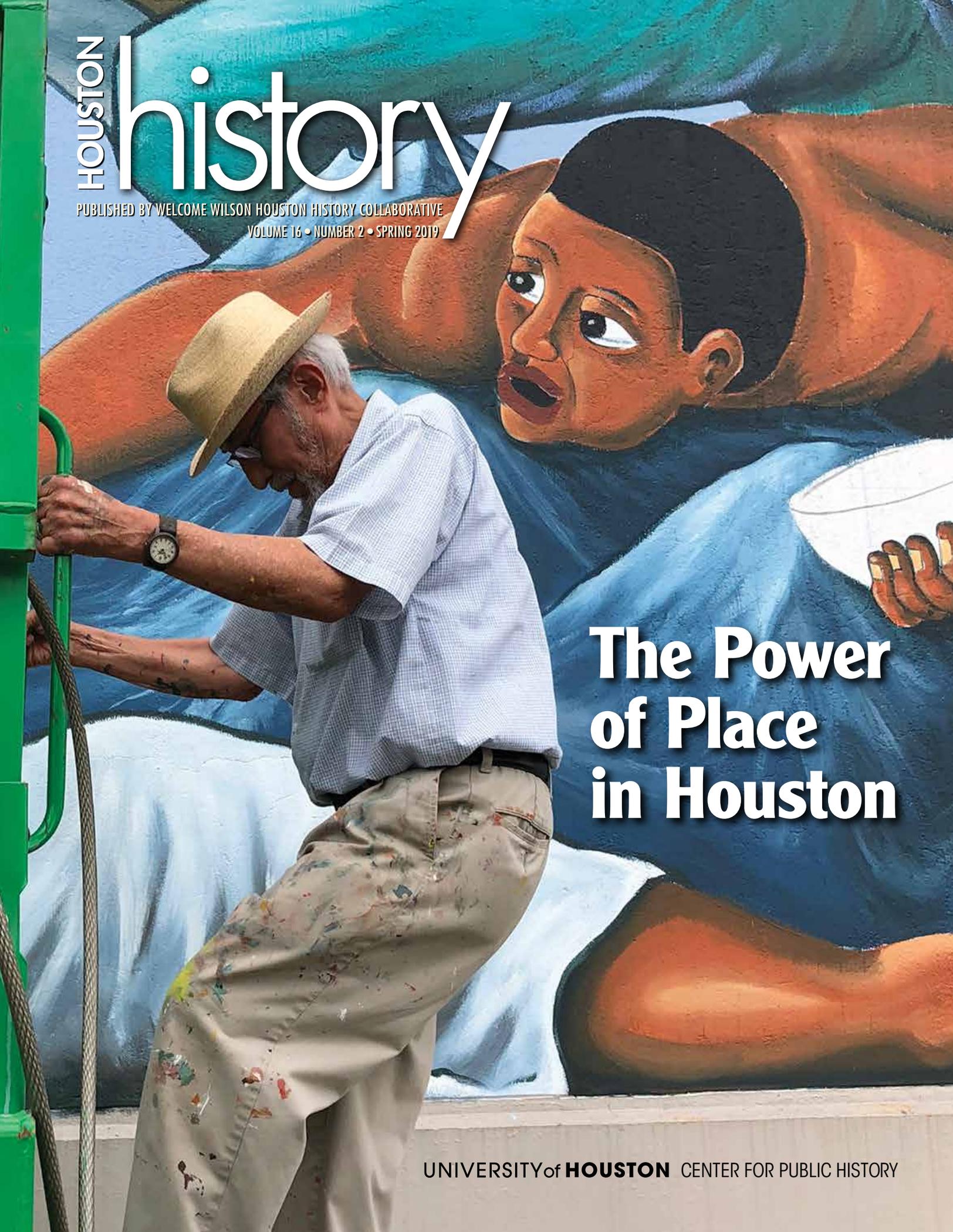


HOUSTON

history

PUBLISHED BY WELCOME WILSON HOUSTON HISTORY COLLABORATIVE
VOLUME 16 • NUMBER 2 • SPRING 2019



The Power of Place in Houston

Finding Our “Place” in Houston



Debbie Z. Harwell,
Editor

In conversation and in historical research “place” takes on a variety of meanings. It can represent a physical location, a space within the community, a position in society, or our diverse identities. Exploring Houston history is more than just looking at our location; we consider all the things that make up our environment, from the people to neighborhoods, schools, churches, businesses, and our culture.

Through this broader examination of place, we learn who we are and how we connect to the big picture.

When I look at the cover photo of Leo Tanguma on the ladder in front of *Rebirth of Our Nationality*, I marvel at the power of the image and the place it represents in Houston’s culture. For forty-seven years, this mural at 5900 Canal, almost the length of a football field, has reminded Houston’s Latino community: “To become aware of our history is to become aware of our singularity.” Painted when Mexican Americans made up just over 10 percent of the city’s population (compared to 44 percent today), the mural has continued to resonate with new Latino migrants and immigrants coming to Houston, even as the artwork’s paint peeled and faded. The way Houston has embraced the mural’s restoration by Tanguma and local artist GONZO247 speaks to the timeless intensity of its images and the force of its message.

This issue looks at various interpretations of place and the power people exercise to claim their place, whether spatial, cultural, or political. The feature articles begin with Italians who arrived in the late nineteenth century, claimed a place in the Post Oak area, and established family farms where the Galleria stands today. African American business leaders, tired of being told not to “step out of their place” and excluded from the No-Tsu-Oh (Houston spelled backwards) Carnival, countered with the De-Ro-Loc (Colored) Carnival to highlight their service and economic contributions to the city. Today Latinos are claiming their cultural place in Houston through the Latino Art Now! Conference, Site Lines and Time Frames, which features exhibits, public art instal-

lations, performances, readings, lectures, and films from February through May exploring Latino art as American art. Two articles examine women’s political place in the 1970s compared to today, demonstrating that women continue to face many of the same battles. And the final feature article looks at Brownwood, Baytown’s “River Oaks” until Hurricanes Carla and Alicia wiped the neighborhood off the map, forcing residents from their homes—their place.

The departments also explore multiple meanings of place. Baptist minister James Novarro became a leader in the farmworkers minimum wage march in 1966 to demand laborers’ place at the bargaining table. Members of Houston’s LGBT community worked to preserve their history and tell their story long before they had a public place to do so. The narratives of the offshore industry highlight industry pioneers who slogged through Louisiana marshlands to figure out how to drill underwater, enabling Houston to expand its place as an energy capital.

A critical interpretation of place came to the forefront in 2018 with the discovery of skeletal remains belonging to ninety-five prison farm convicts on property under development by the Fort Bend Independent School District (FBISD). Debate has focused on the “95’s” claim to the land on which they were buried. Cemeteries are usually considered sacred ground but not always for marginalized groups if the cemeteries get in the way of development. FBISD saw these African Americans’ remains as an obstruction to its building plans and wanted to relocate them, but concerned citizens who saw them as people objected. In February Fort Bend County commissioners voted unanimously for the county attorney to negotiate with FBISD to find a solution that will include a memorial cemetery and the educational facility. *The Houston Chronicle* reported that County Judge K. P. George explained, “As a civilized society, I believe we have an obligation to serve some kind of justice to these people. We don’t even know them, but they were here. They were the citizens of Fort Bend County.” Time will tell if that solidifies the 95’s claim to their final resting place.

Woven throughout this issue are stories of people staking a claim to some place—a physical location, their station in society, their political rights, and the value of their cultural expression. By exploring these various claims to place, we see the power in their voices and a redefinition of the mainstream narrative of Houston history.



Thank you!

The *Houston History* staff would like to thank Mister McKinney for graciously giving us a tour of downtown on the Houston History Bus to kick off our spring semester. We all learned new things about the city we call home.

Those on the bus left to right, include Calvin Blair, Cody Bunker, Mister McKinney, Ruben Castro, Cameron Garcia, Johnny Zapata (partially hidden), Elora Lowe, Adriana Castro (partially hidden), Laura Bernal, and Livia Garza.

The Power of Place in Houston

EDITORIAL STAFF

Joseph A. Pratt, *Editor Emeritus*
Debbie Z. Harwell, *Editor*
Dani Amparo, *Intern*
Laura Bernal, *Intern*
Calvin Blair, *Intern*
Ruben Castro, *Oral History Intern*
Jennifer Gonzalez, *Social Media Intern*
Elora Lowe, *Intern*
Manuel Martinez Alvarenga, *Intern*
Johnny Zapata, *Intern*
Paulina Wilson, *Oral History Transcriptionist*
Marsha Van Horn, *Art Director*

ADVISORY BOARD

Monica Perales	Oscar Gutiérrez
Martin Melosi	William Kellar
Susan Bischoff	Fred Korge
Betty Trapp Chapman	Jim Saye
Barbara Eaves	Anne Sloan
Steven Fenberg	

EDITORIAL POLICY

Houston History is published twice a year by the Welcome Wilson Houston History Collaborative in the Center for Public History at the University of Houston. We welcome manuscripts, interviews, photographic essays, and ideas for topical issues on the history and culture of the Houston region, broadly defined. Please send correspondence to *Houston History*, University of Houston, Center for Public History, 3623 Cullen Blvd., Room 320, Houston, TX 77204-3007 or email HoustonHistory@uh.edu. Phone 713-743-3123.

©2019 by the Center for Public History. All rights reserved. Reproduction of this issue or any portion of it is expressly prohibited without written permission of the publisher. The Center for Public History disclaims responsibility for statements of fact and opinions of contributors.

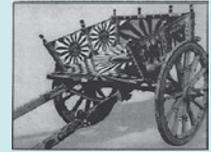
COVER PHOTO:

Leopoldo Tanguma in front of the mural Rebirth of Our Nationality, 1973, restored 2018. ©Leopoldo Tanguma. Digital image ©Jesse E. Rodriguez. Courtesy of the artist.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FEATURES:

21 Italians Plant Roots in Houston
By Sabine Meyer Hill



71 De-Ro-Loc: Houston's Forgotten Festival
By Calvin Blair

121 The IUPLR and the History of Houston's Latino Art Now! Conference
By Olga U. Herrera and Pamela Anne Quiroz



201 State of the Women in Houston
By Dr. Nikki Van Hightower

231 Marching On: "The Rise of Houston Women = The Rise of the Nation"
By Regina Elizabeth Vitolo

261 Brownwood: From Neighborhood to Nature Center
By Laura Bernal



DEPARTMENTS:

HOUSTONIANS

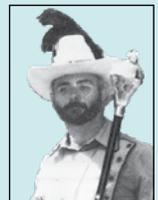
311 Keeping Honor Alive for the 95: What Unmarked Graves of Texas Convict Laborers Can Teach Us Today
By Heather Lafon



321 Reverend James Navarro: Supporting La Marcha and Those in Need
By Joshua Valentino

FROM THE ARCHIVES

371 Houston Area Rainbow Collective History Community-led Archives
By Christian Kelleher, with Larry Criscione, J.D. Doyle, Alexis Melvin, Judy Reeves, and Cristan Williams



411 The Power of Voices: Narratives of Offshore Energy
By Teresa Tomkins-Walsh

431 HOUSTON HAPPENINGS
By Laura Bernal



Damon Palermo's grandfather used a mule cart to bring produce to market prior to the widespread use of trucks. Photo courtesy of Damon Palermo.

Italians Plant Roots in Houston

By Sabine Meyer Hill

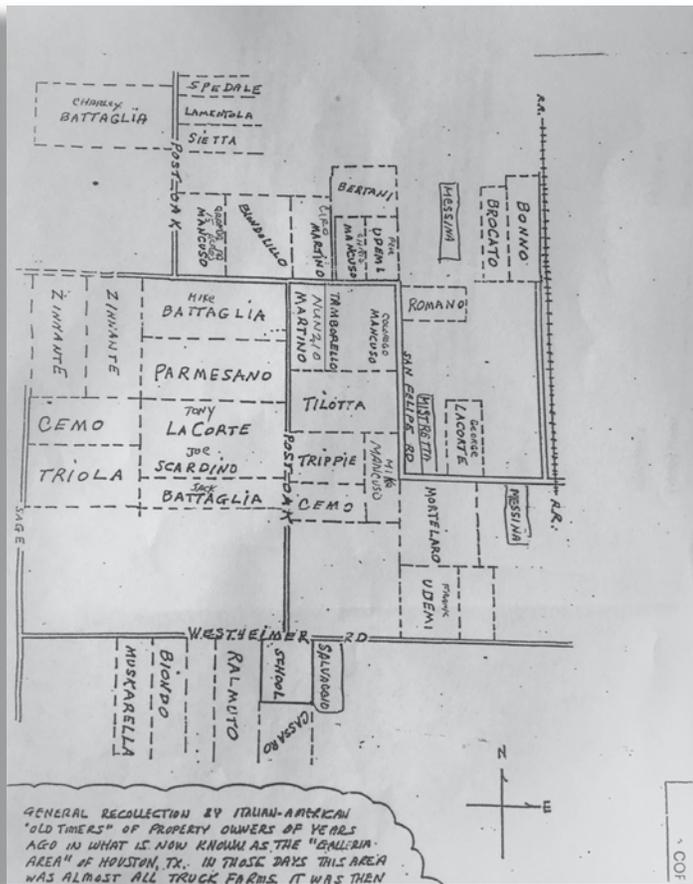
Not long ago—before Houston paved over the Post Oak area, before skyscrapers riddled the downtown and medical center landscapes, before subdivisions became the norm on the outskirts of town—the banks of Buffalo and White Oak Bayous in downtown were home to a thriving marketplace. Large plots of land within the city limits held expansive urban farms and gardens that provided Houstonians with fresh fruit and vegetables and their cultivators with a chance at making a life in their new home.

Houston, Texas, is widely regarded as a city built by immigrants and now ranks as the nation's most diverse large city.¹ People commonly think of Houston's immigrant population as coming from Latin America, Asia, and the Middle East. But if we look a little deeper, we find a thriving Italian community, coming mainly from Sicily, that has greatly contributed to Houston's progress. Even more surprising considering Houston's reputation as an industrial, developed city is that a great majority of these Sicilian immigrants managed to establish farms in what have become some of modern Houston's most developed areas: Post Oak and Airline Drive. Each successive generation progressed into a more modern area of the food business. Nevertheless, these early farmers made it possible for their families to thrive and contribute to the development of the Houston we know today.

Like many groups, Sicilians began immigrating to Houston in large numbers in the late 1800s due to difficult conditions in their homeland. Their history is most accessible through the oral accounts of their descendants. Nuncio Martino, the eighty-five-year-old grandson of Nunzio

Martino, a Sicilian immigrant truck farmer, says his ancestors had trouble getting the most basic goods like wheat for pasta and bread. So they came to the United States in hopes of a more prosperous future. Most Sicilian immigrants departed from Genoa on the Italian mainland and entered the United States through the port of New Orleans with their sights set on farmland in Houston's vicinity: the Brazos Valley, Diboll, and Dickinson. Between 1870 and 1920, the Italian population in Texas grew from 186 to 8,024. By 1980, Italian descendants residing in Texas totaled 189,799.² The region's climate and soil were similar enough to Sicily's to welcome the farming they were familiar with, so upon arriving in their new home they relied on what they knew best: food. A central component in Sicilian culture, food held the key to surviving in the United States. Nuncio Martino and Damon Palermo, another member of Houston's Sicilian community, say that their relatives were no longer in charge of their own destiny in Sicily. They came to the United States because they felt that they had no other choice, and they made the best of it.

The Post Oak area, now home to the Galleria, had a completely different landscape during the first half of the twentieth century; it was home to some of the earliest and most extensive Sicilian farms and homesteads. More than twenty Sicilian families owned land in this area. Many others held ninety-nine or one-hundred-year land leases. The farmers among them operated so-called truck farms, growing food for their families and community and hauling the surplus produce to markets around the city to be sold. Weather permitting, they grew produce like tomatoes,



Prior to 1950, the Post Oak area was home to numerous Italian family farms as shown on this map. Photo courtesy of Nuncio Martino.

peppers, and squash. More common were hearty greens like mustards and collards that could stand up to Houston's weather extremes. The market where most of the truck farmers started out was located at the corner of Preston and Smith Street in downtown Houston. The market itself was up on a hill. The farmers backed their trucks into stalls they rented to sell their produce. Down the hill, across the bayou on Preston Street, one could find chickens and watermelons for sale. Past that was the mule barn, the parking garage of those days.

Nuncio Martino remembers his father's descriptions of his experiences as a fifteen-year-old in the early 1920s, loading the wagon at night in Post Oak, hitching up the mule, and going to market with a sixty-five cent allotment from his father. Twenty-five cents went to parking the wagon at the market, twenty-five cents went to parking the mule in the market barn, and the remaining fifteen cents went to feeding the mule. He had to sell some produce before he could buy himself something to eat!³

Beginning in the 1940s, the produce business shifted to the area in North Houston near the intersection of Airline Drive and Little York, known to Sicilians as Tarruco. In 1942 the Farmer's Cooperative Marketing Association of Houston established a farmers market at 2520 Airline Drive. A produce terminal was built further north off Wayside Drive, and the farmers and wholesalers gravitated towards this area as development altered the landscape of Houston's downtown and the Post Oak area. The downtown market closed down completely in 1957. One Sicilian family,

the Caninos, farmed land off Little York Road in North Houston. When the Airline Drive market opened, they were among the farmers who started selling their produce there. In 1958 Joe Canino, Jr. began leasing the market space from the Farmer's Cooperative Marketing Association, opening Canino Produce Company.⁴

One of the few Sicilian farming families still operating a small-scale farm in the Houston area is the Atkinson family, descended from the Monachinos of the Airline Drive area. Mike Atkinson's father, Sam Monachino, sold produce to Weingarten's and grocery stores around Houston while also operating a grocery store. Atkinson and his son now farm a 100-acre property in Spring, Texas, that Atkinson's grandfather purchased in 1961 and sold to him upon retiring in 1991.⁵ Their produce can be found in farmers markets and restaurants around the city as well as in the farm store they operate on site.



In the 1950s, Italian farms disappeared from the Post Oak landscape. Widening roads at the Westheimer intersection paved the way for the growing retail area, first with Sakowitz in 1959 and Joske's in 1963 followed by the Galleria in 1970.

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, RGD0006-0283r.

As Houston grew and developed, pushing farmers further out from the center both geographically and in terms of the city's focus, the United States also saw improved shipping and refrigeration technologies. Both factors contributed to a shift from local farms to transnationally and internationally sourced produce. Mirroring this shift was the generational change in Sicilian families from occupations on farms to employment in the produce wholesale and resale business. Not one to be left behind, Nuncio Martino's father, born in 1908 on his own father's farm in Post Oak, became a produce buyer for Weingarten's at age nineteen. Weingarten's became the largest produce retailer in the Houston area; the number of local stores under the Weingarten's name peaked at twenty-seven. Nuncio followed in his father's footsteps to become a produce buyer for Weingarten's and remained in the business for forty-five years, also working for Northside Banana beginning in 1958.

The produce business was no easy game. Buyers arrived at the market around two in the morning to choose the best produce and get their purchases on the shelf in time. This



The downtown market in the 1930s offered grocers and farmers the chance to buy and sell the freshest local produce to Houston customers.

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, MSSO200-0383.

daily affair meant long hours for everyone along the food chain just as farming had been for the generations before. Camello Palermo, a Sicilian American grocery store owner who passed away in 2018, likened the business to a jail sentence: the repetitive days and constant work that kept him chained to his store took its toll. But during hard times, the consistent demand for food and the work of people like the Sicilians in the food business was a blessing. Through the two World Wars and the Great Depression, the Sicilian community stayed afloat due in large part to the ability of its members to provide food for themselves and others through their work as farmers, grocers, and restaurateurs.⁶

Until the early 1980s, Pauline and Jimmy Tamborello owned a grocery store inherited from Jimmy's father on Lyons Avenue in Houston's Fifth Ward. Pauline remembers her in-laws breaking down bags of bulk goods like flour and sugar into quantities that struggling families could purchase for ten or twenty-five cents. This "dime pack business" kept people fed through the hardest of times.⁷ The Tamborellos recall their families selling their customers food on credit and that this kind of service allowed family-run grocery stores to remain competitive even after large chain stores monopolized the market. Jimmy Tamborello adds that, during those times, they sold meats like rabbit, possum, and raccoon in their store, as those were what people could afford. They sourced this meat from a farm in Madisonville, Texas, that they visited every Sunday. In the store, the Tamborellos left a foot on each animal as proof that they were not selling dog meat.

The conditions under which many Sicilian immigrants were raised—both the parenting methods and the economic and political situation—led to a community that places a high value on its food and allows very little to go to waste. Meat was uncommon when Nuncio Martino was coming up; vegetables and pasta were the staples, though this did not please everyone. He had a Sicilian friend who once thought he had his fill of pasta. Upon announcing this to his mother at meal time, she informed him that they did not have anything other

than pasta and directed him to sit out on the porch if he did not want any. Eventually, his hunger overtook him, and he returned to the table for his bowl of pasta.

Nuncio Martino's grandfather with the last name Trambatori was the first of his family to come to the United States in the late 1800s. He left his wife, four daughters, and his son waiting in Sicily as he made a place for himself by building a pushcart and selling produce for pennies and nickels. Celebrating Christmas without her husband in Sicily, Mrs. Trambatori wanted to buy meat for her family for the first time that year. She traded her valuables to purchase a small portion of meat and had to hide it away on her way home so as not to make the neighbors wonder. Meat was so expensive in those days that it took drastic measures to make it available for a household. By 1898, Trambatori earned enough to bring his family to the United States. Selling food gave him the opportunity to make a life for his family, and this coupled with living through scarce times gave them and families like them a great appreciation for their food that has trickled down through the generations.⁸

Every March, Sicilian households and community organizations create altars to San Giuseppe, Saint Joseph in English. They start preparing as early as January, making elaborate decorations, baking unleavened breads with ornate designs, and laying out vegetables, fruits, and sometimes fish, once the holiday arrives. The altars, or tavola, are dressed in the finest of linens and typically blessed by a priest. This tradition dates back centuries in Sicily. The Christian legend, recounted by Nuncio Martino and Damon Palermo, is rooted in a severe drought during the Middle Ages for which the Sicilians prayed to their patron saint, Saint Joseph, to intercede to God on their behalf. According to the story, God ended the drought thanks to San Giuseppe's intercession, and the Sicilians began their Tavola di San Giuseppe tradition. Carrying on the tradition begun by their ancestors, Sicilians as far from their homeland as Houston continue giving thanks to their patron saint for their harvest bounty and strong families every

year by crafting their altars to the highest standards and laying out the best foods that nature offers them. Local Sicilian women like Damon Palermo's grandmother whose sons were drafted into World War II made promises to San Giuseppe to celebrate him with an altar for up to five years in exchange for their sons' safe return.⁹

Saint Joseph may have relieved the Sicilians' first food crisis, but in the late 1800s the best answer to the scarcity of money and food was to emigrate to the United States and replant their roots. The longest-running Italian American social organization in Houston, Sacred Heart Society of Little York, is one channel this group has maintained to stay connected with its past and its food culture. Formed in 1923 in the backroom of a mom-and-pop grocery store at the intersection of Airline Drive and Little York Road owned by Tony Porcarello, it began as an organization of Roman Catholic community leaders under the guidance of Father D. Viola. In 1953 the organization established a permanent meeting location on East Whitney Street in North Houston, where it still operates today.

The organization, made up of Sicilian and Italian men in the Houston community, meets monthly to discuss the business of the organization and hosts frequent social engagements for their family and guests. Until 2018, every Thursday for sixty-five years the hall hosted a pasta lunch with Sicilian American home staples like spaghetti, homemade gravy, or sugo, Italian sausage, meatballs, Italian bread-crust baked chicken, and eggplant or melanzane. Despite being tucked away in an industrial area of the city, this event fed several hundred diners every week. "Food is the central theme," as Damon Palermo, current president of Sacred Heart Society says, and "all are invited." Reflective of the appreciation of food and community that Sicilians are known for, Palermo says Pasta Thursday was an attraction for comfort food with friends "the way we grew up." Social organizations like Sacred Heart are powerful in keeping newly arrived ethnic communities afloat and allowing them to thrive in an otherwise unfamiliar place. As the Italian community flourished and integrated itself into Houston, Sacred Heart's events became a place to share

its cultural pride with the rest of the city as well as to keep younger generations in touch with the traditions and values of their ancestors abroad.¹⁰

Also active in Houston's cultural community is the Italian Cultural and Community Center, which hosts dinners, puts on language and cooking classes, celebrates an Italian festival, and organizes a wide range of lectures and other events. Established in 1976, this organization's mission is "to advance, celebrate and preserve Italian culture and heritage."¹¹ Families and individuals from across the Houston area's Italian and Sicilian community collaborated to put together two editions of their individual and shared histories for future generations and the greater Houston community to benefit and learn from them.

Due in large part to a strong network and deep roots developed as a result of the success of early farmers and entrepreneurs, members of the Sicilian and Italian community have had a profound impact on building Houston from the ground up. The community built Saint Michael Catholic Church in the Post Oak area. An uncle of Nuncio Martino's planted the shrubbery at Rice Institute, now Rice University, as groundskeeper. Members of the Ferrari family grew oak trees in the Post Oak area that they sold to be planted throughout the city. The Italian Montalbano family established successful lumber and tire businesses in Houston. Restaurants like Carrabba's Italian Grill, Tony's, and Mandola's, to name just a few, come from the Sicilian community and have become household names across the greater Houston area. Some Sicilians worked in leadership at Weingarten's—Nuncio Martino and his father, Angelo Trippi, and others. Smaller grocery stores were common as well. The Porcarello family, the Palermos, the Tamborellos, the Biandolas, the Ragusas, and others ran small-scale stores that bought produce from farmers and sold it to the Houston community. Camello Palermo remembered selling summer sausage to workers of all ethnicities out of his store in Houston's Fourth Ward. He was born in his grandparents' grocery store at West Dallas and Columbus Street. Weighing in at over eleven pounds, Palermo tipped the scale at his grandparents' store where his family weighed him at

Father and son Harris and Joseph Weingarten opened their first Weingarten's in 1901. This store is shown circa 1930, about the time Nuncio Martino's father became a produce buyer for the grocery chain. The business grew to include seventy stores advertising "better for less."

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, MSS0334-1025.





Camello Palermo's Sicilian American grocery store was located in Houston's Fourth Ward. Photo courtesy of Damon Palermo.

his birth. Immigrant families like the Palermos, seeking refuge from harsh conditions in their homelands, brought positive and lasting changes to Houston in the form of their culture and entrepreneurship.¹²

Damon Palermo explains that, in the Sicilian culture, food is synonymous with love. Positive food associations have led to recipes and cooking methods being passed down through generations. He learned to make the Italian sausage from his youth by testing recipe after recipe on older members of the Sicilian community like his father. He was raised eating cucuzza, a squash that grows to the size of a baseball bat, and on a return visit to Sicily, he brought back seeds to plant in his own garden. Every year Palermo and others bring their children to learn cooking traditions like the Tavola di San Giuseppe food preparation from older generations. He first brought his youngest son at the age of eight and assigned him the job of rolling out dough for cuccidati, or fig cookies, under the guidance of a Sicilian woman in their community who corrected his technique until he had learned the skill for life.¹³

The grocery business, which many Sicilians first entered, was made up of family-owned businesses that maintained a constant customer base in their neighborhoods. As technology and U.S. agriculture changed, however, larger chain stores took over. A&P, Henke & Pillot—which later became part of the Kroger brand—and Weingarten's were some of the largest. A&P, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, was technically in the market since its founding

Established in 1958, Canino Produce, shown here in 2018, sold all types of produce, including avocados, pineapples, citrus fruits, and pistachios, adding to the variety of locally farmed produce.

Photo courtesy of Alexander Beck.



in 1896. Weingarten's opened its first store in 1901. Kroger began operating in the 1920s.¹⁴ But mom-and-pop stores under Sicilian ownership stayed in business until a combination of convenient one-stop supermarkets, efficient shipping and refrigeration technology, and the dispersion of the city's population across suburbs catalyzed their decline. More sizeable stores gained the competitive advantage and eventually pushed the majority of smaller, family-owned stores out of the trade.

Italian restaurants remain mainstays in Houston's food landscape, but the rest of the food industry continues to change. Canino Produce was originally established by an Italian immigrant family and changed to reflect the makeup of Houston's agricultural workforce and the demographics of the surrounding area, which are largely Hispanic. The produce sold there shifted from local fruits and vegetables to ones imported from Mexico or California. The market area is approaching another potential shift in landscape as the developer MLB Capital Partners, who purchased the property in 2017, makes plans to create a "cleaner, safer environment" and add in a pavilion and green space. The grocery portion of Canino Produce ultimately closed its doors in January 2019.

New trends particularly among affluent buyers include buying locally grown, organic produce, eating out frequently, online grocery shopping, and grocery delivery services. Physical store locations still seem to appeal to many people, but the consumer expectations among groups with high buying power continue to change. Low-income shoppers with little purchasing power find significantly less access to fresh foods due to Houston's widespread food deserts, where geography and economic constraints limit residents' access to healthy and affordable food.¹⁵ The wide range of consumer needs in the food industry provide abundant access points for entrepreneurs to feed people and do good. With its historical stance at the forefront of food service movements in Houston, it will be interesting to see where the Italian community ventures next.

Sabine Meyer Hill is a Houston native and a senior in the University of Houston Honors College majoring in Spanish and minoring in Food and Society. When she is not doing school-work or field work—learning about other cultures and eating their foods—she likes to read, write, garden, and cook. She works at a farmers market produce booth on the weekends and hopes to develop a career in food access once she graduates.

De-Ro-Loc: Houston's Forgotten Festival

By Calvin D. Blair

It is a cool Tuesday afternoon as the sun begins to set on December 1, 1909, a perfect day to celebrate a Houston tradition. Tom has on his nicest boots, cleanest pants, and best shirt since everyone from the neighborhood is going to be there, and he has no intention of being the worst dressed man in attendance. As he gets closer to Emancipation Park, he can hear the sounds of the fair getting louder and see the bright lights strung across the fairgrounds. This is one of the premier events organized and patronized by the region's African American population. As he approaches the ticket counter, the teller charges Tom admission and proudly welcomes him to the "De-Ro-Loc Carnival and Industrial Exposition!"

Two factors led to the formation of the De-Ro-Loc Carnival, both born as a response to discrimination suffered by African Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. The first arose from a speech delivered by Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (now Hampton University), popularizing the "Hampton Idea." Speaking to a white audience at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, Washington argued that African Americans would gain the greatest benefit from learning skills that could be used in agricultural and industrial jobs instead of attempting to directly challenge the political and social systems of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The speech received a standing ovation. The white audience members in attendance and the press covering the exposition hailed Washington as "King of a Captive People" and called his speech "the most remarkable address delivered by a colored man in America."¹ While the speech was given in 1895, it dominated the way some civil rights leaders thought about furthering the cause until after the Great War; others such as W.E.B. Du Bois disagreed with Washington almost immediately.

The second factor in the birth of De-Ro-Loc was the segregated No-Tsu-Oh (Houston spelled backwards) Carnival.



African Americans frequently decorated carriages for Juneteenth and De-Ro-Loc celebrations, shown circa 1905, possibly at 319 Robin Street in Fourth Ward. The use of cotton on some buggies highlighted the impact of cotton on the Houston economy.

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, SS0281-0038.

For many years local businessmen sponsored an annual carnival to highlight Houston's status in the agricultural marketplace and celebrate the year's harvest.² As civic leaders realized they could grow this informal festival into a real tourist event, they renamed the Fruit, Flower, and Vegetable Festival, "No-Tsu-Oh." It included a royal court presided over by King Nottoc (Cotton) as he visited Houston while away from his home of Tekram (Market) in the kingdom of Sax-Et (Texas). Organizers prohibited blacks from attending No-Tsu-Oh as the city worked to show itself off to visitors. After almost ten years of being excluded from exhibiting or taking part, a group of black businessmen and community leaders decided to host their own festival, giving birth to De-Ro-Loc (Colored spelled backwards).



Major Hannon Broyles, shown with his family, became the first King La-Yol E-Civ-Res at De-Ro-Loc. Broyles married Mary in 1897, and they had eight children. In addition to being a lawyer, Broyles owned Orgen Realty and Investment Company.

Photo from *The Red Book of Houston*, 1915, courtesy of James E. Fisher.

CARVING OUT A PLACE IN "NO-TSU-OH"

Established in 1909, De-Ro-Loc was the brainchild of John A. Matthews who recruited the help of William J. Jones, a former owner and editor of the *Galveston-Houston Times*. Jones suggested they seek the aid of Van H. McKinney, a tutor to journalists as well as creator of and writer for the *Houston Van*, a weekly newspaper serving African Americans. Combining the vision of Matthews with the literary and creative skills of Jones and McKinney, they formed the De-Ro-Loc Carnival Association and created the mythos surrounding the De-Ro-Loc Carnival.³ They crafted the idea of King La-Yol E-Civ-Res (Loyal Service) that followed the Hampton Idea of promoting ethnic harmony.

The association recruited M. H. Broyles as the first king. Broyles had left his job as a teacher at Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College to become a lawyer in 1905 with his own offices in Houston. He was exactly the kind of civic leader who characterized the future of African American leadership in the city. Broyles, who later became heavily involved in the Republican Party, served as an at-large delegate for the state of Texas at the Republican

By the early twentieth century, minstrel shows had fallen in popularity compared to their peak in the mid-nineteenth century. The Georgia Minstrels was the first minstrel show with all African American actors. They were extremely popular in the 1860s and led to numerous spin-off African American minstrel troupes like the one that performed at De-Ro-Loc in 1909. Photo courtesy of Wikipedia.





Located where the Barbara Jordan Post Office stands today, Grand Central Station was home to the Houston East and West Texas Railway and one of three passenger train stations in Houston. Many travelers coming to Houston for De-Ro-Loc arrived at this depot.

Photo courtesy of the George Fuermann "Texas and Houston" Collection, Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries.

National Convention held in Chicago in 1912, and two years later he ran for the state legislature to represent the Harris County area but was not elected.⁴

The first De-Ro-Loc No-Tsu-Oh Carnival and Industrial Exposition was held in Emancipation Park. In 1872, four former slaves led by Reverend Jack Yates raised \$800 to purchase land from the City of Houston to create Emancipation Park, although they did not initially have funds to keep it open year-round.⁵ The ten-acre park was the site of Houston's Juneteenth celebrations marking the anniversary of Gen. Gordon Granger's reading of the Emancipation Proclamation in Galveston, advising Texas slaves of their freedom.

The inaugural De-Ro-Loc ran from November 29 to December 4, 1909. The carnival opened with a three-mile parade that started at Grand Central Station and terminated at Emancipation Park. Visitors to the city arrived by the Houston East and West Texas Line at Grand Central Station and were serenaded by the Isles Brass Band, a Texas group. The Lachmann Company Hippodrome decorated the park with "thirty-five concessions" and arranged for shows such as the Georgia Minstrels. Amusements included a Ferris wheel and merry-go-round, which seemed to be full at every turn.⁶

Despite a little rain, the 1909 De-Ro-Loc Carnival proved itself a financial and cultural success. The carnival's location alternated between Emancipation Park and the site of the second festival, the West End Park in Fourth Ward/Freedman's Town on the fringe of downtown Houston. The West End Ballpark, located in the park, hosted baseball games for Negro Baseball Leagues, Texas minor league teams, spring training for white National League teams, and football games for Rice Institute, and The University of Texas/Texas A&M game during the No-Tsu-Oh Carnival.⁷

SERVICE AND WEATHER

Two words summarize the initial De-Ro-Loc Carnivals: rain and service. It rained during the first three days of the

1910 carnival, resulting in the postponement of the businessmen's parade initially scheduled for Wednesday. Thursday was the first night of relatively clear weather. The football game, which saw Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College defeat Wiley College at West End Ballpark, drew the largest attendance of the week.⁸

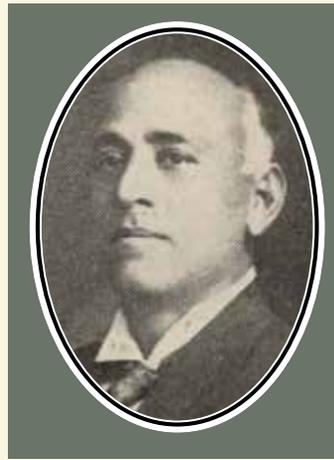
In 1911 storms in the week leading up to the festival resulted in the delayed arrival of several of the carnival elements, causing the opening to be postponed to Tuesday with some attractions still missing. To make matters worse, the grandstand at West End Ballpark was destroyed by a mysterious fire early on Monday morning, which also damaged three houses owned by African American residents living next to the park. Two Houston Police Department officers stumbled upon the fire well after it started and called in the fire department, which wrestled with the flames until four in the morning. The College Day matchup between Prairie View and Wiley was delayed as crews rushed to reconstruct the grandstand in time for the game. Even when the carnival opened on Tuesday, it continued to rain and the celebration closed on Wednesday due to weather.⁹

In 1912 Van H. McKinney created several thousand full-sized posters to distribute across town and in traditional tourist towns for the festival. The association planned for portions of the grounds to be covered in hopes of avoiding the rain. Dr. Barlow, the organizer of the Exposition Hall, arranged for "several wagon loads of cinders and straw" to be spread along the "Guggle Way" so crowds were not forced to walk through the mud. But the 1912 festival was declared an absolute disaster due to the rain and freezing temperatures.¹⁰ Both De-Ro-Loc and No-Tsu-Oh moved their festivals into the middle of November in 1913 to avoid the pesky weather. Some debate exists over how many De-Ro-Loc events actually took place. During later editions, such as in 1913, it becomes clear that some of the reporting comes directly from the association's press releases rather than from reporters' news stories.

Every year King La-Yol E-Civ-Res heaped praise upon

Houston and its residents. Lofty words played directly into the idea that African American Houstonians were loyal servants to the common goal of building a better community. In 1913 King La-Yol E-Civ-Res praised black Houstonians for their display of “civic pride” and how that would create a healthier sentiment toward members of the local African American community. The next year, the *Chronicle* and *Daily Post* posted a version of almost exactly the same article and speech.¹¹ If the association was handpicking speeches and events for reporting in the newspaper, they also understood the power of the media to publish positive stories about the African American community in Houston and Texas that would showcase their commitment to the Hampton Idea.

King La-Yol E-Civ-Res of 1913 was Dr. E. A. Durham, a forty-eight-year-old physician who received his undergraduate education at Wiley College and his M.D. at Bennet Medical School (now a part of Loyola University). He had this to say at Emancipation Park, “Let them [the world] turn to find a mighty host of black men true and tried, loyally standing at their post of duty, doing their very best to merit this splendid citizenship which you now begin to enjoy.” In the first five years, from 1909 to 1913, every time King La-



In 1909 De-Ro-Loc included a Special Educational and Industrial Day for presentations, exhibits, and discussions with Texas educators that included E. L. Blackshear, president of Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College (now Prairie View A&M). In 1918 the Houston Independent School District named Blackshear Elementary School in his honor. Photo from The Red Book of Houston, 1915, courtesy of James E. Fisher.

Yol E-Civ-Res spoke, he talked about African Americans’ duty to their community. Although a different individual served as king from year to year, his message to be loyal servants to the community and have a great attitude while doing it remained the same.¹² All of that came crashing down as the Great War began; African American troops were serving in Europe, and the seeds were planted for the New Negro movement.



Dr. Benjamin Covington was the fourth king of De-Ro-Loc and subsequently the association’s president in 1913. Covington helped found Houston’s first hospital for blacks, Houston Negro Hospital, later renamed Riverside Hospital. His wife, Jennie, played a large role in founding the Blue Triangle YWCA, among her many community contributions, and his daughter Ernestine attended Julliard due to her musical prowess on the piano and violin. Photo from The Red Book of Houston, 1915, courtesy of James E. Fisher.

DEEPER WATERS

The opening of the deep-water port on the Houston Ship Channel in 1914 enabled Houston to compete with its rival ports in Galveston and New Orleans. In an attempt to harness this energy, No-Tsu-Oh became the Deep Water Jubilee featuring King Retaw (Water). De-Ro-Loc followed suit by expanding the court from the king and two royal attendants to include King E-Civ-Res VI, Prince Du-ty, Princess Cha-ri-ty, Grand Duke La-bor, Lord L-E-X, Lady Justica, Lady Mercia, and Lady Truth and Prudencia. The carnival showcased the king transferring his power of governance to Prime Minister De-Vo-Tion. The story indicated that the king invited all the leaders of industry, and all the followers of Karl Marx as well as Christians and Fabians (a socialist society) to join him in a conclave to discuss how to fix the political problems of his kingdom. The king planned to end all wars, create an equitable distribution of wealth with the removal of a caste system, give everyone property and a free education, and open suffrage to all.¹³ This marked a massive political and philosophical shift from earlier speeches, including the recent one given by Dr. Durham.



Born in Houston in 1868, Charles DeGaultie attended Houston (Colored) High School. A resident of Fourth Ward, DeGaultie was vice president and director of the De-Ro-Loc Association in 1915.

Photo from The Red Book of Houston, 1915, courtesy of James E. Fisher.

After that, the *Houston Daily Post* published only three more articles about De-Ro-Loc, including one discussing floral arrangements in Wednesday's Galveston Day parade and another about the football game where Prairie View beat Langston University 27-6. Coverage of the 1915 edition of the festival named the king as Charles DeGaultie, the superintendent of First Texas State Insurance Company. It mentioned the football game and briefly described carnival features but did not cover the speeches or the weather.¹⁴ The reasons for these omissions are unknown.

In 1920, the first known archived article in the black-owned *Houston Informer* took the De-Ro-Loc Association to task for its poor organization and lack of advertising. The author condemned the carnival as having "outlived its days of usefulness." He accused the association of being a machine to separate hard-working African Americans from their hard earned money and cried hypocrisy at what the carnival had become despite being run by Baptist and Methodist leaders.¹⁵

How did De-Ro-Loc fall so far? While no single definitive answer exists, it is possible to examine contributing factors. From a logistical standpoint, having so many of the events and days cancelled due to rain limited attendance by locals,

but it especially cut down on people coming from outside the city. Traveling by train was difficult for African Americans in the time period, with segregated cars and limited to no service in dining cars. Even traveling by car presented problems in knowing where a person could stop for food, shelter, or restroom facilities. A person would be unlikely to make that journey if the event might be cancelled. As noted earlier, the De-Ro-Loc Association would plan the carnival a week after No-Tsu-Oh so that they could book the same shows. The difficulty in booking unique carnival attractions in the wake of No-Tsu-Oh's cancellation could have impacted the quality of the carnival severely. Additionally race riots across the country and the Camp Logan Riot in Houston in 1917 drastically shifted white opinions about African Americans when an armed conflict broke out after African American troops, fearing a mob was coming to attack, advanced on the city resulting in seventeen deaths. But perhaps the biggest change came with the emergence of the New Negro movement and Harlem Renaissance that began about the time World War I broke out and continued into the 1920s.

W.E.B. Du Bois wrote extensively about African Americans fighting for the rights of oppressed people abroad, being treated kindly by the French people, and then coming home to segregation and abuse. In Du Bois's words:

We return.

We return from fighting.

We return fighting.

Make Way for Democracy. We saved it in France, and by [J]ehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why.¹⁶

With that fiery call to action, one can see why the *Informer* said, in 1921, that De-Ro-Loc had "outlived its usefulness" in attempting to create an equal playing field between African Americans and whites in Houston. Du Bois hoped that having African American troops join the fight for freedom in Europe, where they were received positively and treated as equals, would help propel civil rights forward in America.¹⁷ When that failed to occur, African American Houstonians, once proud to brag about their civic virtues, seemed scarred less by the horrors of World War I and more by the fact that African Americans' sacrifice had not advanced their fight for equality locally. Booker T. Washington's Hampton Idea was not working in the eyes of many civil rights leaders. Given this disappointment and the growing momentum of the New Negro movement, the ideas once espoused by De-Ro-Loc seemed out of date. King Loyal Service was no longer a viable ideology for a group determined to take a more active role in negotiating its future. Nevertheless, De-Ro-Loc demonstrates the ingenuity and creativity of a community pushed to the margins—a community that is relentless in its spirit and drive to inspire, educate, and entertain, while showcasing its pride in Houston, the place they call home.

Calvin D. Blair is a senior majoring in history at the University of Houston. In 2018, the Texas Historical Commission selected him as a Preservation Scholar. As part of his internship he cataloged the history and businesses located on Houston's Emancipation Avenue in Third Ward from 1922 to 1958.



Latino Art Now! Bulletin, February 2019. Daniel Anguilu, Art as Activism, 2015. Mural (Houston), spray paint on concrete.

Image courtesy of the artist.

THE IUPLR AND THE HISTORY OF HOUSTON'S LATINO ART NOW! CONFERENCE

By Olga U. Herrera and Pamela Anne Quiroz

The Latino Art Now! Conference is the signature event of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research (IUPLR), a research consortium of twenty-six university-based institutes and centers dedicated to addressing the issues impacting Latinos. The University of Houston's Center for Mexican American Studies is now the new headquarters of the IUPLR and Pamela Anne Quiroz serves as its executive director for the period of 2018-2022.

One of two research conferences of the IUPLR, Latino Art Now! (LAN) explores and celebrates Latino/a/x and Latin American visual artists in the United States. First held in 2005, the LAN conference has evolved into the leading national forum for artists, art professionals, educators, scholars, critics, and art dealers to periodically explore the contours of Latino art, its future directions, and its relationship to contemporary American visual culture. As such, the conference seeks to advance understanding, awareness, and education of the value of Latino art as integral to American art. For the first time in 2016 in Chicago, the conference launched a three-month-long celebration—The Spring of Latino Art, where more than sixty local museums, galleries, and cultural centers joined in presenting Latino art and artists by hosting citywide programming, exhibitions, and curatorial presentations.



Veronica Ibarguengoitia, Sinergy, 2017. Oil on canvas, 48 x 36 in.

Image courtesy of the artist. ©Veronica Ibarguengoitia.



Leopoldo Tanguma, at right, and GONZO247, Rebirth of Our Nationality, 1973, restored 2018. Photo courtesy of GONZO247 and Carolyn Casey-Figueroa.



Cecilia Villanueva, *House 16404, Impossible Architecture Series*, 2016. *Oil on paper, 20 x 20 in.*

Image courtesy of the artist. ©Cecilia Villanueva.

The 2019 LAN Conference Sight Lines and Time Frames held in early April in Houston—the fifth city to host such an effort, has also featured the second Spring of Latino Art as a four-month (February-May) citywide event of neighborhoods, museums, and galleries. With an array of visual art exhibitions, public art installations, theater plays, ballet performances, poetry and literary readings, artists lectures and talks, and book and film festivals, among others, the celebration attests to a lively and vibrant contemporary art scene.

Greater Houston is now the fourth largest city and one of the most ethnically-diverse in the United States. This global city has seen an increase in its Hispanic population in the last decades fueled by local growth, migration from other parts of the country, and immigration from Latin America. It now boasts a 44.5 percent Hispanic population, mostly defined by its youth.

In exploring its Hispanic visual arts heritage, Houston recently celebrated the restoration of one of its first contemporary public art murals. In 1972 Leopoldo Tanguma, with friends and students, painted the 240 x 18 foot iconic *Rebirth of Our Nationality* on the then Continental Can Company building at 5900



Carolina Amat Lauver, *Memories #14*, 2018. *Acrylic on Wood, 24 x 36 in.*

Image courtesy of the artist.
©Carolina Amat Lauver.

Arielle Masson, *Frieze #8*, 2017. *Gouache on handmade paper, 7½ x 22 in.*

Image courtesy of the artist. ©Arielle Masson.





Gabriela Monterroso, Las Glorias, 2018. Mixed media on canvas, 48 x 60 in.
Image courtesy of the artist.
©Gabriela Monterroso.



Grace Zuñiga, Counted Blessings, 2018. Unfired porcelain and thread, 48 x 6 in.
Image courtesy of the artist. ©Grace Zuñiga.

Gabriela Magaña, Women, 2018. Mixed media, 30 x 40 in.
Image courtesy of the artist. ©Gabriela Magaña.



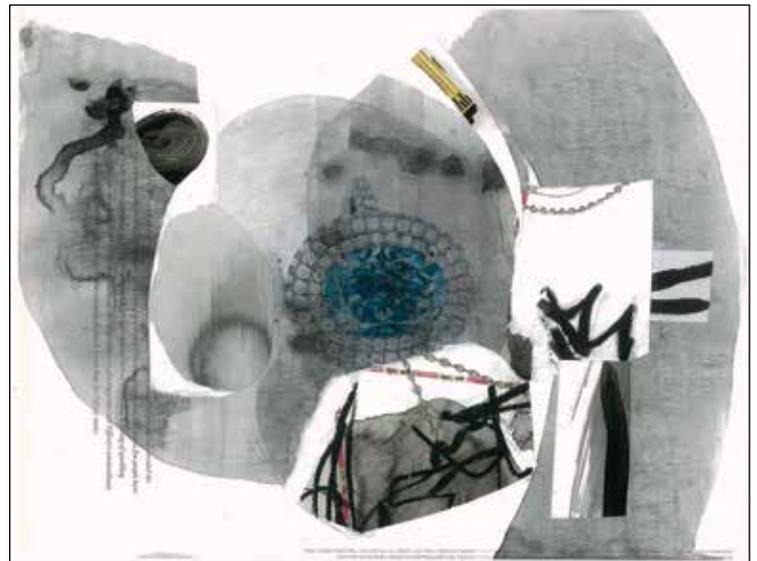


Vervy Sanchez Mitchell, Interacción con Glifo Rojo en Formación II, 2013. Acrylic on canvas, 51 x 77 in.

Image courtesy of the artist.
©Vervy Sanchez Mitchell.

Canal Street. Expanding the full length of the façade, the mural became a recognized icon of public arts in the East End and an inspiration for future artists who experienced it as children walking and driving by. One of them, GONZO247 (nom de can for Mario Figueroa, Jr.) would go on to work with the artist to restore the mural to its former glory in 2018.

In particular the mural's banner "To Become Aware of Our History is to Become Aware of Our Singularity" highly resonates with LAN! to explore Latino art as American art. Therefore, Latino Art Now! has drawn on its observation and attention to the shifting contours of contemporary art: The new directions of Latino art; the local and national art infrastructure; the global



Carolina Otero, Sailing Away, 2015. Mixed media and collage on paper, 11 x 14 in.

Image courtesy of the artist. ©Carolina Otero.



Rosibel Ramirez, Reading between the Lines Series 1, 2018. Glass, 12 x 16 x 3 in.

Image courtesy of the artist. ©Rosibel Ramirez.

networks and intersections between Latin American and Latino art; artist's activisms and social practices; digital interventions; the city as site and source; the queer geographies of Latino art; and the significance of art as an economic stimulus, among others, to explore Houston's and the national contemporary art scene. It takes the perspective that Latino art is an evolving notion traversing multiple generations and varying historical and social contexts. In 2019, more than eighty museums, galleries, libraries, theaters, and cultural centers are participating in the Spring of Latino Art in Houston, Texas.

One of the most visible features since February has been the articulation of the Greater Houston urban space as a Latino Art Now! gallery with a series of bulletins, eco and digital billboards visually illustrating the rich and wide variety of media styles, themes, and forms of this American art. This intervention has provided unparalleled exposure to the LAN! by featuring seventy-six artworks by fifty contemporary Houston-based artists.

The University of Houston Center for Mexican American Studies with IUPLR research staff and faculty members of the UH

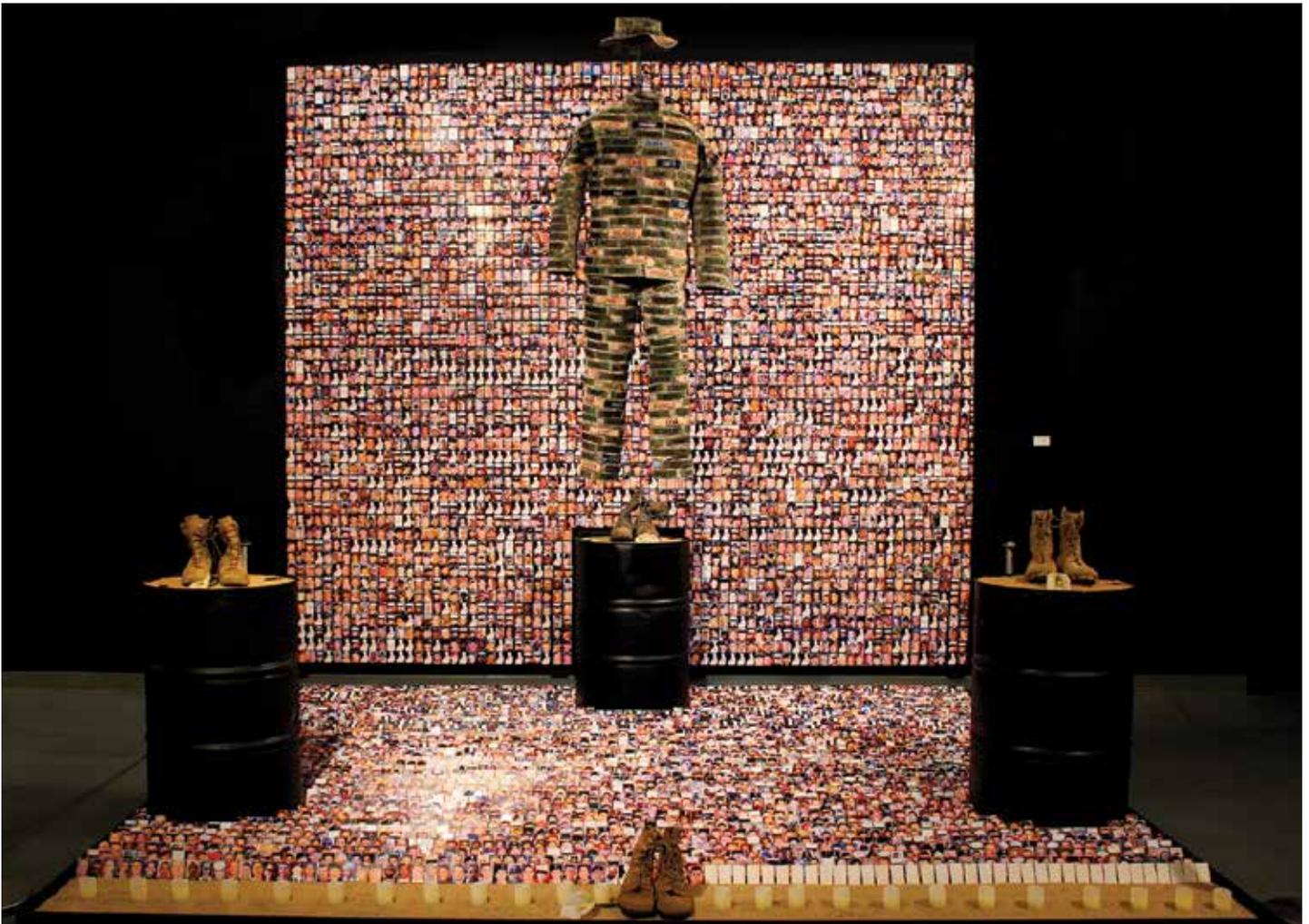


Tatiana Escallón, The Yellow Umbrella, 2018. Acrylic on canvas, 48 x 60 in.
Image courtesy of the artist. ©Tatiana Escallón.

Jesse Rodriguez, Magnolia Park Rebirth. Acrylic on canvas, 34 x 26 in.

Image courtesy of the artist. © Jesse Rodriguez.





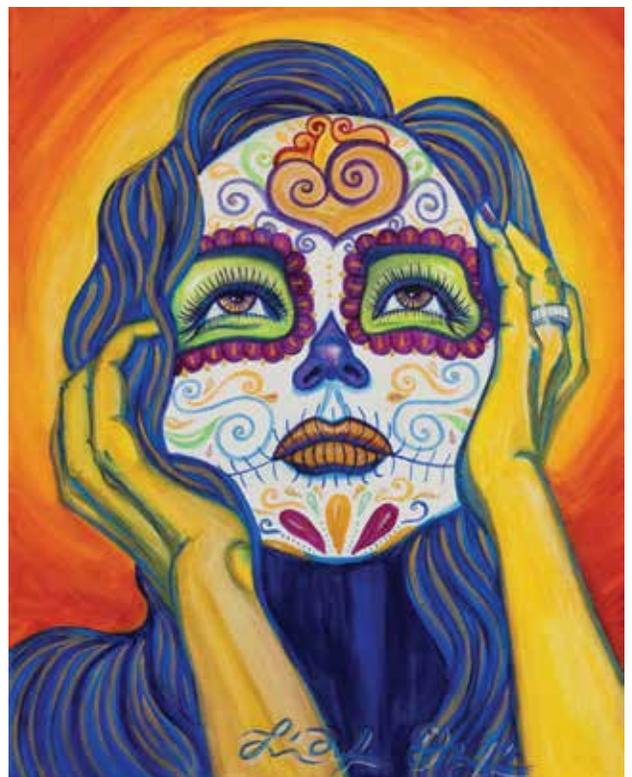
Maria Cristina Jadick, The Price of Oil How Many More? 2011-2018. Mixed media, photos of soldiers, sand, oil drums, uniform name labels, candles, boots, wood frames, 11 x 12 x 11 ft. Image courtesy of the artist. ©Maria Cristina Jadick

College of Technology are developing a permanent digital presence of the LAN! Houston by creating a virtual visual artist registry—Houston has more than 250 Hispanic and Latino/a/x visual artists—in addition to a portable 3-D digital board system entitled, “Latino cARTographies.” It will showcase Houston’s Latino visual culture by mapping public and private spaces of Latino art along with vodcasts of artists and their interpretations of works, virtual tours, and augmented reality features. These projects will be hosted by UH and will be available online. The goal with both is to document, preserve, educate, and engage the public about the contributions of Latino art to creative placemaking, transforming Houston communities and American art.

Olga U. Herrera, Ph.D., is director of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research Washington Office.

Pamela Anne Quiroz, Ph.D., is executive director of the Inter-University Program for Latino Research (IUPLR) and director of the Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Houston where IUPLR is headquartered.

Lizbeth Ortiz, Looking Up. Watercolor on canvas.
Image courtesy of the artist. ©Lizbeth Ortiz.





Laura López Cano,
Mother Earth.
Image courtesy of the artist.
©Laura López Cano.



GONZO247, Houston. Spray paint on canvas.

Image courtesy of the artist. ©GONZO247.
HOUSTON HISTORY Vol. 16 • No. 2 19

State of the Women in Houston

By Dr. Nikki Van Hightower

“State of the Women in Houston” is the transcript of a speech by Nikki Van Hightower, who at the time was the women’s advocate for the City of Houston. The speech is not dated in the archive, but events referred to in the speech suggest that it was presented in late 1976 or early 1977, Van Hightower’s first year in her role as the women’s advocate.

Starting in the early 1970s, Van Hightower was an activist in the women’s movement. In 1976, Mayor Fred Hofheinz appointed her women’s advocate for the City of Houston in response to the demand by Houston activists for a pro-active approach to addressing women’s issues in Houston. Though strongly supported by Mayor Hofheinz, advocacy for women was not a popular issue with the Houston City Council, and Hofheinz’s successor, Jim McConn, fired Van Hightower.

The position of women’s advocate for the City of Houston was the beginning of Nikki Van Hightower’s career as a community activist. She was instrumental in the founding of the Houston Area Women’s Center and served as its executive director from 1979 to 1986. In 1983 she made her first bid for public office, running unsuccessfully for an at-large position on the city council. In 1986, she won the election for Harris County treasurer and served until 1990....

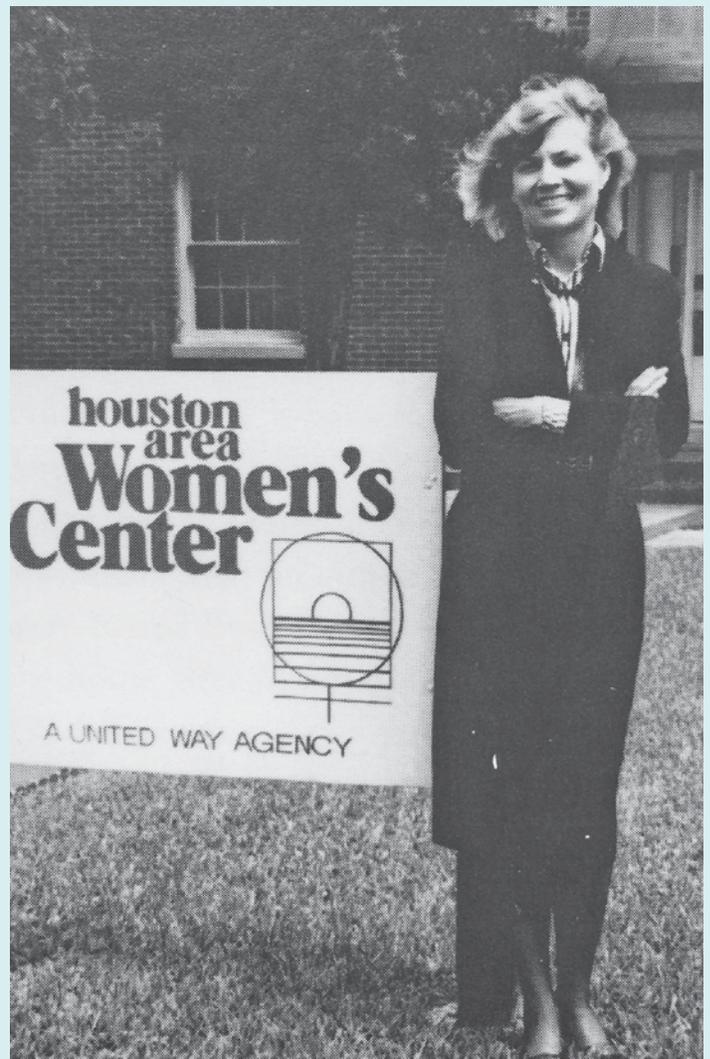
“State of the Women in Houston” is noteworthy for its enumeration of the broad range of issues that the feminist movement sought to address in the 1970s. The list of women’s organizations active in Houston at the time, many of which are now defunct, suggests the energy and optimism that characterized the feminist movement in that era. This speech also reflects the candor that characterized Van Hightower’s approach to issues that affected women in the city.

I would like to welcome all of you here this morning. I am Dr. Nikki Van Hightower, Women’s Advocate for the City of Houston. I was asked to compile this report on the state of the women in Houston by the Women’s Rights Coordinating Council. The Women’s Rights Coordinating Council is a coalition of women’s groups who are in some way concerned with women’s rights and who wish to combine their efforts with other groups for the purpose of achieving equality for women in Houston. Over 40 groups have been participating and have expressed an interest in sending a representative to the Council.

This report on the status of women in Houston is just the beginning of what we hope will be an annual evaluation by women of our progress, or lack thereof. This being the first such evaluation of the status of women in the city of Houston, it is suffering from information gaps. In some cases we do not have “hard” data (translated, that means numbers) to verify our experiences. In most cases we searched in vain for such data and found it to be either non-existent, at least for the local community, or not available to us. Whatever is lacking in this one we will make up for in the following years.

Now, about the state of the women report. Some of it I am sure you can anticipate. A few years ago Clare Booth Luce commented that, “All of our social institutions that guide the actions and opinions of society are male dominated.” I figured she must have been living in Houston, because that remark pretty much tells the story.

I think the 1970’s could accurately be labeled the Age of Tokenism. We have a woman or a few women holding down almost every type of job, and I refuse to go into the tiresome listing of first woman here and first woman there. In the majority of employment categories women remain the exception, not the rule. Sex segregation is the name of the employment game, and women continue to find themselves trapped in the “clerical ghettos.”



Nikki Van Hightower in front of the Houston Area Women’s Center at 4 Chelsea Place, ca. 1982. Photo courtesy of Nikki Van Hightower.



Nikki Van Hightower speaking at the YMCA membership campaign in 1978.

Photo courtesy of the Nikki Van Hightower Papers, Carey C. Shuart Women's Archive and Research Collection, Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries.

I still continue to hear the male management theme song entitled "Qualified Women Just Cannot Be Found." The same thing is commonly said about finding minorities, but I have noticed since being in the city that when members of minority groups have been appointed to management positions, the representation of that group rapidly increases. They don't seem to have the same problem in finding qualified minority people. I am inclined to think that the problem is not lack of qualified people, but rather lack of communication. It makes life much easier to lay the blame on the inadequacies of the "out" group than to admit that women, in this particular case, are just not included in the "good old boy network," and therefore get left out.

The need for childcare facilities is steadily growing as the population of Houston grows, and the lack of facilities has the greatest impact on women, limiting their employment opportunities. A preliminary analysis of the Childcare Needs Assessment Study conducted in the city shows that women account for 71 percent of city employees reporting some degree of conflict between childcare arrangements and work schedules. Of these persons, some 64 percent are also members of racial minority groups, particularly black women.

Although the idea of women's equality is slowly filtering into our school systems, males still prevail as the administrators; they hold the vast majority of the top faculty positions in our institutions of higher learning. Equality of sports opportunities is far from achieved, and sex-role stereotypes are still prevalent in our textbooks.

Rape continues to be on the increase, although it is not increasing as fast as the population, as a police officer proudly

told me, and I later statistically confirmed. Mind you, both are on the increase, but rape is a fraction slower than the population. I guess it just takes people a while to get settled.

Women in trouble with the law, women alcoholics and drug addicts, and women in other forms of crisis still fail to gain society's recognition as men with the same problems have done. Thus, women's problems become even greater because there are so few facilities for shelter and treatment that cater to women. I guess the troubled woman just does not square with the myth of the pampered American woman, and so, to maintain our distorted perceptions of reality, we must act as if she doesn't exist.

Although we have a new federal credit law, women are still having enormous difficulty in getting credit. I probably receive more calls about credit than any other single issue. Most of the problems come from married, divorced, or separated women and widowed women — those who, in other words, have once shared their lives with a man, thus resulting in a loss of legal identity, and are now no longer doing so. Married women often have difficulty getting credit in their own names and are humiliated by having to get their husband's signature for even a small loan, just as if they were irresponsible juveniles — when, in fact, they have been managing the family's financial affairs for years.

Separated and divorced women starting out to get credit on their own for the first time often find themselves saddled with the bad credit record of a divorced spouse, or find themselves fulfilling all the financial obligations that were incurred when they were married, while the credit continues to go to him because everything is still in his name. And the credit institutions refuse to transfer it over because she has no credit. Or, there is the widowed woman who has relied on family credit all her life, who finds, when she goes to apply for credit on her own as a widow, that she has absolutely none. The so-called family credit was really all in the husband's name, and, when he died, that file was pulled, and she gets credit for nothing.

Women are voicing more and more complaints about the insensitivity of a male-dominated health establishment to women's health needs. The exclusively female health problems centered around pregnancy and childbirth are frequently selected for exclusion from health insurance policies and company leave policies, and this practice recently received endorsement from our all-male Supreme Court.

Although civil rights for the homosexual is not an exclusively female problem, it is still a female problem. Depriving people of their civil rights because of their sexual preference is a way of reaffirming sex roles, sex stereotypes, and, in general, identifiable sex distinctions. It is a threat used against all women and all men that if they do not stay "in their places," which means sex roles, they will be branded as misfits and will be subject to ostracism and ridicule for being "odd."

Progress for women in Houston during the last decade has been somewhat illusory. There has been more talk than action, and, in some areas such as employment, we seem to have actually lost ground rather than gained it. You might think that this fact would throw someone like me into a catatonic state of depression, and it would if this were the whole story, but it is not. The other half of the story is told

in what women are doing about this state of affairs. Women are taking many forms of action on behalf of themselves as individuals and on behalf of other women.

In the area of employment, women are taking the offensive by filing complaints and suits against employers who continue to discriminate. There are several women's organizations that help counsel women on actions to be taken against sex discrimination.

Women are lobbying for more Title XX funds to be channeled into childcare facilities and other human care services that will affect the lives of women.

The Harris County National Organization for Women Continuing Task Force on Education for Women, for the fifth year, mounted a massive effort to eliminate those textbooks documented as sexist from adoption in 1976. The Texas Education Agency adopted only three deemed inappropriate.

Through the Rape Crisis Coalition, women are aiding other women who are victims of this crime. Linda Cryer, Director of the city's Rape Prevention, Detection, and Control Program, is changing city policies to more humane treatment of the rape victim.

Women are visiting other women in our county and city jails, helping the prisoners, who are often the most underprivileged women in society; making demands on our penal system for better conditions; and generating more community involvement with the female prisoner and ex-offender.

Women working together in an ad hoc committee under the YWCA are taking steps to open a shelter for women in crisis, particularly the battered woman. They have just received a planning grant from the Hogg foundation.

In response to exclusion from male-dominated financial institutions, women have formed their own credit union, called the Houston Area Feminist Federal Credit Union. They grant loans to women who cannot qualify in the traditional institutions. They have just declared their first dividend, and I understand that their bad debts have been negligible.

The Houston Women's Health Collective was formed to educate women so that they can play a greater role in maintaining their own health and to draw attention to problems women face in dealing with a health establishment in which women and women's health problems are low in status.

Female homosexuals are now publishing a monthly magazine, *The Pointblank Times*, to help end their isolation from each other and to break down the myths and stereotypes surrounding them.

Women In Action, a loosely structured coalition of numerous groups has formed a special committee to establish an information and referral system, called Women's Information, Referral and Exchange System, or WIRES. In a few months, women throughout Houston will be able to call one number for help or information. On the other hand, it will provide vital information about unmet needs of women in Houston.

In November 1977, we will have a national women's conference here in Houston. Out of the International Women's Year conference will come proposals that will be presented to Congress to end the barriers to full participation of women in American life. Interesting that we women have to tell

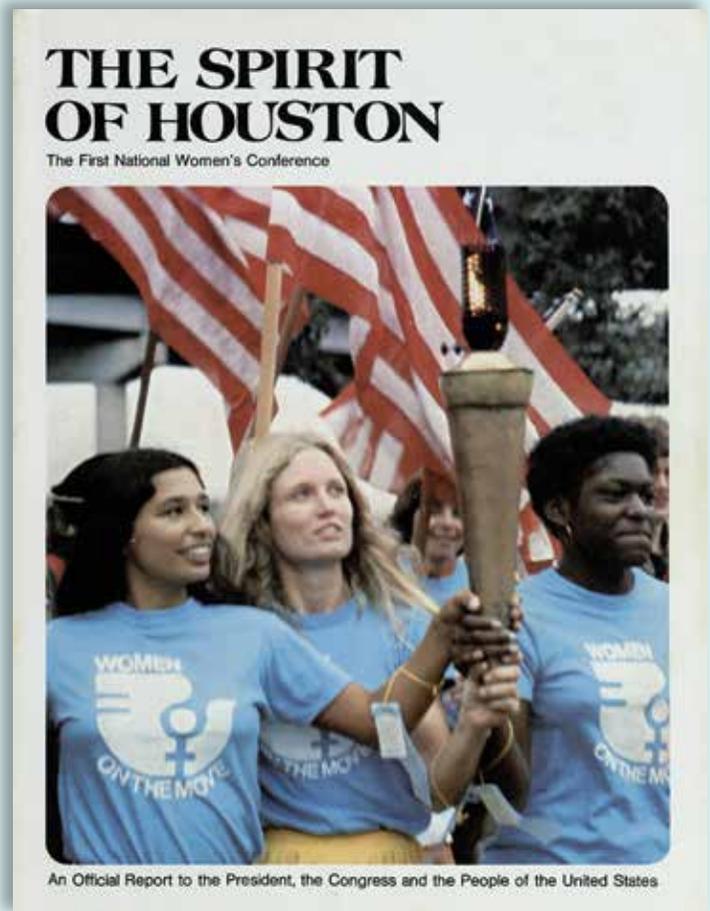
them their job. Makes one wonder why they should be there and we should be here.

I have often heard in the last year or so that the woman's movement was dead. Well, it is not dead, only slightly comatose for a short while. But the pause in the momentum of the feminist groups gave other women's groups a chance to reflect on what had been said and what had been done, and I personally feel that we are moving into a new period in the history of the women's movement in which a much wider, more diverse group of women are uniting in the struggle for equal rights. The Women's Rights Coordinating Council is a splendid example of this new unity.

We may not have much "real" progress in the last decade, but the signs strongly point to the fact that we were quite effective in creating a climate for change. And tokenism is not all bad. You get enough tokens, and they can create so many holes in the dike that the whole thing, in this case, the sexist establishment, will give way. With the new life and vitality I see in the present broad based women's movement, real progress cannot be far behind.

So, sexist in Houston, we are putting you on notice, we are on your case!

Thank you for listening.



A first of its kind meeting, the National Women's Conference met in Houston in November 1977 to discuss a host of issues pertaining to women's lives in this country and recommend a plan of action for the future. This report was provided to the President of the United States, Congress, and the people following the conference.

Photo courtesy of the Marjorie Randal National Women's Conference Collection, Courtesy of Special Collections & Archives, University of Houston Libraries.

Marching On: “The Rise of Houston Women = The Rise of the Nation”¹

By Regina Elizabeth Vitolo



The day after President Donald Trump's inauguration, women protested worldwide, advocating for human rights and other issues, including women's rights. Those attending the Houston Women's March had the opportunity to participate in the Free Speech March and Free Speech Rally at Houston City Hall. Photo courtesy of author.

At the close of the 1977 National Women's Conference (NWC) in Houston, reporter Susan Caudill reflected on the historic event that attracted over 33,000 participants and protestors from around the country, including 20,000 women, to the first and only federally funded meeting of its kind, placing Houston front and center in the battle for women's rights. Held November 18th to 21st at the Sam Houston Coliseum, the energy of female agency and sisterhood was still palpable as Caudill reported from the vacated venue. Looking intently at the camera, she remarked, “Tonight the National Women's Conference is History—a footnote, a chapter, or volumes—we don't yet know.”²

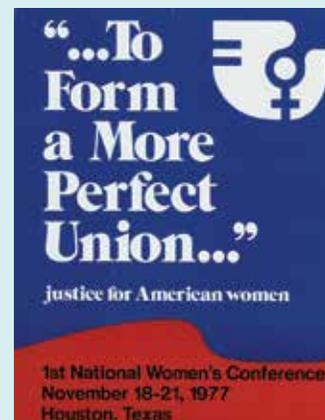
Appointed by President Jimmy Carter, Congresswoman Bella Abzug chaired the conference, acting as the spokesperson for gender equality, bringing polarizing topics such as reproductive rights, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and gay rights into the national spotlight. Outraged conservatives lambasted the use of taxpayer money for a liberal assault on family values, and right-wing activist Phyllis Schlafly organized a counter-conference across town. The NWC produced a National Plan of Action demanding the federal government address twenty-six gender equality issues, most of which still remain points of contention after the conservative backlash proved malignant. Historian Marjorie Spruill explains that “two distinct women's movements emerged, pitting liberal and conservative women against each other, amplifying an ideological and political divide that still exists today.”³

In 1976, the City of Houston created one of the nation's first city offices to address gender discrimination after Houston feminists became fed up with the men in power paying lip service to—or demonstrating outright hostility towards—women's issues. Mayor Fred Hofheinz appointed feminist activist Dr. Nikki Van Hightower to lead the Women's Advocate Office, positioning himself as a women's movement ally. Creation of the Women's Advocate Office was pivotal to the NWC choosing Houston to host the meeting.

Van Hightower used her platform to bring male city officials to task. Harnessing the momentum from Houston's women's movement and the national zeitgeist over gender inequality, Van Hightower delivered a frank yet hopeful report titled, “State of the Women in Houston,” during her first year as women's advocate.⁴ After she spoke in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, however, the all-male city council responded by trying to reduce her salary to one dollar per year. When that proved to be illegal, the council led by then mayor Jim McConn abolished the Women's Advocate Office altogether. This scenario of silencing women's voices epitomized the struggle that feminists nationwide faced in securing gender equality. Nevertheless, Van Hightower persisted and continued advocating for local women in the role of affirmative action specialist and as a city liaison for the NWC. The convictions of Houston women and Van Hightower spoke louder than city council.

In closing her report, Van Hightower reflected on the women's movement in the previous decade, acknowledging, to some degree, critics who said that little “real progress” had been made. But she countered by praising Houston women for creating a “climate for change,” adding that “real progress” could not be far behind with the new, “broad based women's movement” she saw before her.⁵

Assessing the state of women in Houston today reveals two things: Houston women are not as far along as they should be, but they are stronger and more determined than ever. Just as the 1977 NWC mobilized a counter-women's movement, the 2016 presidential election mobilized a new generation of feminists intent on advocating for their human rights. Perhaps



Exhibitor brochure for the 1977 National Women's Conference. Photo courtesy of the Marjorie Randall National Women's Conference Collection, Courtesy of Special Collections & Archives, University of Houston Libraries.



University of Houston history professor Nancy Beck Young (center) moderates the panel on “Women, Politics, and Law” at the fortieth anniversary of the 1977 National Women’s Conference. Roundtable discussions included former members of the Texas House of Representatives: Houston activist and attorney Frances Tarlton “Sissy” Farenthold (right), and Sarah Weddington (left), the attorney who represented “Jane Roe” in the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court case *Roe v. Wade*. Photo courtesy of Alan Nguyen.

still haunted—or still motivated—by the subdued optimism in Van Hightower’s 1976 report, second wave Houston feminists have risen to the occasion as well.

Forty years after the NWC, 2017 proved to be another historic year for Houston women. For two years, local women of all generations, ethnicities, and backgrounds and people of all genders laid the groundwork for meaningful change in Houston culture and in state and federal politics.⁶ A prime example is the first Houston Women’s March held on January 21, 2017, a day after President Donald Trump’s inauguration. About 22,000 Houstonians peacefully gathered at City Hall to protest the anti-women and anti-LGBTQ rhetoric, proposed legislation, and explicit racism demonstrated by the incoming administration.⁷ An army of women and their allies—clad to the teeth with protest signs, pink-knit beanies, verifiable facts, and feminist ferocity—stood up for their rights. Houstonians reflected the tone and fervor felt across the nation as women mobilized in defense of their bodily autonomy and reproductive rights. For many, this was their first public demonstration of moral outrage and political discontent. For most, the historic 2017 Women’s March was only the beginning.

The “euphoric rage” that characterized the history-making 2017 women’s marches was intensified by the cadre of second wave feminists who understood that the current administration was (and is) an imminent threat to their hard-earned legacy.⁸ This ferocity carried over into a multitude of local events in 2017 and 2018, diverging from the original Houston Women’s March to represent the city’s diversity. The inaugural Houston Black Women’s March of 2018 drew more than one thousand people to celebrate the contributions black Houston women have made towards gender equality.⁹ March for Our Lives and the Houston Pride Parade of 2018 also showed the diverse issues Houstonians of all colors, genders, and ages mobilized to advance politically, emotionally, and intellectually. In June 2018, Houston hosted #MeToo founder Tarana Burke to discuss the positive impact that sexual assault survivors and sexual harassment victims are generating by courageously breaking their silence.

Women speaking out about abuse are helping to change a culture riddled with everyday sexism and gender disparities, such as sex trafficking. In 2016 Houston led the nation

in sex trafficking victims, most of whom were women. Local activists are tackling this by keeping their eyes open, speaking up, and teaching others how to identify trafficking victims.¹⁰ Houston female business owners are also being proactive. Yellow Cab Houston general manager Melissa McGeehee is using her business to help identify and rescue trafficking victims that find themselves in one of her taxis. McGeehee provides drivers with information needed to spot red flags and report suspicious behavior, including passengers who avoid eye contact, show signs of physical abuse, appear malnourished, lack identifying documents, or seem withdrawn.¹¹

Mayor Sylvester Turner and the Houston Police Department (HPD) are enlisting the work of activists to crackdown on sex trafficking. Houstonian Rebecca Beavers, who has worked to rescue sex trafficking victims on her own for years, is now working with families and HPD to track down victims and bust their pimps. Beavers’s dedication and expertise has led her and other activists to establish the Anti-Trafficking Alliance of Houston (ATA HTX). The City of Houston Anti-Human Trafficking website offers a list of resources as well.¹²



On March 3, 2018, more than 1,000 people met at Emancipation Park to celebrate black empowerment and sisterhood. Black Lives Matter and Houston Rising sponsored the event. Attendees included Representative Sheila Jackson Lee and City Council Member Amanda Edwards. Photo courtesy of Matthew Barrett, Flickr.

Houston educators also lead the way towards a more equitable future by raising historical consciousness, teaching students and the public about intersectional feminism, and arming people with knowledge to affect change through political activism. In November 2017, women from across the country gathered at the University of Houston (UH) to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the 1977 National Women’s Conference. Organized by UH History Department faculty and Friends of Women’s Studies board members Drs. Leandra Zarnow and Nancy Beck Young, the 2017 conference endeavored to recreate the energy, optimism, and diversity of its predecessor, while addressing the assault on women’s rights and the disturbing national rhetoric.

The conference drew veterans of the NWC and those who fought on the frontlines of the women’s movement in the sixties and seventies. Attendees shared their legacies and conveyed the significance of the 1977 conference to a new generation of activists. Prominent feminist leaders such

as Sissy Farenthold, Sarah Weddington, Annise Parker, Martha Cotera, and Melba Tolliver imparted wisdom from their years of activism. Latina history maker Yolanda Alvarado was celebrated for her work with Planned Parenthood and at-risk youth, and Commissioner Sylvia Garcia was recognized for her service to the community. Dr. Nikki Van Hightower also participated in the 2017 conference and was celebrated for her passionate leadership of Houston feminists during the 1970s. Conference attendees were imbued with a renewed sense of hope and stamina for the ongoing struggle for gender equality.



On Election Day 2018, Houstonians elected Sylvia Garcia as one of the first two Latinas to represent Texas in the U.S. Congress. Prior to earning this position, she served as a Texas state senator, Houston controller, and was the first Hispanic and first woman elected to the Harris County Commissioner's Court.

Photo courtesy of U.S. House of Representatives.

The 2018 Houston History Alliance conference, “Houston Women: Agitating, Educating, and Advocating,” is another example of the passion and persistence of Houston educators, historians, and feminists. Keynote speaker Dr. Laura G. Murillo, president and CEO of the Houston Hispanic Chamber of Commerce; former Houston mayor Annise Parker; Municipal Judge Phyllis Frye; Dr. Elizabeth Gregory, director of UH Women’s, Gender and Sexuality Studies; Gracie Saenz, the first Latina Houston City Council member; Behavioral and Social Sciences Department Chair at San Jacinto College, Yvonne Freer; and Dr. Nikki Van Hightower are just a few of the educators and women’s movement veterans who shared their stories and keen insight on today’s turbulent political climate.¹³

As of 2018, data on the state of women paints a bleak picture in contrast to the diverse Houston women taking social issues to the streets and voting booths. A recent Stanford Center on Poverty and Inequality study revealed that national progress towards gender equality has stalled. Areas such as occupational integration and the gender pay gap remain major issues preventing progress towards gender equality.¹⁴ Texas has approximately 14 million women, with 3.4 million of them living in the Houston area. Despite making up over half of the population, local women earn approximately 80 cents on the dollar compared to their male counterparts. Latina women suffer the widest wage gap, earning only 35 percent of what white males earn in Houston on average.¹⁵ While the number of women-owned and women-run businesses is growing, it is at a glacial rate.

One of the most startling trends uncovered by recent studies is the rise of uninsured women and maternal mortality rates in Houston caused largely by a lack of adequate and continued healthcare after pregnancy, especially for women of color. Even women who receive quality care while carrying a child are often neglected postpartum.¹⁶ Humans, regardless of gender, at all stages of life, deserve the best health care available, but Houston women find themselves at the bottom of the barrel. These issues, and many more



Judge Phyllis Frye speaks with Hannah Cohen-Fuentes a participant at the fortieth anniversary National Women’s Conference. In 2010 Mayor Annise Parker appointed Frye as an associate judge for the City of Houston Municipal Courts, making her the nation’s first transgender judge. Frye continues to maintain her law practice and advocacy for the LGBTQ community. Photo courtesy of Alan Nguyen.

not covered here, indicate that the current state of Houston women is still fraught with inequalities.

United by righteous anger following numerous public allegations of sexual harassment against women across the nation, a new generation of women have taken up the mantle for a new era of women’s movements, and they are making waves in the quest for equality. The 2017 Houston Women’s March is an example of that. It and other events have inspired people to brush up on their rights, stay abreast of current events, exercise their right to vote, and elect more women to office at every level of government.

Former Texas governor Ann Richards observed, “The here and now is all we have, and if we play it right it’s all we’ll need.”¹⁷ Reflecting on the current state of Houston women, Dr. Nikki Van Hightower’s 1976 report, and the experiences of our mothers and grandmothers, it is tempting to think, “So much has happened, yet so little has changed.” But Houston women have broken glass ceilings in education, business, the arts, and politics. Most recently, Houston made political history by electing nineteen black women to judicial seats in Harris County, and one of the first two Latinas from Texas to the U.S. House of Representatives.¹⁸

Observing Houston women today with the same clarity as Van Hightower did in 1976, a trend comes into focus. Even with the unpredictable nature of daily circumstances, national politics, the economy—and the weather—they persevere with a steel resolve, embracing each other across differences. As residents of the nation’s fourth largest city, Houston women are uniquely positioned to affect change and shift the culture towards a more equitable society for all genders. Over the past decades, Houston women have risen to the challenges they faced, and, when Houston women rise, the nation rises with them.¹⁹

Regina Elizabeth Vitolo is a native Houstonian. She earned her B.A. in history at the University of Houston and her M.S. in library science from the University of North Texas. While at UH, she volunteered for the 2017 National Women’s Conference and received a History and Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies scholarship.

Brownwood: From Neighborhood to Nature Center

By Laura Bernal



When tides are very low at the Baytown Nature Center, visitors can catch a glimpse of former residents' swimming pools. Based on its position, this pool appears to have been built to connect to the bay.

All photos courtesy of author unless otherwise noted.

With hurricanes regularly striking the Texas Gulf Coast, experiencing multiple hurricanes and tropical storms in one's lifetime has become a rite of passage and a life marker for coastal residents. Even though Texans know how to prepare for these events, each storm has a unique trajectory and damage path, as Hurricane Harvey demonstrated in August 2017 when the Houston area experienced unprecedented flooding. Among the affected cities was Baytown, home to the ExxonMobil Baytown Complex. Amid emergency evacuations and rescues in numerous Baytown neighborhoods, Harvey revived dormant memories of the lost Brownwood subdivision, the city's "most exclusive address" in the 1940s and 1950s.¹

For most of the twentieth century, Brownwood was one of Baytown's most desirable neighborhoods, sitting on a peninsula surrounded by Burnet, Crystal, and Scott Bays. This changed with Hurricane Carla's arrival in 1961 when city officials and Brownwood residents had to confront the enemy silently destroying the neighborhood—subsidence, that is the sinking of the land. Ultimately, Hurricane Alicia's arrival in 1983 delivered the final deathblow, forcing residents

to concede their battle against nature. Against the residents' wishes, city officials bought the land and created the Baytown Nature Center. Yet, underneath that nature center façade, visitors can still find artifacts and the foundations of the homes that once stood there.

Prior to the colonization of Texas, the peninsula was home to "nomadic hunter-gatherers [who] discovered the ample food supply along the shore. These seasonal visitors were the forebears of...the Attakapas and Karankawas who ranged along the coast from Louisiana to south Texas," historian Margaret Swett Henson reported. Nathaniel Lynch, who later built the Lynchburg Ferry, became the first legal Anglo landowner in the area when he received a land grant from the Mexican government as part of Stephen F. Austin's original colony (the Old Three Hundred) in 1824. In 1892, Quincy Adams Wooster and Willard D. Crow bought more than 1,000 acres from Lynch's land grant and founded an unincorporated community called Wooster. Less than ten years later, in 1910, "Edwin Rice Brown Sr. of Mississippi bought 530 acres from the Wooster Estate for \$15,000 on which to raise cattle."² Brown hoped to find oil on the



The Brownwood subdivision sat on a peninsula surrounded by Crystal, Burnet, and Scott Bays. Across the tip, now known as Wooster Point, stood Goat Island, nestled between the neighborhood and the Houston Ship Channel.

Photo courtesy of Wikipedia.

land, a desire shared by many after the discovery of oil at Spindletop in 1901. About a decade after this discovery, a group of independent oilmen, including Ross S. Sterling, Walter Fondren, Robert Blaffer, and William Stamps Farish, met and founded the Humble Company. Their quest to expand their company's oil production led them to the Goose Creek Oil Field in present-day Baytown.

Against his lawyer's advice, Sterling acquired this oil field even though it only contained one dry hole. He and his team drilled multiple holes, bringing in "the first big well at Goose Creek before the end of 1916." By 1920, they had built a Humble Oil & Refining Company facility near the oil field, creating many new job opportunities that drew individuals and their families to the area. Neighborhoods grew up around the refinery, but officials controlled some of this growth by failing to provide "more adequate housing arrangements for the few hundred unskilled" Mexican and black laborers who lived in small rental houses. On the other hand, executives lived in stucco row houses.³ Even though these executives lived comfortably, they wanted to improve the quality of their housing, so they sought additional land.

The property closest to the refinery belonged to Edwin Rice Brown, Sr., who died just as refinery officials planned to contact him. Nevertheless, his heirs agreed to sell the land. Refinery officials completed the transaction in 1937 and began dividing the territory into hundreds of lots for the refinery's executives. The refinery had done something similar in the 1920s when it acquired East Baytown and Black Duck Bay, breaking them into lots available "on easy credit to white employees" after installing water, sewers, electrical lights, streets, alleys, and sidewalks. For those unaffected by racial deed restrictions, acquiring one of these coveted properties was an exciting moment. Residents began transforming Brownwood into the "River Oaks of Baytown," a reference to Houston's most elite neighborhood, but Mother Nature had other plans.⁴ Caught up in their excitement, residents overlooked the first warning signs of the danger lurking underneath the surface.

The discovery of oil at the Goose Creek Oil Field unleashed a vicious monster. When workers reached maximum production in 1918, they ignored the first signs of subsidence. In his memoir, Ross Sterling admitted that they "took out so much oil that the land [near the Goose Creek Oil

Field], which stood four feet above the water, sank to two feet under water." Subsidence also occurred on the "Gaillard Peninsula, near the center of the field, and other nearby low land[s]." Field workers responded by elevating surrounding structures, such as roadways and derrick floors.

Despite these modifications, the peninsula and vegetation disappeared, and the sinking spread to surrounding areas. Geologists studied the subsidence and agreed that the removal of "large volumes of oil, gas, water, and sand from beneath the surface" by refinery workers was to blame. This continued withdrawal of resources from the ground sunk 105,800 acre-feet of land in the Baytown-La Porte area between 1943 and 1953. Humble Oil officials tried to stop this by "using more surface water in 1964" and building "a 350-acre lagoon system for treating processed water before returning it to the San Jacinto River."⁵ Despite these changes, the damage to the neighborhood and surrounding areas was irreversible.

Brownwood residents took pride in their executive homes with manicured yards, but the community resembled many neighborhoods with about four hundred homes on a dozen streets.⁶ The subdivision had its own homeowner's association, the Brownwood Civic Association, which residents founded in 1947. Depending on their property's location, residents had a view of the San Jacinto Monument and passing ships. Besides oil executives, residents included educators, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and store managers.

Brownwood boasted several important features. The Wooster Cemetery stood at the tip of the peninsula until



Roxanne Gillum, now Roxanne Reeves Spalding, lived in this home located at 128 Bayshore Drive on Burnet Bay. Like many houses in the neighborhood, it had a pool.

Photos courtesy of Roxanne Reeves Spalding.



Even though most of the house foundations are gone, the vegetation shows where houses once stood, such as this palm tree near a bulkhead.

subsidence later destroyed most of the graves. Another small subdivision within Brownwood, Linwood Park, opened in 1955 between Crow Road and Mapleton Street. A few residents had businesses inside the subdivision. For example, the Underwood family owned Lea's Nursery, formerly known as Ware's Nursery, which sold a variety of plants, trees, shrubs, and flowers. Other businesses included Carew's Studio, Weikel's Beauty Shop, Haney Heating & Air, and The Printe Shoppe. Brownwood residents also had access to businesses outside the subdivision, such as a Jones 7-11-7 (once known as Smitty's Drive In), a robo-wash, and Westwood Park, where many Brownwood residents and those from nearby neighborhoods gathered.

Residents created a pleasant neighborhood, but they were not prepared for the storms that soon hit. The first major storm to come through was Hurricane Carla, which made landfall near Port O'Connor, Texas, on September 11, 1961. Baytown officials warned people about the storm's potential threat five days before it made landfall. On Friday, September 8, "Baytown City Manager, J.B. LeFevre called a meeting for department heads...to make plans for providing shelter, food and transportation" in preparation. Arrangements continued the following day with residents receiving a hurricane warning. As Hurricane Carla approached Texas, "Baytown's National Guard troops were pressed into action early Sunday night to evacuate an undetermined number of persons from their homes in Brownwood...Most of them were brought to [surrounding] Baytown schools and churches." School superintendent George H. Gentry made all school buildings available as shelters.⁷ Most Brownwood residents boarded up their homes and evacuated, but some stayed, forcing National Guard Troops to rescue them when their homes flooded.

Even though they had taken precautions, Brownwood residents experienced Baytown's most severe damage, primarily from floodwaters rather than the storm's high winds. Floodwater reached the middle of the first floor in many

houses, and mailboxes were under water. Since this was Brownwood's first major flooding event, Baytown residents volunteered to help those living in Brownwood. Humble Oil & Refining Company officials offered its employees help to rebuild following the storm, but "a number of Brownwood residents interviewed indicated...[they waited] a few days until their houses could dry out a little more" before deciding on their next step.⁸ While many residents chose to rebuild, some families left after Hurricane Carla, escaping the decline of property values and the long fight to save Brownwood.

Brownwood residents first attempted to protect their homes by proposing a levee to deter future flooding. More than 450 people met with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers on March 6, 1962, urging the "construction of a 30-foot [high] levee to offer hurricane flood protection to almost 2,000 acres of residential areas in Brownwood."⁹ About twenty residents shared their experiences to support the levee, which helped garner support for the proposal, including from Governor Price Daniel. City officials addressed this request by raising one of the main roads five feet to act as a levee. As an extra precaution, many residents along the bays constructed bulkheads to protect their yards.



Days after a rain event, water remains on the streets of the former Brownwood neighborhood in April 2018.

In September 1967, Baytownians prepared for Hurricane Beulah's arrival. Brownwood residents set up a system to read tides hourly, starting a couple of days prior to the storm's landfall. Simultaneously, city officials implemented a voluntary evacuation and warned "residents to be prepared to move their household furnishings."¹⁰ Even though forecasters expected Beulah, one of the strongest hurricanes on record, to hit near the mouth of the Rio Grande, Brownwood was under a threat of tidal flooding, which did not materialize. As residents evacuated, police officers guarded the neighborhood from looters and illegal dumping. Their presence continued to adorn Brownwood during each evacuation until its final days as flooding occurred more frequently and subsidence advanced.

Less than two years later, unexpected storms unrelated to tropical weather flooded Brownwood. Known as the 1969 Valentine's Day Flood, the "torrential rains and treacherous tides" forced about 300 Brownwood residents to evacuate, and water "entered about 80 per cent" of



This foundation, located on MacArthur Avenue, still contains remnants of red carpet, white linoleum tiles, and red bricks.

the homes. Displaced residents returned to their homes a few hours later, only to quickly evacuate once more as tide levels rapidly rose again. Brownwood residents rebuilt their homes, and “public organizations as well as private businesses” provided some aid.¹¹ Residents also sought Small Business Association (SBA) loans to help cover the estimated \$250,000 in damages to furnishings and home contents in the 150 homes that flooded. Less than three months later, Baytown’s mayor Glen Walker proposed a land-based levee around the peninsula.

Even as officials proposed different solutions to help residents, the Brownwood neighborhood continued to flood. In October 1970, rains and rising tides flooded the subdivision. Hurricane Fern hit in 1971, and Tropical Storm Delia impacted the area in 1973. With each storm, the damage estimates increased. Subsidence made it harder for the water to recede, trapping it for days inside homes and in yards. Each time, residents had to evacuate, and only authorized personnel could remain. In 1979, flash floods and Tropical Storm Claudette once again inundated the neighborhood with water. On January 8, 1980, Brownwood residents had the opportunity to vote in favor of a bond to fund their evacuation and relocation, yet, they turned it down.

Hurricane Alicia delivered the final deathblow in August 1983. Once again, houses flooded, and city officials had to rescue those who refused to evacuate. By then, residents and city officials had established a routine for evacuations. Brownwood residents knew when to evacuate, what information city officials needed, and what to take. Nevertheless, some refused to leave. This decision endangered the lives of residents and rescuers. Norman Dykes, a former city engineer and public works director for Baytown, still remembers how responders dealt with one man who refused to evacuate during Alicia. The water had gotten too deep and the hour too late for them to assist him, so the man had to stay on his roof overnight. When they returned the following morning, he was glad to see them because he had spent the night fighting off water moccasins.¹² A Category 3 storm, Alicia hit just southwest of Galveston and across the bay from Baytown, putting Brownwood on the “dirty side” of the storm and sealing its fate.

Hurricane Alicia destroyed the neighborhood and resi-

den’s hopes for the future. City officials barred homeowners from rebuilding, and angry residents retaliated by hiring attorney Andrew Lannie to file lawsuits against the city. As residents coped with these legal issues, they also had to deal with looters and illegal dumpers who took advantage when police barricades around the neighborhood were removed. This forced Baytown’s City Council to pass Resolution No. 897 on December 13, 1984, declaring a portion of the subdivision a hazardous, flood-prone area. City officials used the resolution to justify their decision to stop providing certain utility services to Brownwood. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) made offers on and bought many of the properties so that Baytown city officials could transform the area into a proposed park. Building the park took time, however, because the purchasing process was long and frustrating.

Some residents immediately accepted the buyout offers, but others declined and chose to pursue legal action. Several who did this owned multiple lots, which they bought as residents left, and they hoped to secure the lots’ full value by filing lawsuits. On average, most of the owners who accepted the buyout offers received between \$1,000 and \$2,000 for each lot. Norman Dykes represented the city, and officials advised him of the maximum amounts it would pay for the properties.¹³ When Dykes met with residents and their attorneys, residents declared their perceived land value, and Dykes responded with a lower amount. This negotiation continued back and forth, with residents reducing what they were willing to accept and Dykes raising his offer until they agreed on a number, typically the limit the city originally set. This negotiation was important because when residents bought their homes during the 1950s, they paid between \$15,000 and \$16,000. Even though a judge dismissed most of the lawsuits, a few residents received favorable rulings, including the Gillum family who received \$80,000 for their four lots.

On June 13, 1985, Olshan Demolishing Company in Houston won the \$157,700 contract offered by the Baytown



The City of Baytown installed this medallion at the Brownwood Educational Pavilion to indicate the peninsula’s original elevation in comparison to the vegetation and water in the background, which are noticeably lower due to subsidence.



Prickly pear cacti can be found throughout the nature center. By looking at a plant's thorns, visitors can determine if the plant was domesticated.



The remains of Brownwood indicate that many residents added non-native plants to their yards, and some have survived today. The belladonna lily, native to Cape Province in South Africa, is widely used as an ornamental plant. In its natural habitat, it grows among rocks and requires little watering. Yet, this one at the BNC adapted to its wetland habitat.

City Council to raze the remaining structures within the neighborhood. By October, the company had cleared 228 lots, including twenty-three vacant ones. The company did this by digging a giant hole parallel to the house, leveling the structure, scooping up the debris, and dumping it into the hole. Olshan workers then covered the hole with dirt, pounded it, and smoothed it out.¹⁴ As for the remaining properties, the company later hauled the structures off and destroyed them elsewhere. With the passing of Ordinance No. 5750 on January 31, 1991, the Baytown City Council officially closed and discontinued the use of the subdivision's roads.

In 1994 the Brownwood Marsh Restoration Project commenced transforming the former neighborhood into a nature center. This came about after a fifty-five-acre property in Crosby, Texas, where as many as ninety companies disposed of 70 million gallons of industrial waste lost its permit from the Texas Water Commission due to violations in 1973. The federal government stepped in to require the site to restore wetlands, as part of the legal penalties. The responsible parties formed the French Limited Superfund Site (French, LTD), which conducted an "extensive site selection study" before choosing the former Brownwood Subdivision for a \$1.8 million restoration of sixty acres of marshland. Workers pumped water out of the subdivision and removed remaining structures. Lyondell Chemical constructed flushing channels, a twenty-four-foot-wide gazebo, and created twenty acres of wetlands. Additionally, the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department constructed a fresh water pond, an observation platform, walking trails, a

butterfly garden, a children's playground, and picnic areas.¹⁵ The introduction of a variety of plants and the creation of freshwater ponds facilitated the arrival of many birds and animals, earning the nature center a spot in the 500-mile Great Texas Coastal Birding Trail, which extends across East Texas.

The Baytown Nature Center opened on May 19, 2002, and as part of the ceremony, more than 325 former residents attended a homecoming reunion, which included a tour of their former neighborhood. They recorded interviews with Steve Koester, which are available on the Sterling Municipal Library's YouTube channel.

Since its opening, the nature center, which charges a nominal entrance fee to defray costs, has added fishing piers and a kayak launch. Most of the neighborhood's former roads serve as walking trails for visitors. Even though the majority of the residential structures were gone when the nature center opened, visitors can still find pieces pertaining to the neighborhood's history, such as foundations and artifacts, including bricks, tile, pipe fragments, a rusty fence, a fire hydrant, manhole covers, wooden poles, and pieces of carpet. A few foundations remain as well, but subsidence and the nature center's design have made them inaccessible.

The neighborhood's history is also evident in the center's vegetation where non-native and domestic plants such as iris, huisache, belladonna lilies, roses, and palm trees abound in former residents' gardens. On almost every street, visitors can find prickly pear cacti, which are decorative, a food source, and offer protection when placed parallel to a fence or underneath a window.

When the tides are low, usually in the early morning or late afternoon, visitors can see remains of the homes' in-ground swimming pools, bulkheads, and boathouses. In August 2015, the Baytown City Council passed Resolution No. 263, authorizing the incorporation of Westwood Park into the Baytown Nature Center's acreage. City officials removed most of the park's structures during the summer of 2017. Despite all of these historical details, most visitors only know the Baytown Nature Center as a place for fishing and birdwatching.

Although the Brownwood subdivision no longer exists, its legacy remains in the Texas Historical Markers for Wooster Point and Wooster Common School No. 38, the foundations, and artifacts hidden within the nature center's vegetation. More importantly, it survives in the memories of former residents, especially those who fought hard to save their homes. Unfortunately, it is also a warning about the lessons we have yet to learn. Surrounding neighborhoods that are also sinking can look to the property as a warning of what unchecked human activity can do. Whether we refer to it as a nature center or a ghost town, what matters is that this peninsula was once one of Baytown's most exclusive neighborhoods. Forgetting it means forgetting the residents' experiences and struggles, but it also means erasing a major chapter from Baytown's history.

Laura Bernal received her bachelor's degree in history at the University of Houston, where she has interned at *Houston History* for two years. A Baytown native and frequent visitor to the nature center, she is currently working on her master's in public history, writing her thesis on the Brownwood subdivision.

Keeping Honor Alive for the 95:

What Unmarked Graves of Texas Convict Laborers Can Teach Us Today

By Heather Lafon



Students Danny Dang and Jacqueline Ramos feature some of the memorial prototypes suggested to honor “The 95.” The staff at Olle Middle School supporting the project include: eighth grade STEM U.S. History teacher Heather Lafon, who set up the guidelines and resource points and directed instruction; Wayne Curry, social studies specialist; Citgo Innovation Academy educators; Samyka Leaston, Citgo Innovation Academy STEM coordinator; Matthew Skiles, assistant principal; and Nelda Billescas, principal.

Photo courtesy of Chris Daigle.

In early 2018 archeologists located the skeletal remains of ninety-five individuals on a Fort Bend Independent School District (FBISD) construction site. Buried in wooden caskets, the deceased are believed to be former slaves forced to work in sugarcane fields as convict labor on the Imperial Prison Farm. Texas leased out convicts from 1878 to 1910, offering landowners an alternative to slave labor in the post-Civil War era. The vast majority of the remains found were of men, ranging in age from fourteen to seventy, who showed signs of malnourishment, illness, and heavy physical stress.

In February 2019 efforts were underway to identify the

remains, and FBISD is involved in a legal battle to determine if the remains will be reinterred on the current site, necessitating a change of plans for its new technical center location, or moved to the Old Imperial Prison Farm Cemetery operated by the City of Sugar Land.

Eighth grade students at Citgo Innovation Academy at Olle Middle School in Alief ISD under the direction of teacher Heather Lafon recently showcased their “95 Voices” PBL (Problem Based Learning) at the Pop-up Museum sponsored by the UH Center for Public History at the Houston History Alliance Conference. The driving question for their PBL was, “How can we better honor those who have impacted history?” The students connected their colonization studies relative to the slave trade with the story of the remains of the ninety-five people found on the FBISD construction site.

The project’s goal was to help students understand the impact oppression has had throughout American history and will have on the present and future if it continues. To convey their findings, students created ninety-five boxes to signify each person’s remains found in Sugar Land. Every box held an artifact that symbolized oppression from colonial times and slavery through the present, such as a cotton boll or a pack of sugar, and featured a picture of the student and a poem he or she wrote using a template focused on past and present oppression. Students embedded the poems into short documentary-style trailer videos. Once students researched and completed their past and present phases of the project, they created a final future product, which involved engineering a mini version of their proposal to honor the ninety-five prison laborers.

The students’ “95 Voices” project serves as a way to make people aware of and honor those who are oppressed, voiceless, and overlooked throughout history. Most importantly, they hope this knowledge will change our perspectives and begin to repair some of the deep divisions our nation currently faces.

Citgo Innovation Academy students with Heather Lafon, sixth from left, and their “95 Voices” project pieces. Photo courtesy of Matthew Skiles.





The Houston Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO) lent their support to the Rio Grande farmworkers, taking a bus from Houston to the Valley to march for a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour.

Photo by Alfonso Vázquez courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, MSS0093;B1;F014.

Reverend James Navarro: Supporting La Marcha and Those in Need

By Joshua Valentino

Baptist minister James L. Navarro and fellow activists left Houston in the sweltering Texas heat in July of 1966, traveling several hours to Rio Grande City in Starr County, where they marched in solidarity with local farmworkers seeking a fair wage.¹ These laborers galvanized national attention when they organized a strike followed by a march, *La Marcha*, to the Texas capital in Austin, demanding a \$1.25 minimum wage for farmworkers and the right to unionize. Facing violent opposition from the Rio Grande Valley landowners who had police support, the strikers re-

fused to back down. This new generation of activists sought empowerment by confronting white supremacy and discrimination against Hispanics while rejecting the old ideals of assimilation into Anglo society.

The march received support from across Texas. Religious leaders, Reverend Navarro and his Catholic counterpart Father Antonio Gonzalez headed the Houston delegation. Although religious institutions were reluctant to support these organizing efforts, religion remained a central value in the movement, placing *La Marcha* at the crossroads of the many, sometimes conflicting, currents in the Mexican American activist community of the 1960s.

Reverend Navarro built an impressive career as a minister and community organizer. Born in Detroit, Michigan, in 1919 and ordained in Fort Worth at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in 1939, James L. Navarro was an experienced organizer. His work in the religious communities he served and the local Mexican American community had a tremendous impact. He founded Houston's Kashmere Baptist Temple in 1943 and Calvary Baptist Temple in 1948. Navarro also became known for his daily, Spanish-language KLVV radio program *La Hora Bautista* (The Baptist Hour), which began broadcasting in 1950 and reached an audience of tens of thousands of Spanish speakers in the greater Houston area. Through the program Navarro ministered to Houston's Spanish-speaking Baptists, hosting a variety of religious speakers



A preeminent Hispanic Baptist minister and activist in Houston, Rev. James Navarro (center) became a key figure leading La Marcha to Austin, Texas, in 1966.

Photo courtesy of the James L. Navarro Collection at the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Project, Houston, Texas.



Rev. Navarro hosted “La Hora Bautista” (The Baptist Hour), a radio program on KLVV, Houston’s first Spanish-language station. The program reached over 10,000 listeners in the area, and served as a platform for Navarro’s guests, religious music, and ministry.

Photo courtesy of the James L. Navarro Collection at the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Project, Houston, Texas.

and musical programs. He distributed scholarships for Spanish-speaking students, gave Christmas food baskets to families in need, and supported children’s sports leagues.²

In the summer of 1954 when Hurricane Alice brought devastating floods to the Valley, destroying homes and taking between 53 and 153 lives on both the U.S. and Mexican sides of the Rio Grande River, Navarro reached out to his radio audience to offer aid. He helped mobilize five fifteen-ton truckloads of donated foodstuffs and clothing for the flood victims. A year later, Hurricane Hilda hit Tampico, Mexico, flooding 90 percent of the city and claiming Tampico’s communications and transportation networks. Rev. Navarro again ran a flood relief campaign, resulting in eighteen plane-loads totaling 250,000 pounds of foodstuffs and clothing reaching Tampico.³ Though the most sensational, the flood campaigns were only a small part of Navarro’s efforts to organize Houston’s Mexican American community.

In the 1960s, Mexican American organizing became increasingly diverse. Middle-class Mexican Americans had long been the dominant voices advocating for Mexican American rights in the United States. For the most part, they believed assimilating with white culture offered the best solution to discrimination against their community. Rev. Navarro was in many ways a member of this old guard. He was an active member and chaplain of the Houston chapter of League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the American GI Forum. LULAC was one of the leading national civil rights organizations for Mexican Americans prior to the 1960s, but it received increasing criticism for being too conservative and supporting Hispanic assimilation.⁴ The American GI Forum emerged after World War II “to fight for educational and medical benefits” for Mexican Americans, and later, “against poll taxes and school segregation.”

The sixties brought new forms of activism for Mexican Americans. In 1960 John F. Kennedy’s presidential campaign kicked off the decade with an injection of ambition for Latinos seeking a political voice, led by Viva Kennedy

clubs established across the country. The Viva Kennedy campaign marked the first significant mobilization and recognition of Mexican Americans and Latinos as a national voter base. The campaign also provided a platform to bring the issues facing the Mexican American community to a national political stage. In Houston, the Viva Kennedy campaign revitalized Mexican American activism and launched voter registration drives. The Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations (PASO) in Houston emerged from LULAC, American GI Forum, and other groups that came together for the Kennedy campaign. Viva Kennedy clubs attributed the president’s narrow victories in many southwestern states to their hard work.⁵

While the success of the Viva Kennedy campaigns instilled a belief in pursuing change through political means, Kennedy’s performance as president disheartened many activists because his administration failed to adopt reforms they hoped to see and he did not appoint Mexican Americans to high-level administrative positions.⁶ As a result, new voices emerged in the Mexican American civil rights movement, advocating alternative means for pursuing change.



Rev. James Navarro (center, wearing a light suit) and other individuals gathered food and clothing to help victims of Hurricane Hilda that hit Tampico, Mexico, in 1955.

Photo courtesy of the James L. Navarro Collection at the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Project, Houston, Texas.

Rev. Navarro remained active in Houston’s Mexican American political scene in the sixties and served as the state chaplain for PASO, which was more willing than organizations like LULAC to criticize the white establishment. Nonetheless, Navarro seemingly remained steady in his belief that those in political power could be made to serve Mexican Americans’ interests. Navarro prioritized his religious commitments to his Kashmere Baptist Temple congregation and his radio audience while he remained a respected and involved organizer. He ran for the Houston Independent School District board in 1964 and chaired the Anti-Poverty Council of Houston (APCH), an organization



Rev. James Novarro, leaning into a microphone, smiles as he watches the relief efforts in response to Rio Grande flooding from Hurricane Alice in June 1954. Novarro's relief campaign gathered and delivered 150,000 pounds of supplies to both sides of the flooded Rio Grande Valley.

Photo courtesy of the James L. Novarro Collection at the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Project, Houston, Texas.

created by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 under President Lyndon Johnson to combat poverty at the local level. The APCH sought to ensure effective allocation of aid to in-need communities by avoiding duplication of efforts between organizations and preventing misallocation of aid. Operating through government channels showed Rev. Novarro to be a tactically conservative organizer. He later, however, embraced a more overt form of activism with his participation in La Marcha, while keeping to some of his core conservative political and religious values.⁷

The Minimum Wage March of 1966 manifested demonstration techniques used earlier by Mexican American farmworkers in California. Interestingly, the eventual successes of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) in the West began with the actions of a priest, Father Donald McDonnell. McDonnell evoked César Chávez's interest in labor organizing and helped recruit Chávez to the Community Services Organization (CSO) in 1950. Although the CSO became limiting, Chávez learned the techniques that enabled him to mobilize Southern California farmworkers to win union contracts.⁸

The California union organizers' success resulted from the efforts of César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, Gil Padilla and the NFWA members who worked tirelessly in laying the groundwork for the campaigns. In April 1966, the NFWA strike moved into the national spotlight with a march to the California capital of Sacramento and garnered the public support that NFWA needed to launch an effective boycott of targeted grape growers.⁹ The Texas march in 1966 descended from the California organizers' efforts and grew from a similar set of circumstances.

Starr County had an adult literacy rate of 22 percent and farmworkers there lived in difficult conditions. The laborers received between forty and eighty-five cents an hour, leaving

70 percent of the county's families living below the poverty line. Furthermore, roughly a third of the families had annual earnings of less than \$1,000, or approximately \$7,700 today when adjusted for inflation.¹⁰

To survive, Starr County farmworkers, predominantly of Mexican descent, were forced to migrate to other regions following growing seasons.¹¹ The laborers had no say in their employment conditions, and the landowners maintained strict control of governmental power in the Valley, which they exercised to maximize their profits at the expense of the workers. The landowners also used the endless supply of labor from across the border to their advantage when dealing with the existing workforce.

Efforts to unite the farmworkers began early in 1966. Eugene Nelson, an organizer with Chávez's NFWA, arrived in Texas to organize a boycott of a California grape grower, but by the time he arrived in Houston, the grower had signed an agreement with the NFWA. Nelson turned his attention to Starr County farmworkers instead, where an organizing strategy was already underway. The workers invited Nelson to the Valley to lead a rally announcing the unionization efforts, and a few hundred workers authorized the nascent union to negotiate on their behalf. Much of the organizing took place in Houston, and the newly created Independent Workers Association (IWA) began meeting in the local PASO headquarters, where the activists felt they could best tap into the hotbed of Mexican American organizing in Texas.¹²



Carrying his crucifix, Father Antonio Gonzalez leads farm workers and their supporters during La Marcha.

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, MSS0093-0128.



Houstonians came out to support the demonstrators at the capitol in Austin. African American civil rights activist Curtis Graves stands in the middle of a crowd, illustrating the solidarity across civil rights groups. Civil rights activist, attorney, and judge, Alfred J. Hernandez, seated in front wearing a cowboy hat, was serving as national president of LULAC at the time.

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, MSS0093-0141.

The Valley landowners refused to recognize the union or to comply with any of the workers' demands. On June 1, 1966, facing the political might of landowners, and risking their already precarious subsistence, the Valley farmworkers voted to strike. To survive, and unwilling to break the strike, many of the workers migrated to other regions in search of harvest work. In Starr County, sheriffs forced the remaining strikers into the fields, where some were sprayed with insecticide. A district judge also outlawed picketing in any form.¹³

The onset of physical violence made it clear that for all the successes of the Mexican American civil rights movement, the United States maintained its deep-rooted and brutal racism. Regardless, news of the picketing ban allowed Nelson to garner support in Houston for a march in Starr County. Originally, the march was planned to proceed from Rio Grande City to the Catholic shrine dedicated to Our Lady of San Juan del Valle in San Juan, Texas, about forty-five miles away.¹⁴

From the strike's inception, religion played a vital symbolic role. When the IWA established itself in Houston, the organizers looked to assistant pastor Father Antonio

Gonzalez at Immaculate Heart Church to provide a connection between the strike organizers and the Mexican American activist community. Fr. Gonzalez mobilized his religious community in support of the farmworkers by collecting food and clothing to donate to the strikers. As religious leaders and supporters of the labor movement, Fr. Gonzalez and Rev. Navarro were invited to march with them. Although the action came directly from Valley laborers in the movement, the national LULAC president, Alfred J. Hernandez of Houston, also marched in solidarity with the workers.¹⁵ LULAC's early approach to generating change did not include strikes, but the new decade and the emergence of a vibrant generation of organizers brought a willingness to confront the establishment more directly.

The farmworkers welcomed the support that activists from these organizations like LULAC and PASO provided. On July 4, Rev. Navarro, Fr. Gonzalez, and fellow Houstonian activists left Rio Grande City, marching with the farmworkers southeast toward San Juan, Texas. The march progressed through the town of La Joya where the Mexican American mayor met and welcomed the marchers. At some point between Rio Grande City and Mission, Fr. Gonzalez's diocesan leadership forced him to return to the diocese until he received permission from the bishop to participate in the march. As Fr. Gonzalez left, he tasked Rev. Navarro with carrying his crucifix to represent the priest's continued commitment to the march. When they reached Mission, the city denied them entry until a march representative received permission from the Mission Police Department to continue on if the marchers walked in single file on the sidewalk. That night, the marchers set up camp in a community park in Mission. Navarro remained with the march for the rest of its journey into San Juan because, he said, "the need...was so obvious, so evident."¹⁶

A Catholic church in Mission refused to support the march, causing anger among the farmworkers. Seeing the potential for violence that would endanger the march, Rev. Navarro called on the marchers to refrain from demonstrating at the church and continue on their journey to San Juan. Heeding the religious leader's call for non-violence, the marchers followed Navarro out of Mission and on to San Juan, where Bishop Emberto Mendeiros greeted the marchers and extended support from the Catholic Church.¹⁷

Religious support for the march originated at the individual level, for the most part, rather than being an institutional decision. For Rev. Navarro, certainly, participation in the march required a tremendous belief in the cause; the Baptist leadership and churches along the march route offered no support, and many criticized Navarro's participation. For the marchers, Navarro's role as a minister made him a natural leader. Much as the NFWA marchers in California had drawn from the black civil rights movement's use of mass prayer, Navarro began leading the Texas farmworkers in prayer every morning and noon. Eugene Nelson also saw the importance of religious guidance and decided to leave the march for a few days to encourage and facilitate a transfer of leadership to Navarro.¹⁸

By the time the march reached San Juan, its success motivated the organizers to carry the message on to the state capital in Austin. The growing scale of the march brought



Out of necessity, children accompanied parents on the march to Austin. These boys have signs showing support for the minimum wage from the United Farm Workers.

Photo courtesy of the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, MSS0228-0016.

grand receptions in cities along the way. Bishops opened their cathedrals to the marchers first in Corpus Christi, where the marchers received a police escort when Hector P. Garcia, founder of the American GI Forum, joined them, and then again in San Antonio.¹⁹

They received a chilly reception in New Braunfels from Texas Governor John Connally and Representative Wagoner Carr. Connally told the marchers not to come into Austin because he would not honor their request for a special session or “lend the dignity of his office” to their requests. He also predicted violence could occur. Connally’s advice had the opposite of its intended effect, reenergizing the marchers who perceived it as a validation of their cause, and they proceeded on to Austin. Having walked 65 days and 500 miles, the 150 farmworkers who led the march were joined by somewhere between eight thousand, and twenty-five thousand supporters on the final forty-nine miles into Austin and up to the state capitol on Labor Day, September 5, 1966.²⁰

La Marcha had launched the Rio Grande Valley farmworkers’ strike onto a national stage, and now those marching in solidarity with the laborers included César Chávez and Senator Ralph Yarborough (D-TX). Carrying a red bandana given to him by the farmworkers and otherwise reserved for those marchers who had made the whole journey from the Valley, Chávez expressed support for the march, asserting that the California and Texas farmworkers’ movements were one and the same. Upon reaching the capitol, the marchers gathered on the lawn to hear speeches from organizers. To maintain a lasting presence and as a reminder of the demand for a minimum wage for farmworkers, Fr. Gonzalez announced the Vigil for Justice, with two farm-

workers standing at the entrance to the capitol building as a visible reminder to legislators of the laborers’ demands.²¹

Back in the Valley, the farmworkers continued striking, but by 1967 it became clear the Texas legislature would not respond to their demand for minimum wage protection.²² Farmworkers held rallies throughout the Valley, organizing a union to pressure the growers directly for better wages and working conditions. The Valley landowners, however, began bussing laborers from across the border in Mexico who willingly worked for meager wages, presenting a significant problem for the strikers. After an unsuccessful blockade of the Roma Bridge on the Mexican border in October, the strikers received temporary help from the Confederation of Mexican Workers in May 1967. Members picketed, thereby blocking the route in Mexico for the “green-card commuters.” After two days, though, the picket collapsed and the flow of Mexican labor resumed. The growers effectively bypassed the Valley farmworker’s strike, and by fall 1967, the strike ended.

The experience of the Valley farmworkers resulted in tangible achievements, even though they did not immediately win their demands. Although the Texas legislature failed to pass a farmworkers’ minimum wage, in the summer of 1967 the Immigration Department issued a ruling prohibiting the importation of international strike-breaking laborers. Likewise, the Senate Migratory Subcommittee held hearings in Rio Grande City to investigate the abuse unleashed upon the striking farmworkers. Most importantly, the march to Austin energized the Mexican American civil rights movement in Texas. The organizing structures put in place by the strike and march maintained their strength and went on to serve other organizing efforts.²³

The Baptist hierarchy reprimanded Navarro for participating in La Marcha and for having carried Fr. Gonzalez’s crucifix. Navarro paid a high price for his political expression when influential members of the Kashmere Baptist Church congregation removed him for his actions. Regardless, he continued to minister to Houston’s Hispanic Baptist community. Navarro did not see the march, or its new tactics, as antithetical to the organizing that he had done with Houston’s LULAC and PASO chapters. For him, farmworkers “were the core of the march. Everybody else in every town and city, everybody else had to be behind the farmworkers.”²⁴

In addition to empowering Texas farmworkers, La Marcha deeply impacted Navarro, as he explained in 1984, “Sixty-five days of my life under the boiling sun of Texas are a part of that march in all of its fullness and it’s an experience that has stayed with me and even to the last of my life because I could never do it again, and I don’t know that it will ever happen again because it had never happened before.”²⁵ In his eyes, and the eyes of history, the march was a high point in the fight for Mexican American civil rights that he and his fellow organizers had been waging for the better part of a decade.

Joshua Valentino is a senior in the Honors College at the University of Houston. A history major who has studied Chicano history, he plans to become a high school history teacher when he graduates in May 2019.

Houston Area Rainbow Collective History Community-led Archives

By Christian Kelleher, with Larry Criscione, J.D. Doyle, Alexis Melvin, Judy Reeves, and Cristan Williams

Just over a decade ago Houston Public Library's Jo Collier brought together a group of local lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community historians, archivists, and scholars as part of the library's LGBT speaker series. Recognizing commonalities and opportunities in their diverse organizations and programs, the group formed Houston Area Rainbow Collective History (ARCH) as a space for discussion, collaborative planning, and news sharing. Houston has long had a vibrant and influential LGBT community, and the individuals and organizations that met as ARCH have taken on the responsibility to collect, preserve, and share their community's history.¹

Community-led archives are essential to the preservation of unique historical collections of books, archives, and artifacts that mainstream government or academic archives have typically neglected or undervalued. Community archives are often ventures of "self-representation, identity construction, and empowerment," and indictments of the failures of mainstream institutions to include marginalized populations such as racial or ethnic minorities, faith groups, and the LGBT community. Archivists struggle to define what a community archive is but increasingly recognize that it is the "diversity, fluidity and lack of fixity which makes the community archive sector so dynamic and vibrant." Community archives come about in many different ways, but they frequently develop organically from within the community, are led by one or two key individuals, and are often recognized as the "authentic voice" of that community. Houston's LGBT community-led archives reflect this purpose and position in their organizations and their collections. Here are some of them from ARCH.²

Charles W. Botts and Jimmy Carper Memorial Research Library of GLBT Studies

Two of Houston's longest-established LGBT community-led archives carry the name of the dedicated collector and preservationist Charles Botts. Beginning in 1977 Botts, a NASA employee, began building the LGBT library at Houston's Metropolitan Community Church of the Resurrection. Botts felt that Houston's public library did not adequately represent and serve the city's LGBT community. He called it "hopeless," and noted, "There is not a lot there and what is may be under psychology or have been stolen or just have not been put on the shelf....And needless to say, the public library doesn't stock gay periodicals." By 1986 Botts's MCCR library totaled over 5,000 titles, including Houston's first openly gay published newspaper *The Albatross* from 1965. By that point the library also included the Texas Gay Archive, created

by Charles Gillis and Kenneth Adrian Cyr in Fort Worth's Awareness, Unity, and Research Association during the early 1970s. Storage is often a challenge for thriving community archives, and the Texas Gay Archive had moved to Houston in Gillis' famous Wilde 'N' Stein bookstore in the later 1970s, then was maintained by the nonprofit gay social service organization Integrity (later Interact) Houston, and finally merged with the MCCR library.³

After Charles Botts died in 1994, volunteer Larry Criscione led the efforts to preserve and build the collection through 2012, when the church that housed the library finally needed to reclaim the space it occupied. Jimmy



The July 24-30, 1981 issue brought TWT readers the first reports of Kaposi's Sarcoma and pneumonia, the beginning of the AIDS crisis. Images courtesy of the Charles Botts and Jimmy Carper Memorial Library of GLBT Studies, now at the University of Houston Libraries.



Detail from *Mary's...Naturally* bar top. Photographs of Mary's patrons and community activities were a central feature of its history rescued by GCAM after the bar closed. Photo courtesy of the Gulf Coast Archive and Museum of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender History.

Carper, a community activist, host and producer of KPFT radio program *After Hours*, one-time Pride Parade grand marshal, and 27-year AIDS survivor when he died in 2014, acquired it from the church intact to preserve the decades of effort and over 15,000 books, periodicals, and files the library then included. The complete Charles Botts and Jimmy Carper Memorial Library has recently been donated to the University of Houston Libraries.

Among those LGBT periodicals not collected by the public library but in the Botts & Carper Memorial Library is a complete run of *This Week In Texas*, which had begun

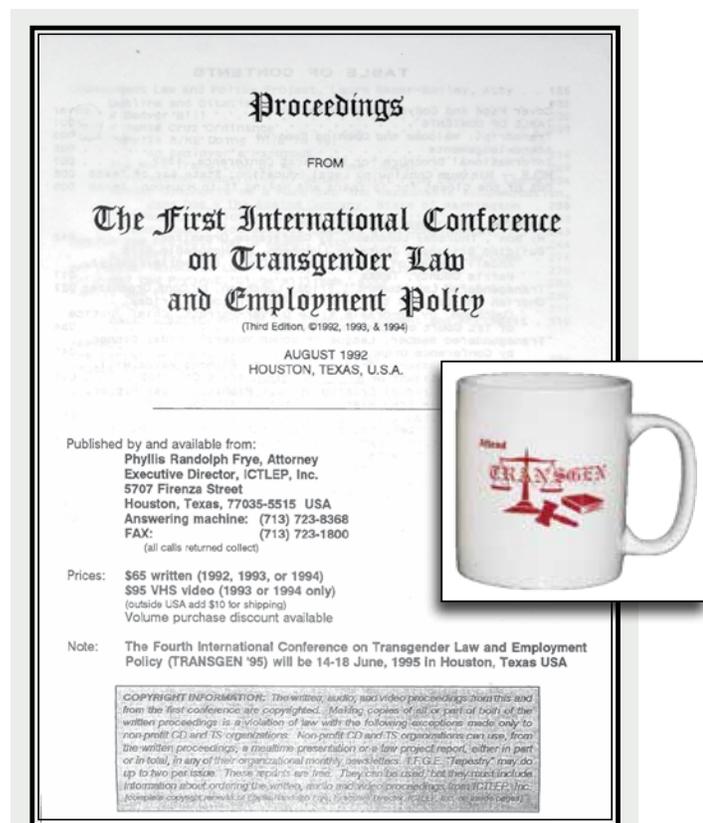
publication in Houston in 1975. Distributed statewide, TWT began as a gay business and entertainment guide, but under the leadership of editor Chuck Patrick took on a broader community focus in the 1980s, especially as the AIDS crisis quickly spread. In its July 24-30, 1981 issue, TWT published side-by-side reports titled, "Cancer Strikes in Gay Men" and "Pneumonia Strikes in Gay Men" about the rare cancer Kaposi's Sarcoma and *pneumocystis carinii* that were killing gay men at unprecedented rates. Less than a year later, TWT reported the first Texas death from AIDS, Clint Moncreif, on March 9, 1982. Soon the back pages of TWT that had featured personal ads also became crowded with obituaries.⁴

J.D. Doyle Archives

LGBT community historian J.D. Doyle has collected the TWT and other community obituaries in his Texas Obituary Project, a searchable database of nearly 7,000 LGBT Texans that includes data on race, gender, and deaths from AIDS and violence. The online J.D. Doyle Archives also includes two other major collections. Doyle's Queer Music Heritage captures LGBT music history and interviews with pioneering artists and draws from his 15-year radio program and extensive music collection in all formats from 78s to CDs. After archiving 580 hours of radio content by 2015, Doyle turned his efforts to the Houston LGBT History website that includes a massive 5,200 pages of content on Pride, politics, publications, bars, businesses, organizations, events, and individuals, among many other topics. Along with Sara Fernandez and Kirk Baxter, Doyle was also instrumental in creating The Banner Project pop-up museum of Houston LGBT history that displays periodically throughout the city.⁵

Gulf Coast Archive and Museum of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, & Transgender History

Jimmy Carper's leadership in preservation of Houston's LGBT community history had begun before his acquisition of the Botts collection when he and twelve other community activists established the Gulf Coast Archive and Museum of GLBT History almost two decades ago. The idea for GCAM originated when Rick Hurt, also known as Rainbo de Klown, posted to the Houston Activist Network listserv,



Proceedings of the first ICTLEP conference, 1992, and ICTLEP Transgen conference mug.

Images courtesy of the Transgender Foundation of America.

“Where’s *our* museum?” Though the Montrose neighborhood was part of the city’s Museum District, home to many LGBT bars and host to the annual Pride Parade, there was no space for the community to display and engage its own history. GCAM curator Judy Reeves remarked that much of the community’s history had been lost, reinterpreted or rewritten by others. “It doesn’t mean anything to them, it can end up in the garbage,” Reeves said. “But it’s important to us.” GCAM opened its first exhibit at a warehouse on Capitol Street, and subsequently moved to an apartment on West Main. Its first archival collection was donated by a prominent community member who had been preserving his deceased partner’s archives for many years, not knowing what to do with the documents. Though museum space has been difficult for GCAM to maintain, the organization has continued to raise exhibits and promote events and to rescue collections of publications, archives, photographs and artifacts, including leather, costumes, and an extensive t-shirt collection.⁶

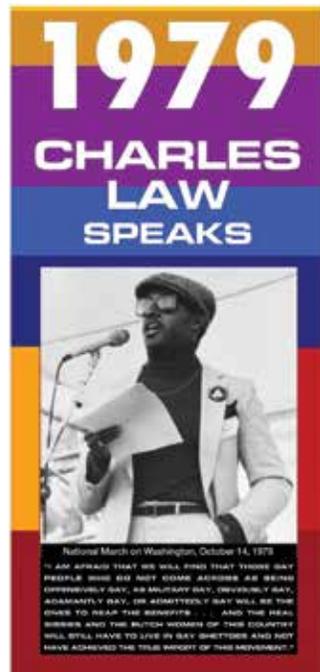
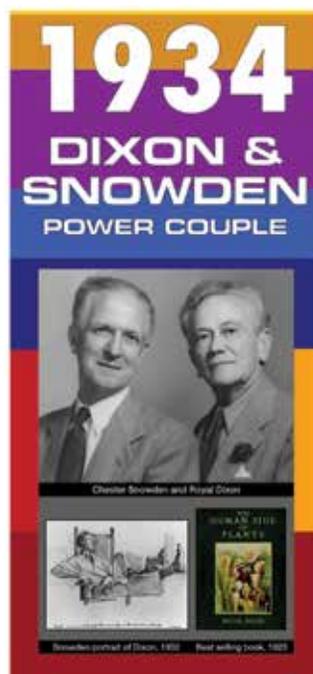
A remarkable community artifact and unique historical document rescued by GCAM is the set of bar tops from legendary Montrose institution Mary’s...Naturally. Opened in 1969 on the corner of Westheimer and Waugh, Mary’s has been described as “the mother house of all the gay bars in Houston.” Police raids—one with 61 arrests, including owner Jim “Fanny” Farmer, in a single night before Gay Pride Week in 1980—made Mary’s a rallying point for Houston’s LGBT community. Community activist Ray Hill cited Mary’s as the place where early planning for what became AIDS Foundation Houston occurred in 1980 (though AFH’s own archival history sites it in the Texas Medical Center). The Gay Political Caucus is also reputed to have begun there, with a witness writing of having seen Fanny Farmer “at one of the early meetings of Houston’s GPC when he arose to give an impassioned speech exhorting other gay businesses to donate to the then-struggling GPC, and backed his words with substantial cash.” Mary’s bar tops at GCAM document the institution’s early years as a community hub and the community members through preserved snapshots of the bar’s patrons.⁷

Botts Collection of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, Inc.

Charles Botts’s work at the MCCR library sprouted a second community-led archival collection under the leadership of library volunteer Larry Criscione. When the church could not retain the library, Criscione began his own efforts to preserve what he had maintained and cultivated in the nearly two decades since Botts’s death, including a heroic effort to recover the archives after Tropical Storm Allison flooded the church in 2001. As with the other community archivists, Criscione felt that the LGBT community had been excluded from his and other community members’ experience in media and history. At MCCR and in the Botts collection Criscione felt represented, understood, and empowered, and he shared that sense with the community. Criscione’s effort to preserve the archives took the form of incorporating the nonprofit Botts Collection and actively continuing the work of animating the community to donate important historical personal and organizational archives.⁸

Among the personal archives in the Botts Collection is a

small group of photographs of Tom Osborn, who trained to be an ice skater and performed with three-time gold medalist, film star—and Osborn’s matinee idol—Sonja Henie and her touring ice revue from 1948 to 1953. After leaving the ice revue, Osborn came to work for Conoco in Houston and became involved with The Diana Foundation, said to be the country’s oldest continuously operating gay organization. In 1967, at the 14th Diana Awards show at the Village Theater, Osborn used his ice revue showmanship and costume expertise to become the Dianas’ first drag performer. He performed regularly through the late 1980s, and for the last time at Diana 41 in 1994 before he passed away in 2010. The



The Banner Project highlights individuals, organizations, and events in Houston’s LGBT history. Images courtesy of The Banner Project, www.houstonlgbthistory.org/banner1.html.

photographs in the archive, which feature a young Osborn on skates leaping through the air during his Henie revue days, behind the wheel of a classic roadster, and later during a Diana Awards show, were collected by a community member at his memorial service and donated to keep his memory alive in the Botts Collection.⁹

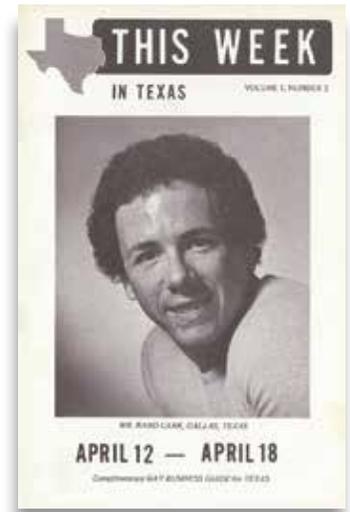
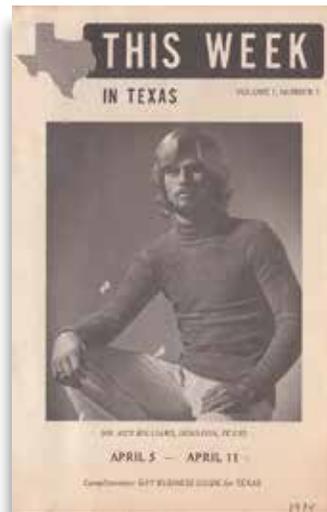
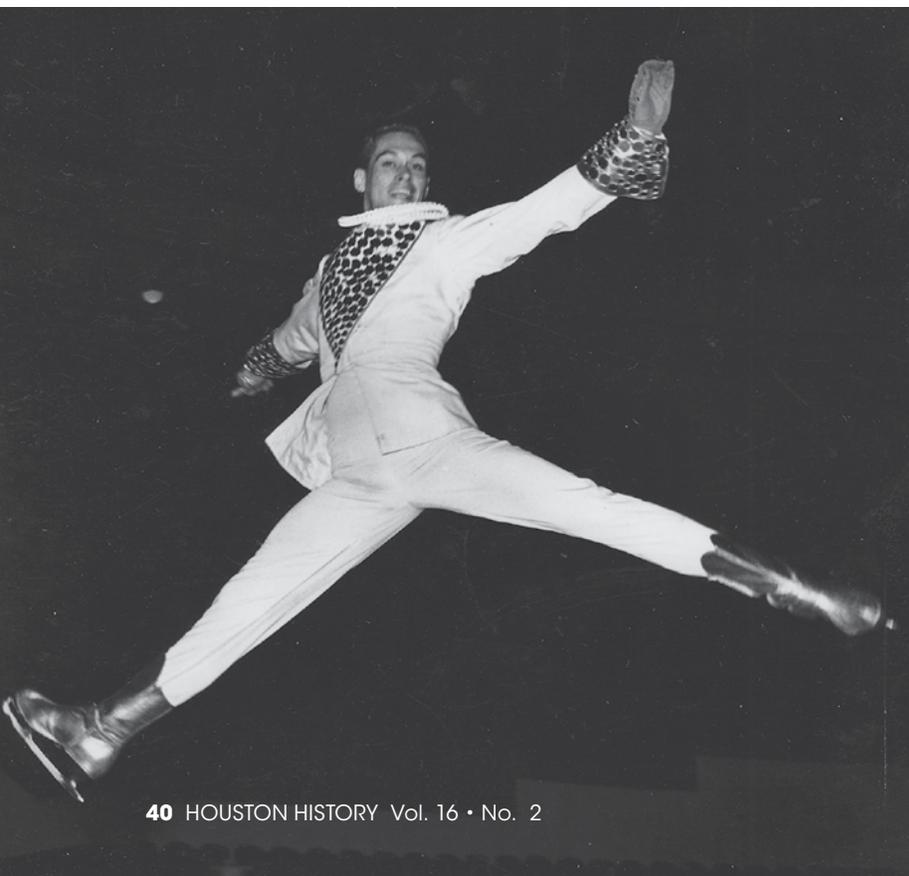
Transgender Foundation of America Trans Archive

Houston-based Transgender Foundation of America feels that its Trans Archive is the beating heart of a community space. The Trans Archive is an eclectic mix of artifacts from across the globe, from African tribal art to many American and European newspapers dating back hundreds of years. The collection includes paintings, statuary, textiles, newsletters, personal letters and diaries, photographs spanning more than a century, films and various forms of other media, an extensive library, and many other materials concerning the movement of gendered boundaries over time. The collection also focuses in upon specific aspects of trans history, whether telling the story of trans rights under Nazi persecution or in America through artifacts from Houston's own groundbreaking International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy. With Gulf Coast roots stretching back to the 1960s, TFA's mission is to improve the lives of trans people. In addition to the Trans Archive, TFA engages with its community, and the community's history, in many ways including through the annual Unity Banquet, now in its 26th year, its Trans Disaster Relief Fund, the TransAdvocate.com, a scholarship program, several support groups, and Gender Reel, in addition to its research and policy efforts.

While trans history as represented in the Trans Archive

Publicity still of Tom Osborn as a performer in the Sonja Henie's Hollywood Ice Revue from the late 1940s.

Photo courtesy of the Botts Collection of LGBT History, Inc.



The first two issues of This Week In Texas, the gay business and entertainment guide published in Houston, 1975.

Images courtesy of the Charles Botts and Jimmy Carper Memorial Library of GLBT Studies, now at the University of Houston Libraries.

goes back hundreds of years, scholars place beginnings of a national transgender political reform movement in the 1990s, and key to that movement was the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy organized by Houston lawyer (and later Texas's first transgender judge) Phyllis Frye, and co-sponsored by the Gulf Coast Transgender Community. The first ICTLEP took place at the Hilton, Southwest Freeway—where the marquee read “Welcome Transgender Law Conference”—on August 28, 1992, and had over fifty attendees. With its second conference, ICTLEP published reports, including the International Bill of Gender Rights, Health Law Standards of Care for Transsexualism, and Policy for the Imprisoned: Transgendered that impacted fields from law to bioethics.

ICTLEP had six conferences, all in Houston, that propelled the legal rights of the transgender community on grassroots and national levels.¹⁰

There are more LGBT community-led archives to discover in Houston, including the moving and informative oH Project that collects oral histories of HIV/AIDS available at Rice University, among other initiatives. Historical memory and societal representation are stronger because of the independent, diverse efforts and foresight of community-led archives such as these.

Christian Kelleher is Head of Special Collections at the University of Houston Libraries.

Larry Criscione is Vice President and Curator of the Botts Collection of LGBT History, Inc.

J.D. Doyle provides to the community three large LGBT history websites.

Alexis Melvin is President of the Transgender Foundation of America.

Judy Reeves is Curator of Collections at the Gulf Coast Archive and Museum of GLBT History.

Cristan Williams is a founding board member of the Transgender Foundation of America.

Archival collections preserve history in books, manuscripts, maps, photographs, video images, and exhibits. Early forms of historical research, however, were oral. Herodotus, the Greek historian credited as the “father of history,” constructed his history of the Greco-Persian Wars (fifth century BCE) from interviews he acquired traveling around the Mediterranean and Black Sea area. Thus, Herodotus brought into his stories the myriad details of the lives and culture of his narrators.

History comes from stories, often told in grand narratives, and one of this nation’s grand narratives is the rise of the offshore energy industry. History tends to be written from documents, but oral history collections preserve the memories of ordinary and extraordinary people. Where could one find answers to the question: Who were the people who built the refineries, dug pipelines through the swamps, and staffed the offshore rigs? Answers abound in our UH Oral History Project interviews in Special Collections at the University of Houston Libraries.

Picture Louisiana after the Second World War. Bayous, wetlands, fishermen, farmers, and hundreds of military men returning from combat. Many of those who served in the military had worked for oil companies prior to the war and found jobs again when they returned as activities related to the offshore energy industry invigorated the Louisiana economy. The Energy Development series of the UH Oral Histories Project contains 700 interviews about the energy industry. Among those are the Second World War cluster with interviews and recollections of service during the war and the return to civilian work in the offshore energy industry in Louisiana after the war.

A vivid example of the Second World War cluster is the interview with Lloyd Anthony “Pete” Rogers describing his thirty-five years with Shell Oil, starting in 1935. Pete worked in the saw mills around Patterson, Louisiana. When the mills closed, the local economy plummeted, and Pete hired on with Shell. Wartime led to layoffs at Shell, so Pete joined the Army. Trained as an airplane mechanic, Pete tells stories of bombing missions, food rations, and living conditions during the war and his service in Africa, Italy, and India. When Pete re-entered civilian life in 1945, he rejoined Shell and laid pipelines in the Louisiana swamps, then worked an

offshore rig until his retirement in 1976. Pete’s everyday stories of a regular guy illuminate the action of World War II and offer substance beyond news reports to the rise of the offshore oil industry along the Gulf Coast, giving insight into Louisiana’s post-war culture, the development of pipelines in the Louisiana wetlands, and the economy stoked by the burgeoning offshore industry.

Another cluster in the UH oral histories collection features interviews conducted with the Offshore Energy Center Hall of Fame recipients. The Offshore Energy Center (OEC) established its Hall of Fame in 1998 to recognize individual and technological achievements in the offshore energy industry. Dr. Joe Pratt, now professor emeritus at UH, led a team of interviewers to preserve the memories of the OEC nominees and inductees. The Energy Development series includes thirty interviews with recognized offshore industry pioneers. Each of the interviews offers a different perspective on the development and implementation of technologies and their applications, but details often overlap in terms of personnel, technologies, and events.

With thirty-plus years of experience, Dr. E. G. “Skip” Ward is associated with advances in ocean, arctic, and structural engineering. Ward started at Shell Oil Company in 1968 with a Ph.D. in mechanical engineering and became, in his words, an “oceanographer/meteorologist by default.” When Skip started at Shell, the company had installed South Pass 62 platforms in 325 feet of water, the landmark of Gulf of Mexico deepwater activity at that time. An interesting focal point in the interview is Shell’s experience with Hurricane Camille and its effect on the offshore rigs Shell had constructed. Responding to Camille’s seventy-foot waves, instrumentation installed on the platforms brought in tremendous data that contributed to future design knowledge. Ward managed a team that designed deepwater structures and production systems. His interview offers insight into his work on “hindcasting,” or the application of historical data to predict future events and responses. Robert “Bob” Bauer’s interview places his early work in the California oil industry where he worked initially for Union Oil Company of California. Bauer graduated from the University of Southern California with a degree in petroleum

THE POWER OF VOICES: NARRATIVES OF OFFSHORE ENERGY

By Teresa Tomkins-Walsh



Pete Rogers and a co-worker slog through Louisiana wetlands to construct pipelines after the Second World War.

All photos from the MMS (Mineral Management Service) and BOEM (Bureau of Ocean Energy Management), Oral History Project, Houston History Archives, Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries.

engineering in 1942 and describes his work following the government's redirection of steel to military purposes.

Bauer worked in the research and drilling departments where he evaluated ideas such as electromagnetic exploration methods and a diving bell for gravimetric surveying in the Gulf of Mexico. From the beginning of his career, Bauer expressed interest in entrepreneurship. In the early 1950s, he took on the management of the Continental, Union, Shell, and Superior (CUSS) group whose mission was exploration technology for development of submerged lands. Leading this group, Bauer spearheaded development of the floating drilling rig. By the late 1950s, Bauer established the Global Marine Exploration Company to further innovations in offshore drilling.

Howard Shatto, inducted into OEC Hall of Fame in 2000, died in January 2018. Shatto earned the sobriquet, "father of dynamic positioning." Recipient of many awards and patents, Shatto described in his interview his pioneering work in the development of remotely-operated vehicles (ROVs) and blowout prevention (BOP).

After completing his degree in electrical engineering at Yale, Shatto took a job at Shell Oil in Houston in 1946. After company training, Shatto took his first job in New Orleans working offshore to assemble Shell's first diesel electric rig. In 1960, Shatto conceived the world's first automatic control for dynamic position on Shell's Eureka core drillship and followed that accomplishment by developing more than 1,300 dynamic and reentry systems.

An interview with Richard O. "Dick" Wilson reveals the fast-paced events of the early offshore industry across the globe. Sharing his experiences with long distance corporate authorizations and quickly arranged flights across continents, Wilson illuminates development of the marine con-



Deep sea divers weld structures under an offshore oil platform in the Gulf of Mexico, undated.

structions business in the North Sea. Wilson went directly from his work in the North Sea to Mexico.

With the election of José López Portillo in 1976 and the leadership of Jorge Díaz Serrano as director general of PEMEX, offshore exploration for oil in Mexico was a priority for the Mexican government that was importing oil. Wilson quotes the Mexican leadership: "We know we have oil. Let's go out and find it." Wilson helped design the structures for the, as yet, undiscovered oil field. Efforts were rewarded when Campeche Bay became the second largest offshore field in the world. Wilson's team started designing structures for 3,000 barrels a day and then converted to 150,000 barrels per day before increasing to two million barrels a day by 1982.

From this selection of interviews with inductees into the OEC Hall of Fame, the innovation, funding, cooperation among companies, and international scope of the rise of offshore energy development becomes apparent. Interviews include allusions to contemporary political events: Bob Bauer's reference to the Eisenhower Tidelands Act and Wilson's description of political leadership in Mexico.

Among the nearly 700 interviews in the Energy Development series are a section of interviews on Shell's shipbuilding and fabrication, multiple interviews with women who worked in the offshore industry, the segment of interviews related to those who served in the Second World War, and a set of interviews about work and policies on the Houston Ship Channel.

Interviews in the Energy Development series of the UH Oral History Project led to several energy histories. Mark Mau's *Groundbreakers: The Story of Oilfield Technology and the People Who Made it Happen*, published in 2015, relied on multiple resources including numbers of interviews from this collection. Interviewers who contributed their interviews to the collection and who used the research for publication include Tyler Priest, *The Offshore Imperative: Shell Oil's Search for Petroleum in Postwar America*, 2007; and Jason Theriot, *American Energy, Imperiled Coast: Oil and Gas Development in Louisiana's Wetlands*, 2014.

Teresa "Terry" Tomkins-Walsh, Ph.D., retired from her full-time position with the University of Houston in 2018. She continues working part time for the Houston History Archives on archival collections related to energy and sustainability. Dr. Tomkins-Walsh writes on topics related to archival collections plus environmental and Houston history.



Drilling barge used for marsh and shallow bay drilling to develop networks of canals in coastal Louisiana, circa 1960.

NEWS

The University of Houston Center for Public History commemorated Hurricane Harvey's first anniversary with the launch of its "Resilient Houston: Documenting Hurricane Harvey" website and ongoing project to preserve and share oral histories about the storm. Students in the Honors Voices from the Storm class, taught by *Houston History* editor Dr. Debbie Z. Harwell, interviewed survivors, first responders, and volunteers about their Harvey experiences. Visit www.uh.edu/class/documenting-hurricane-harvey.

The Heritage Society at Sam Houston Park unveiled *Mexican-American History and Culture in 20th Century Houston* (below), a mural honoring individuals, places, and events shaping Houston's Mexican American community. Artists Jesse Sifuentes and Laura Lopez Cano modeled their work after Mexican muralists. Those featured include Leonel Castillo, Felix Fraga, Sgt. Marcario Garcia, Lydia Mendoza, Ninfa Laurenzo, and Gracie Saenz.

Dorothy Knox Houghton, an author and tireless advocate for historical preservation and many other causes, passed away in November 2018. A Houston native descended from two of Stephen F. Austin's Old 300, Dorothy Knox was pivotal in creating the Friends of the Texas Room to support the HMRC and restoration of the Julia Ideson Building. Her dedication and energy will certainly be missed.

EVENTS

At the Houston Metropolitan Research Center (HMRC), Julia Ideson Building, 500 McKinney:

Thursday, May 16: Rare Books Room Showcase will spotlight unique items from the Rare Books Room. This event will offer exclusive access to materials normally restricted for preservation purposes, giving customers a rare chance to see, touch, and learn about precious treasures in their collection. Texas Room, 6:30-7:30 p.m.

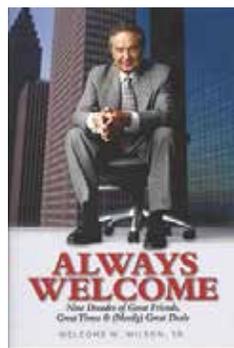
Thursday, May 23: Where's the Book on My House? How to Research Historic Properties – HMRC's Architectural Archivist will give an overview of how to research a historic property, highlighting useful resources in HMRC collections. This program includes a tour of the Texas Room to introduce their collections and how to access them. Meldrum Room, 6:30-7:30 p.m.

August 24 – November 9: ¡MÚSICA! A History-The Sounds of Hispanic Houston. Experience the sights and sounds of

Houston's Latino music history. From the heydays of the Shamrock Hotel to nights at the Pan American, archival photographs, posters, and oral histories reflect a diverse and significant contribution to Houston music. Items on display are part of the Hispanic Archival Collections at the HMRC. Visit www.houstonlibrary.org or call 832-393-1662.

Saturday, September 28: ¡Música! Exhibit Festival & Mercado will include live entertainment and outdoor market, interactive tours and discussions, youth activities, and a movie on the plaza between the Jones and Ideson library buildings. Visit <http://houstonlibrary.org>.

BOOKS



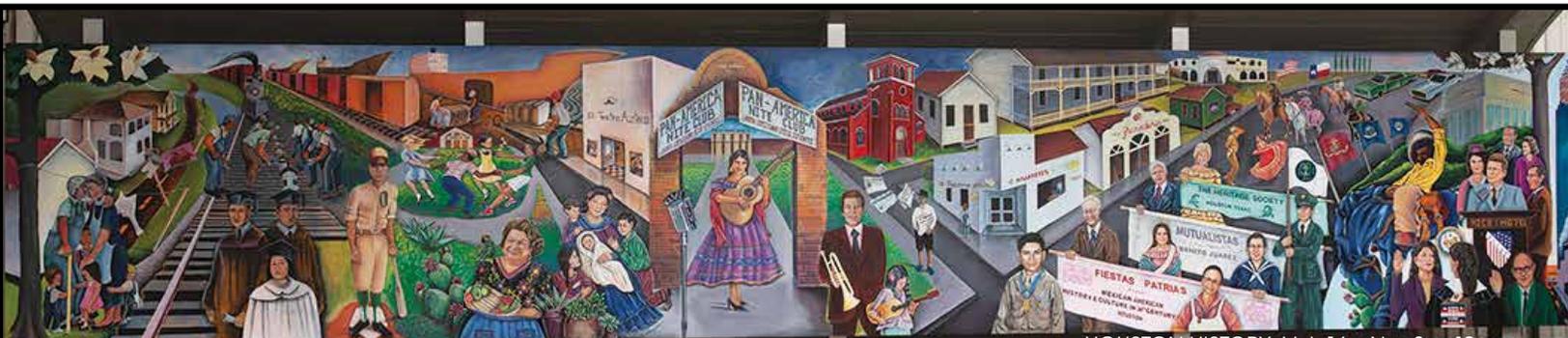
Always Welcome: Nine Decades of Great Friends, Great Times & (Mostly) Good Deals by Welcome Wilson, Sr. (Bright Sky Publishing). The namesake of the Welcome Wilson Houston History Collaborative, which publishes *Houston History* in the University of Houston's Center for Public History, shares the story of his life, success, and a few hard times in this delightful autobiography. Whether the reader

knows Wilson personally or not, they will feel as if they are sitting down with him face to face to hear some terrific stories about his family, faith, business ventures, and Houston, all told with his trademark wit and wisdom. The book also includes an appendix, "Welcome's Rules of Order: How to Succeed in Business and Life by Avoiding My Mistakes," offering sage advice and inspiration to set each of us on our own road to success.



Houston, Space City USA by Ray Viator (Texas A&M University Press). The newest book in the Sara and John Lindsey Series in the Arts and Humanities collection visually celebrates Houston's contribution to NASA's first visit to the moon in 1969. Houstonian Ray Viator selected 222 amazing color and six black and

white photographs to illustrate Houston's devotion to the space program past and present.



ENDNOTES

ITALIANS PLANT ROOTS IN HOUSTON

- 1 Brittny Mejia, "How Houston has become the most diverse place in America," *Los Angeles Times*, May 9, 2017; Michael O. Emerson, Jennifer Bratter, Junia Howell, P. Wilner Jeanty, and Mike Cline, "Houston Region Grows More Racially/Ethnically Diverse, With Small Declines in Segregation. A Joint Report Analyzing Census Data from 1990, 2000, and 2010," A Report of the Kinder Institute for Urban Research & the Hobby Center for the Study of Texas, <https://kinder.rice.edu/sites/g/files/bxsl676/f/documents/Houston%20Region%20Grows%20More%20Ethnically%20Diverse%204-9.pdf>.
- 2 Nuncio Martino, interview by Sabine Meyer Hill, October 4, 2018; Valentino J. Belfiglio, "Italians," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ppi01>.
- 3 Martino interview.
- 4 "Who We Are, Sacred Society of Little York," Whitney Oaks Hall, www.whitneyoakshall.com/about_us/sacred_heart.html; "About Us: The Houston Farmers Market on Airline Drive Traces its Beginnings Back to the early 1940s," Houston Farmers Market, <https://thehoustonsfarmersmarket.com/about-us/>; David Leftwich, "Farmers markets in Houston: A history," Gray Matters, *Houston Chronicle*, August 2017, www.houstonchronicle.com/local/gray-matters/article/Farmers-markets-in-Houston-A-history-11636755.php.
- 5 Laurel Smith, "Apr '16- Mike Atkinson of Atkinson Farms," *Houston Urban Gardeners*, April 2016, www.houstonurbangardeners.org/2016/04/home-market-gardening-read-more/; "About Us," Atkinson Farms, www.atkinsonfarm.com/about_us.html.
- 6 Martino interview.
- 7 Pauline and Jimmy Tamborello, interview by Sabine Meyer Hill, January 30, 2019.
- 8 Martino interview.
- 9 Martino interview.
- 10 Damon Palermo, interview by Sabine Meyer Hill, October 4, 2018.
- 11 "Our Mission," Italian Cultural & Community Center, www.iccchouston.com/about/mission/.
- 12 Camello Palermo, interview by Sabine Meyer Hill, October 9, 2018.
- 13 Damon Palermo interview.
- 14 "A Quick History of the Supermarket," Groceteria.com, July 4, 2009, www.groceteria.com/about/a-quick-history-of-the-supermarket/.
- 15 Eric Sandler, "Developer unveils stunning plan to transform Airline farmers market into a foodie paradise," *Culture Map Houston*, July 2017, <http://houston.culturemap.com/news/real-estate/07-20-17-houston-farmers-market-transformation-mlb-capital-partners-chris-shepherd-kevin-floyd/#slide=1>; Kate Askew, "What trends will shape grocery retail in 2018?" *FoodNavigator.com*, January 2018, www.foodnavigator.com/Article/2017/12/18/What-trends-will-shape-grocery-retail-in-2018; John D Harden, "Interactive: Do you live in one of Houston's many food deserts?" *Houston Chronicle*, December 2015, www.houstonchronicle.com/houston/article/Houston-still-have-long-way-to-go-to-address-food-6689980.php.

DE-RO-LOC: HOUSTON'S FORGOTTEN FESTIVAL

- 1 Daphne Lamothe, *Inventing the New Negro* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 23-25; Louis R. Harlan, "The Secret Life of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of Southern History* 37, No. 3, August 1971, 394; Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro* (New York: De Capo Press, 1997), 280.
- 2 James E. Fisher, "Deep Water Houston: From the *Laura* to the Deep Water Jubilee, Houston History 12, no. 1, fall 2014, 2-7; LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival of Houston," 1986, Junior League Vertical Files: Festivals-De-Ro-Loc, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, (hereinafter HMRC). "LE" is unidentified author who completed research as part of the Houston Junior League in conjunction with the Texas Room at the HMRC.
- 3 *The Red Book of Houston* (Houston: Sotex Publishing Company, October 30, 1915), 186, 182; LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival."
- 4 LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival"; *The Red Book of Houston*, 94.
- 5 "Negro Carnival Closed – Week of Festivities was a 'Grand Success,'" news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, December 5, 1909, HMRC, 21; Steph McDougal, *Historic American Landscapes Survey: Emancipation Park* (National Park Service 2011); "Community Report: Emancipation Park to receive \$33 million renovation," *Houston Chronicle*, October 28, 2013; Carroll Parrott Blue, "Emancipation is a Park" *Houston History* 9, No. 3, Summer 2012, 15-16.
- 6 LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival"; "Carnival Opens – Street Parade Marked Opening of Nero Festivities," news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, November 30, 1909, HMRC, 7.
- 7 LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival"; "Texas League Ballparks since 1902," MiLB, www.milb.com/content/page.jsp?sid=1109&ynd=20100302&content_id=8648298&vkey=history; David Barron, "UT-A&M Rivalry Came to an End Once Before," *Houston Chronicle*, November 21, 2011.
- 8 News clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, December 9, 1910, HMRC 7.
- 9 "Blaze at Ballpark – Early Morning fire Destroyed the Grandstand and Part of the Bleachers at West End Grounds," news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, December 5, 1911, HMRC, 5; "Carnival Was Opened Yesterday- Park Was Thronged," news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, December 6, 1911, 9; "Weather Interfered – Colored Carnival in Full Blast Tonight," news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, December 7, 1911, HMRC, 11.
- 10 LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival"; "Colored Carnival – Crowds Thronged to Emancipation Park in Spite of Inclement Weather," news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, December 8, 1911, 4.

- 11 "Negro Carnival Scores Success," news clipping, *Houston Chronicle*, November 23, 1913, 30; LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival." This conclusion cites "Information about Festival in Houston Called Deroloc, circa 1913," transcribed from information in Texas Local History Department, HPL, 1986.
- 12 *The Red Book*, 154; Negro Carnival Scores Success"; Lamothe, *Inventing the New Negro*, 23.
- 13 LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival"; Fisher, "Deep Water Houston"; "Fifth De-Ro-Loc Carnival was Great Success," news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, November 1, 1914, 10; "King La-Yol to Arrive Monday," news clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, November 15, 1914, HMRC, 33.
- 14 News clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, November 19, 1914, 11; News clipping, *Houston Daily Post*, November 22, 1914, 20; LE, "The De-Ro-Loc Carnival."
- 15 "The Late De-Ro-Loc Carnival," news clipping, HMRC, November 27, 1920, 3.
- 16 W. E. B. Du Bois, "Returning Soldiers," *Crisis*, May 1919.
- 17 Mark Whalan, *The Great War and The Culture of The New Negro* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida Apr 20 2018), 68.

THE STATE OF HOUSTON WOMEN

- 1 Handwritten copy in Nikki Van Hightower Collection, Carey Shuart Women's Research Collection, Special Collections, University of Houston. This reprint and introduction appeared in *The Houston Review of History and Culture* 1, no. 1 (now *Houston History*) with permission from Dr. Nikki Van Hightower. www.houstonhistorymagazine.org.

THE RISE OF HOUSTON WOMEN

- 1 Houston Women's March Organizers, "2018 Houston Women's March," Houston Women's March, www.houstonwomensmarch.org/home/.
- 2 Susan Caudill, *1977 National Women's Conference: A Question of Choices*, film, Texas Archives of the Moving Picture, www.texasarchive.org/library/index.php/2013_02597.
- 3 Marjorie Spruill, *Divided We Stand: The Battle Over Women's Rights and Family Values That Polarized American Politics* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017).
- 4 Nikki Van Hightower, "State of the Women in Houston," *The Houston Review of History and Culture* 1 no. 1 (Fall 2003), 12-14.
- 5 Van Hightower, "State of the Women in Houston."
- 6 Davis Land, "Harris County Morbidity Rates Higher than State, Nation," Houston Public Media, April 25, 2018, www.houstonpublicmedia.org/articles/news/2018/04/25/281632/harris-county-maternal-mortality-rates-higher-than-state-nation/.
- 7 "2017 Year in Review," Houston Women's March, www.houstonwomensmarch.org/2017/.
- 8 Gillian Thomas, "Four Days That Changed the World: Unintended Consequences of a Women's Rights Conference," book review of *Divided We Stand* by Marjorie Spruill, *New York Times*, March 6, 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/03/06/books/review/divided-we-stand-marjorie-j-spruill.html.
- 9 Vagney Bradley, "Houston March Celebrates Black Women," *Houston Chronicle*, March 3, 2018, www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/houston/article/Houston-march-celebrates-black-women-12725885.php.
- 10 Claire Rikki, "Houston has highest number of human trafficking victims nation-wide," KXAN, March 28, 2016, www.kxan.com/news/houston-has-highest-number-of-trafficking-victims-nation-wide/1049807601.
- 11 "Recognize the Signs," Polaris: Freedom Happens Now, <https://polarisproject.org/human-trafficking/recognize-signs>.
- 12 Mayra Moreno, "Police Turn to Houstonian to Pull Victims Out of Sex Trafficking," ABC: Eye Witness News, <https://abc13.com/houstonian-pulls-underage-victims-out-of-sex-trafficking-3039013/>; City of Houston Anti-Human Trafficking, City of Houston, <https://humantraffickinghouston.org/>.
- 13 "Houston Women: Agitating, Educating, Advocating," Houston History Alliance, www.houstonhistoryalliance.org/houston-history-conference/2018conference/. Videos of all conference panels and highlights can be found at www.youtube.com/user/HoustonHistory/videos or www.houstonhistoryalliance.org.
- 14 Stephanie Garlow, "Gender equality stalls in the U.S., report finds," Physorg, March 16, 2018, <https://phys.org/news/2018-03-gender-equality-stalls.html>.
- 15 Laura Furr Mericas, "The State of Houston and Texas Womanhood, By the Numbers," *Houstonia*, January 30, 2018, www.houstoniamag.com/articles/2018/1/30/houston-texas-women-health-pay-gap-work-race-politics-numbers.
- 16 Land, "Harris County Morbidity Rates."
- 17 Jone Johnson Lewis, "Ann Richards Quotes," ThoughtCo, March 18, 2017, www.thoughtco.com/ann-richards-quotes-3530028.
- 18 ReShonda T. Billingsley, "Black Women Hold Court: 19 Vie for Harris County Judicial Spots," *The Defender*, September 21, 2018, <https://defendernetwork.com/news/local-state/black-women-hold-court-19-vie-for-harris-county-judicial-spots-2/>.
- 19 "2018 Houston Women's March," The Houston Women's March, www.houstonwomensmarch.org/home/.

BROWNWOOD

- 1 T. Lindsay Baker, *More Ghost Towns of Texas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 20.
- 2 Margaret Swett Henson, *The History of Baytown* (Baytown: The Bay Area Heritage Society, 1986), 1; Friends of the Baytown Nature Center, "History of the Nature Center Site," <http://www.baytownnaturecenter.org/bnc-facilities/history-nature-center-site/>.
- 3 Ross S. Sterling and Ed Kilman, *Ross Sterling, Texan* (Austin: The University of Texas at Austin, 2007), 32; Henrietta M. Larson and Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *History of Humble Oil & Refining Company* (New York: The Business History Foundation, Inc., 1959), 212.

- 4 Darla Guillen, "Photos: The Houston subdivision that was submerged, *Houston Chronicle*, August 26, 2016, www.chron.com/neighborhood/bayarea/real-estate/article/Photos-The-Houston-subdivision-that-was-submerged-9184598.php; Henson, 98-100; Mike Snyder, "Nature Center owes birth to subdivision ruin," *The Houston Chronicle*, July 29, 2001, <https://www.chron.com/news/article/Nature-center-owes-birth-to-subdivision-s-ruin-2049222.php>.
- 5 Sterling and Kilman, 32; Wallace E. Pratt and Douglas W. Johnson, "Local Subsidence of the Goose Creek Oil Field," *The Journal of Geology* 34, no. 7 (Oct. – Nov. 1926), 578, 582; Eddie Vaughn Gray, "The Geology Ground Water, and Surface Subsidence of the Baytown-La Porte Area, Harris County, Texas" (M.S. Thesis, Texas A&M University, 1955), 31; Henson, 140. An acre-foot is approximately 43,560 cubic feet.
- 6 Guillen, "Photos."
- 7 "Baytown Preparations," *The Baytown Sun*, September 8, 1961, 1; "2,000 Stay in Shelters Here," *The Baytown Sun*, September 11, 1961, 1.
- 8 "Service for Hurricane Victims," *Humble Baytown Briefs*, October 6, 1961, 1.
- 9 John Marsh, "Bay Area Levee Data Heard by Engineers," *The Baytown Sun*, March 6, 1962, 1.
- 10 Bobby Sutphin, "Shelter Set up in Baytown—Evacuation Voluntary," *The Baytown Sun*, September 20, 1967, 1.
- 11 Johnella Boynton, "Torrential Rain, High Water with Blow," *The Baytown Sun*, February 14, 1969, 1; Johnella Boynton, "Brownwood Damage is Pegged at \$250,000," *The Baytown Sun*, February 16, 1969, 1.
- 12 Norman Dykes, interview with author, April 2018, to be deposited with UH-Oral History of Houston, Houston History Archives, Special Collections, University of Houston Libraries.
- 13 Dykes interview.
- 14 "Before and After," *The Baytown Sun*, October 14, 1985, 1; Dykes interview.
- 15 "Superfund Site: French, LTD. Crosby, TX," United States Environmental Protection Agency, <https://cumulis.epa.gov/supercpad/cursites/csinfo.cfm?id=0602498>; Thomas R. Calnan, "The Brownwood Marsh Restoration Project: A Successful Effort to Restore and Create Wetland Habitat," Texas Natural Resources Conservation Commission, http://www.tceq.texas.gov/assets/public/comm_exec/pubs/gbnep/gb-nep-T1/gbnepT1_77-78.pdf, 77; Matthew Cook, "Opening of Center Pushed Back Until May," *The Baytown Sun*, January 27, 2002, 1A, 8A.
- 6 Garcia, 105.
- 7 Biographical profile: De León, 168; Harris County PASO election endorsement, box 1, folder 11, JNLC; Public Law 88-452, Govinfo, www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg508.pdf; Anti-Poverty Council of Houston, memo, March 1, 1965, box 1, folder 10, JNLC; Navarro interview.
- 8 Rosales, 131.
- 9 Rosales, 138, 141-2.
- 10 "Sons of Zapata: A Brief Photographic History of the Farm Workers Strike in Texas," newsletter (Rio Grande City, TX: United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, 1967), UC San Diego Library, El Malcriado Archive, May 2018, <https://libraries.ucsd.edu/farmworkermovement/ufwarchives/elmalcriado/Frankel/Strike.pdf>, 2-3.
- 11 "Sons of Zapata," 2.
- 12 Marilyn D. Rhinehart and Thomas H. Kreneck, "The Minimum Wage March of 1966: A Case Study in Mexican-American Politics, Labor, and Identity," *The Houston Review* 11, no. 1 (1989): 29-30; "Sons of Zapata," 4; Rhinehart, and Kreneck, 33.
- 13 "Sons of Zapata," 6, 8.
- 14 Rhinehart, and Kreneck, 33; "Sons of Zapata," 15.
- 15 Navarro interview; De León, 173; Rhinehart, and Kreneck, 33, 32, 37.
- 16 Navarro interview; "Sons of Zapata," 15.
- 17 Navarro interview; "Sons of Zapata," 15.
- 18 Navarro interview; James L Navarro, memo to Baptist Church, "To Set the Record Straight," box 1, folder 8, JNLC; Rosales, 140.
- 19 Navarro interview; Rhinehart, and Kreneck.
- 20 Navarro interview; Rhinehart, and Kreneck, 37; "Sons of Zapata," 16.
- 21 Rhinehart, and Kreneck, 39; César Chávez, interview, 1966, Austin, Texas, <https://soundcloud.com/user-323005187/cesar-chavez-austin-1966>.
- 22 "Sons of Zapata," 16.
- 23 "Sons of Zapata"; Rhinehart, and Kreneck, 40; Navarro memo "To Set the Record Straight."
- 24 Navarro interview.
- 25 Navarro interview.

RAINBOW COLLECTIVE HISTORY

- 1 William Barksdale, "We've Got to Do It Ourselves: Collecting, Preserving and Displaying LGBT History in Houston," Anthropology Honors Thesis, Rice University, 2011.
- 2 Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario H. Ramirez, "'To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing': Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives," *American Archivist* 79, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2016), 56-81; Anne Gilliland & Andrew Flinn, "Community Archives: What Are We Really Talking About?," Keynote, CIRN Prato Community Informatics Conference 2013, www.monash.edu/_data/assets/pdf_file/0007/920626/gilliland_flinn_keynote.pdf.
- 3 Barksdale, 24-26; Brandon Wolf, "LGBTQ Archive Makes Its Largest Acquisition to Date," *OutSmart* 26, no. 1 (February 2019), 49-51; Hollis Hood, "Library Dedicated to Informing on Present, Preserving Past," *Montrose Voice*, July 15, 1983, 6; Sheri Cohen Darbonne, "Vast Array of Gay Literature Available at MCCR Library," *Montrose Voice*, December 16, 1986, 5.
- 4 *This Week in Texas* 7, no. 18 (July 24-30, 1981), 13; *This Week in Texas* 7, no. 51 (March 12-18, 1982), 65; "Third Annual Report and Financial Statement, 1985, KS/AIDS Foundation of Houston, Inc.," AIDS Foundation Houston Records, box 1, University of Houston Libraries Special Collections; J.D. Doyle, "AIDS News Clippings," www.houstonlgbthistory.org/misc-AIDS2.html.
- 5 The J.D. Doyle Archives, www.JDDoyleArchives.org.
- 6 Lisa Gray, "Out of the Closets," *Houston Press*, August 3, 2000, www.houstonpress.com/news/out-of-the-closets-6564191; Ann Walton Sieber, "Our History is Worth Preserving," *OutSmart* 7, no. 5 (June, 2000), 6.
- 7 Banners Project, "Mary's, Naturally," www.houstonlgbthistory.org/banner1970.html; Ed Martinez, "Mary's: A Houston Institution," *Out in Texas* (March 31, 1983), 10-12; "61 Arrested at Mary's," *This Week in Texas* 6, no. 14 (June 27-July 3, 1980), 9; Cathy Matusow, "Zipping Up Mary's," *Houston Press*, December 26, 2002, www.houstonpress.com/news/zipping-up-marys-6557633.
- 8 Barksdale, 26-27.
- 9 Brandon Wolf and The Diana Foundation, "'Ava': The Dianas' Diva," The Diana Foundation: 65 Years of History (forthcoming).
- 10 Andrew Alston, "Transgender Rights as Legal Rights," *Canterbury Law Review* 7 (1999), 329-342; Brian Rogers, "A Judge and Her Journey: Phyllis Frye's Long Fight for Transgender Rights Takes Her to Bench," *Houston Chronicle*, November 19, 2010, A1; Phyllis Randolph Frye, "History of the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc.," www.digitaltransgenderarchive.net/downloads/wd375w32h.

JAMES NOVARRO AND THE WAGE MARCH

- 1 James Navarro, interview by Thomas Kreneck (hereinafter Navarro interview), December 13, 1984, Houston Oral History Project, Houston Area Digital Archives, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library (hereinafter HMRC).
- 2 Certification of birth of James Navarro, box 2, folder 20, James L. Navarro Collection (hereinafter JLNC), Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Project, Houston, Texas, <https://recoveryprojectappblog.wordpress.com/2017/09/27/james-l-navarro-collection/>; Biographical profile of Rev. Navarro, box 1, folder 1, JNLC; Schools of Missions and Camps personal information, box 1, folder 10, JNLC; Summary of Rev. Navarro's ministerial experience, box 1, folder 3, JNLC; "General Information Regarding the Latin-American Baptist Radio Program," box 1, folder 1, JNLC; Statistical Report on La Hora Bautista, 1960, box 1, folder 13, JNLC; Coverage map for KLVV, box 1, folder 14, JNLC; "Houston Rio Grande Flood Relief Campaign," box 1, folder 5, JNLC.
- 3 "This Month in Climate History: Hurricane Alice, June 1954," NOAA National Centers for Environmental Information, www.ncdc.noaa.gov/news/month-climate-history-hurricane-alice-june-1954; "General Information Regarding the Latin-American Baptist Radio Program," box 1, folder 1, JNLC; Newspaper clipping, trucks delivering relief supplies, box 2, folder 15, JNLC; "Accomplishments... of the Latin-American Baptist Radio Program," box 1, folder 13, JNLC; "60th Anniversary of Hurricane Hilda," Hurricane Research Division NOAA/OAR/ Atlantic Oceanographic and Meteorological Laboratory, September 18, 2015, <https://noaaahrd.wordpress.com/2015/09/18/60th-anniversary-of-hurricane-hilda/>; "Houston Rio Grande Flood Relief Campaign," report, box 1, folder 5 JNLC; Statistical Report on La Hora Bautista.
- 4 Biographical profile of Rev. Navarro; Arturo F. Rosales, *Chicano!: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1996), 95-6.
- 5 "Hector P. Garcia," Humanities Texas, www.humanitiestexas.org/programs/tx-originals/list/hector-p-garcia; Ignacio M. Garcia, *Viva Kennedy: Mexican Americans in Search of Camelot* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 105; Arnoldo De León, *Ethnicity in the Sunbelt: Mexican Americans in Houston* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001); John E. Castillo, interview by Thomas Kreneck, November 15, 1984, Houston Oral History Project, HMRC; Alfonso Vasquez, interview by Thomas Kreneck, November 15, 1984, Houston Oral History Project, HMRC.

HOUSTON

history

PUBLISHED BY WELCOME WILSON HOUSTON HISTORY COLLABORATIVE

To subscribe, give a gift, or order back issues: click "Buy Magazines" at www.houstonhistorymagazine.org or call 713-743-3087

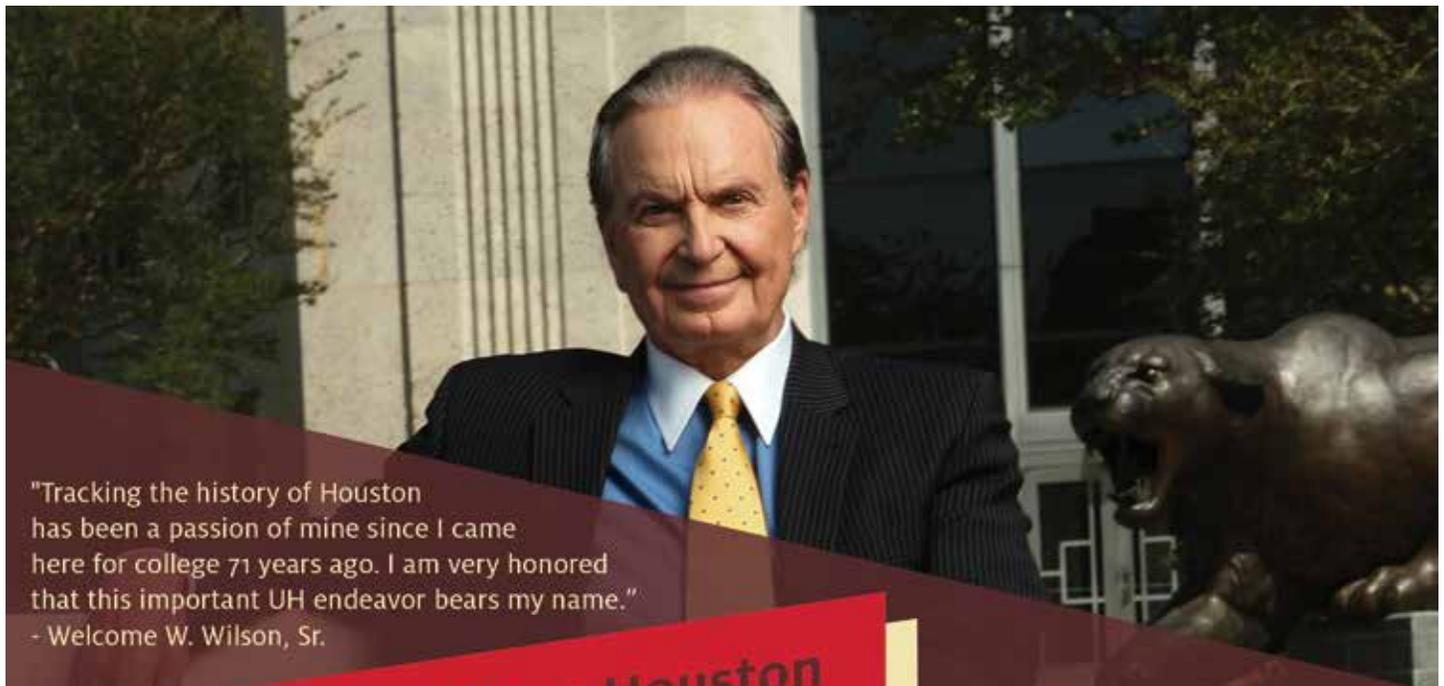
Like us on /HoustonHistoryMagazine

Follow us on @houhistmagazine

0073043943
University of Houston
Center for Public History
3623 Cullen Blvd., Room 320
Houston, TX 77204-3007

NONPROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
HOUSTON, TX
PERMIT NO. 5910

RETURN SERVICE REQUESTED



"Tracking the history of Houston has been a passion of mine since I came here for college 71 years ago. I am very honored that this important UH endeavor bears my name."
- Welcome W. Wilson, Sr.

The Welcome Wilson Houston History Collaborative, in support of:

- Houston History Magazine*
- UH Oral History of Houston*
- UH Houston History Archives*
- UH Memories Project*

Be a part of tracking Houston's History!

To give, visit <https://giving.uh.edu/publichistory/>
For information on endowed or bequest gifts to the Center for Public History, please contact Kim Howard, classdevelopment@uh.edu.

UNIVERSITY of
HOUSTON
CENTER for PUBLIC HISTORY