's



Texas residents protest prohibition, making it clear that they want their beer.

Photo courtesy of Houston Press.

first beer award. Even though Mergele acquired the rights to distribute Anheuser-Busch products, the three men set out to brew the best beer under their own label. Brogniez, who continued brewing beer in Mexico during Prohibition, remained eager to use his Southern Select recipe; however, the beer's name and the recipe belonged to Houston Ice and Brewing Company.

Therefore, Brogniez, who came from a long line of brewers and had developed and honed his craft, decided to make another beer and called it "Grand Prize," a cheeky reference to his original award-winning brew. For a time, Houston Ice and Brewing Company and Gulf Brewing Company had a good-spirited rivalry, but Gulf Brewing Company sustained the battle.

As air conditioning became more standard and affordable in the 1930s, more and more people considered Houston "livable," and this changed the brewing game. First, it allowed Houston's existing microbreweries to develop new techniques and beers. Air conditioning also made it possible for large-scale, mass-produced beer from the Midwest to travel to Houston without affecting quality or taste.

By 1947, Gulf Brewing Company had peaked in its production at 483,000 barrels of beer annually. The company replaced Brogniez with Charles Lieberman, a chemist whose family had been craft brewing since the Civil War. Originally from Pennsylvania, Lieberman and his family came to Houston in 1948. He desegregated the brewery, and continued to amass awards for Gulf Brewery. Just as the company hit its stride, the taste desired by Texans and Houstonians moved decidedly away

from Grand Prize. The brewery waned in popularity, and Lone Star Brewery surpassed it in both production and bottles sold.

Soon, the sleeping giant of breweries was awakened and once again changed how beer was brewed in the Bayou City. By 1964, Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company decided to open a large-scale production plant in Houston.8 Eberhard Anheuser began Anheuser Brewing upon arriving in Saint Louis, Missouri, from his hometown in Germany. His daughter married Adolphus Busch, who took over the company upon his father-inlaw's death in 1880. Under the leadership of Adolphus Busch, the brewery as well as the entire beer industry advanced technologically. He became the first to pasteurize beer, to fully integrate refrigeration into production, and to extensively bottle beer.

At first, Busch's involvement in Houston brewing was neither large nor centered in Houston alone. While he supported the American Brewery Association in Houston, he also backed The Galveston Brewery in Galveston, Lone Star Brewery in San Antonio, and the Texas Brewing Company in Fort Worth. After the 1964 director's meeting held in Houston, it became evident that mass produced beer had a future home here. Anheuser-Busch opened a \$32 million, two-millionsquare-foot plant in 1965. Located off of Interstate-10 and the Washington Avenue exit, it can be seen from the freeway and the running trails at Memorial Park. The plant produced over 900,000 barrels of beer the first year. Currently, it employs over 900 men and women and produces over 12.5 million barrels per year.9 That said, it still does not produce enough beer for its Texas customers, and Anheuser-Busch ships beer in from other plants to quench the thirst of Texans.

In February 1968, the Gulf Brewing Company's plant

burned down, and that summer the company demolished the former brew house. By the 1970s, Houston had become a Bud town, and mass produced beer was all the average American thought to drink. One was either a "Bud man" or a "Miller man."

Just as finding a craft brewed beer became increasingly difficult, the home brewing rage hit the states. In 1983, the State of Texas voted to allow home brewing of beer. And Houston owes its fancy beer palate to this craze.

During the 1970s and 1980s, most Americans got their first real beer education abroad. Generally through European travel, Americans became aware of the wide array of brews available to the rest of the world. Houstonians were no exception. Either they experimented with their own brews or they tried to recreate a flavor they encountered elsewhere. By 1981, Houston home brewers had their own association, the Foam Rangers, which held an annual contest for the best beer, the Dixie Cup.

At this time, people interested in home brewing in Houston sought out DeFalco's Home Wine and Beer Supplies and its owner, Scott Birdwell, a member of the Foam Rangers. His shop became a hub for Houston home brewers, and he stood out as a well-known source for all things home brewing. Additionally, he held brewing classes. Today, Birdwell remains an integral part of the home brewing phenomena in Houston, and his shop, along with the Dixie Cup competition, remain important to Houstonians. The winning brews at the Dixie Cup competition are frequently the recipes Saint Arnold uses for its exclusive Divine Reserve releases.

During this home brewing craze, Brock Wagner, CEO

and founder of Saint Arnold Brewing Company, who had grown up in Belgium, gave home brewing a try. "My first beer that got me interested was a Pilsner Urquell. I went down to Hungry's in [Rice] Village, and I would try a new beer each visit." This gradual love for beer and flavors remained with Wagner after college when he became an investment banker. "I always wanted to own my own business," Wagner says during an interview at the current Saint Arnold brewery located downtown off of Lyons Avenue. After spending some time in investment banking, Wagner concluded that he was bored and thought back to his college brewing experiences. "I knew there was a risk in starting a microbrewery," but as a man with a good understanding of business as well as finances, he set out to create a microbrewery in Houston.

"I first reached out to Boulevard Brewing Company," Wagner recalls. Based in Colorado, this microbrewery was one he had toured, and Wagner thought it was a great place to start his education. The openness and camaraderie he experienced with the Boulevard Brewing Company indicated how the microbrewery industry operated. It took more than just a good working relationship with other brewers; Wagner needed investors. Similar to the way Howard Hughes financially backed the Gulf Brewing Company, Wagner also stumbled upon a wellknown investor. Ken Lay, of the now-notorious Enron Corporation, became one of the first big investors in Saint Arnold Brewing Company. Just as beer was said to mix well with oil in 1900s Houston, it apparently mixed well with Houston's new premier industry, energy.

By 1994, Saint Arnold opened its first location at



Industrial Park off of Loop 610 and Highway 290. Its first batch of beer went out to four Houston locations, three of which still operate today: The Ginger Man, a staple pub in Rice Village known for its varied beer selection and knowledgeable staff; Star Pizza, a local pizzeria with great ties to the city, which continues to support its local breweries; and the Richmond Arms Pub, the city's oldest British pub, that boasts over 100 beers on tap and a clientele of avid beer lovers.

Saint Arnold quickly reached its capacity and could no longer brew enough beer to match the high demand of its clientele. Wagner began to look for a larger location and found just the spot in an abandoned Houston Independent School District (HISD) building, the brewery's current location. Nevertheless, for Wagner brewing beer was not just about making money. This can be seen in the Saint Arnold mission statement to brew and sell the

best beer in Texas and to create an institution of which Houston can be proud. Wagner and the company donated more money than it made its first year in business and began a grass roots advertising campaign that remains synonymous with the brewery today.

First the company painted a car in a tie-dyed pattern, stamped Saint Arnold (the beer's logo) on the car, and drove it around town. In a city known for its Art Car Parade, one can be sure that this car caused a stir. After that, it continued to advertise locally and to make connections with bar managers, bartenders, and patrons. The brewery opened for tours, much like the brewers of yore, and in 2011, more than 34,000 people attended. Saint Arnold also hosts a number of pub crawls throughout the city at different times of year, including the Montrose Halloween Pub Crawl, with a private tasting at the brewery as the top prize.

In 2005, Saint Arnold brewers began brewing the Divine Reserve line of beers. Considered to be incredibly unique, these brews are marketed to the true beer-lover. A six pack runs about fifteen dollars. Aware that this beer is not for folks who make their beer decision based upon price, Wagner states, "I wanted to create a beer that was worth the money." Based on the beer loving community's response, he has. The Divine Reserve releases look like modern-day blockbuster movie debut lines. Patrons line up outside local liquor stores hours before the stores open to ensure they get their hands on a six-pack. Wagner, though not surprised that Houstonians recognize the quality and precision that goes into the brewing of the Divine Reserve releases, admits to being shocked by the



Legend has it that when exhausted parishioners traveling to recover the remains of their bishop, Arnulf of Metz (c. 582 – 640), prayed to him to intercede on their behalf, a small amount of beer they carried multiplied to quench their thirst to finish the journey.

Photo courtesy of Saint Arnold Brewing Company.

overwhelming response to his beer. "We never had any clue that they would explode in popularity the way they did." This is understandable. In a city that had one microbrewery in 1994, it is hard to believe that a barley wine mead or Russian imperial stout sold like hot cakes.

In 2009, the brewery moved to its current location on Lyons Avenue, and Silver Eagle began distributing Saint Arnold products, giving them access to far more bars and venues. "Suddenly, we are being shipped by the same guys that deliver the mass produced products," Wagner states. It definitely helped to awaken other beer makers and lovers to Houstonians' desire for more complex, interesting, and off-centered

In March 2008, Southern Star Brewery Company opened its doors in Conroe, Texas. Saint Arnold no longer stood as the only craft brewery in town. The Southern Star Brewery owes some of its begin-

nings to Saint Arnold and not just for establishing the craft brew market here in Houston. As Saint Arnold outgrew its old brewing equipment, Southern Star bought it from them. Another super suburb of Houston announced a brewery, No Label Brewery in Katy, Texas, which has boomed. Already having to expand its facilities, No Label hosts a weekend tour like Saint Arnold and draws a sizeable crowd with live music and food. Also, located downtown and relatively close to Saint Arnold, is Karbach Brewing Company. This brewery boasts a brewer who wrote the book on creating American style hefeweizen, and Karbach's Weiss Versa Wheat is a local favorite. With all of these thriving and growing craft breweries here in Houston, it is safe to say that Houston has established itself as an up-and-coming craft-beer city. Houston craft breweries have forged an active community. Wagner notes, "We have monthly brewery meetings here in Houston. Myself and the other brewers get together and talk shop, introduce new beer for feedback."

With so many bars, breweries, and beers available to Houstonians, it can be hard to choose. As you meet up with friends for happy hour and decide on that pitcher, consider one of the local brewery options. After all, Houston breweries have been making some of the greatest beer in the world for over a century.

Cheers! Prost! Salud! Sláinte!

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BOBBIE LEE, Da Mayor of Fifth Ward: The Black Invisible Social Construct

By Aaron P. Goffney



"I ain't no ordinary nigger; I'm only talking to you because of Joshua. I don't just let anyone in my house, but any friend of Joshua is a friend of mine."

You could have heard a pin drop on plush carpet. The mood turned quiet; he had my undivided attention. Joshua Sutton, a dear friend of mine, introduced me to a warrior, an organizer, and now friend, Bobbie Lee, Da Mayor of Fifth Ward. As I sat with Bobbie Lee, I immediately felt his energy. His passion for war and history steamed my interest. I knew this man had something to say. Upon our introduction, we shook hands, he asked me to state a little bit about myself. I told him that I am a single father majoring in political science and history. He then handed me *The Art of War* by Sun Tzu and told me that no community organizer or great warrior succeeded without reading this book.

With a deep voice and a commanding tone, Lee formally introduced himself, "My name is Robert E. Lee III; I was born in Jasper, Texas. My mother was born in Jasper County and my father Henderson County." He spoke on the controversy of his name, Robert E. Lee, saying that his father named him purposely after the Confederate General. "My name was both a gift and a curse," he said. Lee explained that he grew fond of General Lee and had great admiration for his horse Traveler that carried the general through the entire Civil War.

Located near the intersection of Lyons Avenue and Jensen Drive and adjacent to Crawford Elementary School, "The Fruits of the Fifth" mural welcomes visitors to the ward and features twenty-one individuals either from Fifth Ward or strongly associated with it. Reginald Adams from the Museum of Cultural Arts Houston directed Phillis Wheatley High students in building the mural in 2006.

Photo by Patricia Pando.



Robert E. Lee III later became Bobbie Lee. His parents moved to the Fifth Ward community for work after World War II. His father fought in the war but never mentioned anything about it. The young lad only gathered information about the war through his father's friends. "The war changed my father's life – returning home he introduced me to the Quran in 1947." Lee's father came full circle with a vengeance in his heart like most soldiers during this time subjected to oppression. "Many black soldiers who returned from the war were ready to confront the injustices of black people." After all, many had served in North Africa and fought in the Battle of the Bulge for the sake of freedom. Lee's father was an officer in the 761st under General Patton in World War II.

Raised in the Black Underworld at his parents' bar and restaurant, Lee's Congo Bar and Grill, Bobbie Lee recalled his father being a hustler refusing to have his wife work in a white woman's kitchen. No one talks about the Black Underworld. It served as an economic system and a justice system that provided protective services against violence. It also boosted the confidence of progressive movements seeking to better black urban society. Funding the likes of the NAACP and the Urban League as well as overseeing gambling, the numbers racket, and "female sex merchants," the Underworld played a dominant role in the communities' basic needs. "Preachers didn't have no money, teachers didn't have no money, funding came from the black gangsters — through gambling, bootlegging and female prostitution." He went on to mention, "police didn't care about a black

rapist in urban neighborhoods
— justice came from the invisible social construct."

The Black invisible social construct refers to a societal dynamic that serves multiple purposes. When police failed to pursue criminals, certain community members in the neighborhood took it upon themselves to dispense justice. Bobbie Lee also applied the term to the various mentors who influenced great pioneers.

The Black Underworld did not agree with integration. The middle class aspiring to move out could destroy the black communities, thus eliminating the economic growth of Fifth Ward and other areas. Many great historic businesses grew up in the segregated Fifth Ward; the Lyons, De Luxe,

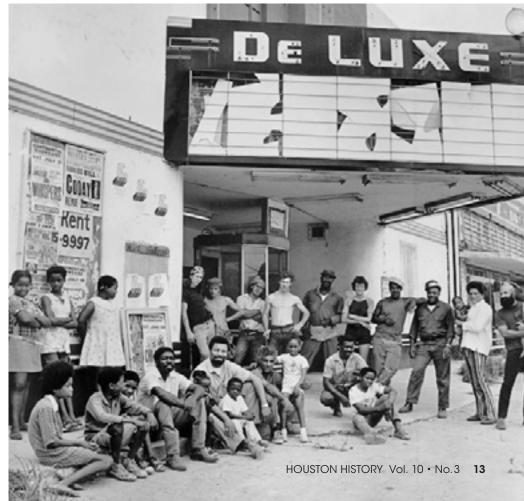
Community volunteers and Menil staff joined community coordinator Mickey Leland (second from the right) in converting the abandoned De Luxe Theater into an art oasis in 1971.

Photo courtesy of the Menil Archives, Menil Collection, Houston.

Roxy, and Justin's theaters drew packed crowds on Saturdays with kids while their parents shopped. Lee called this a circular distribution of income because the white merchants did not want the businesses of blacks. "We had an economic base because the white folks didn't want our money." Graduates of Prairie View, Tuskegee, and Huston-Tilliston opened other businesses, including tailoring shops, nursery schools, and restaurants. He added, "All of the great minds were forced together during segregation."

In 1958 and 1959, massive police raids took place in Houston's Third and Fifth Wards and in Galveston and Dallas. Police officers searched for gambling, numbers racketeering, and prostitution after realizing the amount of money being handled in these communities. Lee's father later fled Houston because he feared being caught; he spent the remainder of his life in New York. Growing up in the family business as the oldest child, Lee was exposed to more than the average nine-year-old running the streets of Fifth Ward.

One night, when Bobbie Lee was about eighteen years old and working at Lee's Congo Bar and Grill, he encountered a "disrespectful regular." Upset at the language that the man used in front of his mother, Lee dragged the man from his seat and physically persuaded the patron to take a different attitude. He believed that his mother was going to praise him as her hero, but instead she took him to the back room and fired him. She said, "Junior, everything that we have, everything we own, our food, our clothes, home, cars, comes from those





Congressman Mickey Leland, seated, with his Chief-of-Staff Rodney Ellis.

Photo courtesy of U.S. Congress, Wikimedia commons.

people out there, the customers. Now junior, you fired - it wouldn't sound right that Selma Lee son is jumping on the customers."

When the two worked together in the back room, Lee's father implored his son to be a strong black man and never settle. Though his father may not have always shown him a proper way to go about achieving this notion, it was his mother who gave him the positive influence to follow his father's ideals. From those words grew a different man who sought to improve his life not only for himself but also for others in his circle.

Lee battled with his role in the streets because of his influences as a child growing up in the Underworld. He praised his mother for showing him better paths in life, bringing out a better side of Lee that easily could have been lost. He knew he had to change his ways and also encouraged his friends to take another route, urging them to strategize and organize in their neighborhoods and abroad. Many young males stray down a narrow path of crime not realizing the greatness they have to offer the world. Recognizing loved ones who helped deter him as a misguided child. Lee admits that if it was not for his mother, he could have ended up completely in the Underworld. But it was up to Lee to make the change. This is the catalyst that prompted him to make a difference in the Fifth Ward community.

During Bobbie Lee's high school days at Phillis Wheatley, he ran with his younger brother El Franco Lee, Mickey Leland, and Karl Hampton—his rat pack brothers—strategizing in the fight for the rights of African Americans at the height of racial injustice. I was surprised to learn that Lee's friendship with Leland began in their early childhood years.

The two met at Acton Elementary, by a crosswalk near Leland's route going home. Lee described how they met, "When Mickey was a little youngster, he looked white, light skin with grey eyes. I and a boy were crossing guards, and every morning the Broussard brothers would chase him. Every morning he'll be running! So one day

I figured I'd stop it!" He added that throughout his life, Mickey had a calm attitude and never fought. "I snatched one of the Broussard boys and slung them down, I loved to fight because I was raised around night clubs. I walked Mickey home, met his mother and we stayed friends for the remainder of his life."

During our conversation about Mickey Leland, I could hear the passion in Lee's voice as he detailed the attributes that Leland brought to the table. Lee explained that Leland was a leader and possessed those qualities early in life, "Mickey never smoked, never drank, he was a great athlete; he ran track, went both ways on the football field, and had great leadership qualities - Mickey was a wonderful human being."

Bobbie Lee helped introduce Leland, who became the representative for the Texas 18th Congressional district and later the area's U.S. Congressman, and El Franco Lee, who serves as Precinct One Harris County commissioner, to politics. In all-night meetings, he taught them how to organize Rainbow Coalitions in the community. Bobbie Lee believed strongly that all poor races shared a parallel of inequity. He believed that regardless of one's skin color, coming together in numbers served as a better strategy for resistance by people who share the same oppression. Lee pointed out, "It was real easy to organize around racism, real easy to organize around hate, because everyone has an oppressor. Racism is a satanic politic, because we are not born to hate. We are not born a racist. We are born in an act of love. There is no who's who in heaven for a racist."

During this era, Lee became interested in track and developed a passion for the high jump. Participating in integrated track meets required tough skin to endure the taunting of white critics who refused to accept the presence of a young black man regardless of his talent. "They gave us hell; all we heard was 'nigga, nigga, nigga." I and another guy by the name of Darryl Dotson were the only black guys from Phillis Wheatley at this time to run in any integrated track meets." He adds, "I remember having to change in my coach's car." Surprisingly, Lee's favorite high jumper, who he considered a hero, was a communist from the USSR by the name of Valeriy Brumel. Despite the challenges at Wheatley, Lee earned a track scholarship to Southern University where he broke records among his peers.

Though he enjoyed participating in sports, Lee applauded musicians for their cerebral thinking and the connections they made to struggle for social, racial, and economic inequality of blacks. Just as athletes such as Muhammad Ali and Jim Brown were activists, the musicians, poets, and writers gained respect and popularity for their talent and outspokenness. During this era, musicians performed at night clubs in Fifth Ward and played for upper-middle-class whites, but they remained ostracized in many ways. Lee remembered, "When artist[s] like Count Basie and Duke Ellington came to Houston, they couldn't live in them white hotels; they had to sleep in the black community."

Ending his track career at Southern, Bobbie Lee was

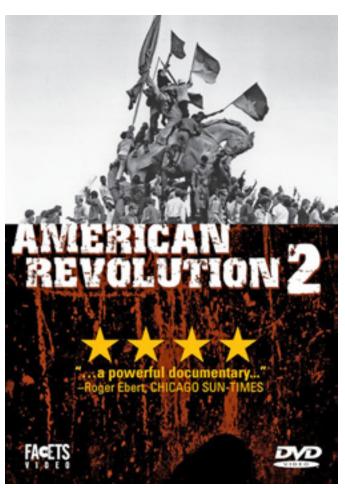
accepted to Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). VISTA was created as part of the War on Poverty to prevent and reduce poverty across the United States. Working in the handicapped division allowed Lee to train in archery, baseball, and track and field for the blind. "When I got to the school in San Francisco, I've never seen so many handicapped kids in my life man, it changed my whole life." Bobbie Lee later moved to Chicago after being promoted to a sister branch for the domestic Peace Corps, located in the South Side where the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican gang, controlled the territory. Bobbie Lee interacted with the gangs at the YMCA where members rented rooms as they became vacant. Coming from an Underworld background, Lee successfully reached out to them in a positive way because they respected him. "I had an instinct because I was raised on the water front of the Ship Channel at Lee's Congo Bar and Grill, I didn't play marbles as a kid." Bobbie Lee knew of gang activities like robbing and "slanging dope." He served to keep them out of trouble by embracing their friendship. Lee reminded me in the interview that he is "non-short of ordinary" and was true to encouraging the youth to find other alternatives than the Underworld.

In 1968, Bobbie Lee's cousin, Black Panther Bobbie Seale, introduced him to the Panther movement. Taking his aggressive attitude to the streets, Lee soon showcased his ability to organize during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Michael Gray, a film producer from Chicago, discussed Chicago's South Side neighborhood. "I was upstairs in the office working when my counterpart came in and told me that the police were violently beating residents in the streets. I couldn't believe it. Sure as a day, I went downstairs with my camera to see white and Spanish folks subjected to police brutality."2

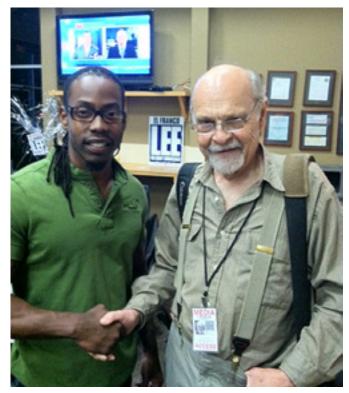
With many people protesting for various reasons, such as the Vietnam War, civil rights, economic inequities, and police brutality, violence broke out across Chicago. Invited to a neighborhood meeting by the Young Lords and the Young Patriots (some former members of the Ku Klux Klan) to help strategize for the welfare of the community, Lee found himself starting a Rainbow Coalition. This group helped to push the issue of economic inequity in Chicago without provoking the police to violence. Community organizing strategies helped spread the message and demands for the residents. With the Black Panther movement becoming involved in helping other races, Bobbie Lee took advantage and gathered a coalition of great minds. Michael Gray's film, the American Revolution 2, documents Lee's involvement.

Bobbie Lee's efforts in Chicago were short lived, however. After the police gunned down Black Panther leader Fred Hampton during a police raid of his home, the original Black Panther Party soon dismantled. Shortly after, the words of Lee's mother and father influenced him to come home. He remembered them saying, "You can protest about the pig all day in Chicago, but it means nothing until you return home and work in these communities."

Upon Lee's return to Fifth Ward, he learned that the



Cover of director/producer Michael Gray's American Revolution 2 featuring Bobbie Lee in the segment on The Rainbow Coalition. Photo courtesy of Michael Gray.



Aaron P. Goffney and director Michael Gray at El Franco Lee's postelection victory party, 2012. Photo courtesy of Aaron P. Goffney.



Ebony pencil sketch of People's Party II gathered in front of their headquarters on Dowling Street on July 26, 1970. Their guns represent their right to bear arms and to protect themselves. On the same day, they were involved in a shootout with the Houston Police Department killing People's Party member Karl Hampton.

Drawing by Agron P. Goffney

Houston police shot and killed his friend Karl Hampton (no relation to Fred Hampton) at the Black People's Party II office on Dowling Street across from Emancipation Park in July 1970. "I warned Karl not to open his office on Dowling Street because it'll wolf the police, but he didn't listen." Lee discussed the racism that came with police brutality and the crimes of whites against blacks that mostly went unpunished. Karl Hampton's story is told by authors who research Houston police hate crimes and I was overwhelmed to be sitting with a close friend of Karl's after reading about him.

Over two decades later, Ku Klux Klan members tied Bobbie Lee's cousin, James Byrd to the back of a pick-up truck and dragged him to his death in his hometown of Jasper, Texas, in 1998. During this trying moment in his life, Lee went to Jasper armed with a rifle to guard his family's homes alongside other relatives. Realizing events such as these were hitting close to home, Lee began to take another approach, focusing on educating communities about issues through his artistry.

Lee dedicated the rest of his life to creating pictorial-artistic-political satire collages of various subject matters. He writes blunt opinions in captions about the ills of racism and its ability to still exist in today's society. His artwork displays the deaths of his comrades, the fallen soldiers of the Black Panther Party, but also promotes the growth in the black community by showcasing the likes of President Barack Obama for his groundbreaking accomplishments. Da Mayor of Fifth Ward was rewarded

with Texas Senate Resolution #2 for the Fifth Ward Working Class for his devotion and art work that uplift the community and create awareness.

Bobbie Lee started the Houston Trailblazer Association with friend Patricia Smith Prather. They highlighted the great native black leaders that passed through Houston such as Hiram Wilson. An excerpt of his story can be found at the Kitty King Powell Library in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. Bobbie Lee influenced his brother at a young age to enter politics, and El Franco Lee was sworn into office in 1979 as the first African American to serve as Fifth Ward's Precinct One Harris County commissioner. He recently won reelection in 2012 by soaring numbers.



Lee continues to inspire the youth, the elderly, and the sick even though he suffers from multiple sclerosis.

Photo by and courtesy of Michael Gray.

Lee turned seventy on December 16, 2012, and suffers from multiple sclerosis, but he continues to inspire the youth, elderly, and those dying of diseases such as cancer and AIDS. Bobbie Lee, Da Mayor of Fifth Ward, helped guide great minds, touched a lot of hearts, and encouraged many of his peers to do better. Black leaders and politicians who stand on the main stage were developed through the invisible social construct. Many of our leaders today have a story of someone close to them who played a significant role in their life, someone like Bobbie Lee who helped educate behind the scenes. Though few people outside of the black community know of Lee's contributions, his unselfish acts should motivate the minds of all young people to grab life by the steering wheel and direct future paths regardless of their past.

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Students of Heights High School benefited from the creation of the school's library by the members of the Heights Woman's Club, shown above, in the early 1900s.

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

t the turn of the twentieth century, the Houston
Heights was a budding community, the pride of some
of Houston's elite, but its developer, Oscar Martin
Carter, envisioned the area as a suburb for everyone, not

just the wealthy. Carter's plans included both industrial opportunities and beautiful homes in a park-like setting. With its easy access to and from Houston via electric trolley, the Heights stood to become a booming suburb.²

As builders constructed the first homes in the early 1890s, Carter's vision came together. Soon, three-story Victorianstyle homes sprung up along Heights Boulevard, simply called "the Boulevard." The first

house built on the road was for Daniel Denton Cooley, who brought his family to the Heights where he served as the general manager for Carter's business, the Omaha and South Texas Land Company. The Cooley home, located at 1802 Heights Boulevard, boasted two beautiful wrap-around porches, eight bedrooms with attached

bathrooms, central heat, and a tube communication system.³

The Boulevard anchored the community from North to South. At 150 feet wide, it welcomed both citizens and

guests from nearby Houston on its streetcar rails. Carter took care to retain as many of the original trees as possible on the Boulevard's wide esplanade. In the 1908 marketing pamphlet, "The Key to the City of Houston," composed by local women's clubs, the wife of the Heights's first mayor, William Love, wrote with pride about the street's beauty, "One of the beautiful and distinctive features of the boulevard is the esplanade, adorned with forest trees, as na-

ture planted them, in grand and unstudied grace."4

Part of the Heights's success resulted from Carter's purchase of the two competing Houston streetcar companies. By 1891, he electrified the streetcars, which no longer needed horses to pull them along the rails. In addition to keeping the streets clean of horse droppings,

"It's a labor of love, but it's also rewarding. I can't really explain why. ... It's just the

feeling of community."

Shea Hill, current president Heights Woman's Club, evening group.¹



Omaha and South Texas Land Company built seventeen houses, primarily on Heights Boulevard and Harvard Street. Of these, five became homes for Oscar Martin Carter and his associates, including Daniel Denton Cooley. Shown here is 1802 Harvard Street, which along with 443 and 1102 Heights Boulevard are the last three of the original seventeen homes that remain standing today.

Photo by Aimee L. Bachari.

the electric streetcars made it more feasible for people to live farther away from where they worked in Houston's downtown commercial district. The Heights soon became Houston's most popular suburb.⁵

During this time, a movement swept the nation. Woman's clubs sprung up in cities from New York City to San Francisco. Each club was unique in its own way, but all were created for the purpose of bettering their members and society. According to an August 1897 article in the *Gulf Messenger*, these clubs were "all progressive; all tending toward reform, redress of wrong and the advance of important interests."

Influenced by this air of reform Houston Heights women decided to start a club to improve themselves through the study and discussion of literature. On January 15, 1900, sixteen women met at the home of Mrs. C. R. Cummings and formed the



Heights Woman's Club president Pearl Dexter and her husband, Fred, built a Queen Anne-style home in 1899 at 224 West 17th Street that was known for its exquisite Rose Lawn where they hosted many parties and social gatherings.

Courtesy of Anne Sloan, Images of America: Houston Heights. Heights Literary Club. Shortly after, when Cummings moved away, Kate McKinney took her place as the club's leader.⁷

The Heights Literary Club was hugely popular and membership grew steadily. Club members met weekly at the home of the president, and when membership quickly outgrew the space available at the president's home, Carter volunteered meeting space in the Heights' waterworks building on 19th Street.⁸

In 1905, the club elected Pearl Dexter president of the Heights Literary Club. As president, she spearheaded a campaign to establish a library at Heights High School, following the club's motto of "Seek Wisdom and strive to do good." The clubwomen raised funds to purchase the school's first books, starting a long-standing commitment to school and public libraries, and influencing future Heights generations.⁹

Just a few short years later, thanks to increased membership and a desire to expand beyond their literary focus, the women in the Heights Literary Club decided to evolve into a departmental club. They expanded with departments for music study, civic needs, arts and crafts, social events, and literature. In order to logistically serve an even greater membership base, the club needed a home of its own. After the Cooleys donated the land at 1846 Harvard for this purpose in 1910, the ladies of the club immediately began planning the clubhouse. Committees put together fundraisers, including a carnival for the neighborhood children and plays at the local theater to raise the monies needed to start construction.10

The original clubhouse plans called for a \$4,000 building, equivalent to approximately \$100,000 today, but frugality prevailed. The women decided to "build within our means," and instead, slated a \$1,500 structure for the lot. The modest building near the corner of Harvard and 20th Street consisted primarily of a large meeting room with a high stage. Kate McKinney, who served as both president and historian, wrote in 1933, "While not of a distinct architecture, it [the clubhouse] has served sufficiently and well the needs of

the organization and has helped to promote the feeling of unity and fraternity which has been characteristic of the club since its inception thirty three years ago." 11

Each department of the newly reorganized club donated something for use in the house including a piano, window treatments, a library table, and 100 folding chairs. In October 1912, the clubhouse officially opened and the Heights Woman's Club was born.¹²

Interestingly, the piano cost \$1,500, the same amount as the entire clubhouse. It comes as no surprise, then, that the women were quite protective of it. Meeting minutes in 1912 noted that the piano "cannot be played by rough or ragtime players."13

The Heights Woman's Club carried on many of the traditions of the Heights Literary Club. For example, during member roll call, the women responded with a note about that week's topic of discussion. In 1913, the literary department listed the expected responses in its annual yearbook. Most roll calls required a response of the member's favorite quote from that week's book or play. At a meeting in March, however, the department reached beyond the written word and held a discussion on silent "Moving Pictures," with roll call responses about the member's experience with movies.14

Just a few years after the clubhouse was finished, World War I began. Under club president Mrs. A. B. Sheldon's direction, the clubhouse hosted a variety of events for local soldiers' entertainment. Once the United



Helen Cooley and her husband donated land for the Heights Woman's Club. Members decided to build a clubhouse, and the women held a carnival in 1911 to raise money for the building. The carnival was held on the Heights playground, now the site of Hamilton Junior High School.

Photo courtesy of Anne Sloan, Images of America: Houston Heights.

States entered the war, the clubhouse became home to a Red Cross unit. Instead of holding meetings, the members came together to make bandages to send to the troops. After the war ended, the Heights Woman's Club resumed its regular activities.¹⁵

Throughout the years, the clubhouse underwent some minor changes. In the early 1930s, the club added a kitchen to the house, installed modern lighting, and lowered the stage. In fact, as the current style for women's skirts became increasingly shorter, the club lowered the stage two separate times to prevent too much being exposed to those sitting below.16

Over the years, the members of the Heights Woman's Club have represented a veritable "who's who" of Heights society. Wives of Heights founders and mayors often served as president of the club. Other women were also wellknown outside of the group. Mildred Grambling Dupuis, who served as president of the Woman's Club from 1951-1953, was one of the first female pharmacists in the state and was also honored as the nation's "Outstanding Pharmacist" in 1938. Another member,

Kate McKinney, a former president, and charter member of the Woman's Club, was married to a Heights founder. Both she and her husband loved children, and despite never having their own, they left the bulk of their estate to the DePelchin Faith Home in Houston.¹⁷

The Heights Woman's Club's most well-known member, however, may not have actually been a member at all, but her influence can be seen throughout the club's history. Hortense Sparks Ward became the first woman in the state of Texas admitted to the Bar. She achieved this historic distinction in 1910 and later founded the law firm Ward and Ward with her husband. A passionate advocate for the rights of women, specifically their property rights, Ward spoke on the "Legal Status of Women in Texas" at the very first club meeting held in the new house in October of 1912. This clearly stood out as an important topic to the Heights Woman's Club at the time. At the end of the 1912-1913 yearbook, which acted as a calendar as well as a membership list, the women included a section on the "Laws of Married Women in Texas." These four pages informed the members of their legal rights in relation to everything from ownership of property to wills and divorce, radical rhetoric in the early twentieth century. After all, women did not gain the right to vote in the United States until eight years later in 1920. Nevertheless, the "progressive" nature of the woman's club movement made Ward's suffrage activities relevant to the members of the club.18



The Heights Woman's Club clubhouse has served as the center of activity for over 100 years. During World War I and World War II, club activity was suspended and the house became a hub for making bandages for the Red Cross. In the last five years, membership has grown over forty percent to approximately 140, with many members joining in the evening group that was instituted in 2007.

Photo courtesy of Heights Woman's Club.

Just five months after Ward spoke to the club at their inaugural meeting, she accompanied Texas Governor Oscar Colquitt when he signed a bill into law that gave women the property rights that they had long deserved. In a nod to Ward's importance in the movement, Governor Colquitt handed her his pen after signing the bill.¹⁹

Ward is perhaps most well-known for her service on the Texas Supreme Court bench in 1925. The governor appointed her as chief justice along with an all-female panel for just one case that involved the Woodmen of the World, a fraternal benefit society. The usual bench recused themselves for this case as they were all members of the Woodmen.²⁰

Ambiguity surrounds Ward's membership in the Heights Woman's Club. In the annual handbooks archived at the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Ward's name never appears as a member. However, in the club history included at the end of the 1937 book, the club historian refers to Ward as "our active member." Perhaps the members assumed Ward belonged to the club due to her involvement, or the club granted her honorary membership.

In 1926, president Mrs. O. F. Carroll inspired the club

to renew its commitment to Heights area libraries. The club made a donation to help beautify the new public library on Heights Boulevard. Even after her presidency, Carroll continued to encourage the club to support the library. In 1939, the Heights Woman's Club played an instrumental role in raising funds for an outdoor reading garden at the Heights Public Library.²²

As they had done previously, the club once again stepped up to help when the United States entered World War II, and the women turned over the house to the Red Cross for the purposes of making surgical bandages. From 1943 to 1944, a total of 2,669 volunteers made 1,176,699 bandages at the clubhouse.²³

Today, the club is experiencing a resurgence along with its neighborhood. After suffering through the oil crash of the 1980s and a general flight to the suburbs by Heights residents, the neighborhood has again emerged as a place where people want to live and raise their families. According to Shea Hill, the current president of the Heights Woman's Club's evening group, membership had dwindled in the late 1900s. With the addition of the evening group in 2007, the club began to reach



Houston History advisory board member and the first president of the evening group, Anne Sloan with Council Member Ellen Cohen and Judge Ed Emmett at the dedication of the historical marker for the Houston Heights Woman's Club.

Photo courtesy of Houston Heights Woman's Club.

out to the newer, younger Heights residents. Hill said of the older group that meets during the day, "A lot of the ladies that come to the Heritage group don't even live in the Heights anymore. They left to go to the suburbs like everyone else. So now you find with the evening group, it's all Heights people. It's people that find out about this little treasure and you learn about the history of it."24 In the last five years, membership in the Heights Woman's

Club has grown forty percent to around 140 members, many of them joining the evening

In many ways, the new evening group started its own traditions. The Witches' Luncheon every October draws a crowd of members eager to don their witch costumes and socialize with friends. They also honor those who have gone before them. In conjunction with the South Texas School of Law, the club hosts an annual Hortense Ward Appreciation Dinner that rewards a female law student that has shown an interest in furthering women's causes in her community.²⁵

A plan is also in the works to once again partner with the Heights Public Library on an upcoming improvement project, continuing the work of Dexter and Carroll.

Thanks to years of hard work by local historian and club member Anne Sloan, the Heights Woman's Club clubhouse received a historic marker in 2011. Many leaders in the Houston community attended the dedication ceremony and celebrated a century of the

club. According to Hill, the ceremony was especially moving because the women knew they had "saved a little piece of history."26

When asked what draws her to be active in the club, Hill talks about the friendships and the feeling of community. "It just sort of felt like home when I was here [at the clubhouse]," she said. The current members focus on helping each other and helping others in the community, just like the founding members did. "You think about what the women accomplished, and they didn't even have the right to vote, and they managed to pull all of this together. It's pretty inspiring," remarked Hill. She continued, "I hope that the difference that we're making now helps the club stand another 100 years."27

By focusing on continuing to build a sense of community among members, giving back to others, and nurturing friendships, the Heights Woman's Club will thrive for years to come. As quoted in the 1937 handbook, "If a man does

not make new acquaintances as he advances through life he will soon find himself alone. A man should keep his friendships in constant repair."28

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Over sixty women attended the successful 4th Annual Witches Luncheon at Kris Bistro. Photo courtesy of Houston Heights Woman's Club.



Maxwell House, Good to Its Last Drop

By Olivia Johnson

Tew York City has the Statue of Liberty, Chicago has Cloud Gate, aka "The Bean," and St. Louis has the Gateway Arch. Houstonians have Maxwell House. In case you have never noticed this classic Houston landmark, it is visible from most any freeway, downtown building, and the Medical Center. Generation "Z" is only vaguely familiar with Maxwell House, but ask any parent or grandparent and they will describe it the same way: "The coffee house with the giant neon cup." For many commuters on Houston highways, Maxwell House serves as a marker for trips across town. Located in Second Ward and adjacent to downtown destinations such as the BBVA Compass Stadium and Minute Maid Park, the Maxwell House plant reminds residents traveling into town via Highway 59, I-45, or I-10 East, that they are

Maxwell House coffee is not native to Houston, however. The recipe originated with Joel O. Cheek, a traveling salesman for a grocery firm. Born in 1852 in Burkesville, Kentucky, Cheek's initial knowledge of coffee was minimal. He befriended Roger Smith, a British coffee broker who could tell the origins of the coffee just by smelling the green, unroasted beans. Like Smith, Cheek shared a passion for coffee and developed a roast for the best coffee in the South. Upon perfecting the recipe, they offered Maxwell House Hotel twenty pounds of the premium roast to sample and serve in its restaurant. Established in 1859 by former Civil War colonel John Overton Jr. in Nashville, Tennessee, Maxwell House Hotel was one of the city's most popular lodging facilities. Its guests included presidents, senators, mayors, businessmen, and famous entertainers. The hotel's restau-

rant agreed to offer Cheek's recipe exclusively to its guests, resulting in an overwhelming response as the guests began asking how they could take the sweet aroma home with them.

Cheek joined John W. Neal, a lawyer in a grocery firm, and started a distributing company called the Cheek-Neal Coffee Company, which later became Maxwell House Coffee Company. The new name gained consumer interest but none like the storied endorsement from President Theodore



Joel Cheek devised the recipe for the special blend of Maxwell House Coffee. Photo courtesy of Mondelez International.

Roosevelt. According to company lore, while visiting Andrew Jackson's home, the Hermitage, Roosevelt exclaimed the coffee was "Good to the last drop!" With that, Cheek knew the company had the potential to become one of the largest names in the coffee industry, one of the most profitable industries in the country and global economy. He moved operations to the first location in Jacksonville, Florida. The factory employed skilled and unskilled workers, with women occupying various administrative positions and serving as taste-testers. The second plant was in Houston, Texas, followed by



Hoboken, New Jersey, and San Leandro, California.

The company became a national success when Postum (later General Foods, and now Kraft Foods) purchased it from Cheek-Neal in 1928 for more than \$40 million dollars. Cousins and investors in Maxwell House, Leslie and Mabel Cheek used profits from the sale to build Cheekwood on one hundred acres of wooded

land in Nashville. The Neals, however, chose to remain in Houston. J. Robert Neal, the son of Maxwell House co-founder John W. Neal, purchased land on Lazy Lane near the River Oaks Country Club and commissioned one of the city's costliest homebuilding projects during the Great Depression.

The initial four Maxwell House plants shared one main characteristic: location. Each plant stood near bodies of water that served as major ports. Houston possessed the largest port with its connection to the Gulf

of Mexico by the Houston Ship Channel. This accessibility made exporting and importing coffee that much cheaper; plus the company utilized the railway system that connected the port to the rest of the country. The Port of Houston became a major selling point for General Foods's Maxwell House division as Houston became one of the nation's largest trading cities.

Originally located at 2017 Preston Avenue, after thirty years of operation, Maxwell House moved to 3900 Harrisburg in 1946 under General Foods. Harrisburg Boulevard, an extension of Texas Avenue, stretches through the East End, Second Ward, and Greater Eastwood neighborhoods. These neighborhoods were a part of Harris, Texas, a town considered "out of town" from Houston.

From 1913 to 1942, the building, which later became home to Maxwell House, housed the Ford Motor Company's assembly plant for Model T cars. Built in the summer of 1913 by an unknown architect, the factory was classified as "early twentieth century industrial."² The original structure stood four stories tall with two- to three-story additions on the eastern wing. Built from reinforced concrete, lined with brick and terra cotta trim, the building cost Ford an estimated \$200,000. For a short while, the Ford Company produced parts for vehicles during World War I out of this factory. At Ford's peak, it employed over 1,300 Houstonians and produced about 350 cars per day. The plant itself sat on a high traffic street, railroad tracks to the west of the north-facing factory, and the Houston Belt & Terminal Rail Yard caddy-corner, hosting Southern Pacific and the Galveston, Houston and Henderson Railway Company.

When Maxwell House took over the location, the proximity of this plant to Houston proper proved beneficial as the city expanded its highway system, beginning with the nearby Gulf Freeway. This expansion brought



The Ford Motor Company was the original inhabitant of the building at 3900 Harrisburg, which became Maxwell House.

more cars and families into Houston, which helped fuel the industrial boom in Houston post-World War II.

While Maxwell House expanded in the post-war period, steady competition remained in Houston coffee manufacturing. Competitors included Duncan's Admiration Coffee, International Coffee Company, and Magnolia Coffee Company located near Buffalo Bayou. These companies utilized their central location to move their products via water, truck, and rail.³

Maxwell House needed a place where it could market its brand and ship mass quantities effectively, and the Harrisburg location proved advantageous due to its proximity to the railway system. At that time, most products moved to and from the plant by boxcar, even during the Ford days. According to the 1925 Sanborn Insurance Maps, a small track of railroad ventured into the plant where boxcars could load and unload. Maxwell House sent its product from the Houston Belt and Terminal Rail Yard, located on McKinney Street in Harris to Houston proper.

Railway companies, such as Houston, Texas Central and Southern Pacific, were the backbone of the industrial period in Houston, assisting with the \$300 million

expansion. From 1940 to 1947, the tons of freight received and forwarded climbed from 6,416,432 to 15,391,171. Solidifying the role of railroads, the Houston Ship Channel facilitated the shipping process and served as home to the warehouses, wharves, and grain elevators required for moving large shipments.4

The neighborhood around the original Maxwell House flourished as the company grew. Austin High School opened in 1937 followed by Ripley House community center in 1940. The additions to the new Maxwell House plant called for more workers on hand for machinery maintenance, a larger janitorial staff, addition of administrative positions, and factory workers to operate and monitor machines. The Second Ward population at the time, a mix of Hispanics and whites, took advantage of this opportunity and generations of families, including former Ford employees, stayed in the Second Ward. Many families in the area can name at least one family member who worked at Maxwell House from a single summer to twenty years or more. For over fifty years, Maxwell House provided the community with much more than just coffee; it fostered relationships with neighbors.



Young girls work on the coffee bean mural conceived and executed by Port Arthur artist Genie Rester in 1957. The mural, approximately 9'x14' in size, is composed of 250,000 beans personally roasted in one-pound batches by Maxwell House employee Jesse Green to create the exact colors ranging from pale green to rich, dark brown. Photo courtesy of Eastwood Civic Association.

In 1988, the addition of the sixteen-story tower put Maxwell House on the map. Workers brought the tower in piece by piece on the railroad and assembled it using a crane that had enough power to lift the space shuttle. Mounting the sign with a large neon cup, which became a city landmark, marked the beginning of the biggest investment for Maxwell House.

Each city with Maxwell House plants adopted the company as its own. No city demonstrated this feeling more than Jacksonville, Florida. When Kraft Foods threatened to close one of its two East Coast plants, either Jacksonville or Hoboken, the Florida community was in an uproar. The city created and supported a campaign called "Keep Max in Jax" that included workers, families, and even city officials. JaxPort, Jacksonville Port Authority, supported the campaign by providing money that the city lent the plant based on a taxing zone, since the beans had \$7 million in revenue associated with the trading commodity. Numerous monetary efforts, the creation of a bridge to help expand the plant, as well as union concessions and new contracts eventually ended the competition. Max stayed in Jax and in 1990 shut down the Hoboken plant.5



A taste-tester samples varieties of the brew for quality assurance. Photo courtesy of Florida Memory.

In December 2006, speculation about the sale of Maxwell House ran rampant in Houston newspapers, fearing a demise similar to Hoboken's. Kraft, having gone through a recent name change itself, gave no reason for the profitable company's sale, though rumors swirled about the company lobbying to buy Cadbury, a British confectionary company. Nevertheless, Maxwell House, the plant not the product, was purchased by Carlos de Aldecoa Bueno, president of Maximus Coffee Group and Cadeco Industries. Cadeco's partnership helped Maximus's newly acquired Houston location become the company's third and largest home, following Spain and Mexico; and it placed the Port of Houston in competition with the Port of South Louisiana, the nation's leader in total tons. Because the state ad valorem tax has been eliminated in 2003, Cadeco was able to store beans it sold to Kraft and other competitors tax-free. The ad valorem tax, placed on imported goods at the time of transaction and charged annually, was written into the state's constitution. It applied to warehouse inventories such as coffee beans kept for months and even years at a time, raising the cost of storing in mass quantities. A constitutional amendment exempted coffee and cocoa, thereby adding to the success of Maximus and de Aldecoa in Houston and solidifying its position as a key player in the coffee industry.

De Aldecoa purchased multiple warehouse spaces, one located on I-10 East by the Budweiser plant, and the Uncle Ben's plant, specifically to store coffee beans and sell them to other coffee producing companies. Cadeco "strives to be a leader in the raw coffee process," which includes cleaning, sorting, blending, and bagging. Some co-manufacturing partners send their products to Cadeco for these services before sending them to Maximus for processing.7

In Houston, the potential closure forced many to take early retirement to avoid being laid off. However, de Aldecoa struck a deal for employees to collect their retirement from Kraft while maintaining their jobs and seniority under Maximus. Ruben Cerda, a quality lab specialist, has had a long relationship with Maxwell House, and now Maximus. Before joining the Kraft family in 1990, he worked as an exterminator at the facility on contract with Terminex. He was one of hundreds that continued to stay employed when Maximus took ownership. While he worked at Maxwell House, the company underwent two name changes but never ceased to be a key player in the coffee industry. Not only did they produce roast and ground coffee, but also now had the opportunity to process decaffeinated and instant coffees. Roast and ground coffees remain the most popular in the United States. Canada, Mexico, and countries in South America all partake in the instant coffee industry. Maximus makes a large part of its profit from selling instant coffee in bulk. Cerda thinks that Maximus will lean toward becoming an instant coffee producer as demand increases.8

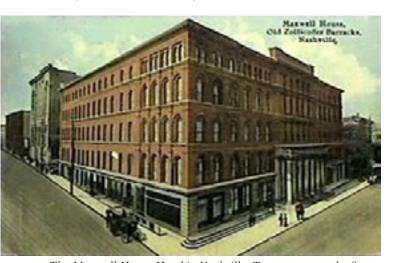
Maximus is also an innovater in decaffeinated coffee production. In contrast to the conventional decaffeination process, which involves a carcinogen, methylene chloride, to assist with the extraction of caffeine, Maximus uses a process involving water, carbon dioxide, and nitrogen. This process is a USDA certified organic method of removing caffeine and avoids the metallic taste that methylene chloride leaves in the roast. Houston is the only facility in the nation that produces decaffeinated coffee with this process, making it a prime supplier to the Maxwell House facilities in Jacksonville and San Leandro, as well as other companies.

Maximus also attempts to lessen the plant's environmental impact. After the decaffeination process, the extracted caffeine is sold to pharmaceutical companies or other beverage companies, such as Coke or Pepsi. The water used still retains small traces of caffeine, so it is reused at the plant, mainly for external cleaning. Remnants of coffee beans are burned and used to power boilers instead of being sent to a landfill. Since the plant uses so much energy, Reliant Energy, which is located further down Harrisburg from the plant, requires Maximus to shut down if a power outage occurs. Once the affected area regains power, the plant can restart production. The addition of the decaf tower, or Amco as the workers call it, has a large impact on the amount of energy used, but reaps great benefits for the company.

The co-manufacturing abilities of the facility also gave the company an extra advantage. Ebro Foods, one of the largest rice traders and millers, packaged and processed its Minute Rice brand at Maxwell House. Upon the sale of the Harrisburg plant, Ebro made an agreement with de Aldecoa, stating that until they found a new manufacturer, Maximus would continue to process and package Ebro's product.¹¹

Maximus's takeover of Maxwell House from Kraft has proven to be a step in the right direction for the plant and its position in the global trading economy. In 2012, Maximus acquired membership in the British Retail Consortium (BRC), which focuses on standardizing "quality, safety, operational criteria and manufacturers' fulfillment of legal obligations" while "protecting the consumer." This prestigious BRC membership is a direct result of outstanding products, safety procedures, and quality controls implemented since the ownership change. Additionally, it has allowed Maximus to place bids for coffee around the world.

The quality of ingredients serves as the primary selling point of Maximus. "We sell flavor, first and foremost," said Cerda. He is referring to the same quality beans de Aldecoa imports tax free and previously sold to Kraft. Several companies use these beans processed by Maximus including Nestle, Starbucks, Mother Parker, and Folgers. The best quality growing countries range from the Tropic of Cancer to the Tropic of Capricorn. Colombia produces the "A" bean, the most wine-like sour bean, Brazil the "J" bean, and Mexico the "C" bean.



The Maxwell House Hotel in Nashville, Tennessee, was the first place to serve the special brew that came to bear its name.

Photo courtesy of Historic Nashville.

When mixed, these beans produce an Arabica blend, the most common coffee blend. Jamaican and Vietnamese beans are the "M" beans, containing the most robust flavor for the strongest, most bitter coffees. Cerda, a certified taste tester, recalls tasting at least 120 sample blends in one day.¹³

Cerda is the quality lab technician and the only employee that is high performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) certified in the entire plant. HPLC is a chromatographic technique that reveals traces of foreign substances in a coffee, much like detecting drugs in a blood sample. This method measures the levels of caffeine in a beverage and allows a technician to recognize when the level in decaf surpasses .3%, the point at which a body can and will have reactions to caffeine. The enforcement of a cautious .25% level protects customer safety. Also, the levels of CO² under extreme pressure are monitored constantly to keep the workers and neighborhood safe. A small explosion on the north facing tower in 1988 damaged a wall of the facility and shattered the windows of a bar only blocks away. Fortunately, no other incident of that magnitude has taken place.

Maximus employs about 200-300 workers, and most of them live east and south of Houston, giving the same homey feel to the company that existed during the Maxwell House days. Maxwell House remains a household name for many Houstonians and continues to keep its name under Kraft Foods ownership, producing the same recipe that Cheek and Smith created almost 100 years ago.

Maximus is on its way to achieving that level of notoriety in Houston. For those living in the Second Ward, now referred to as East Downtown or EaDo for short, Maximus is the first and last thing they see and smell leaving their home, work, or school. This coffee house resides on one of the newest METRORail lines and is getting its silent salute with the stop located at York named Coffee Plant/Second Ward, which is what many would inevitably call the station.¹⁴

Maxwell House—as some still call it—or Maximus is a neighborhood staple, which explains the baffled looked on citizens' faces when our very own neon cup—an iconic image on the side of the building—was gone in the blink of an eye. Vice president of Maximus, Leo Vasquez, says, "Kraft legal team thought it was a matter of trademark infringement...We tried to convince them to leave it. It was a Houston landmark." He understood what the cup meant to the neighborhood. Though the aroma still lingers, the cup saw its last days in the summer of 2007 when Kraft dismantled and hauled the neon away. For now, Maximus's bright lights and aroma will carry us through this new era for Maxwell House.

Olivia Johnson is earning her bachelor's degree in communications with a focus on communication disorders and a minor in history at the University of Houston. She lives in Eastwood, which is the inspiration for her subject matter.

Standing Together:Houston Labor Struggles Now and Then

By Isaac Morey

istory repeats itself" goes the old saying. This adage, often repeated to the point of seeming trivial, proves time and time again to be accurate. We see this when we examine the conquests of nations, the conflicts of world power structures, and the rise and fall of empires; but it holds equally true when we examine the "small" bits of history around us. The struggle between labor and management provides an excellent example of this, given the history of significant strikes in Houston.

The year 2012 represented an incredibly historic year for local labor. Thousands of janitors won a new contract after a long summer that saw heated negotiation between management and labor, followed by weeks of strikes and dramatic acts of civil disobedience. These janitors belonged to the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), which represents workers in the fields of health-care, public service, and property service. They were employed by subcontractors, which hire workers to do a specific job for another company (cleaning downtown office buildings, in this case).¹

The janitors who worked for these companies first won their union contract in 2005. At the time, janitors in the city made an average of \$5.25 an hour and were assigned to four hour shifts. Despite these poor working conditions, janitors had difficulty organizing. Separate subcontractors (ABM, GCA, OneSource, Pritchard, and Sanitors) ran cleaning services in thirty-six prominent downtown buildings, thus requiring the unionization effort to transcend individual companies for the janitors to stand together as part of the same union. These companies also initially resisted recognizing the union, an action which sparked strikes. With the help of sympathy

strikes in other cities, the workers eventually won a union contract.²

This was seen as a major victory for labor in general. The janitors won a \$2.50 pay raise over three years, an increase from four hour shifts to six hour shifts, the option of receiving health benefits, and paid vacation time. While these gains represented a personal victory for workers, having prevailed in a heavily anti-union southern city made the victory more remarkable.³

In 2012, however, the gains made by labor came under threat. Although wages were elevated to \$8.35 an hour and personal benefits won, the contract expiration loomed, and the outcome of negotiations remained uncertain. The union wanted to preserve their benefits and to raise their wages to \$10.00 an hour over the next three years. Management wanted slight cuts in benefits and a freeze in wages. Tension mounted, and on May 31, the contract expired.⁴

On July 10, after protests and one-day strikes failed to break the stalemate, workers walked off the job and began what became a five-week strike. This sparked solidarity strikes in Washington, D.C., Minneapolis, Seattle, Boston, San Ramon, Oakland, Los Angeles, and Denver. The national attention that the strike drew cast light on the working conditions of Houston janitors. The *Houston Chronicle* reported that janitorial wages in Houston were among the lowest in the nation, and cited Detroit, Boston, Portland, and Minneapolis as examples of cities whose janitorial wages were well into the double digits.⁵

In addition to low hourly wages, management often restricted workers hours to part-time. These factors combined to set the average yearly wage of a janitor in the

People from all backgrounds and walks of life stood together in protest to support Houston janitors.

Photo courtesy of Service Employees International Union Texas



city at a meager \$9,000. "It is very difficult to support a family on this wage," said janitor Adriana Vasquez.⁶

Vasquez works in Houston's Chase Tower—the tallest building in Texas and home to one of the world's largest multinational corporations. She cleans bathrooms across ten floors every night, which equals roughly a hundred toilets, in addition to sinks, floors, etc. In a recent interview, Vasquez said that although the work is difficult, she likes her job and is proud of what she does. "What I don't like, though, is the pressure that is put on us," she added. "We don't have enough time to do the job the way it's supposed to be done. They always expect us to do more with less [time.] We are literally running." Because of this pressure, Adriana feels a union is important.

Adriana claims, however, that employees who support the union are often targeted by management. Supervisors frequently give these workers more difficult tasks, or even threaten them with an immigration audit. Because most of these janitors are first generation Hispanics, this is certainly a sensitive issue.⁸

Regardless, Vasquez, who lost custody of her children because she could not support them financially, remains vocal in her union support. "The job becomes more and more difficult as hours are cut ... and we are not respected." She continued, "A lot of janitors are elderly—there really is no retirement for them—yet they are not respected or accommodated. Most janitors work at night. They have more work and are paid less than those who work during the day. We are paid poverty wages for a very difficult job."

The strike wore on for over five weeks. During that time, the janitors and their supporters made frequent use of demonstrations and civil disobedience to draw attention to their cause and pressure the subcontractors to negotiate a deal. July 12 saw roughly four hundred protesters gather near the Galleria, blocking traffic and resulting in an arrest. Police arrested another sixteen during a subsequent protest on July 18 and an additional seven on July 31.

Demonstrations were not aimed at subcontractors alone. Union representative Paloma Martinez explained that the union sought support from the corporations that



Protests throughout July 2012 resulted in arrests.

Photo courtesy of SEIU Texas.

occupied the buildings its members cleaned. "They don't want to handle cleaning. No longer do service employees ... work directly for [their business,] there is a middleman. But when everyone takes a slice off the top it becomes a race to the bottom." Martinez added that corporations have enormous sway over how subcontractors deal with unions. The subcontractor, after all, works for the building's corporate tenants.¹⁰

Adriana Vasquez's support for the union eventually brought her face to face with Jamie Dimon, CEO of JPMorgan Chase. "I got a call, and they told me 'pack your bags, you're going to Washington," she recalled enthusiastically. The union recruited Vasquez to publicly confront Dimon during a well-publicized testimony. After learning to ask the question in English, she inquired, "Mr. Dimon, you make billions of dollars every

On the third day of an escalating city-wide strike, workers at nine more buildings walked off the job, doubling the size of the strike. Here, protesters block traffic near the Galleria.

Photo by Laurie Couch, courtesy of SEIU Texas.



year. Why do you deny the people cleaning your buildings a living wage?" As it turns out, Dimon made in an hour roughly the same as Vasquez and other Houston janitors made in a year.11

Vasquez felt that the highlight of the strike happened in Houston. During the final wave of arrests of demonstrators who blocked streets in support of the union, two protesters were "lost" in the Harris county jail. Bail was posted, but the protesters were not released. In response, over five hundred janitors marched to the jail and demanded the release of the "lost" protesters. The jail finally released them later that evening. "Everyone was hugging and crying," recalled Vasquez. "I never thought that I would live through something like that here in the United States."12

Although the corporations that rely on subcontractors refused to support the union during negotiations, the union nonetheless won a contract that satisfied workers. On August 11, the union agreed to a one dollar per hour pay raise over the next four years. Though this was not as much as the union hoped for, it was still enough to raise the annual wages of workers above \$10,000. It also ensured that janitors kept existing health benefits.¹³

"For me, the contract we won means a lot," said Vasquez. "Although it may not seem like much ... for us it is a lot. We didn't lose our health insurance, which is a huge benefit. We kept our right to vacation and holiday pay. Every time we are not paid for a holiday it is less money to feed our children ... less money to survive." In another positive sign, the strike united a large population behind the janitors.14

As Vasquez put it, "I learned a lot about how different people are. There were all sorts of people – people who didn't speak English, people who didn't speak Spanish, people who spoke other languages – and it was amazing to see the wonderful diversity that existed in solidarity. We might not have understood each other, we might not have known each other, but we were all united in this cause and connected in this cause. Even though we were not all speaking the same languages, we were speaking the same language."15

The janitors, as well as those who supported them, represented a diverse bunch, from politicians such as Julie Lee or Mayor Annise Parker, to celebrities like Danny Glover, university students, and other working people. Vasquez noted that significant diversity existed even within the Hispanic community. "We might both speak Spanish; however we come from different cultures. It was a great experience to see everyone come together," she said. "People from all over the country came here, and people got arrested. It was something that I had never seen, and there were such conflicting emotions of anguish and fascination and joy. We were all standing up for something."16

Paloma Martinez, a representative for SEIU, explained the significance of this local strike within the context of the world economy. "America is becoming a very service based economy. These are the jobs that cannot be outsourced, and that is why they should be good jobs. ... The



Civil rights activist and actor Danny Glover called upon Houston civil rights, faith-based, and elected leaders to establish a task force to protect the First Amendment rights of Houston's janitors. Photo courtesy of SEIU Texas.

janitors' aim is not to get rich; it is simply to make a living wage that will allow them to raise a family with prospects. They want their own kids to move on to college, to the middle class. When wages remain stagnant the cycle of poverty continues ... the fact that you have to do so much and fight so hard [for a one dollar raise] really says something about the state of the middle class in our country."17

Martinez spoke about the decline of American unions and the effect that this has on the economy. Martinez contends that this trend can be reversed through the battles that workers like Adriana fight.



One of the early mule-drawn streetcars in Houston, circa 1870s. Photo courtesy of the Digital Library, University of Houston Libraries.

These conflicts have existed between labor and management since the beginning of the industrial revolution, and Houston frequently served as the stage for this important aspect of U.S. history. One of the most significant strikes in the city was the streetcar conductor's strike in the summer of 1904. This strike, staged by forty-seven conductors, played an important role both in labor history and in the history of Houston. 18

In the city's earliest days, transportation options in Houston consisted of walking or taking a horse drawn carriage. The year 1868 marked the first attempt to create an alternative to these methods, when the Houston City Railway company built the first horse drawn passenger rail line designed for use within the city. Although this line quickly died out because of poor location, the city commissioned more lines to be built during the 1870s and 1880s. Houstonians first considered these lines to be interesting novelties rather than reliable means of transportation, but this perception slowly changed, and by the 1890s, streetcars were an important facet of city life. 19

The growth of a serious commuter rail system helped give rise to neighborhoods placed further away from the heart of the city. As the city grew to include these "street-car suburbs," it became less pedestrian friendly, thus making streetcars even more important. By the turn of the twentieth century, streetcars were at the peak of their importance in Houston.²⁰

When, in 1904, the streetcar conductors went on strike, the personal lives of many Houstonians and the economy of the city depended on the streetcar system. The strike effectively shut down public transportation for the summer, creating chaos for the city.²¹



The open car was used during the hot humid Houston summers to catch a breeze through the car. Shades could be pulled down to keep out rain if necessary. The number of passengers indicated the importance of streetcars to Houston transportation at the time.

Photos courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

The prelude to this pandemonium was the seemingly never ending strife between the streetcar workers and management of the Amalgamated Houston Streetcar Company. In the early summer of 1904, the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees filed a complaint against unfair labor practices, alleging that management used intimidation and other union busting tactics, but more importantly that management unfairly fired sixteen workers because these workers supported the union. The judge ruled against the union, which initiated the strike.²²

This draws interesting parallels with the situation that Adriana Vasquez and other Houston janitors faced over a hundred years after the streetcar strike. For one, intimidation and lack of respect served as the worker's primary reason for striking. Additionally, management attempted to intimidate union supporters through unfair treatment.

Workers followed through with the strike and caused significant mayhem. Other unions supported the conductors financially, and the riding public stood up against the company's attempts to hire replacements, demonstrating the community support for these forty-seven members of the streetcar conductors union.²³

A group of wealthy investors from Boston owned and controlled the streetcars in Houston. This helped to galvanize the middle and working class of Houston against management because they construed the strife as an attempt by elitist northerners to control the southern population. Houstonians' responses ranged between respectful support of the union to reckless vigilantism against the company.²⁴

Unlike the Houston janitors' strike, the streetcar strike had a tendency to turn violent at times. Workers, union members, and even riders tried to prevent scabs from running the streetcars, and scuffles occurred frequently. In a couple of instances, the violence turned from minor street fights to alarmingly dangerous outbreaks. At least twice over the summer, protesters used dynamite on the rails. On another occasion, shots were fired.²⁵



Houston City Street Railway on Texas Avenue, late 1890s.

Despite the difference in how resistance was carried out, the similarities between the two strikes remain fascinating. The methods of organizing workers against perceived injustices of management are virtually the same now as they were over a hundred years ago. Reliance on local community and the worker's sense of autonomy remain the cornerstones. Even the methods of drawing attention to the cause (though less violent today) reflect a similar approach. Regardless of circumstance, the past always holds a lesson to teach about the present.

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Planting the Seed of HOPE: CULTIVATING HEALTH CARE IN HOUSTON

By Thu Huong Vu



n October 18, 2012, a celebration was held in honor of the HOPE Clinic. On that same day ten years before, the HOPE Clinic began its mission to provide culturally and linguistically competent health care to underserved populations in Houston. Over the past ten years, HOPE Clinic has grown tremendously. What started out as a once-a-month venture in a small classroom at the Chinese Community Center has grown into the fully functional, Federally Qualified Health Center that we see today. Though the clinic just celebrated its tenth anniversary, the history that led up to the establishment of the clinic began much earlier.

At the time of the Gold Rush in 1849, Chinese workers arrived at the West Coast seeking new economic opportunities, one of which was building the first transcontinental railroad, the Central Pacific, from 1864 to 1869. Their presence, however, raised economic fears among Americans, who attributed unemployment and declining wages to Chinese workers.1 This fear resulted in the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Signed into law on May 6, 1882, by President Chester A. Arthur, the Chinese Exclusion Act halted Chinese immigration for ten years and prohibited Chinese from becoming U.S. citizens. When this law expired in 1892, Congress extended it for another ten years in the form of the Geary Act before making the extension permanent in 1902.

The Chinese Exclusion Act, the first major law restricting immigration to the United States, foreshadowed other acts restricting immigration in the 1920s. During World

War II, China became an ally to the United States in the war against Japan, and the Magnuson Act of 1943 repealed the Exclusion Act. Still, the new act only allowed entry into the United States for 105 Chinese immigrants per year. With the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, all previous national-origin policies were eliminated and large-scale Chinese immigration began. The first wave of immigrants started arriving from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in search of better education and work opportunities. Several more waves of Vietnamese refugees started arriving in the late 1970s and 1980s because of the Vietnam War. Rogene Gee Calvert, one of the founding members of the Asian American Health Coalition of Greater Houston, explains the visible transformation of demographics in Southwest Houston:

If you look at the evolution of Southwest Asian town or Chinatown from, I'd say about Fondren and Gessner and you go west, it's mainly Chinese. It's because that's who moved there first, and that was the new Chinatown. And of course, as you keep going west and past the beltway, you see more Vietnamese, because that's when they started to come and buy property and so they moved further west, and now, it goes all the way to Highway 6, and it's just really buge.2

The number of Asians arriving in Houston continued to grow, and so did their need for health care. However, this was where these first-generation Asian Americans



Rogene Gee Calvert is one of the founding members of the Asian American Health Coalition of Greater Houston.

Photo courtesy of Rogene Gee Calvert for City Council Campaign. met their greatest hurdle: the language barrier. In some cases, the sick came into a hospital district clinic or a hospital ER and sat there waiting all day not recognizing they had been called because the nurse did not pronounce their names correctly. In other cases, patients were unable to describe in English the health problems that they had, or they did not understand the instructions regarding their medication. Because of these issues. Asian Americans became reluctant to come into clinics for health services. The hospital district even formed an Asian outreach team who went across the city in an attempt to

get Asian patients to come into the clinics.³ However, this was not enough for the Asian community, and it was not enough for one group of women: Dr. Beverly Gor, Rogene Gee Calvert, Karen Tso, and Lynne Nguyen.



Beverly Gor, Ed.D., born and raised in Houston, helped form the Asian American Health Coalition of Greater Houston to address the medical needs of the growing Asian population. Photo courtesy of M. D. Anderson Cancer Center.

Previously acquainted with each other, Dr. Beverly Gor and Lynne Nguyen started working together following a discussion session to brainstorm health issues in the local Asian community at a conference on Southeast Asians' mental health issues.4 Rogene Gee Calvert and Karen Tso joined them shortly after they started working towards this project, and they became colleagues who spent time outside their regular work schedule trying to identify some of the unmet needs of the Asian community. Born and raised in Houston, both Gor and Calvert witnessed first-hand the growth of the local Asian American community. A graduate of the University of Texas at Austin,

Calvert had a long career in the non-profit sector and a lifelong dedication to the cause of Asian Americans. As she traveled over the years, she saw community health centers and mental health centers for Asian Americans in cities with smaller Asian populations than Houston. The idea of building a community health clinic for Asian Americans in Houston took root, and in 1994, Dr. Beverly Gor, Rogene Gee Calvert, Karen Tso, and Lynne Nguyen joined hands to form the Asian American Health Coalition of Greater Houston (AAHC).

At that time, the AAHC mainly worked on education and advocacy. Advocacy was needed because very little

data or research existed on the Asian American community in general and none in Houston specifically. Since Asian American patients did not seek care in the public health service system, the assumption was that they had no problems. The coalition needed to demonstrate the need for culturally and linguistically competent health care.

The AAHC spent its early days looking for funding and developing capacity. It took a long time, and they had to draw data from other Asian communities. "The four of us did many a nights, in somebody's kitchen table, writing grants, just planning ideas," said Dr. Gor.⁵ The Texas Department of Health gave the AAHC its first community planning grant to



Lynne Nguyen, pictured here, and Dr. Beverly Gor began to work together on health issues in the local Asian community and were later joined by Rogene Calvert and Karen Tso, forming the Asia American Health Coalition.

Photo courtesy of M. D. Anderson Cancer Center.

plan the community health center. Other grants followed from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the Aetna Foundation, and the Komen Foundation. Slowly, the coalition built up the funds and the capacity. Eight years later, in 2002, the HOPE Clinic was established as part of the Asian American Health Coalition.

Initially, the HOPE Clinic opened for four hours a month at the Chinese Community Center. One doctor and volunteers from the Chinese Baptist Church com-



An outreach event in the early days of the Asian American Health Coalition. Photo courtesy of AAHC.



Educators Jessica Chang and Yu Zhang (left) lead a Healthy, Happy Asian Family workshop at Viet Hoa supermarket to teach the best grocery purchase practices to those at risk of diabetes. Photo courtesy of HOPE Clinic.

prised the entire staff. The five dollars charged for a visit and a few other grants represented its main sources of funding. The majority of the patients were Asians, with a small number of Hispanic patients.

The clinic vastly expanded following Hurricane Katrina in 2005 when the Vietnamese population living in the Gulf Coast area started coming into Houston. Around 15,000 Vietnamese fled from the Gulf and evacuated to Houston.⁶ Among them, those who spoke English went to the George R. Brown Convention Center, while the Vietnamese radio station directed those unable to understand English to go to Hong Kong City Mall.⁷ The HOPE Clinic worked with a partner organization, Boat People S.O.S., using their office in Hong Kong City Mall to see patients during that time. The HOPE Clinic took care of medical needs, and Boat People S.O.S. provided social services. Many of these individuals had medical needs, having left their homes in a hurry, leaving behind their medications.

The HOPE Clinic operated in Hong Kong City Mall before slowly shifting its operations back to the Chinese Community Center. The clinic saw over 3,000 patients during the Katrina period, more than any other community health center in Houston during that time.8 Following Katrina, people began to take notice of the HOPE Clinic, and word-of-mouth referrals drove the clinic's increasing growth.

In 2007, the clinic relocated to its current office at 7001 Corporate Drive and increased its hours of operation to four days a week, closing on Wednesday. In 2008, it accounted for approximately 5,000 to 6,000 patient visits. Although the clinic was somewhat modeled after a few other community health centers serving the Asian community, such as the Charles B. Wang Community Health Center in New York, the Chinatown Health Center in

California, and the Asian Health Services in Oakland, the founders wanted to establish a Federally Qualified Health Center (FQHC). In November 2008, its goal became a reality and the HOPE Clinic received designation as a FQHC Look-Alike.

An FQHC Look-Alike organization meets all of the eligibility requirements to receive grant funding under Public Health Service Section 303 but does not receive the grant.9 This designation allowed the clinic to receive many of the same benefits as FQHCs, such as cost-based reimbursement for services provided under Medicare, enhanced Medicaid reimbursement, and eligibility to purchase prescription and non-prescription medications for outpatients at reduced cost through the 340B Drug Pricing Program.¹⁰ These, in turn, allowed the clinic to start building sustainability, because up until then the clinic had always been a cash clinic. "Every patient that we see is an expense. Because we charge twenty dollars and the cost of the visit is a hundred and thirty dollars, so it's a hundred and ten dollars that we lose every single patient we see. So we have to make it up with other income, which is the Medicare/Medicaid insurance," explained Dr. Andrea Caracostis, chief executive director of HOPE Clinic.11 In addition, the clinic also began accepting some of the major health insurances.

At that time, the HOPE Clinic had seven employees. Dr. Richard Andrews, chief medical officer of the HOPE Clinic, joined the staff that same year. "When I first started here, there was one doctor, but that doctor was going to be leaving soon, and the clinic was about maybe thirty or forty percent as big as it is now, so one-third of this size," Dr. Andrews shared.12

With the new FQHC Look-Alike status and Medicaid enhancements, HOPE Clinic began expanding its operations. In 2009, HOPE Clinic hired a second physician – a



The Asian Cancer Council supported the Making Strides breast cancer event at the University of Houston, May 7, 2011.

Photo courtesy of HOPE Clinic.

pediatrician — and began operating full-time, five days a week. A year later, a second family practitioner joined the clinic, and the number of patient visits reached close to 9,500.¹³ In 2011, HOPE Clinic implemented its largest expansion yet, doubling the number of patient exam rooms from ten to twenty, adding three new pediatricians for children, two family practitioner and internal medicine physicians for adults and seniors, and an obstetrician/gynecologist for expecting mothers. Evening hours were also added for Tuesday and Thursday to accommodate working parents. The expansion was more than well-justified; the number of patient visits had increased by forty-two percent from the previous year to over 13,000.¹⁴ Finally, all these efforts paid off the following year.

In June 2012, HOPE Clinic received FQHC funding and officially became a Federally Qualified Health Center. Today, HOPE Clinic has eight physicians and a

The HOPE Clinic has expanded rapidly since its early days.

Representatives attended an event, "Together Empowering Asian Americans," in Atlanta, Georgia, that supported the Center for Pan Asian Community Services. Photo courtesy of HOPE Clinic.



unique staff of over forty members providing services in fourteen different languages. By the end of 2012, the clinic received a total of 15,879 patient visits. 15 Along with the expansion of the facility came a change in the demographic of the patients. In the beginning, the clinic received mostly Asian patients, mainly Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean, as well as a substantial number of Hispanics and some African Americans. Over time, however, other ethnic groups arrived in Houston: African and Iraqi immigrants, and Burmese, Nepalese, and Bhutanese refugees. HOPE Clinic needed to expand its services to these populations as well. Knowledge of multiple languages, therefore, remains an urgent need for the clinic where translators are always in high demand. "We have several Vietnamese speakers in the clinic, but sometimes ... three of them are on vacation, and one of them is sick, and two of them are already being used for something else. The same with Mandarin, or Cantonese, or Arabic, or all the other languages we have," said Dr. Andrews.16

HOPE Clinic has many plans for the future. "Being an FQHC ... we're committed to broadening our health services, so health services will be more varied than in the past," said Calvert.¹⁷ The clinic currently refers out for dental and optometry services, but they look to add them in the near future. The board of the HOPE Clinic is also exploring related services that have to do with the populations' unmet needs, such as senior services that combine health needs with residential and social services, or the training of staff in areas of language assistance. Studies are being conducted to see which of these services are feasible and sustainable.¹⁸

Dr. Gor stated that she would also like to see the development of an Asian long-term care clinic, with an Asian menu and Asian-oriented physical and recreational activities. "There's a reluctance in the Asian community to have your loved one go into a long term care facility because of the lack of cultural competence in those facilities," she said. Gor also looks forward to possibly relocating the clinic to its own space. The clinic has already expanded three times in its current location, which it rents. If the clinic owned the property, it would qualify for community block grant and other funding.

Identifying the importance of the HOPE Clinic, Calvert stated, "We are the only community health clinic FQHC that serves the Asian/Pacific Islander community in Texas." With the ever growing need for more diverse services and greater language competencies, the HOPE Clinic will inevitably continue to grow in its capacity. Though the clinic might reach out to other ventures not directly related to health care that would complement its services, it will stay true to its mission, just as it has all these years: "To provide quality health care without any prejudice to all people of greater Houston, in a culturally and linguistically competent manner." ²¹

Thu Huong Vu is a recent graduate of the University of Houston. She was a member of the Honors College, majoring in biology and minoring in medicine & society.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE SOUTHWEST CONFERENCE

By Auston Fertak

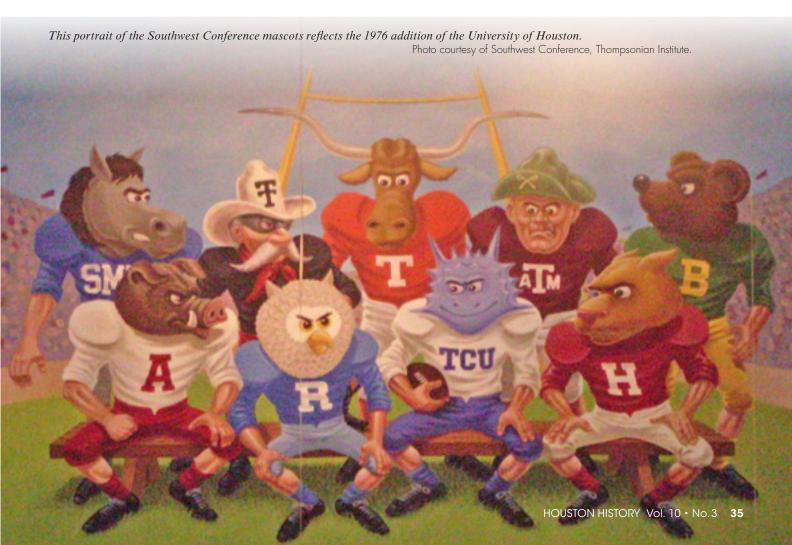
When people reminisce about college athletics, only a few select conferences cause them to think, "What a powerhouse!" The Southwest Conference (SWC) was one such conference. For much of its eighty-two year history, the SWC gloried in its distinction as the most tightly-knit league among major college athletic programs. Its excitement and energy ran from deep in the heart of Texas to Arkansas and by 1976 included The University of Texas, Texas A&M, Rice, Texas Christian University (TCU), Baylor, Texas Tech, Southern Methodist University (SMU), and the University of Houston (UH). A premiere football conference with legendary coaches and Heisman Trophy winners, the SWC produced national

champions in the 1930s, 1960s, and 1970s. Despite having some of the best college athletes and ranking as a football powerhouse, the SWC fell apart when the desire to win overshadowed ethics and teams began using almost any means necessary to succeed. Though not the only conference

engaging in recruitment violations, the SWC ranked as one of the worst. Constant sanctions levied on the

member universities by the National Collegiate Athletic Conference (NCAA) partly led to the break-up of the SWC. Already at a disadvantage with its small regional television markets, the conference's bigger universities had their games blacked out because of NCAA violations that landed them on probation. Individual alumni boosters at some SWC universities felt that the NCAA rules did not apply to them because they had not agreed to the NCAA's terms. These boosters paid student-athletes under the table to attend their alma maters as well as for their performance on the field. At one point the Southwest Conference had seven of its nine teams serving some sort of NCAA sanction that included loss of scholarships, loss of television broadcast rights, and bowl game bans. The lack of institutional control by the presidents and athletic directors kept the cheating going, and the problem went all the way to the office of the governor of Texas, Bill Clements. With the recruiting scandals and NCAA probations for cheating that cut television revenues, the conference's athletic departments could not meet their multimillion-dollar budgets.²

Every year, universities compete to obtain the best high school football talent on national signing day. The



process involves finding the blue-chip student-athlete who will sign a football scholarship with the hope of improving the school's football program and winning a national championship. National signing day also concludes the recruiting process for that year's class, and universities anxiously await their chance to find and attract the nation's best athletes. In the 1970s and 1980s, the SWC was notorious around college football for repeat recruitment violations by giving athletes money to sign. Persuading teenagers to commit to an athletic scholarship at a particular university is difficult with other universities also vying for those athletes' services. Former SMU coach Ron Meyer said, "It's just the damnedest thing with high school kids. You never know what they're going to decide."3 SWC alumni boosters who sought to circumvent the system found out that money spoke louder than any recruiter ever could.4

The Southwest Conference was made up of the "haves" and the "have-nots." The private universities such as SMU, TCU, Baylor, and Rice could not compete with the powerhouse public universities like The University of Texas, Texas A&M, Texas Tech, and Arkansas that had an advantage from their names alone. The smaller universities had to find a way to even the recruiting playing field; many boosters attempted to do this by paying the better athletes to sign with the boosters' school in hopes of winning a national championship. Operating with misguided loyalty, wealthy alumni who contributed to this scheme at times



SMU alum and booster Sherwood Blount was linked to a fund that paid thirteen SMU football players \$61,000 over two years. The NCAA banned him from associating with the athletic department at any time in the future. Photo courtesy of FanBase.

became important, though unofficial and unacknowledged, parts of their universities' athletic programs.⁵

In the most extreme case, SMU suffered the "death penalty" for repeated NCAA violations. But even though "a program could be shut down if it was found guilty of major violations twice within a five-year period," it continued cheating while on probation because it felt an obligation to honor its "contracts" with athletes already on campus—and perhaps also because it assumed no one would suspect a sanctioned university to continue its wrongdoings.6 Such defiance illustrates how under-thetable competition in the battle for signing football players had become a way of life in some SWC schools. The pride of alumni drove them to employ assistant coaches in their plan to recruit classes of athletes that would produce on the field. As Richard Justice of the Houston Chronicle remarked about the SMU case, "It wasn't just that one assistant coach knew. A whole slew of them knew, some of them stuffing envelopes with cash."⁷

SMU was the most penalized university in the SWC, with a total of fourteen sanctions, most of them due to behind-the-scene dealings of boosters. Dallas, home to SMU, became the new hotbed for real estate and oil in the 1970s. Most of the high-powered lawyers and bankers had gone to SMU and grown tired of their university coming in last in the conference. The biggest booster was Sherwood Blount, a Dallas real estate developer, who had played football at SMU from 1959 to 1961. He was linked to a slush fund that paid thirteen SMU football players \$61,000 over two seasons, and the NCAA banned him for life from any association with the SMU athletic department.⁸

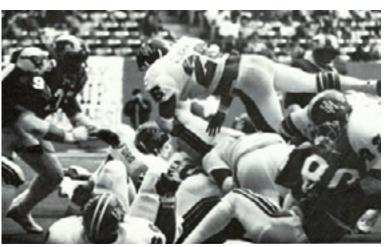
One of college football's worst-kept secrets was the age-old tradition of boosters trying to persuade recruits to consider their school. Usually the way the system worked was that the head football coach went to a recruit's house and tried to sell the recruit on the positives of the university and the success of its football program. If the coach could not get the recruit to sign during the visit, boosters tried to seal the deal, usually offering the



The NCAA placed Texas A&M on probation for recruiting violations in 1957 when Paul "Bear" Bryant served as head coach of the football team.

Photo courtesy of Texas A&M. recruit money, a house, a car, or anything the boosters thought could persuade the player to accept the scholarship and enroll in the university. Former SMU head coach Ron Meyer claimed, "Many of the best high school players in the state just decided, after years of wanting to be Longhorns and Aggies and Sooners, they wanted to be Mustangs."

Paying players went back to the times of legendary coach Paul "Bear" Bryant. During his time as head coach of Texas A&M, the NCAA placed the Aggies on probation in 1957, when the coach had wealthy alumni give recruits



In 1981, UH upset SMU 13-11, but SMU went on to win the conference in 1981and 1982. In 1984, the two schools shared the Photo courtesy of Digital Library, University of Houston.

money to attend Texas A&M. Corruption became so common in the old Southwest Conference that at one point newspaper reporters called the conference "The Old West," referring to teams getting away with anything and facing minimal repercussions from the NCAA for their actions. In the 1980s, however, all of the schools except Arkansas and Rice served some type of probation, for a series of booster-related scandals of which school personnel were not only aware but involved.¹⁰

The NCAA had plenty of reason to disassemble the entire conference and make each university independent with no conference affiliation. With the NCAA Committee for Infractions constantly monitoring repeat offenders in over half the conference, the public came to see it as an almost normal event. The constant cycle of probation and sanction against SWC universities limited television exposure and made it difficult for the NCAA to market the schools. UH Professor and General Counsel Eric Bentley stated, "It is very hard to brand a university that isn't in the public eye as much as they can be."11

Most of the sanctions prevented schools from playing in post-season bowl games with the exception of the Cotton Bowl, which always included a SWC team. This cost the sanctioned universities and the SWC a lot of money because the payouts that would have gone to the SWC were redirected to other universities in other conferences. While the boosters and schools hoped that paying players would improve their chances of winning a championship, the plan backfired because their schools lost the chance to compete in the championship bowl games they so desperately wanted.

In addition to limited media exposure caused by sanctions, the schools were not always the only game in town. TCU and SMU stood within an hour of the Dallas Cowboys; Rice and the University of Houston pulled from the same fan base as the Houston Oilers. Over the decades, the emergence of the Dallas Cowboys and Houston Oilers robbed the SWC's four schools in Dallas/ Fort Worth and Houston of their game-attending fan



Despite the UH Cougars being subject to NCAA sanctions that kept them off of national television, quarterback Andre Ware won the Heisman Trophy in 1989.

Photo courtesy of University of Houston.

base. Simply, too many teams feeding off of too few televisions in a small regional media market hurt revenues. The conference was pigeon-holed by the Texas TV market, unlike other conferences such as the Pac Ten and the Southeastern Conference that covered a wider geographic area.

One of the major reasons for the break-up of the conference was the departure of the University of Arkansas to the Southeastern Conference (SEC) in 1991. Arkansas's departure meant the SWC lost its only media market outside of Texas. The all-Texas conference drew only regional interest and smaller crowds, which limited the schools and the SWC's media contract negotiations.



Texas governor Bill Clements was aware of and urged continuation of SMU's pay-for-play plan for SMU football players in the 1980s.

Photo courtesy of State of Texas

After Arkansas departed, the revenue that each SWC university averaged fell by about \$1 million dollars compared to the SEC. The diminishing revenue stream caused attendance to continue to fall and weakened performance on the field. Although the SWC had strong teams until the end, none of the schools remained in the national championship hunt.¹² The final seven SWC champions from 1989 to 1995 failed to win their bowl games, which added to the conference's losses.

Having strong leadership is important in any facet of life.



Bill Yeoman, head coach at the University of Houston, reportedly paid players out of

SWC had become fully evident during its final years. It appears that neither the administrations nor the athletic departments tried to stop illegal payments to players. According to a desk drawer. reporter David Photo courtesy of University of Houston. Barron, "Texas

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Governor Bill Clements knew as early as 1983 of improper payments to SMU football players and was solely responsible for a 1985 decision to continue the pay-for-play scheme."13 The payments were made with the full knowledge and approval of athletic department staff and the athletic director. "This resulted in the university receiving the NCAA's death penalty that destroyed SMU football for the better part of a quarter-century and contributed to the demise of the Southwest Conference," he added.¹⁴

The NCAA rule for repeat offenders subjects a university with two major infractions in a five-year period to the harshest penalties the NCAA sees fit to impose. In 1986, the NCAA terminated the entire 1987 and 1988 SMU football seasons. The Board of Regents and Governor Clements were well aware of the slush fund provided by boosters. Clements wanted to phase out payment to new players but continue the payments already promised to existing SMU players.15

SMU did not stand alone, and multiple programs became the subject of internal investigations and NCAA inquiries. The NCAA sanctioned the University of Texas when assistant coach Dave McWilliams gave benefits to UT student-athletes for their performance during the game. Conference champion in 1985, Texas A&M faced NCAA investigation when quarterback Kevin Murray reportedly received a car from an Aggie booster.¹⁶ The NCAA could not find any wrongdoing by Texas A&M or Kevin Murray and the school did not receive any type of sanctions or probation.

Texas Christian University (TCU) was caught in 1985 after head coach Jim Wacker, "a devout man," delivered an "honesty and integrity" sermon to his team. "One player felt a guilty conscience and turned himself and five teammates in to an assistant coach," the Ft. Lauderdale Sun Sentinel reported.¹⁷ Wacker discovered that an

alumni slush fund had paid twenty-nine of the TCU scholarship players for performance. Morris Bailey, Texas businessman and a member of the TCU Lettermen's Hall of Fame, told the Fort Worth Star-Telegram "Coach [F. A.] Dry once approached him and asked him to set up a slush fund for athletes that would add up to \$90,000 a year."18 These types of conversations were apparently common practice during this period in the SWC.

In 1988, the NCAA placed the University of Houston on three years' probation, barred it from bowl games for two years and television for one year, and stripped ten of its scholarships after investigating more than 250 recruitment violations between 1978 and 1984. The school had also been sanctioned in 1966 and 1977 for improper payments and recruiting violations. UH head coach since 1962, Bill Yeoman reportedly paid players out of a desk drawer and retired "under fire" in 1986 as the university's winningest coach.19

In 1996, the SWC officially disbanded and the teams dispersed, but their fans followed. The University of Texas, Texas A&M, Baylor, and Texas Tech joined the schools in the Big Eight to form the Big 12 Conference.

SMU, TCU, and Rice joined the Western Athletic Conference. The University of Houston became a charter member of Conference USA, which formed with the merger of the Metro Conference and Great Midwest Conference. Since then, these conferences, too, have realigned multiple times leaving one to wonder if the long-standing powerhouse conferences are a thing of the past.

Payments to student athletes were rampant in the SWC, and the NCAA was ineffective in stopping the illegal activity. The problem became difficult to contain and too big to fix. Schools and conferences



After TCU head coach Jim Wacker gave his players a speech on honesty and integrity, one of his players confessed that he and five teammates had received illegal payments from alumni.

Photo courtesy of Life and legacy.

have yet to find a way to distribute or share the revenues generated by sports programs to level the playing field with regard to recruitment for small and large or public and private institutions. Today one need look no further than the Longhorn Network to see the inequities created by the massive sums available to universities with large media markets. Although not the only conference to break the rules, the SWC remains a symbol of the problems with NCAA football.20

Auston Fertak is a junior majoring in kinesiology and sports administration at the University of Houston.

"With Love and Bananas": Houston Gorilla Girls Seek Equality for Female Artists

By Vince Lee

Being an artist is hard and being a female artist is doubly so. When we think of equal rights and equal pay, the media tend to focus on women who have broken the glass ceiling in business or in politics and neglect the strides women have made in art. The world of art, traditionally male dominated, has seen women such as Frida Kahlo and Dorothy Hood rise above gender bias to become great artists. With the passage of time, their works reached a wider audience and the artistic community reappraised their works, finally truly appreciating posthumously the works of true, female, artistic legends.

At a time when female artists continued to lack the full recognition they deserved, four Houston women banded together as the Houston Gorilla

Girls in protest against the status quo. The group organized in May of 1987 as the local incarnation of the original "Guerrilla Girls" that began in New York City two years prior. Like their New York counterparts, the Houston chapter existed as an anonymous group of women artists who devoted their efforts to exposing the gender inequalities within the world of fine arts and exhibit venues. However, unlike their counterparts, they consciously altered their name from "Guerrilla" to "Gorilla" because they thought it was funnier and humor was a big part of what they did. Also, the slight name change signified the difference in their approach, preferring to be perceived as apes rather than soldiers.1

Dressed in gorilla suits to protect their identity, the women's visits to local area art venues became known



Gorilla Girls "Caught in a Jungle" poster, undated. All photos and images courtesy of Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries.

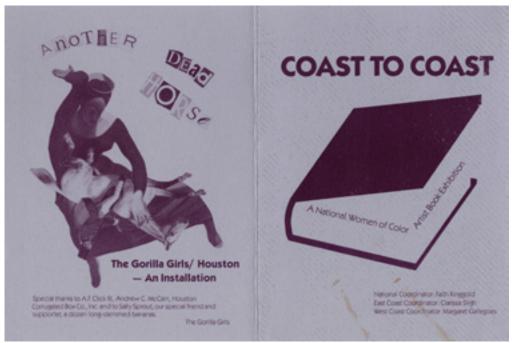


The Gorilla Girls made their "first appearance" at the Glassell School of Art on May 28, 1987.

as "hits," a selective targeting of galleries or museums in which women artists and their works were underrepresented or not represented at all. The anonymity afforded by the gorilla suits served two purposes. First, it kept the art establishment off balance with the "hits" and kept them guessing as to the identity of the Gorilla Girls. As expressed by the group's spokeswoman, Sally Sprout, during a Houston Chronicle interview in 1988, "Being anonymous is much more effective politically because if people knew who was doing it, they would be able to make

associations with that personality and dismiss the issue." Second. it provided them a measure of personal safety from both physical and verbal attacks for their actions. As reiterated by Sprout, "There is a certain amount of protection: people have been punished for their political views."2

The Gorilla Girls made their debut at the Glassell School of Art on May 28, 1987. Their appearances at events drew the attention of visitors and owners of the galleries, as well as increasing press coverage of the event. Depending on the individual, reactions generated from their appearances ran the gamut from shock and disgust to support and awareness to the plight of women artists. In addition to their first appearance at Glassell, the



Another Dead Horse installation postcard, 1988.

Gorilla Girls "hit" the Menil, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and the Lawndale Arts Center.

Although some viewed their methods as unorthodox and over the top in drawing attention, the Gorilla Girls' work and preparation behind their "hits" were anything but unconventional. Being a Gorilla Girl was not a mere hobby for these women. As many of their members came to realize, it was a full time job that demanded planning, coordination, publicity, press releases, and most importantly funding. From a financial standpoint, the group carried on their activities at great cost to themselves, many times risking bankruptcy. If not for the support and donations of like-minded women, supporters, and other members of the art community, many of their "hits" and installations would not have happened. According to Sprout, "These people (the Gorilla Girls) have given up a great deal of their personal lives and will never be known for it. There is no personal gain, other than the intangibles."3

Evidence of the group's meticulous nature can be found throughout the collection of materials they kept, including: organizational records, correspondence, mailing lists, financial statements, photographs, notebooks, flyers and brochures, and statistical materials. In fact, they were so careful to cultivate their anonymity that they extended it even on to their correspondence, financial statements, and ledgers. The women were simply known as GG or the Gorilla Girls. When communicating with gallery owners or granting interviews with the press, they handled such transactions through their spokeswoman, Sally Sprout, who acted as their intermediary.

Besides demonstrators and protesters, these women considered themselves, above all, visual artists in their own right. The Gorilla Girls recalled their art student

days when they witnessed professors' sexist and dismissive attitudes in their courses. Such attitudes ranged from espousing their views on what a woman's role in society should be to offering advice to deny their gender and become more masculine in order to succeed. As such, the Gorilla Girls used their works as a reminder to society of the current state of inequities that women in the arts faced. Nowhere is this more forcefully stated than in their submitted proposal for the Diverse Works Installation, "Another Dead Horse."

"We want to make it clear that our plan is to make the strongest possible statement concerning women and women

artists in particular, and we will use any device to express our position and our anger. We will use sarcasm, irony, perhaps even blatant vulgarity, as well as historical data and hundreds of lines of quotations about women (presented as graffiti) to reinforce our portrayal of the jungle the woman artist lives in."

From 1987-1997, the Houston Gorilla Girls' activities, performances, and installations made them a fixture of the Houston art scene, helping to open the door to female and minority artists and their works. Almost as quickly as they appeared on the scene, they vanished into anonymity after a decade of targeted appearances, performing their last act in Verona, Italy, at the Villa Carlotta.

The Houston Gorilla Girls may be gone but the legacy and impact of their work lives on for all to see



The Gorilla Girls out in front of the Menil, undated.

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Expense report for Sewell Gallery "hit," 1992.



The Gorilla Girls are "Married to Art," undated.

through their materials and artifacts contained within their archival collection, replete with their masks and tiny stuffed gorillas. In the end, what they wanted is universal to all women and may be best summarized by their spokeswoman, Sally Sprout. "They want to be seen as people. They want to emphasize that they are not anti-male, anti-family, anti-children ... They want to emphasize that they are sisters, daughters, wives, and mothers."5

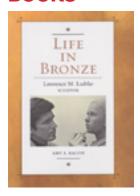
In a final gesture, befitting to their legacy, the materials that encapsulated their cause and life's work were donated anonymously to University of Houston Special Collections through an intermediary on their behalf. Always taking their cause of combatting gender inequality seriously, but not themselves, perhaps, the Houston Gorilla Girls joie de vivre is best expressed with their signature closing found on their correspondence "With Love and Bananas."

Special Collections in the M. D. Anderson Library is open from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Monday to Friday during summer break. For more information on how to view the Gorilla Girls' collection or visit the archives, go to http://info.lib.uh.edu/about/ campus-libraries-collections/special-collections.

Vince Lee is the archivist for the Carey C. Shuart Women's Archive Collections, Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries.

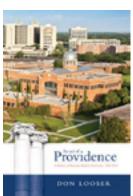
News Updates & Books by Barbara Eaves

BOOKS



Life in Bronze: Lawrence M. Ludtke, Sculptor, by Amy L. Bacon (Texas A&M University Press, 2013). Bacon tells the story of a man of many talents, a professional baseball player and could-have-been golfer turned classical sculptor with a profound talent for casting the spirits and hearts of his subjects into the bronze of their sculptures. She takes the reader through Ludtke's

honeymoon in Europe, where he was smitten by the classic sculptures he saw there, through his years of working a "day job" to support his family while learning his art, to his first commission in 1965, through 150 works now displayed in institutions across the country. The book is generously illustrated – including an appendix of his major works. Interesting man. I wish I had met him!



An Act of Providence: A History of Houston Baptist University, 1960-2010, by Don Looser (Halcyon Press, 2010). Houston Baptist University began during the 1950s as an idea of Houston business leaders - Lloyd Bentsen, Jr., Lester Cain, Stewart Morris, Rex Baker, Jake Kamin, Howard Lee, Don McMillan among them - to create an academically powerful institution based on Christian

principles in an urban setting. In September 1963, it welcomed 190 freshmen, who made their way past the then-end of the Southwest Freeway to "an island of development in a sea of raw land." Looser traces the school's growth through fifty years and three presidencies, from ninety graduates in 1967 to a cumulative 15,000 by 2008, from a start-up liberal arts college to today's progressive university that holds exceptional records in nursing, premed, languages, athletics and more. Looser retired from HBU as vice president of academic affairs in 2007 after forty-three years of service – the school's longest – then worked on this book for three more years. His association with all three presidents and his access to minutes of the board of trustees meetings and other private papers make An Act of Providence a valuable resource. The narrative is chronological and, as HBU president Robert B. Sloan, Jr., noted, "Don opted for facts and details over sweeping themes." Indeed he did. Several times this reader found herself looking for "the end of the story" – which usually cropped up a few pages later.

NEW TEXAS HISTORY BOOKS

Women and the Texas Revolution, by Mary Scheer, ed. (University of North Texas Press, 2012). This collection of essays, which shares TSHA's Liz Carpenter Award for Research in History of Women, focuses on the role of women in the Texas Revolution. Chapter authors include Light Townsend Cummins and Jeffrey D. Dunn.

Matamoros and the Texas Revolution by Craig H. Roell (TSHA, 2013). The traditional story of the Texas Revolution remembers the Alamo and Goliad, but Matamoros? Here, Roell shows the genuine economic, geographic, and social and military value of the city to Mexican and Texas history.

The Handbook of African-American Texas was launched by the Texas State Historical Association on-line on Juneteenth 2013. Envisioned in 2011 by then-TSHA president Merline Pitre, professor of government and history at Texas Southern University, the project has more than 850 entries tracing the struggles and accomplishments of African Americans in Texas. New articles and images will be added. Visit www.TSHAonline.org.

EVENTS

HERMANN PARK CENTENNIAL YEAR – In May 1914, five months before his death, George Hermann gave the City of Houston 278 wooded acres across from Rice Institute to become Hermann Park. The Hermann Park Conservancy and others will celebrate this deed all year. Ground breakings for the Grand Gateway and the \$30 million Garden Center beautification projects are set for August and September 2013, respectively (openings next spring and fall). In December, Houston's Hermann Park: A Century of Community, by Barrie Scardino Bradley (Texas A&M University Press) will be published. Check www.hermannpark.org for events scheduled through November 2014.

SEPTEMBER 21: Texian Navy Day, sponsored by the Sons of the Republic of Texas, honors The Texian Navy. Ceremony will be on board the Battleship Texas, at the San Jacinto Battleground in La Porte, 11:30 a.m. Visit www.srttexas.org.

OCTOBER 5, NOVEMBER 2, AND DECEMBER 7: Buffalo Bayou History Tours, sponsored by Buffalo Bayou Partnership. Learn about Houston's rich history from local historian Louis Aulbach as you cruise down the bayou on the pontoon boat, Spirit of the Bayou. Tickets \$40. Meet at Allen's Landing, 10:00 – 11:30 a.m. Call Trudi Smith for reservations, 713-752-0314 ext. 3.

OCTOBER 31-NOVEMBER 2: Texas State Genealogical Society conference will be held in Round Rock, Texas. Visit www.txsgs.org.

NOVEMBER 7: Green and Growing, BBP's Annual Gala at Sabine Promenade, will highlight Buffalo Bayou landscape improvements. The Garden Club of Houston and River Oaks Garden Club are this year's honorees. Contact Trudi Smith at tsmith@buffalobayou.org.

ONGOING: Buffalo Bayou Trail Guides, maps of the tenmile stretch from Shepherd Dr. to the Turning Basin with landmarks marked. Pick up a copy at Hotel Icon (220 Congress), the Visitor Center in City Hall (901 Bagby, first floor), or download it at www.buffalobayou.org.

MARCH 6-8, 2014: Texas State Historical Association's 118th Annual Meeting will be held in San Antonio at the Crowne Plaza Riverwalk Hotel. The forty-one sessions will cover all aspects of Texas history. Visit www.tshaonline.org/annual-meeting.



APRIL 12, 2014: The 14th San Jacinto Battleground Symposium, sponsored by the San Jacinto Battleground Conservancy, looks at the Texas Revolution through the eyes of the Texas-born Tejanos who fought for independence alongside

"newcomers" from the United States and Europe. Visit www.sanjacintoconservancy.com.

NEWS

PRESERVATION HOUSTON is accepting nominations for the 2014 Good Brick Awards for excellence in historic preservation. Download guidelines and nomination forms at www.preservationhouston.org. Deadline for entries is Monday, September 9, 2013. Projects must be located within Harris County and completed during the last three years. Residential, commercial, and institutional projects qualify. Awards will be presented during Preservation Houston's Cornerstone Dinner in early 2014.



FRED J. KORGE, pioneer designer and branding man and an advisory board member of Houston History magazine, won IABC-Houston's 2013 Legacy Award for creative and community contributions. Another professional advertising group, the AAF, has established the Baxter + Korge Education Scholarship for communication industry-related

studies at the University of Houston. Korge and noted illustrator Norm Baxter founded Baxter + Korge Studio in 1957.

PAUL GERVAIS BELL, JR., won the 2013 "Hero of San Jacinto" award from the San Jacinto Battleground Conservancy for his decades of service to the land

where Texas won its independence. "Gervais has been an invaluable supporter and advisor, for many years, to the Conservancy, the San Jacinto Museum of History, Texas Parks & Wildlife, and other stakeholders in this sacred ground," said Jan DeVault, president. As president of the Museum, Bell oversaw the \$5.6 million restoration of the San



Jacinto Monument as part of the Texas Sesquicentennial Celebration. He played a key role on the team that created the ongoing master plan to develop and restore the Battleground.

MIKAELA GARZA SELLEY was recently named the Houston Public Library's Hispanic archivist by Mayor Annise Parker and the library's director, Dr. Rhea Brown Lawson. Selley completed her master's degree in public history at the University of Houston. Award-winning author GWENDOLYN ZEPEDA was introduced as Houston's first Poet Laureate at the same ceremony.

RAMONA DAVIS has retired as executive director of Preservation Houston. During the seventeen years she led the organization, Ramona developed an outstanding professional staff who, along with volunteers, board members, and friends, demonstrated that we can develop our city without losing our heritage.



When JANET WAGNER, chairman of the Harris County Historical Commission, spoke to the Annual Meeting of the San Jacinto Descendants about the history of the San Jacinto Battleground last spring, she was surprised to receive its annual award to non-members for their work related to the Descendants' purposes.

On April 27, the ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON **CAMP 67, SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS** AND DISTRICT 1, UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY commemorated Confederate Memorial Day at Glenwood Cemetery by dedicating headstones on the graves of Confederate soldiers buried there. Among the fifteen honorees were Lt. Col. John H. Manly, founder of Glenwood Cemetery; Capt. Robert P. Boyce, veteran of the Texas Revolution and resident of Houston since 1837; Anson Jones's son, Charles Eliot Jones, who was captured at Shiloh and died in an Ohio prison camp; and the Roberts family: Dr. Ingham Stephen Roberts, his wife Marian Catherine Kenny Roberts, and their Confederate sons John Dill and Henry Phillip Roberts. Their families and the San Jacinto Battleground Conservancy provided bronze Daughters of the Republic of Texas medallions for the six who were citizens of the Republic.

Thank you ...



Houston History wishes to thank Jim Parsons of Preservation Houston for the wonderful tour of Glenwood Cemetery and the Frank Teich monuments. What a treat!

We also thank Hermann Park Conservancy for sponsoring the spring launch. Everyone enjoyed the roses in bloom and hearing the plans for the new Centennial Gardens, celebrating the park's 100th anniversary. The staff is grateful to our board members Anne Sloan, Susan Bischoff, Betty Chapman, Barbara Eaves, and Fred Korge who graciously provided the refreshments.



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RETURN SERVICE REQUESTED

