

BLACK DIAMONDS & VANISHING RUINS: RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE OF THURBER, TEXAS

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THURBER, TEXAS, is perhaps best known for its coal mines which supplied railroads, power plants, and other industries in the Southwest for almost forty years (ca. 1888 to 1922). Located in the large bituminous coal field of the Brazos and Colorado rivers of north central Texas¹, Thurber is also widely known for its locally-manufactured paving bricks that found their way across the southwest in the early years of this century. Bricks bearing the name "Thurber" can be found in Bisbee, Arizona, the Galveston sea wall, and in roads and streets throughout Texas and the Southwest.

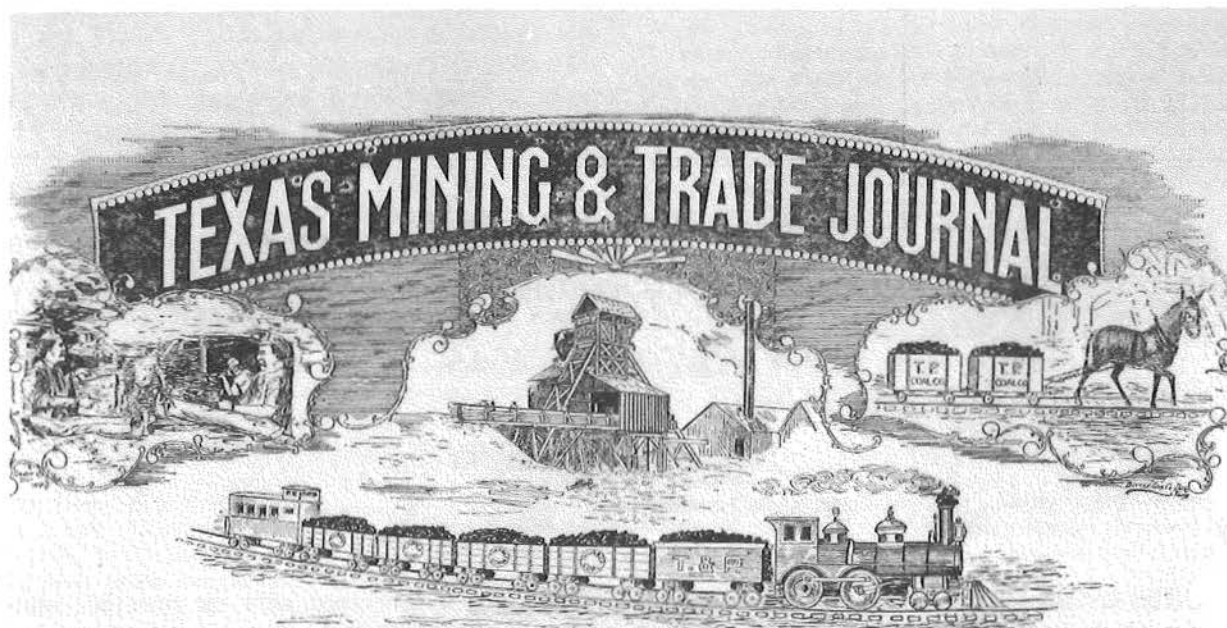
Thurber today is little more than a ghost town. A look at a Texas road map shows it to be situated on Interstate Highway 20 near Mingus, Gordon, and Strawn. Thurber is located at the boundary of Palo Pinto and Erath counties where two geologic formations are in close proximity. Whereas Thurber is located in coal country, less than twenty-five miles to the west one encounters the Ranger oil field that led to Thurber's demise in the early 1920s as the Texas Pacific Coal and Oil Company made the transition from black diamonds to black gold.²

Today as one visits the site of Thurber, there is little to see except ruins, specifically a tall power plant smokestack, a service station, and a few scattered buildings. The topography around Thurber is heavily dissected, and a series of very low-lying mesas or *cuestas* define the townsite. New York Hill, a prominent landmark, provides a sweeping view of the townsite and its ruins. What appears as a rather desolate landscape covered with mesquite, cactus, and brush was, in the early years of this century, covered with hundreds of houses and other buildings. Thurber reportedly had as many as 10,000 people living in fairly close proximity to eleven coal mines.³ Thurber's built-up environment consisted of mining structures, boarding houses, company houses, and large company businesses downtown.

This paper is concerned with the material culture of Thurber, especially the architectural heritage. It seeks to answer two questions of interest to mining historians: 1) how does the near ghost town we see compare to Thurber during its prosperous years of the early 20th century? And, 2) what types of materials are being used to help preservationists and local historians "reconstruct" the past and interpret how the community looked during its heyday?

We begin with written sources, many of which feature illustrations in the form of woodcuts and, later, photographs. Three newspapers were published in Thurber: *The Texas Miner*, *The Texas Mining and Trade Journal*, and the *Thurber Journal*. The masthead of the *Texas Mining and Trade Journal* of August 29, 1896 states that the town's population is 4,000. A closer look at the configuration on the masthead (Fig. 1) reveals a train, a coal mine and tippie, and an interior view of a mine showing some miners working a rather narrow seam of coal. How accurate is this drawing? Records show that Thurber produced a fairly good grade of bituminous coal, but the seams were indeed very thin--approximately thirty inches tall. Mining in Thurber was often described as back-breaking, and many miners wore arm and knee pads to keep from becoming bruised while working the narrow coal seams. The railroad cars on the masthead are lettered "Thurber Coal," and one might think this illustration to be fanciful. However, a review of historical photographs reveals that this is accurate iconography: the T&P Coal Company did have at least 200 coal hauling gondola cars according to the *Official Railway Equipment Guide*.⁴ The railroad that served the mines was called the

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POPULATION 4,000.

VOLUME 1.

THURBER, TEXAS: SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1896.

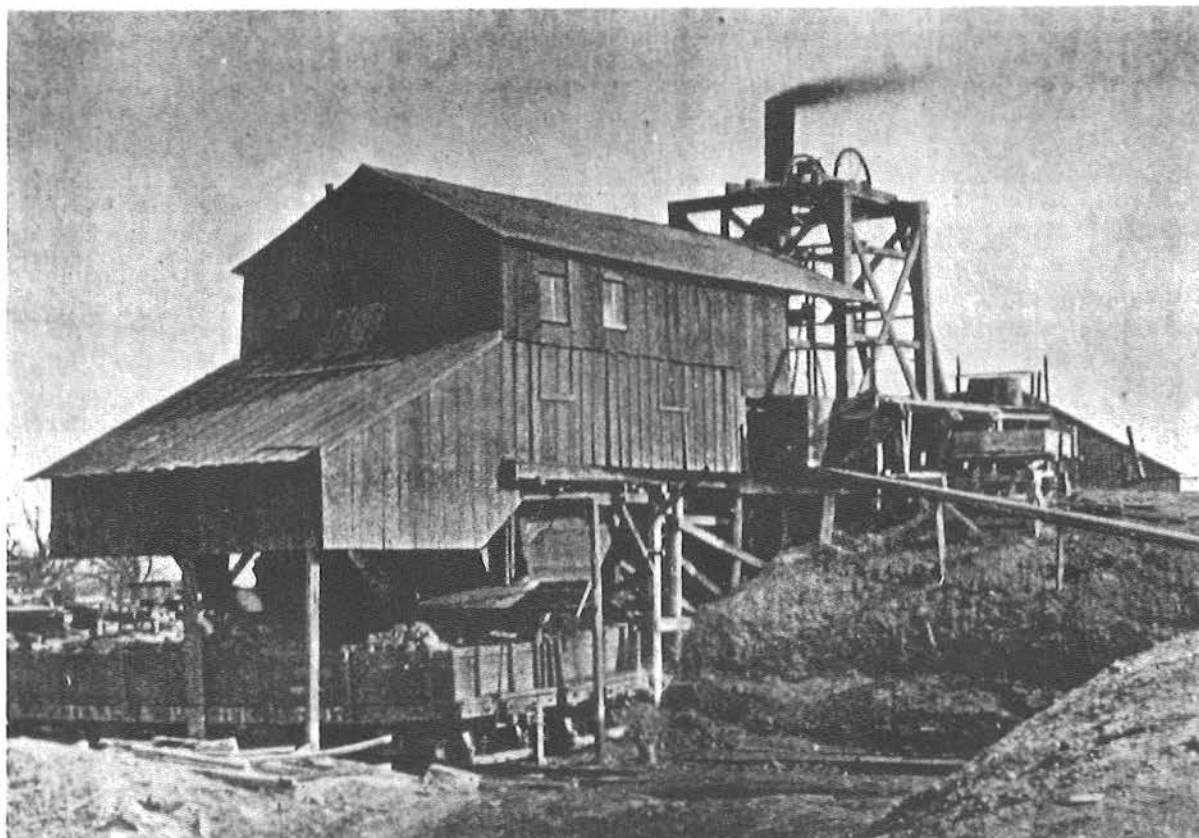
NUMBER 19

ECHOES.

BY GEORGE H. HUTCHINS.

BLACK DIAMONDS.

A DISPATCH from Morgantown, W. Va., states that "the



OPPOSITE TOP . *Fig. 1. The masthead of an early issue of the Texas Mining and Trade Journal shows miners working a very narrow coal seam (left), a typical Thurber headframe and tippie of Mine #7 (center), a mule hauling coal cars underground (right), and a T&P coal train with cars marked "Thurber Coal" (bottom). Courtesy Special Collections Division, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries, Arlington, Texas (UTA Libraries).*

BOTTOM. *Fig. 2. One of the earliest known photographs of coal mining activity in Thurber, Texas, shows Shaft #1, the tippie, and two T&P coal gondola cars (ca. 1889). From Second Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Texas, 1890.*

the Thurber Coal and Mineral Railway in the company's record books, and it connected the mines at Thurber with the Texas and Pacific Railroad mainline at Mingus Junction.⁵ The town of Thurber was entirely owned by the Texas and Pacific Coal Company, which had no relation to the Texas & Pacific railroad except that the incorporators of the company thought it a logical name because they supplied coal to the locomotives of the Texas and Pacific Railroad. The T&P Coal Company came into existence upon purchase of the coal mines that had been developed by the Johnson brothers in the mid 1880s.⁶

Fortunately for the developers of the property, the mines were located sixty-five miles west of Fort Worth almost on the T&P main line that stretched westward toward El Paso. In 1886 the Johnson brothers had constructed a railroad spur from the Texas and Pacific main line to their New Castle mine. The masthead, then, uses fairly accurate imagery to depict mining in Thurber during its boom days, while underscoring the role of transportation in the mining industry. An illustration of Mine No. 1 in an 1890 geology report from the State of Texas⁷, reveals a typical headframe, tippie, and two Texas and Pacific gondola cars situated underneath the tippie for loading and shipment. (Fig. 2)

Travellers visiting Thurber today encounter a tippie, but it is not a feature left from the mining days, being a gasoline service station constructed in the form of a tippie in the 1970's. Since all the mining structures in Thurber were torn down long ago, the sign on the tippie reading "Happy Motoring" is ironic: among the main reasons for Thurber's decline as a coal mining center was the increased production of oil. The Texas and Pacific Coal Company entered the oil business and was re-named the Texas Pacific Coal and Oil Company after 1917. The TP Coal & Oil Company shut down most of the mines in Thurber after a particularly difficult strike in the early 1920s.⁸

When Thurber's mines were booming, the landscape of the community was typical of what I have called

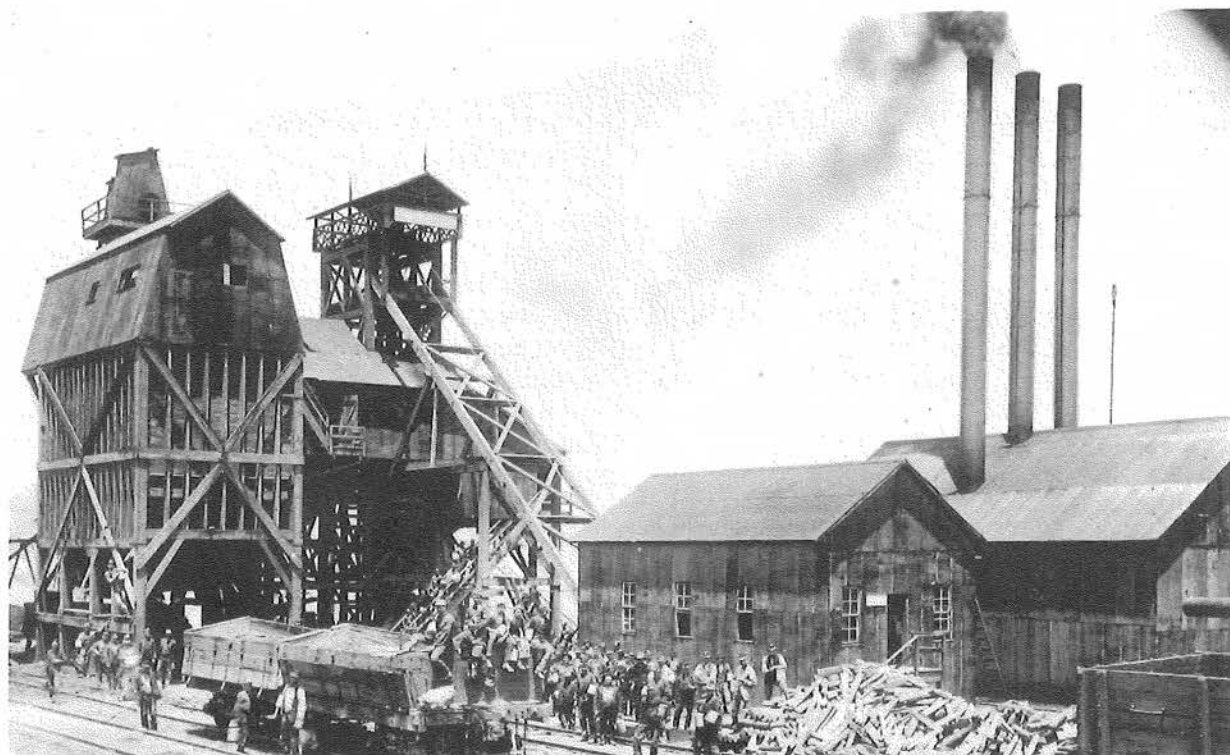
"hard places."⁹ Large mine dumps, headframes, and tipples dominated the landscape (Fig. 3). Historic photographs of the town are readily available to the researcher: the Special Collections at the University of Texas at Arlington, and the Southwest Collection at Texas Tech at Lubbock, respectively, possess important collections on Thurber and records of the Texas and Pacific Coal Company. Many of the photos in these collections focus on the mines and the miners. The coal seams varied in depth from about thirty to eighty feet below the surface; thus, the mines were fairly shallow. Nevertheless, historic photographs show stout timber headframes in the early years for hauling the coal up to the surface. These were operated by steam-driven hoists, and the headframes often featured small gabled roofs covering the sheave wheels.

In addition to the photographic materials in University archives, a number of former residents, as well as their descendants, have significant private photograph collections. As is often the case with many former mining communities, the historic materials pertaining to Thurber scattered when the mining population left upon closure of the mines in the 1920s. Each year, former residents return for the "Thurber days" celebration in early June, and these "old-timers" are yet another good source of oral history information as well as Thurber memorabilia.

Like many mining communities, Thurber had an ethnically diverse mining population. Thurber's population was, for the most part, comprised of Polish and Italians, though Anglo Americans also worked the mines and held the management positions. Two other minorities---Mexicans and African Americans---were important. The latter were brought in to break strikes at different times, for example, when black miners were brought in from the town of Brazil, Indiana in the early 1900s.¹⁰ Thurber's ethnic groups tended to live in separate sections of the town.

Although much animosity developed between labor and management in late 19th century Thurber, the town finally (in 1903) became totally unionized and was unionized for the next generation.¹¹ In fact, Thurber was not only the most unionized community in a state that is not known for its unions; it is said to have been one of the most thoroughly unionized mining towns in the entire United States: virtually every miner and brickworker in Thurber belonged to one of several unions.¹²

Early 20th century photographs show Thurber to consist of several hundred company houses lining streets that were laid out in a grid pattern (Fig. 4). The surrounding landscape was covered with scrub brush right to the edge of the mine dumps--reminding one that Thurber was developed in a semi-arid area, and that the mining company had to meet the challenge of



prolonged drought. As there was no regular water supply in the early years, water had to be hauled in by the Texas and Pacific Railroad in tank cars. In the mid 1890s several wells were drilled, even one a thousand feet deep, which hit salt water. When several lakes were developed to serve as reservoirs, and two large water tanks were placed on top of a hill immediately north-east of the town center, the water situation eased considerably.

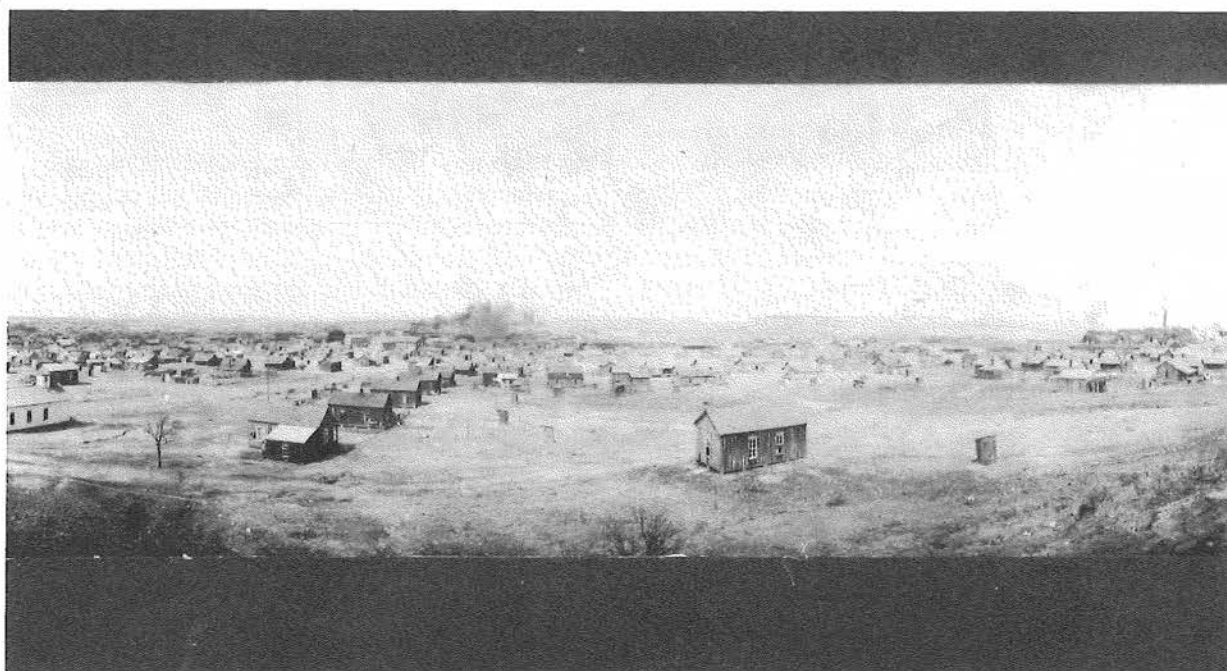
The hills in Thurber bear interesting names even today to former residents who are familiar with the topography: Steam Shovel Mountain, Polander Hill, Italian Hill, Stump Hill, New York Hill. The individual hills were named for the different ethnic minorities as well as activities that occurred.¹³ Like all mining landscapes, the natural landscape in Thurber has been modified by human activity. Some of the smaller hills are residual features of accretion, such as mine dumps, but many are natural features; some are considerably smaller as a result of mining activity.

An official company map (Fig. 5) shows the layout and house sites for the community of Thurber in the early 20th century. It reveals the extent of company involvement in the infrastructure: a downtown commercial area, the mines, the lakes, an ice plant, and even a dairy. The company owned the entire town and orchestrated its operation as a self-sufficient enterprise. Before labor-management tensions eased and Thurber

was unionized in 1903, the company had erected a fence around the town, posted guards, and permitted no entry by outsiders or labor agitators. Records show that the company forcefully acted to keep out those people who tried to organize the miners.

Up until around the turn of the century, the T&P Coal Company's president Col. Robert D. Hunter had ruled with an iron hand, reportedly making the statement "I will run my town my way or run it to hell." Under Hunter's management, Thurber became a paternalistically controlled, self-contained unit where the company defined--and provided for--the miners' needs. Hunter ensured that the company would be pre-eminent, and the town's infrastructure revealed this sense of control. Thurber became the first totally electrified town in Texas under Hunter's leadership, but life there was said to be oppressive. Conditions improved under the progressive management style of William K. Gordon, a major shaper of life in early 20th century Thurber. Under Gordon, Thurber became a model company town. A diplomat as well as mining engineer, Gordon helped the town reduce labor-management animosities. It was under Gordon's direction that the lakes were created, a dairy built to provide milk for the town, and new housing and even an opera house were erected for the benefit of the miners.

Photos of Thurber in the early 1900s show a power plant, ice plant, a dry goods store, grocery, general



OPPOSITE. *Fig. 3. A historic photograph of Mine #10 reveals several distinctive features, including a wooden braced headframe with a gabled roof over the sheave wheel, a gambrel-roofed tippie, and T&P coal cars. Courtesy Mary Jane Gentry Collection, Special Collections, UTA Libraries.*

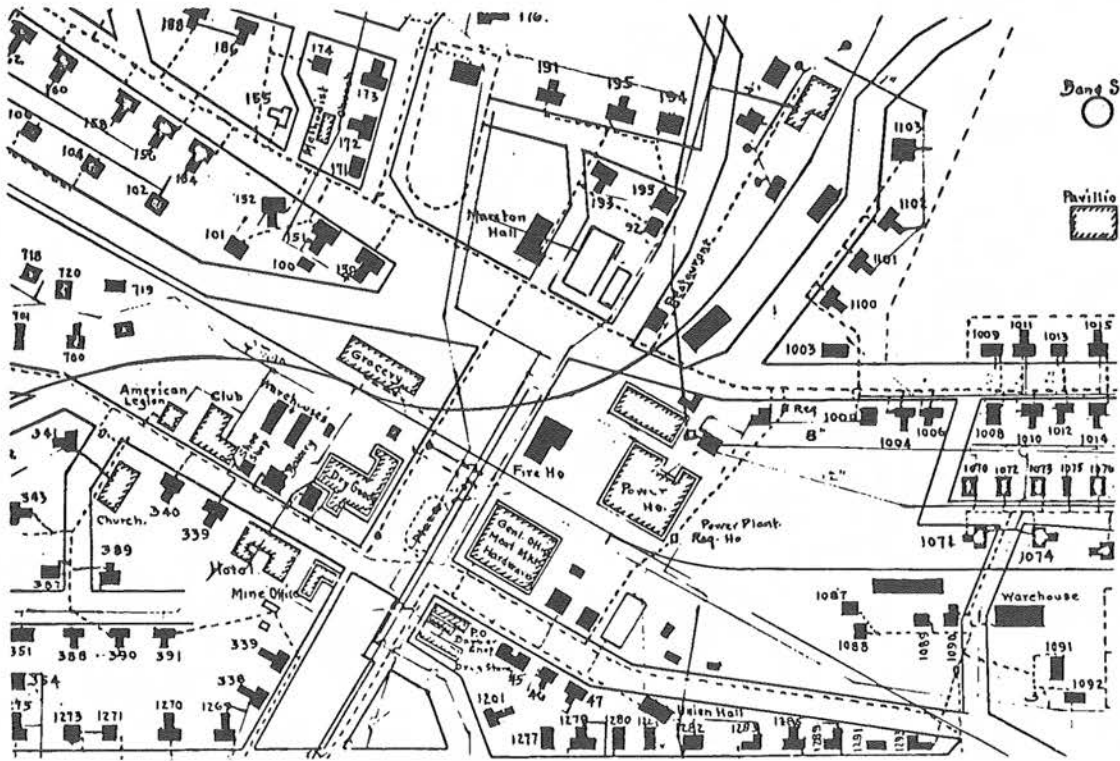
ABOVE. *Fig. 4. A panoramic photograph ca. 1900 reveals Thurber to consist largely of wooden miner's houses erected by the Texas & Pacific Coal Company. Note the twin water tanks immediately north of downtown (center of photograph) and smoke drifting from one of the community's eleven mines. Courtesy Special Collections, UTA Libraries.*

P. 56, TOP. *Fig. 5. An official Texas & Pacific Coal & Oil Co. map of downtown Thurber in 1920 shows a commercial core around the plaza (or square) and numerous company houses, all numbered. From T&P Coal Co. records, Texas Tech University, Southwest Collection (TTU, SW Collection).*

P. 56, BOTTOM. *Fig. 6. A historic (ca. 1900) photograph of the plaza or square reveals a number of wooden buildings and the brick company dry goods store. A bandstand on the square, popular for oratory and music, was reportedly moved to a location near Stephenville, Texas, and converted into a house when the company removed most of the buildings about 1930. Courtesy Mary Jane Gentry Collection, Special Collections, UTA Libraries.*

offices, and a plaza or square at the center of town served as a focal point (Fig. 6). There was some symmetry to Thurber--a roughly rectilinear layout that built upon the earlier infrastructure inherited by the company in 1888. Structures did not have regular street addresses but rather were given numbers. It is relatively simple to trace the number of a particular house back to the extensive corporate records that have been preserved in the Texas Tech collection: for example, house #449 cost \$245.70 to build in 1902.¹⁴ Churches were built for the miners by the company and also can be found in the record books--as the entries for construction and periodic repaintings of the Negro and Catholic churches. The record books also show that the company built several saloons in 1904.¹⁵ Photos taken in the very early 20th century show many wooden buildings around the square, or "quadrangle" as it is called on some maps. A devastating fire in 1902 resulted in many masonry buildings being constructed, especially the mercantile buildings downtown and company houses for managers. However, the houses of rank and file miners were constructed of wood: most were of board-and-batten construction (Fig. 7).

The Company dry goods store at the center of town is a landmark in early 20th century photos and remains so today (Fig. 8). Visitors experience it as the "Smoke-stack Restaurant," an enterprise named after the tall smokestack that has stood as a Thurber landmark for



Detail of Town Map - 1920 Scale 1" = 300'



more than ninety years. It features a themed dining experience, for photos and memorabilia of Thurber's history are exhibited. The Smokestack Restaurant had been located in the drug store until a fire gutted the building in 1992. Today, the shell of the drug store building stands forlorn at the southwest edge of the square.

The perceptive observer can trace the vestiges of old railroad beds at the Thurber townsite. Early 20th century photos occasionally feature the railroad, including the "Black Diamond"--the company-owned train that hauled miners to and from the mines. As noted earlier, some of the company's gondola cars featured the name Thurber Coal. The company's railroad equipment bearing the name Texas & Pacific caused some confusion with the actual equipment of the T&P railway, and an 1895 *Official Railway Equipment Guide* urged that "special care should be taken not to confound Texas & Pacific Ry. Co. cars with Texas & Pacific Coal Co. cars."¹⁶ These gondolas were sent out all over the region, and company records in the late 1890s and early 1900s reveal problems in them getting back to the property.¹⁷ The T&P Coal Company finally decided to divest itself of its fleet of coal cars in the early 20th century and rely on the rolling stock of the T&P and other railroads.

As the T&P Coal Company-owned "Black Diamond," or "Black Diamond Special," carried miners from their homes to the mines on the various shifts, it

snaked throughout the mining district around Thurber. Photos of the train show miners being hauled in passenger cars with "Texas and Pacific Coal Company" lettered on their fascia boards (Fig. 9). A section of railroad car used to carry miners on the "Black Diamond Special" is seen today at the New York Hill Museum site. It had served as a shed on a ranch and was found in 1993. Partially restored after being brought back to Thurber, it features two restored signs on the car end; one sign was written in English, the other in Italian. Both read, "Anyone Standing on This Platform Will Be Fined \$2.50 If Caught." The local union posted these signs.

Looking from New York Hill, which is a center of Thurber's preservation activities today, one can view the townsite's main features, including the square, company dry goods store, and all of Thurber's hills. A metal interpretive marker indicating the locations of former buildings was installed at this viewpoint in November

BELOW. *Fig. 7. A turn of the century photograph of Thurber beautifully illustrates the wooden company houses of standard design. All of these houses were either destroyed or removed by the company in the late 1920s or early 1930s, and even the streets were obliterated as chains were drawn across the landscape as part of the cleanup project. Courtesy Mary Jane Gentry Collection, Special Collections, UTA Libraries.*





1993. It helps the visitor understand and interpret the site, which is devoid of most of the buildings--including virtually all of the company houses--that made Thurber so distinctive. One important feature, Little Lake, can still be seen just southwest of New York Hill. It appears today as a body of water surrounded by scrub vegetation, but early photos of the lake show a pavilion and boats. Sunday afternoon get-togethers at the lake are remembered fondly by many Thurberites.

St. Barb's (Barbara's) church--named in honor of the patron Saint of miners--had stood on a hill above Thurber for many years, but had been moved to Mingus Junction (about a mile and a half north of Thurber) in the 1940s. With a resurgence of interest in preservation, however, the church was recently moved back to Thurber, where its new location at the base of New York Hill puts it at the center of the town's historical interpretation.

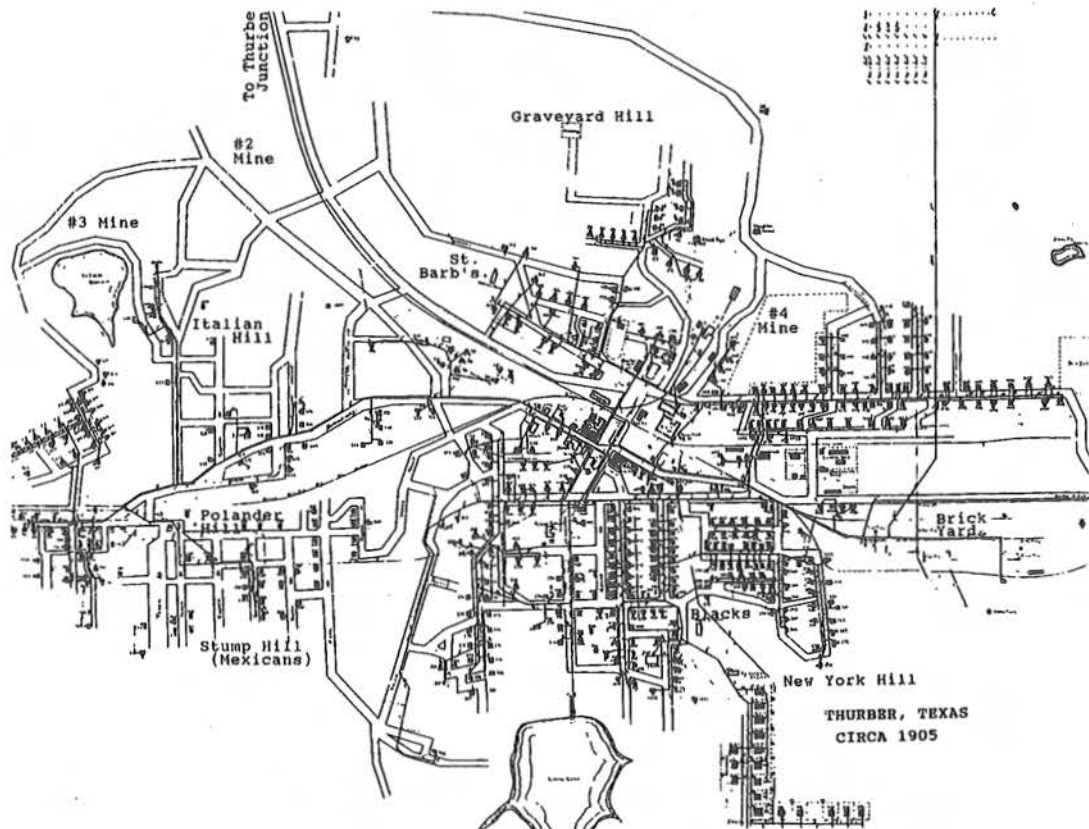
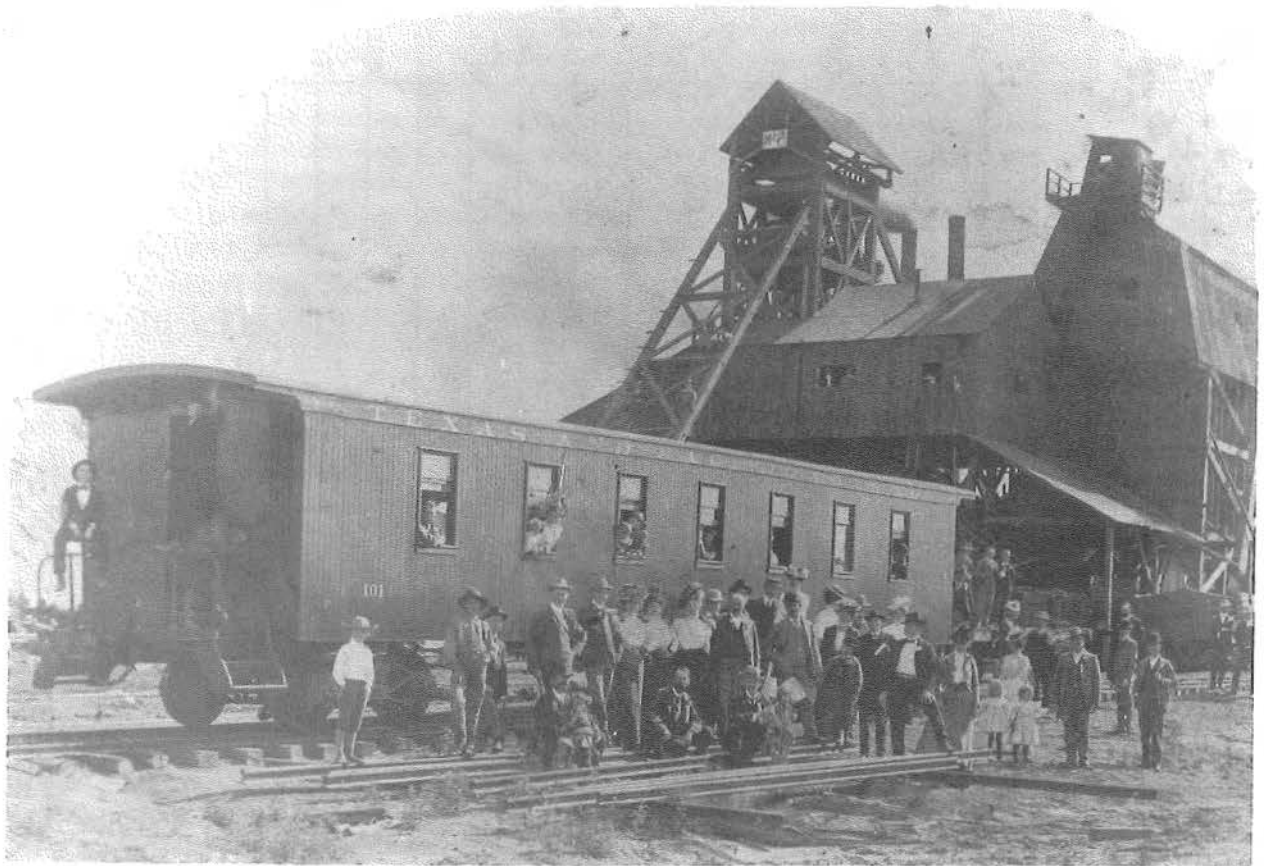
New York Hill remains an important site in Thurber's history as well as a site of the town's modern interpretation of that history. Formerly called "Silk Stocking Row," the name New York Hill dates from the 1910s, the era when the company decided to develop oil resources under the direction of W. K. Gordon. Gordon's intuition and geological training helped him to discover the Ranger Oil Field west of Thurber. In order to develop the field, the T&P Coal & Oil Company moved a number of people into Thurber who were

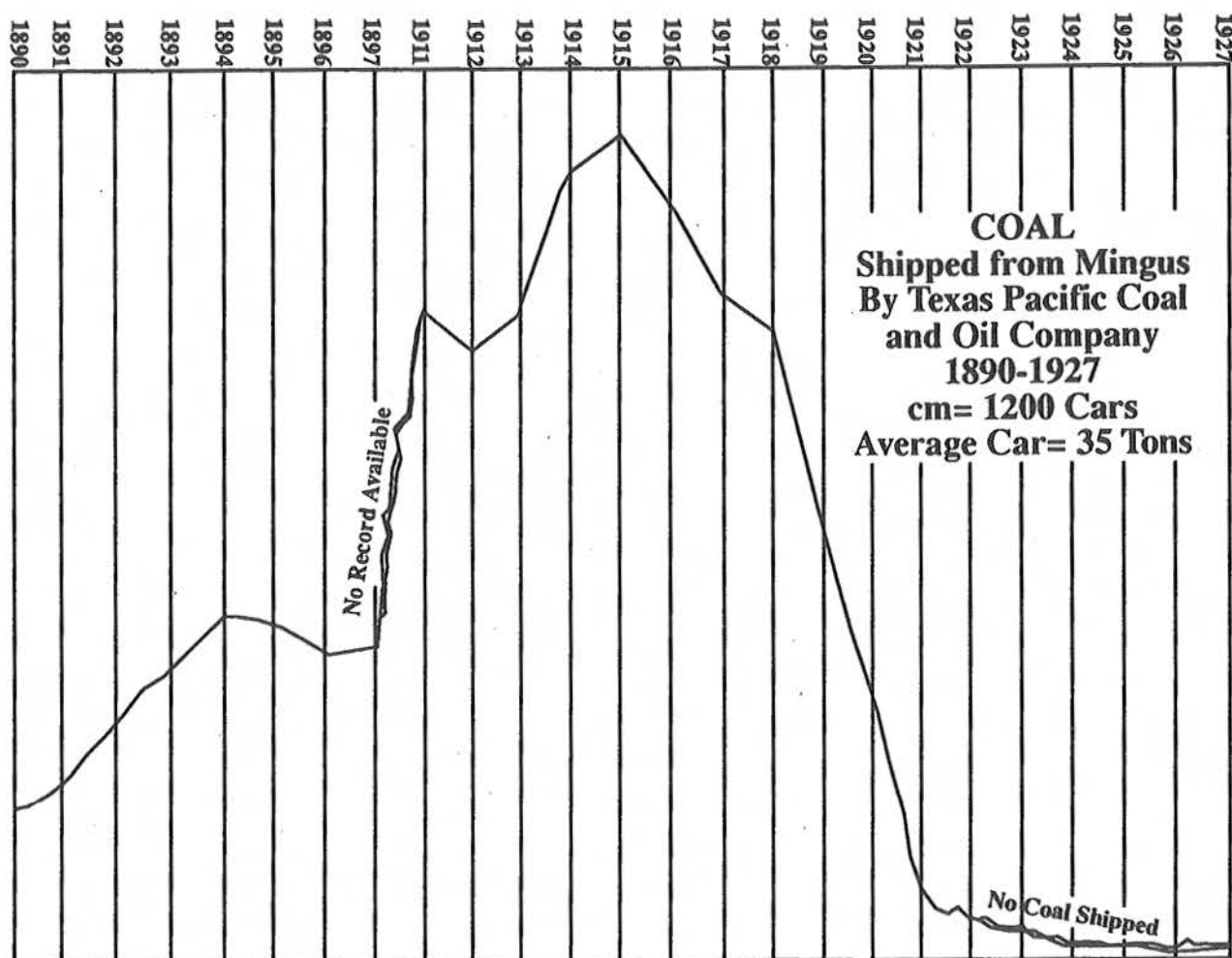
proficient in the oil industry. As many of these newcomers came from New York, the hill was so named.¹⁸ The New York Hill Restaurant also serves as a small museum that features artifacts and photographs of Thurber.

ABOVE. *Fig. 8. The company-owned dry goods store in downtown Thurber has been a landmark since its construction at the turn of the century. It is one of only five buildings that remain today, and now serves as the location of the popular Smokestack Restaurant. 1993 photo by author.*

P. 59. TOP. *Fig. 9. Miners were transported to work by the Black Diamond Special, which featured passenger cars constructed in 1895 and lettered Texas & Pacific Coal Co. This interesting photo of T&P Coal Co. miners' car #101 was taken at Mine #8 on a Sunday outing in the Spring of 1901. Note the T&P coal car near the tippie at the right in the photo. Courtesy Tarleton State University Library, Stephenville, Texas.*

BOTTOM. *Fig. 10. An official map of Thurber, Texas shows the general land use of the entire community including downtown, and the surrounding residential communities such as Stump Hill, Polander Hill, and Italian Hill. Graveyard Hill to the north of downtown contains recent evidence of Thurber's ethnic past. Courtesy Leo Bielinski, Aledo, Texas.*





An official map of Thurber was used as a base upon which to show the names of the hills and social sections of town during Thurber's halcyon days (ca. 1915) (Fig. 10). This map is based in part on the descriptions and information provided by old-timers to local historian Leo Bielinski.¹⁹ Italian Hill, Polander Hill, Stump Hill (subtitled Mexicans) are prominent features. The African American area of town was located at the edge of the square, St. Barbara's Church, Graveyard Hill, the brick yard immediately east of town, New York Hill, and Little Lake are also important topographical and social landmarks that are shown on the map. This, to our knowledge, is the first mapping of Thurber's historical social geography.²⁰

Most of the features shown on the map—including most of the [unpaved] streets—are gone. Downtown Thurber, while mostly an empty shell, possesses the highest concentration of historic buildings. Just east of the square on Marston Street, several of the brick cottages built for the supervisors remain. All other

houses were sold or destroyed by the mining company when operations were phased out. By the late 1930s, virtually no wooden houses remained in town.

Although virtually all above-ground features of Thurber's ethnic residential landscape have vanished, their removal was well documented by Willie Floyd in a 1939 thesis.²¹ Thurber history is being preserved after a fashion as many people recall what life was like in the different sections of the community and share that information with newcomers. Some have recorded this information: for example, the Italians reportedly had ovens in their backyards where they baked bread, and drawings of the ovens by Johnnie Brandini can be found in the archives at Texas Tech. It is said that the aroma of different ethnic foods in town was remarkable, but today only the scent of mesquite remains as vegetation has encroached on the townsites. The Thurber Historical Association has reconstructed, at its New York Hill site, a typical wooden "Thurber House" from the remains of several structures which had been sold by the company

OPPOSITE. Fig. 11. A graph showing coal shipped from the Thurber mines by the Texas & Pacific Coal & Oil Co. (and its predecessor--the Texas and Pacific Coal Co.) from 1890-1927 shows a peak at 1915 and a precipitous drop in the late 1910s and 1920s, ending after 1922. From Floyd, "Thurber Texas," 1939.

P. 62. Fig. 12. The powerplant smokestack survived the demolition of all other industrial features, to remain as a prominent Thurber landmark to the present. A historical sign at the base of the stack proclaims the site's importance in the evolution of an oil company. 1993 photo by author.

more than fifty years ago.

As with all vanished mining towns, Thurber's past piques one's interest. What types of neighborhoods did people live in? Why were miners segregated into ethnic neighborhoods? According to some knowledgeable observers, there was no deliberate corporate attempt to keep the European miners, especially Italians and Polish, separate, but they nevertheless gravitated toward these ethnic neighborhoods to be close to familiar people.²² Although it is felt that the Blacks and the Mexicans may have been segregated quite deliberately by company policy, as was often the case during this time period, company records do not mention it; rather they only make after-the-fact reference to "Negro Church," for example, built by the company. Apparently, answers will lie not in official company records, but in personal correspondence by company officials.

In many ghost towns, material culture is best preserved in the cemetery, and Thurber is no exception. The cemetery is the best hill on which to experience the material culture of Thurber's ethnic history today, for one can still see the graves of Italians, Poles, and others marked by epitaphs in the native languages. The African American section of the cemetery, located in the

northeast portion, is rather overgrown and neglected, but it too is a reminder of Thurber's ethnic diversity. The segregation of peoples in the cemetery mirrors the segregation of residences in Thurber.

Thurber never recovered from the decline in coal mining. Willie Floyd's thesis contains a revealing graph "Coal Shipped Out By the Texas and Pacific Coal and Oil Company" depicting the precipitous decline of coal production around 1920 (Fig. 11). The decline occurred when the locomotives of the Texas and Pacific were converted to oil burners, but power plants and other industries also made the shift to gas or oil. The decline was exacerbated by the strike of the early 1920s. It is unusual to find one company involved in producing the two competing fuels (coal and oil), but the T&P Coal and Oil Company did so from about 1915 to 1922. Its diversification into another type of fossil fuel--oil--spelled Thurber's doom.

When difficulties began to arise with the work force in 1916, W. K. Gordon wrote to Texas and Pacific Coal and Oil Company president Edgar Marston, confiding that a prolonged miners strike might signal the end of Thurber, adding that "...we shall have to take our medicine and witness the destruction of our attractive settlement."²³ That is exactly what happened about a dozen years later. The Texas and Pacific Oil Company oversaw the demise of the town that it had created, a common scenario in the annals of company towns. Ironically, the smokestack at Thurber today bears a historical sign depicting "Evolution of an Oil Company" even though, of course, it was in the heart of a coal company town when erected (Fig. 12). One reporter called the remaining smokestack Thurber's tombstone²⁴--a metaphor that seems to fit well for a ghost town whose fortunes and history were tied to the rise and fall of coal mining ventures of the Texas & Pacific Coal and Oil Company.

ENDNOTES

¹W.F. Cummins, "Report on the Geology of Northwest Texas" in the *Second Annual Report of the Texas Geological Survey, 1890*.

²Richard Francaviglia, "Black Diamonds to Black Gold: The Legacy of the Texas Pacific Coal and Oil Company," a paper presented at the Western History Association meeting in Tulsa, October 15, 1993; see also Richard Mason, "Ranger and the First West Texas Drilling Boom," *The West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, Vol. LVIII, 1982, pp. 49-65.

³Weldon Hardman, *Fire in A Hole!* (Thurber: Thurber Historical Association, 1975).

⁴*Official Railway Equipment Guide*, January 1895.

⁵John S. Spratt, *Thurber, Texas--The Life and Death of A Company Coal Town* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986).

⁶Marilyn Rhinehart, *A Way of Work and A Way of Life: Coal Mining in Thurber, Texas, 1888-1926* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992).

⁷Cummins, *Report on the Geology...*, 1890.

⁸Rhinehart, *A Way of Work and A Way of Life*.

⁹Richard Francaviglia, *Hard Places: Reading the Landscape of America's Historic Mining Districts* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991).

¹⁰Mary Jane Gentry, "Thurber: The Life and Death of a Texas Town," M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, August 1946.

¹¹Rhinehart, *A Way of Work and A Way of Life*.

¹²Personal communication with Texas labor historian George Green, Arlington, Texas, November 6, 1993.

¹³Leo Bielinski, "Thurber, Texas and Its Immigrant Population," unpublished paper, 9 pp, June, 1992 and Personal communication, Thurber, Texas, July 1, 1993.

¹⁴T&P Coal Company ledger books, 1902. TTU, SW Collection.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, July 1904.

¹⁶*Official Railway Equipment Register*, January 1895, p. 169.

¹⁷T&P Coal Company Monthly Profit-Loss Statement, February 1901.

¹⁸Leo Bielinski, letter to author, February 17, 1993.

¹⁹_____, *The Back Road to Thurber* (Baird, Texas: Joy Presswork Collections, 1993).

²⁰An early account of Thurber's social geography is found in Charlie Wilkins "Thurber: A Sociological Study of a Company Owned Town," M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, August 1929.

²¹Willie Floyd, "Thurber, Texas: An Abandoned Coal Field Town,"

M.A. thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1939.

²²Richard Mason, personal communication, Lubbock, Texas, July 9, 1993.

²³E. Marston to W.K. Gordon, personal letter dated August 16, 1916, as cited in Mason, "Ranger," 49-65.

²⁴"Mining Town Fades Into Past," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, August 20, 1964.

