# THROCKMORTON STREET - Ed Sebesta 4/3/2018

## THROCKMORTON STREET PLACE NAME ORIGIN

Throckmorton Street, in the Oak Lawn area, is named after James Throckmorton, a Confederate captain during the Civil War and an active white supremacist working to overthrown Reconstruction and establish a white supremacist Texas.

It was reported in a 1941 *Dallas Morning News* (DMN) article reporting the death of Louisa Noble. She was the daughter of Col. Robert Taylor who had been in a law partnership with James Webb Throckmorton. The article reports:

Throckmorton street in Dallas was named for Governor Throckmorton, a law partner of Colonel Taylor.<sup>1</sup>

James Webb Throckmorton had been the governor of Texas.

W.H. Lemmon and O.P. Bowser, developed the Bowser and Lemmon Oak Lawn addition where they deeded the streets to the city on Nov. 30, 1887 and giving the streets their names.<sup>2</sup>

In the map for the Oak Lawn and the North Dallas additions, you can see that they named a Bowser Avenue, a Lemmon Avenue after themselves and perpendicular to those two streets a Throckmorton Street, a Reagan Street, a Washington Street, and a Wellborn Street, which is now spelled Welborn.<sup>3</sup> The maps for the other additions which have Throckmorton Street are at later dates: P.B. Yeargan's Addition (1907); Clifton No. 2 Addition (1921); Hawkins Oak Lawn Addition (1890); J.D. Cullum's Oak Lawn Addition (1890).<sup>4</sup>

Oliver P. Bowser was an active member of the Sterling Price Camp of the United Confederate Veterans and had been a Colonel in the Confederate Army.<sup>5</sup> W.H. Lemmon had been a Captain in the Confederate army and also was an active member in the Sterling Price Camp of the United Confederate Veterans.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No author, "Granddaughter of Dallas' First Woman Passes," Dallas Morning News, 11/15/1941, page 3. Further I am going to quote things exactly as they are and not pepper quotes with [sic].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Transfer Deed obtained from Municipal Vault signed and dated by W.H. Lemmon and O.P. Bowser, Nov. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1887.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Map from Municipal Vault, <89-12>, filed Nov. 30, 1887, Red Book 279. Map has 219 on it also.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Municipal plats in the author's possession.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "A Grand Charity Ball," *Dallas Morning News*, 11/9/1897, page 8; "Col. Oliver P. Bowser Dies Suddenly At Home," 12/15/1915, page 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> "Confederate Reunion," *Dallas Morning News*, 8/16/1887, page 8; "Death of Capt. Lemmon," 9/5/1893, page 8.

Indeed, in reading lists of names in *Dallas Morning News* articles from the 1890s about the Sterling Price Camp is somewhat like reading a directory of Dallas city streets.<sup>7</sup>

Clearly, Lemmon and Bowser, Confederate veterans and active in a neo-Confederate organization, named Throckmorton Street and Reagan Street after two prominent Confederate and white supremacist individuals: James Webb Throckmorton and John Henninger Reagan.

There is a mistaken idea that the street was named after a local farm named Throckmorton. There is no basis for this and it contradicts the historical record. The mistaken idea originates from the catalog cards for street names on the 7<sup>th</sup> floor Downtown Public Library and the inaccurate thesis to which it refers. These cards are undated and unsigned and are varied, written in cursive, typed, printed and in pencil as well as ink. They are unreliable and often in poor handwriting and are only good as to give you some idea where to start or learn the full name.

Throckmorton shul ? named for Throchmortons abound farm There. I Early hestry guidence a Daelasp 12 MEDICINE

This card refers to "Early history of medicine in Dallas," page 12. That is actually, "Early History of Medicine in Dallas: 1841-1900," by Marie Louise Giles, a thesis as part of Giles fulfillment for a Masters in Art at the Univ. of Texas dated June 1951.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See "Sterling Price Camp," Dallas Morning News, 6/11/1893, page 12; "Sterling Price Camp," 4/7/1895, page 11.

In Giles thesis, page 11-12 tells of a Dr. Calder from Cedar Spring area who went to Collins County in 1843 to visit the settlement of Bruckner, where six men were building a house for Jack McGarrah. He left from there to go to the settlement of Baily Inglish, but not far from the McGarrah's house he was set upon by Native Americans. Dr. Calder attempted to flee back to Jack McGarrah's house, and the six men from the house attempted to rush out to save him. However, Dr. Calder was both killed and scalped. Giles states, "Dr. Calder was buried on the Throckmorton place, near the present Oak Lawn Avenue. "

However, the Throckmorton Place is in Collins County and was the place of J.W. Throckmorton and his father and family a pioneer family of Collin County. Giles is in error.

The account of the death of Dr. Calder is related in the "History of Dallas County, Texas: From 1837 to 1887," by John Henry Brown, printed by Milligan, Cornett & Farnham, Printers, 1887, Dallas, Texas, pages 40-41.

In Brown's account, Dr. Calder, who is "settled near Cedar Springs, in Dallas, county," arrives at the Buckner settlement "en route to Inglish's." Calder is seen on foot "rushing to the house," and the men working on the house rush to his aid. However, two Native Americans killed him and scalped him. The relief party rushing to Dr. Calder's aid find themselves confronted "by about sixty Indians." They retreat into the unfinished house and hold out until night. They then retreat towards the Throckmorton settlement during the night, and then men returned and took Dr. Calder's body to the Throckmorton place and buried him, "besides those of Clements and Whistler." The Throckmorton settlement was in Collins County and the Throckmorton place was in the Throckmorton settlement. Dr. Calder was buried in Collin County at the time when Brown's book was published.

The Throckmorton family was famous and J.W. Throckmorton was governor of Texas and their roles as pioneers in Collin County was well known. It seems that the two professors who signed and approved the thesis likely didn't read it carefully or with much care at all. Critical review of student's dissertations and theses by their advisors is how historians learn historiography in the university. Perhaps because Giles was a woman her writing wasn't taken seriously or maybe these professors were just careless in general. We will never really know why this glaring error wasn't caught.

Further checking the Dallas County census for 1850, 1860, and 1870 doesn't show any Throckmorton's living in Dallas County.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "Dallas County Census for 1850 and 1860: Copied from the Original Census Records on File at Washington, D.C.," Compiled and Indexed under the Auspicious of the Dallas Genealogical Society by E.B. Comstock, 1932.

There is a Throckmorton County in Texas. It is named after J.W. Throckmorton's father William Edwards Throckmorton which the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) states, "Throckmorton County, which was established on January 13, 1858, was named in his honor, probably as a compliment to his son, James W. Throckmorton, then senator and later governor."<sup>9</sup>

THROCKMORTON ANTEBELLUM BIOGRAPHY

The following is a summary of James Webb Throckmorton's antebellum history drawing substantially from the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) online entry for him. The TSHA entries should always be read carefully and have problems of racial bias or omission of negative aspects. The discussion of the meaning of this history is the author's.

James Webb Throckmorton, the son of William Edward Throckmorton and Susan Jane (Rotan) Throckmorton was born February 1, 1825 at Sparta, Tennessee. He died April 21, 1894 in McKinney, Texas. His father William Edward moved to Collin County about 1841 and died in about 1842 (see footnote for discussion of these years.) James Webb Throckmorton studied medicine with his uncle James E. Throckmorton in Kentucky leaving his family in Texas. He returned to Texas to volunteer for military service in the Mexican War. He joined Capt. Robert H. Taylor's company as a private in February 1847. He served three months with that company but became ill with a kidney disease and was reassigned as a surgeon assistant in Maj. Michael H. Chevallie's Texas Rangers. He was given a health discharge on June 8, 1847 and returned to his home.

He went to Illinois to marry Annie Rattan in 1848 and returned that year to build a home outside McKinney and start a medical practice. He didn't like the practice of medicine and went into law and got interested in politics.

In 1851 he was elected as a Whig to the first of three terms for the Twenty-fifth District of the Texas House of Representatives from 1851 to 1857. In 1857 he was elected to the Texas Senate and per TSHA entry "entered the chamber as a Democrat." The Whig party dissolved in the 1850s.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>quot;Dallas County Census for 1870: Copied from the Original Census Records on File at Washington, D.C.," Compiled and Indexed under the Auspicious of the Dallas Genealogical Society by E.B. Comstock, 1932. Both from the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Though the libraries tag on the book only says 1850.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Kemp, L.W., "Throckmorton, William Edward," Texas State Historical Association, (TSHA), online handbook, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth37, printed out 4/3/2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Minor, David, "Throckmorton, James, Webb (1825-1894), Texas State Historical Association, (TSHA), online handbook, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth36, printed out 1/9/2018. The problematic dates for William Edward Throckmorton's moving to Collin county is because the TSHA entry states, "In 1840 he married Melina Wilson. The next year he visited Texas and purchased land near the East Fork of the Trinity River in Collin

Fighting in the Mexican American War Throckmorton helped secure Texas Independence from Mexico and thus protect slave state Texas from Mexican law which had abolished slavery. The attempt of the Mexican government to enforce abolition in Texas was a major impetus for the Texas secession movement.

This was the point where Mexican Americans became an oppressed class in Texas.

Also, as a Whig and later a Democrat in the slave states Throckmorton was surely a proslavery politician. This is an area for further inquiry.

The *Bulletin of the University of Texas*, September 20, 1916, No. 53, was dedicated to publish the "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas,' compiled by Ernest William Winkler, Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ. of Texas Library.

From this source we can get some idea of what Throckmorton actively supported in politics.

At the Whig Convention of 1852 he was selected as a presidential elector. The Whig 1852 Convention has adopted resolutions which included instructions to the national convention delegates. Though Throckmorton was not one of them, the political viewpoint of this group can be known by the resolutions.

[4] That we have an abiding confidence in the honesty, integrity, and sterling love of country of the great wings of the Whig party throughout the United States; we have, therefore, no fears in pledging ourselves to the support of the nominee of the Whig National convention, believing that that convention will be too honest to select as a candidate for the Presidency an **abolitionist**, and too prudent to nominate an interventionist.

[5] That we recognize the **Compromise Measures** as an emanation from Whig policy and to the Whig party must the people look to see them sustained.

[6] That our delegates in the National convention be instructed to exercise their own free and untrammeled choice in voting for a candidate for the Presidency in said convention, provided that in no instance shall they cast a vote for any man who they believe will consent to any repeal or modification of the present **Fugitive Slave Law**.<sup>11</sup>

County, two miles northwest of the site of present Melissa. Later that year he moved his family to their new home. Less than a year later he became ill and died." Probably the original sources don't give dates and explained in terms as in the entry so it isn't definitely known which years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Winkler, Ernest William, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," *The Bulletin of the University of Texas*, September 20, 1916, No. 53. Ernest William Winkler was the Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ.

Boldface is added to the above to point out critical items. The Compromise Measures are in reference to the infamous compromises on the issue of slavery in 1850.<sup>12</sup>

At the Democratic State Convention, 1858, Throckmorton is a member of the Democratic State Committee of the Texas Democrats.

There is a motion by the rabid L.T. Wigfall<sup>13</sup> for the following resolutions which were adopted.

On motion of L. T. Wigfall, the following -platform was adopted:

Resolved, 1. That the Democratic party of the State of Texas heartily concur in and unanimously reaffirm the principles of the Democratic party of the Union and the Constitution as embodied in their platform of the National Democratic convention, held in Cincinnati in June, 1856, and the State convention of Texas at Waco, on the 4th of May, 1857, as a true expression of their political faith and opinion, believing them to embrace the only doctrines which can preserve the integrity of the Union and the equal rights of the States.

2. That recent events in the United States Senate create in our minds a serious apprehension that the great doctrine of nonintervention, as set forth in that platform, is in danger of being repudiated by Congress through the instrumentality of members of the National Democratic party, distinguished alike for their political influence over the public sentiment of the North and their past declarations in favor of said doctrine, and that we now consider it our duty to set forth to the country the course that we shall be compelled to take in that serious and deplorable emergency.

3. That we request the representatives of the people of Texas, in legislature assembled, to provide at the present session for the Executive of the State appointing suitable delegates to a convention of Southern States, which may be hereafter assembled for the purpose of consultation and advice for the general welfare of the institutions of the South.

The National Democratic Party platform of 1856 was pro-slavery as was the Waco, 1856 Texas State Democratic platform which explicitly mentions slavery and which adopts the previous Austin 1856 Democratic Convention platform which discusses slavery at

of Texas Library. Pages 51 – 54. This is available at <u>https://archive.org/advancedsearch.php</u> for free and you can download it as a PDF or view it online and search it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Yes, I know your high school history textbooks have held up the compromises of 1850 as some type of heroic accomplishment and exemplar of the American way. Consider that you learned it from a high school history textbook.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Louis T. Wigfall was notorious and inflammatory member of the U.S. Congress.

length. Though the 1858 resolutions may seem vague they refer to prior pro-slavery documents that will carry the nation to civil war.

The third resolution is calling for a convention of slave states to strategize to preserve slavery.<sup>14</sup>

Throckmorton is part of an angry slaveholder movement leading up to a national explosion.

### SECESSION

Throckmorton was against secession and was one of eight delegates that did vote against it at the Texas Secession convention.<sup>15</sup> Many persons in the former slave states saw secession and the war that would follow as a great danger that could consequently result in the overthrow the social order in the slave states, the end of slavery. However, once secession was decided upon they supported the effort. Subsequent events did show that secession did lead to the destruction of slave society vindicating Throckmorton's position. As spoken by Prometheus in Longfellow's poem "The Mask of Pandora," "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," (1875) and so it was with secession.

### **CONFEDERATE ACTIVITIES**

Throckmorton organized "over 100 men into the Company of Mounted Riflemen from Colling County in May 1861." This company secured forts on Texas northern frontier. The company was disbanded August 1861. Throckmorton then joined the Sixth Texas Calvary and was in the battles of Chustennallah and Elkhorn and "saw fighting" in Mississippi but his kidney problems resulted in his discharge Sept. 12, 1863. He then served in the Confederate Texas State Senate in 1864. In December 1864 he was commissioned a brigadier-general for Texas' First Frontier District. In 1865 he was appointed by Confederate Gen. E. Kirby Smith as a commissioner to Native Americans to negotiate treaties who nicknamed him "Old Leathercoat."<sup>16</sup>

### PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Winkler, Ernest William, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," *The Bulletin of the University of Texas*, September 20, 1916, No. 53. Ernest William Winkler was the Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ. of Texas Library. For the 1856 Austin convention, pages 64-68, for the 1857 Waco convention see pages 71-74; 1858 State convention in Austin, pages 75-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Minor, David, "Throckmorton, James, Webb (1825-1894), Texas State Historical Association, (TSHA), online handbook, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth36, printed out 1/9/2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Minor, David, "Throckmorton, James, Webb (1825-1894), Texas State Historical Association, (TSHA), online handbook, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth36, printed out 1/9/2018.

David Minor's TSHA account of Throckmorton's is as informative of the failings of the TSHA handbook as it is somewhat obscuring of Throckmorton's white supremacist agenda. I am going to critically review the entry since it will not only inform us some about Throckmorton, but activists working across Texas will be alerted to read the TSHA handbook warily. It might be thought it might shame the TSHA to do better, but that fails to understand that local and state associations of historians are largely composed or lead by those who are shameless about their racial attitudes.

The racialized landscape is not significantly sustained, if at all, by self-admitted white supremacists but by rather it is sustained other institutions which are seem as legitimate: historical societies, preservation societies, local museums. The effort to deracialize the landscape will be difficult and against adverse circumstances until these institutions' agendas, whether intentional or incompetent, and good arguments can be made for either cause, is publically recognized and denounced.

The TSHA handbook needs to be understood as an instrument that, whether intentional or not, sustains the racialized landscape in Texas. So this paper on Throckmorton will serve to make this clear.

The TSHA entry really fails to make it clear that Throckmorton was a leader of the political white supremacist movement in Texas and a person of rabid racist and xenophobic sentiment. He wasn't just a collection retrograde views stumbling through history.

The TSHA entry states that Throckmorton was elected to the Texas Constitutional Convention of 1866 which was "divided into three factions, secessionists, conservative union men, and radical unionists."

Radical unionists were labeled "radical" by later historians because they supported racial equality which to these later historians was "radical" and was another way of communicating that these people were crazies. Conservative union men were white supremacists and white supremacy was what they trying to "conserve," that is the old racial order in Texas. Secessionists were white supremacist also. The TSHA entry states, "Throckmorton, receiving the support of the first two groups, defeated the radical A.H. Latimer and became the chairman of the convention." That is Throckmorton was the leader of the white supremacists and "presided" over their writing a white supremacist constitution.

The entry continues, "He presided over the writing of a new state constitution civil rights to African Americans (they still could not vote) and refused to take action on the Thirteenth Amendment, arguing that the abolition of slavery was already law." <sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Minor, David, "Throckmorton, James, Webb (1825-1894), Texas State Historical Association, (TSHA), online handbook, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth36, printed out 1/9/2018.

What is omitted here are the infamous Black Codes which attempted to keep legal discrimination against African Americans in Texas in 1866.<sup>18</sup> However, the TSHA online hand book does point out that Eleventh Legislature met on August 6, 1866 and that Throckmorton took office "six days latter" and that they passed the Black Codes, which to go into effect I presume that governor Throckmorton had to sign and didn't veto.<sup>19</sup> What Throckmorton's relation to them remains as a task of further inquiry.

In the later 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the 21<sup>st</sup> century civil rights are thought of as voting rights, housing rights, employment rights and public accommodation rights. However, we can sometimes forget that the right to a trial, the right to own property, enter a contract, be a juror, testify in a trial or to be protected by the law are civil rights also even though we might regard them as a given. The civil rights for African Americans were not even these in this constitution, since they were prohibited to be jurors or testify in trials against a white person.

White supremacist President Andrew Johnson accepted the Texas constitution of 1866. As the entry states, "... state wide elections were held in June 1866. Politically ambitious and promised the support of both secessionists and conservative union men, Throckmorton entered the governor's race. He easily defeated the radical candidate, E.M. Pease, by a margin of 49,277 to 12,168." Decoded, Throckmorton ran as the candidate of white supremacy and won.

David Minor points out that Throckmorton had publically repudiated the 14  $^{\rm th}$  Amendment.  $^{\rm 20}$ 

African Americans during Presidential Reconstruction were subject to murderous violence across the state. This online source, "The Freedman's Bureau Online," have available online extensive records of the violence and murder perpetrated against African Americans, white Unionists and Freedmen's Bureau agents in Texas during this period. [http://www.freedmensbureau.com/texas/index.htm].

Governor Throckmorton, being a white supremacist, was ineffective in curbing the violence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Black Codes," Moneyhon, Carl H., "Texas State Historical Association Handbook," online, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mzr01, printed out 4/2/2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "Black Codes," Moneyhon, Carl H., "Texas State Historical Association Handbook," online, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jsb01, printed out 4/2/2018 seems to be a good source on the Black Codes. These Black Codes so alienated people in the states without slavery that Congressional Reconstruction was passed and President Andrew Johnson was discredited. Reviewing the bibliographic sources for this article suggests that it was written a long, long time ago. The TSHA seems to be full of historiographical fossils.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Minor, David, "Throckmorton, James, Webb (1825-1894), Texas State Historical Association, (TSHA), online handbook, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth36, printed out 1/9/2018.

The historical reality was that Throckmorton was a venomous racist and xenophobe determined to defeat any attempt for racial equality and worked hard to subjugate African Americans. He was a central figure in the defeat of Reconstruction and the re-establishment of a white supremacist regime.

Kenneth Wayne Howell's Dissertation, "James Webb Throckmorton: The Life and Career of a Southern Frontier Politician, 1825-1894," May 2005 submitted in partial fulfillment for a Doctor of Philosophy, at Texas A&M University reveals the bitter racism of Throckmorton. You can download it at

http://oaktrust.library.tamu.edu/bitstream/handle/1969.1/2350/etd-tamu-2005A-HIST-Howell.pdf?sequence=1.

It also has been published as a book, "Texas Confederate, Reconstruction Governor: James Webb Throckmorton," Kenneth Wayne Howell, Texas A&M Press, College Station, 2008.

Another book which details Throckmorton's xenophobic and racist attitudes is "The Shattering of Texas Unionism," by Dale Baum, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1998.

Some extracts from the book.

The following is from page 149 in Baum's book about why German Texans didn't vote for Throckmorton.

Although most German Texans were in the ranks of the Union Republicans or radical Unionist party, their refusal to vote in the 1866 gubernatorial race for Throckmorton, a former Know-Nothing who genuinely disliked foreigners, further explains their virtual absence from his column. Throckmorton's opposition at the end of the war to schemes to promote immigration from the North and Europe had prompted him to privately to accuse "sour krauts" and "swindling Yankees" of being potential "d—m—d negro worshiping skunks" who would mongrelize Texas society at the expense of "the genteel and ennobling qualities of kindness" which he believed were embodied only in "southern blood."<sup>21</sup> [NOTE: Throckmorton was **not** "a former Know-Nothing."]<sup>22</sup>

The following is from pages 158-160 of Baum's book about how Throckmorton enabled murder and mayhem against African Americans and his racist attitudes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Baum's quotes come from a letter of James W. Throckmorton to Benjamin H. Epperson, Jan. 21, 1866, in Throckmorton Papers and Letter Book, which is at the Univ. of Texas Library in Austin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Dale Baum has informed me by email that the statement of Throckmorton was a Know-Northing was an error picked up from an earlier source and does not appear to be true from the historical record.

Radical fears were confirmed when Hamilton's elected successor, Throckmorton, downplayed stories of violence against loyalists and blacks, calling the reports exaggerations, possibly even outright falsehoods. The new governor demanded the dismantlement of the Freedmen's Bureau, the agency which documented in the immediate postwar years hundreds of killings of blacks by whites ranging from disputing labor-contract settlements to not laboring in the manner desired by their employers. Judging blacks to be the "most inferior of God's creatures that wear the forms of men," Throckmorton believed that unless coerced, the "nigs" would not work productively or take care of themselves in their new freedom. ... He blamed all of the state's difficulties on the Republicans or, once when to complaining to local military authorities, entirely on "the presence of Colored troops."<sup>23</sup>

The Baum's book dedication is, "For the small group of Texas unionists who, after the Civil War, linked their political fortunes with the hopes of freedom's first generation of African Americans and tried to build an interracial democracy on the ashes of slavery." With over 150 years passed since the Civil War we are still trying.

A revealing historical record of Throckmorton's white supremacy is again in Winkler's "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas."

The Conservative Union Caucus of 1866 in Austin appealed to Throckmorton to run for office to "checkmate the action of the Radical caucus."

To HON. J. W. THROCKMOBTON AND HON. GEO. W. JONES,

GENTLEMEN: The undersigned representing, as they believe, the views of the people in various portions of the State, without distinction as to past party affiliations, desire permission to use your names for the positions of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Texas at the next election.

Knowing you to be opposed to the radicalism of the day, which is persistently sought to be imposed upon the people of Texas, and **being fully satisfied of your opposition to negro suffrage, and the hasty and inconsiderate elevation of the negro to political equality**; knowing also that you indorse the good faith of the people of Texas, in their professions of loyalty to the general government, and appreciating their earnest desire for our State to be restored to her former Federal relations at the earliest practicable period;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Baum's quotes come from a letters of James W. Throckmorton from the Throckmorton Papers and Letter Book, which is at the Univ. of Texas Library in Austin. The "inferior" quote is from a letter of James W. Throckmorton to Benjamin H. Epperson, Jan. 21, 1866. The "nigs" quotation is from Throckmorton to Louis T. Wigfall, Dec. 30, 1867. The complaint about African American troops is from Throckmorton to Samuel P. Heintzelman, Sept. 25, 1866.

And believing, as we do, that the great mass of the people of Texas indorse President Johnson in his policy of restoration, which is based on the Constitution, we desire that you, whom we know to entertain the same views of his policy, should become the standard bearers of the Conservative Union men of the State in the coming election.

Though you have persistently refused to allow your names to be used in this connection, the events of the last few days, we believe, render it necessary that you should yield to our wishes on this subject. These events speak trumpet-tongued to every patriot in the land. The radical branch of the Republican party of the North, who closed the doors of Congress against Southern representatives, who have declared their intention to reduce us to a condition of territorial vassalage, and **to place us below the level of those who were once our slaves, have their adherents in our very midst**. They have had their caucuses, adopted their platforms, nominated their candidates for the principal offices in the State, and are determined to aid and abet Stevens, Sumner, and Phillips, in their opposition to the policy of the President, in their raids against constitutional liberty, and in the establishment of a consolidated despotic government.

We assure you that this call is not confined to a few persons, nor to any particular locality, but comes from every portion of the State; from men who are determined, if possible, to preserve the country and its institutions from the machinations of those, who in the last hours of the Convention defeated the resolution indorsing the policy of the President, and are determined to bind us, hand and foot, and surrender us to the Radical Republicans, or prolong indefinitely Provisional and Military Rule.<sup>24</sup>

Boldface is added above to refer to some specific items. The U.S. elected officials Stevens, Sumner, and Phillips were known for their opposition to slavery and support for civil rights for African Americans.

Throckmorton replied that he thought it was his obligation to accept since he felt that "their interests were endangered and fully concurring in the views and sentiments you have expressed." In short he agrees fully with the Conservative Caucus' panic alarm over the possibility of African Americans having political rights.

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Winkler, Ernest William, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," The Bulletin of the University of Texas, September 20, 1916, No. 53. Ernest William Winkler was the Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ. of Texas Library. Pages 98-99.

With the murder and mayhem against Unionists and African Americans, the Black Codes being passed to restore a subordinated African American labor force akin to slavery, and electing to federal office secessionists, the U.S. Congress got serious and started to pass stronger legislation over the vetoes of Pres. Andrew Johnson, starting with the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867. The TSHA entry for Throckmorton notes that U.S. Gen. Charles Griffin of the Texas sub-district demanded that Throckmorton provide more protection for Texas African Americans and Throckmorton gave excuses and U.S. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan had Throckmorton removed from office July 30, 1867 with the tremendous understatement that he was "an impediment to Reconstruction."

From the TSHA entry, we learn that in the summer of 1870 Throckmorton along with two other governors signed a public document circulated across Texas denouncing the policies of the "Radical Republicans as dangerous to the civil liberties of Texans." <sup>25</sup>

However, with the period of violence and attacks on African Americans the white supremacists were able to position themselves to defeat Congressional Reconstruction.

Throckmorton is a member of the Texas Democratic State Committee at the Conservative State Convention in 1868, in Houston. They adopted resolutions also which make fairly clear their white supremacist viewpoints.

Resolved, 1. That the question of **African** supremacy arises far above all questions of party, and is vital to the future interests of this State; as subordinate to that, we cheerfully concur with all parties who are opposed to the Africanization of the State.

2. That believing it to be the determination of the Radical party to create a convention, and yet desiring to express our opposition to the **Africanization of Texas**, we recommend the people of the State entitled to register, to do so and to vote against a convention, and, to guard against the contingency of its being successfully carried, to vote at the same time for the election of delegates to the convention on the basis of creating a constitution **without negro suffrage**, and asking Congress to accept the same, believing that we should only be recognized as in the Union on a footing of equality with the other States, and that the Northern people will demand no more.

3. That the resolutions of the mass meeting of loyal Union citizens, assembled in this city on the 20th inst, submitted to us for consideration, meet the approval of this convention in their general spirit and desire to defeat the **Africanization of this State**, and to secure its restoration to civil government in the Union.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Minor, David, "Throckmorton, James, Webb (1825-1894), Texas State Historical Association, (TSHA), online handbook, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fth36, printed out 1/9/2018.

4. That representing as we believe, and know we do, the true feelings and sentiments of the masses of this State, especially the soldiers of the late Confederate army, that in their name and on their behalf, we return our profound acknowledgments to the large majorities of the conservative people of the Northern States, for the late manifestations of their devotion to constitutional liberty, their sympathy for our threatened political misfortunes, their assurances of our ultimate relief and our restoration to equal political rights with themselves; and in the name and on behalf of all Texas, we do hereby extend to all white emigrants from those States, desiring homes in the Southwest, the assurance of a cordial welcome, and that full freedom of speech and sentiment, and protection of person and property, are and will be as securely guaranteed to all such, of whatever opinion, as we claim and desire for ourselves. And we further acknowledge to our

Northern conservative friends, that as a people we have manfully accepted all the results of the war, with the **exception of African domination**; and from that dire National calamity, **we appeal to the men of our race** and kindred in the North in whose hands rests this issue, to save us and themselves and our common posterity.

5. That while we are **unalterably opposed to negro supremacy** we are in favor of securing to them the full protection of all their rights of person and of property, under just laws bearing equally upon all.<sup>26</sup>

Boldface added to identify key items.

Throckmorton is the President of the Democratic State Convention in 1868 in Byran, Texas and also a member of the Democratic State Executive Committee. There is a platform adopted and they complain of being oppressed though they are actually the oppressors. In reading these complaints by white supremacists you will see that many arguments against civil rights during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and unto this day have ancient antecedents.

1. That the conservative people of the State believe that the principles of the National Democratic party contain those guarantees of constitutional liberty and regulated government essential to the maintenance of the Union under the Constitution, and that the success of these principles gives the only assurance of averting Radical rule, anarchy, and despotism; and we declare the Democracy of the State an integral part of the Democracy of the Union; and that we will rally under its time-honored banner with all the energy and enthusiasm of a people who hope, through its triumphs, once more to enjoy the blessings of civil

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Winkler, Ernest William, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," The Bulletin of the University of Texas, September 20, 1916, No. 53. Ernest William Winkler was the Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ. of Texas Library. Pages 102-104.

government and equality in the Union, and to escape the disfranchisement, **negro supremacy**, degradation and ruin now threatened by the Radical party.

2. That we acquiesce in good faith in the abolishment of negro slavery, the repudiation of the war debt of the State, and its abandonment of the doctrine of secession as a peaceable remedy for State grievances, as results of the war finally settled, and do not propose to disturb or change the result.

3. That it is our purpose to adhere in good faith to our renewed allegiance to the Constitution and government of the United States, and to cultivate fraternal good will with the people of all parts of the country; and we repel with indignation the charges of disloyalty falsely made against us by the Radical party for the purpose of perpetuating military despotism over us, and as a pretext for the disfranchisement of those who do not agree with their political opinions, and to maintain themselves in political power in disregard of right and of the popular will.

4. That we earnestly desire the restoration of the Constitution of the United States to its original supremacy and vigor, and the faithful enforcement of the Federal Laws within their sphere in all the States of the Union; that we earnestly seek to be restored to all the rights of local self-government; that we earnestly desire the reestablishment of the civil law administration by constitutional courts, and to see its supremacy established over the military; that we are unalterably opposed to the consolidation of the powers of the Federal government in the legislative department, or to the encroachment of the legislative upon the executive and judicial departments; that we deplore the unlimited and irresponsible military despotisms which now exist in the States of the American Union, and we earnestly appeal to the people of the States now represented in Congress to remove the odious and oppressive tyranny from over us; that we declare the practical operation and usual effect of the Freedmen's Bureau established amongst us is to cultivate and stimulate discontent, with both the white and **black races**, and calculated to promote differences of opinion and contests between the races which may prove disastrous to both and highly injurious to the whole country. That we declare it to be our deliberate conviction that there exists no necessity for continuing the disfranchisement of any portion of the white people of the Southern States, and that the **continued** disfranchisement of the large number of intelligent classes now deprived of political rights, while the rights of suffrage and the holding of office are conferred upon all the negroes, must, in the nature of things, endanger the stability of government, the peace and security of society, and prove destructive to good order and happiness amongst us. That we entertain no feelings of ill will or hostility to the negro race amongst us, and that we desire to see them protected by the laws of the State in all their rights of person and of property, and will do whatever we can to promote

their improvement in knowledge and virtue, this being alike necessary for the general welfare and for the happiness of both races.

5. That we adhere to the constitutional doctrine that the power to regulate the question of **suffrage** in the States rests exclusively with the States themselves, and we therefore deny that Congress has any constitutional power whatever to enact laws on that subject.

6. That we need more population, labor, and capital, as well as peace and civil government, for the development of the resources of our great State, and that our true policy is to invite immigration and capital from the Northern States and Europe, and to assure them of a friendly welcome, and we declare that statements that immigrants from the Northern States are not received with friendship and cannot expect security for life and property amongst us are made by the Radical party for political effect and are willful perversions of the truth.<sup>27</sup>

There is a Taxpayers' Convention of 1871 in Austin. Throckmorton is part of the Committee of Twenty-One which writes a report assessing the state of Texas. At this time the Reconstruction government is struggling and failing to preserve the rights of African Americans and protect them from violence and intimidation.

By 1871 the white supremacists have realized that racist rantings about African Americans tends to justify Reconstruction which they want to defeat. So it is a "Taxpayers convention." There are lengthy resolutions complaining about illegality, despotism, unconstitutional measures, excessive offices etc. In particular the Militia Law, the Police Bill, the Enabling Act, Registration Act and the Election Law are singled out. The laws that might defend the rights of African Americans. There is a Committee of Seven to memorialize the Legislature presumably on the views of this convention as adopted and Throckmorton is one of the seven.<sup>28</sup>

At the Democratic State Convention of 1873 in Austin Throckmorton is a member of the Committee of Platform and Resolutions. The platform congratulates the 13<sup>th</sup> legislature for the repeal of many Reconstruction measures. Reconstruction is essentially over in Texas and African Americans are almost entirely if not entirely at the mercy of the white supremacists.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Winkler, Ernest William, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," The Bulletin of the University of Texas, September 20, 1916, No. 53. Ernest William Winkler was the Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ. of Texas Library. Pages 108-112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Winkler, Ernest William, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," The Bulletin of the University of Texas, September 20, 1916, No. 53. Ernest William Winkler was the Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ. of Texas Library. Pages 128-140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Winkler, Ernest William, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," The Bulletin of the University of Texas, September 20, 1916, No. 53. Ernest William Winkler was the Reference Librarian and Curator of Texas Books, Univ. of Texas Library. Pages 157-163.

#### **POST-RECONSTRUCTION**

Throckmorton continues to be active in Texas Democratic politics but this paper will only concern itself with white supremacy.

At the Democratic State Convention of 1892 in Lampasas, Throckmorton is the permanent Chairman and also is a Presidential Elector. At this time there was a proposal to have and pass federal legislation to enforce the voting rights of African Americans and protect them from violence in the exercise of those rights. Racists called it the Force Bill. The Platform of this convention condemns this legislation on the basis of states' rights, the same states' rights extolled in speeches as being wrought by Confederate soldiers and leaders at the dedication speeches for the Confederate War Memorial now in Dallas's Pioneer Park.

[1] We, the Democracy of Texas, in convention assembled, do hereby declare our devotion and pledge anew our fidelity to the great principles of the party founded by Thomas Jefferson, which so long as they prevailed in the government of the United States maintained the purity of the administration of public affairs, commanded the respect of foreign nations, respected the rights of the States, and secured peace and prosperity to the people of all the States of the Union.

[2] We declare our continued adherence to the doctrine of the autonomy of the States and their unsurrendered sovereignty, and to the fundamental principle that every power not specially delegated to the Federal government is reserved to the States, and that every encroachment upon either the legislative, executive, or judicial powers of the State, either by the extension of the powers and jurisdiction of the Federal courts or by National legislation looking to interference with the exercise of the elective franchise, is unwarranted by the Constitution and subversive of the principles on which this government is founded; that to the States should be left the regulation of the exercise of the privilege of suffrage and that to the citizens of the several States should be entrusted the enactment of all legislation relating thereto, except such as may be justly and constitutionally enacted by the National Congress; that we denounce what is commonly known as the Force Bill as a measure most iniquitous, unnecessary, unjust, and oppressive to the people of the several States and especially to those of the South, and a measure of rank partisanship inspired by a reckless disregard of the peace and prosperity of the **Southern States**, and by an **unholy** purpose to perpetuate by unjust legislation the power of the Republican party and its control of the government.

For the Republican Party to want to allow their African American supporters to vote for them is "unholy."

In 1894 Throckmorton dies and his life fighting for white supremacy comes to an end.

## CONCLUSION

James Webb Throckmorton was a white supremacist hero to Texas white supremacist for his leading role in the defeat of the attempted multi-racial democracy of Reconstruction and his opposition against civil rights of African American and his campaign to subjugate them. He spent his life working and fighting for the subjugation of African Americans, in slavery before and during the Civil War and establishing a white supremacist Texas afterwards.

There should not be any street or city or county or place named after him.

The knowing retention of Throckmorton place names reveals the values of our governmental institutions, indeed our society. Changing the names is to make a statement that these values no longer are current and that our society has rejected them.

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- 2. "Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865-1880," by Randolph B. Campbell, Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1998. Has a chapter on Dallas County.
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SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE ON PLACE NAME CHANGES

Resources can be found at <u>http://templeofdemocracy.com/street-name-changes-in-south-africa.html</u>

African nations in general are changing place names as part of de-colonization and South Africa further is changing place names as part of rejecting apartheid which is written on the landscape. I think that studying these changes in Africa can instruct us about changing names in Dallas and in the United States as a whole. At the webpage is a paper titled, "Lessons from South Africa."