1979

The Political Speaking of Oscar Branch Colquitt, 1906-1913.

Dencil R. Taylor

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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THE POLITICAL SPEAKING OF OSCAR BRANCH
COLOQUITT, 1906-1913.

THE LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY AND
AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COL. PH.D., 1979
THE POLITICAL SPEAKING OF OSCAR BRANCH COLQUITT, 1906-1913

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by

Dencil R. Taylor
B. A., Northwestern State College, 1956
M. A. in Education, Northwestern State College, 1962
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ABSTRACT

This study makes an in-depth analysis of the political rhetoric of Oscar Branch Colquitt who rose from the obscure rank of a tenant farmer's son to the governorship of Texas. Limited to the 1906, 1910, and 1912 gubernatorial campaigns, the study specifically discusses 1) Colquitt's background and speaker preparation, 2) his three campaigns, 3) his audiences and occasions, 4) his methods of establishing a political image, 5) his specific speech preparation, basic premises, lines of argument, and use of evidence, 6) his motive appeals, and 7) his effectiveness as a speaker. The study is based on primary materials located in the Colquitt Papers, housed at the University of Texas at Austin Archives, including manuscript, typescript, and printed information. Other primary sources are the official Colquitt Letters, the Railroad Commission Papers, the Colquitt Scrapbooks, newspapers, and official legislative records. Speech texts used in this study consist of complete manuscript and printed copies of major speeches and speech excerpts which are located in the Colquitt Papers.

Colquitt's consuming passion for politics dominated his life. He found the political arena to be exciting and challenging. More important, however, it provided him with the opportunity to participate in a profession in which he was particularly proficient.

On the political trail, Colquitt spoke primarily to white, rural, Protestant audiences. Some of his speaking occasions were elaborate, while others were simple in nature. The carefully prepared
messages Colquitt carried to his listeners stemmed from three basic assumptions which expressed his belief that 1) local self-government was the best form of government, 2) unnecessary and untried laws hampered the people's progress and fostered political strife, and 3) government should be administered for the benefit of all the people. Colquitt's speaking revealed that he was aware of and made a decided effort to project a positive political image. To enhance further the persuasive impact of his speeches, he used arguments which appealed to both reason and emotion.

This study reveals that 1) Colquitt's speeches were not eloquent, but were pragmatically effective in winning votes, 2) while some of his motivation was of a personal nature, he was often actuated by his desire to help people, and 3) he possibly deserved a more important place in the history of early twentieth century Texas politics.

Colquitt was an interesting and unusual man. He was outspoken. He said what he honestly believed. Some of the time his views reflected unfavorably on his friends and foes. Some of the time his views were not politically expedient. Colquitt was honest. He tried to give his constituents what he promised. He did not use his office for pecuniary gain. Colquitt was humane. Many of his programs were aimed at improving the conditions of the underprivileged and mistreated. Colquitt worked long and hard in his chosen profession, expending extensive energy to insure both political and personal success. From an early age he displayed an inherent desire to learn, and through self-study became knowledgeable in several disciplines. He made mistakes—some were deliberate, some were accidental. On some occasions his almost child-like stubbornness thwarted progress and created strife. But in spite of his
shortcomings, as the Houston Daily Post of January 16, 1915, reported when Colquitt concluded his tenure as governor, he labored diligently to promote the progress of the state and left it in a much better condition than he found it.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

From the time of his chairmanship of the Kaufman County Democratic Committee in 1890 until his appointment by President Hoover as a member of the United States Board of Mediation in 1929, Oscar Branch Colquitt was an active and formidable political figure. Although his political activities were confined primarily to the state of Texas, he came to national prominence through reorganizing the transportation system in Texas during his tenure as State Railroad Commissioner from 1903 to 1911, heading the anti-Smith faction of the Democratic Party in Texas in 1928, and being considered for a cabinet post in the Hoover administration. Among his many political offices in Texas were 1) member of the State Democratic Committee, 1890; 2) state senator, 1895-1899; 3) state revenue agent, 1898; 4) member of the State Tax Commission, 1899-1900; 5) State Railroad Commissioner, 1902-1910; and 6) Governor, 1911-1915.


When not seeking a political office or appointment, Colquitt played important roles in the political arena. He acted as a paid lobbyist in Austin;\(^4\) he campaigned for or against other candidates; he editorialized in his and other newspapers;\(^5\) and he published campaign literature through his privately owned Free Lance Publishing Company.\(^6\)

Other than an early interest in journalism, a brief tenure as a newspaper editor, a short, but financially rewarding career as a lawyer, and minimal investments in petroleum production, Oscar Branch Colquitt devoted his entire life to politics. Writing in *They Sat in High Places*, James T. DeShields, indicates that Colquitt's "rise to eminence in the political affairs of Texas came as a result of his inclinations, and his determination."\(^7\) In a short autobiographical sketch, Colquitt attests to his political inclination and determination: "I was an inveterate reader when I was a boy, and out of my earnings subscribed for a political weekly in which I read every line of politics and about what Congress and public men did."\(^8\) DeShields further comments that

\[
\text{Beginning life in poverty, [Colquitt] struggled his way out of that distressing condition; and making politics his choice, studied the issues in all its [sic] phases and from a practical utilitarian standpoint, without passion, prejudice or sentimental motives, and his temperament was thus adopted to the laborious details}
\]

\(^4\)Webb, p. 381.


\(^6\)Huckaby, p. 455.


\(^8\)Colquitt, p. 17.
and difficult tasks of the public service more completely than that of most men who succeed in reaching the Governorship. Of such material, with such traits, are statesmen made.\(^9\)

Oscar Branch Colquitt, conservative Democrat and anti-Prohibitionist, had a long and active political career. Its most significant aspect began with his victory over William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray in 1895 for the Texas State Senate and ended in his defeat for the United States Senate in 1916. Between his victory in 1895 and his defeat in 1916, Colquitt was constantly on the political scene, serving three terms on the Railroad Commission and two terms as Governor of Texas.\(^10\)

One of the purposes of rhetorical criticism is to study the methods used by an individual who employs oral communication to achieve some end. This study, then, proposes to make an in-depth analysis of how one speaker utilized the classical concept of invention in the preparation of his speeches.

The major thrust of Colquitt's political career stems from his political efforts in behalf of the governorship of Texas. This study is limited to his 1906, 1910, and 1912 gubernatorial campaigns: specifically, discussing 1) Colquitt's background and speaker preparation, 2) his three campaigns, 3) his audiences and speaking occasions, 4) inartistic and artistic modes of establishing his political image, 5) his specific speech preparation, his basic premises, his lines of argument, his use of evidence, his motive appeals, and 6) his effectiveness as a speaker.

\(^9\)DeShields, p. 408.
Obviously, the amount of primary materials available was one of the motivating factors in selecting the political speaking of Oscar Branch Colquitt for study. In addition, it was felt that in spite of the limited position Colquitt occupied in the history of Texas, his rhetorical efforts were significant enough within themselves to merit investigation. This conclusion is supported by the following testimonies.

First, in his book They Sat in High Places, James T. DeShields says that "as a campaigner [Colquitt] ranked with the ablest that Texas has known."\(^\text{11}\) Second, in Governors I Have Known, Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald indicates that Colquitt "was a wizard when it came to marshalling facts and figures which caught the ears and minds of the Democrats in the rural regions of the state."\(^\text{12}\) Third, George P. Huckaby in The Handbook of Texas comments: "Colquitt was a 'self-made' man, obstinate yet affable. Not a polished orator, he was a convincing speaker and possessed of the 'color that drew a crowd;' he was one of the most effective stump speakers in the history of Texas."\(^\text{13}\)

A description of Colquitt's second campaign for governor illustrates his effectiveness on the stump. DeShields summarizes the race as follows:

When the Governor opened his campaign for a second term he was pitted against the able and eminent Judge William F. Ramsey, who had been a Supreme Court Justice and was a leader at the Texas bar--he was induced to resign from the bench "to save the state."

\(^{11}\)DeShields, p. 406.


\(^{13}\)Webb, p. 381.
The campaign was a memorable one, likened to the famous Hogg-Clark campaign. "The opposition (says Fitzgerald) made preparations to bury 'Little Oscar' at the primary. It seemed the whole state was one seething caldron of boiling and sputtering tar." There were hundreds of spell-binders in the field determined to oust "Little Oscar." Colquitt was his own spell-binder, and like Jim Hogg, he fought the whole bunch almost single-handed. That campaign is ancient history; but it was an unforgettable one in the political career of Colquitt. He snatched victory from defeat, winning over Ramsey by a majority of nearly 50,000. He was now the Napoleon of Texas politics instead of a snowed-under "Little Oscar."14

The preceding statements tend to corroborate the conclusion that Oscar Branch Colquitt was a political orator of merit and a formidable political foe. However, no definitive study has been made which analyzes and evaluates the impact of his rhetoric. Consequently, this study will focus deserved attention on a significant phase in the career of an important figure in Texas history and, at the same time, reveal the persuasive strategies which made him so appealing to the voters of Texas.

No studies deal specifically with the rhetoric of Oscar Branch Colquitt. In fact, other than nominal mention in Texas history books,15

14DeShields, p. 407.
15Colquitt's name and political activities are mentioned in the following books on the following pages. Sometimes his name is cited and a brief discussion ensues. Other times several pages are devoted to him.

Fred Gantt, Jr., The Chief Executive in Texas: a Study in
there are only two works of any significance which treat Colquitt's political life.

The first, "Oscar Branch Colquitt: a Political Biography," an unpublished Ph. D. dissertation by George Portal Huckaby completed at the University of Texas at Austin in 1946, appears to be the only definitive study of the man. Huckaby's dissertation, based almost entirely on the voluminous Colquitt Papers housed at the University of Texas at Austin Archives, the official Colquitt Letters at the Texas State Library, Austin, and the Railroad Commission Papers, also at the Texas State Library, is thorough and scholarly, but gives only fleeting

Anna J. Hardwicke Pennybacker, A History of Texas for Schools: also for General Reading and for Teachers Preparing Themselves for Examination (Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Publisher, 1912), pp. 281-87, 345.
attention to Colquitt's public speaking.

The second source is a short autobiographical sketch written by Colquitt. This account, revised in book form from a newspaper article celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Pittsburg Gazette, is entitled Governor O. B. Colquitt Tells of Early Life and of His Newspaper and Political Experiences. The publication, only twenty-nine pages in length, gives a superficial overview of Colquitt's activities.

This dissertation draws upon primary materials found in the Colquitt Papers, located at the University of Texas at Austin, including manuscript and typescript materials as well as printed materials. Of the collection Huckaby writes:

The manuscript and typescript portions of this collection consist of 51,786 letters in the general collection and 25,713 letters in letter presses. In addition there are 253 miscellaneous items, such as Texas Railroad Commission papers, United States Board of Mediation reports, Tax Survey Committee reports, Alamo material, Battleship Texas material, and press releases. There are also 234 pictures, mostly snapshots, and unfortunately not identified in many cases, although a large number of them are of babies who were named for Governor Colquitt. The correspondence is not quite complete, but very nearly so, and is extensive enough to give as complete a picture of Colquitt as could ever be obtained through any study of this kind. This collection as a whole is a very valuable source, for the study of the history of Texas from 1885 to 1940, and particularly from 1900 through 1916.16

He continues:

The printed material in this collection consists of 3,605 announcements, invitations and cards, 65 pamphlets, 137 stock certificates and receipts, 3,861 loose clippings and 7,380 clippings pasted in scrapbooks, 270 legislative bills, and 593 other printed items. These are mostly concerned with Colquitt's many political campaigns, and the social events appertaining thereto. They supplement the information contained in the manuscript and typescript portion of this collection. Particularly valuable are the newspaper clippings in the scrapbooks, which are arranged according to the

16Huckaby, p. 477.
many campaigns in which Colquitt participated.\textsuperscript{17}

Other collections utilized are the official Colquitt Letters and the Railroad Commission Papers, located at the Texas State Library in Austin, two volumes of the Colquitt Scrapbooks from 1900 to 1930, found at the University of Texas at Austin and Colquitt's biographical sketch.

Another source of primary materials consists of the Dallas [Texas] \textit{Morning News}, the Houston [Texas] \textit{Daily Post}, the Fort Worth [Texas] \textit{Star-Telegram}, the San Antonio [Texas] \textit{Express}, and the Austin [Texas] \textit{Statesman} which provide information on the audiences, the occasions, the responses received, and the items on Colquitt's canvasses of the state. In addition, many speech excerpts are available from these newspapers.

Furthermore, official legislative records such as the \textit{General Laws of the State of Texas}, \textit{General and Special Laws of the State of Texas}, \textit{Journal of the House of Representatives of Texas}, and \textit{Journal of the Senate of Texas} are consulted.

Speech texts used consisted of complete manuscripts and printed copies of major speeches and speech excerpts. Although some excerpts were brief, many of them ran from one to five typewritten or printed pages. The major speech texts and the speech excerpts are located in the Colquitt Papers at the University of Texas at Austin.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{17}Huckaby, p. 481.}
Chapter 2

COLQUITT'S BACKGROUND AND SPEECH PREPARATION

Texas historian Ralph W. Steen in "The Political Career of James E. Ferguson, 1914-1917," writes:

The opportunity of any citizen to be Governor of Texas is greatly enhanced by being the son of poor parents, by having been a laboring man and a farmer for a number of years, and then by having made a moderate success of some enterprise.¹

If Steen's observation is correct Oscar Branch Colquitt was a perfect candidate for the political arena. He decidedly possessed those qualities Steen deemed essential for a successful political career. In addition, Colquitt had three other important components which added to his expertise as a political figure. First, in spite of his poor parentage, his genealogy was replete with an array of significant political and military personages. Second, he himself was an astute student of politics. Third, he was gifted with a measure of what rhetoricians have generally termed "untutored eloquence."²

This chapter proposes to examine Colquitt's background and speech preparation. More specifically it will describe his family background, his formal education, his early years as a member of the


²Waldo W. Braden, Classroom Lecture, Speech 131, History and Criticism of American Public Address, Louisiana State University, Summer, 1967.
laboring class, his training in journalism, his brief career as a lawyer, his early interest and participation in politics, and his speech preparation.

In his dissertation "Oscar Branch Colquitt: a Political Biography," the only definitive study made of Colquitt, George P. Huckaby observes that "... Colquitt was justly proud of his distinguished ancestry," an ancestry which could be traced to the pre-Revolutionary period of American history. John Colquitt, who died in Cumberland County, Virginia, in 1769, was Colquitt's first known ancestor. John Colquitt's line descended through him to Anthony and Christian (Terry) Colquitt, progressing to John Terry and Alice (Towens) Dickie Colquitt, Oscar's great grandparents, and then on to Thomas and Elizabeth (Franklin) Colquitt, Oscar's grandparents.  

John Terry Colquitt, Oscar's paternal great grandfather, was a private in the American Revolution who in "a hand to hand conflict with a British officer was knocked down and pierced through the face by the British officer's sword. While in that attitude he managed to get his pistol and shot the officer dead." A total of seven of the Colquitt

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5Pamphlet, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
lineage served in the Revolutionary War from Virginia.\(^6\) Oscar's father served as an officer in the Confederate army.\(^7\)

Oscar Branch Colquitt's maternal great grandfather was Michael Burkhalter, a co-trustee with James Oglethorpe in the founding of the colony of Georgia.\(^8\) According to Oscar, Burkhalter came to Savannah, Georgia, in 1834 on the ship that brought the Wesleys, John and Charles. Burkhalter was "one of the Salzburgers, and came from Holland, but was banished from the Salza Village in Austria, with thousands of other Protestants, by the Catholic ruler of the province." Four of Burkhalter's sons and a grandson served in the Revolutionary War as members of the Georgia militia.\(^9\)

Oscar Branch Colquitt's paternal grandfather was Thomas Colquitt. He married Elizabeth Franklin, a distant relative of Benjamin Franklin, and moved in 1801 to Fairfax County, Virginia, where he became a prosperous planter. At one time Thomas served as a colonel in the militia under General Andrew Jackson against the Alabama Indians.\(^10\)

Oscar's maternal grandfather was David N. Burkhalter, a Marion County, Georgia, planter, merchant, and preacher in the Methodist Epis-


\(^7\) Colquitt, p. 5.

\(^8\) The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, p. 146.

\(^9\) Colquitt, p. 3.

copal Church. David was a staunch Whig, friend, and supporter of Henry Clay. Oscar's maternal grandmother, Ann Short Burkhalter, traced her lineage to the Branch family of North Carolina. Prominent members of this family were John Branch who was Secretary of the Navy under Andrew Jackson, and a cousin who was governor of Florida.\(^\text{11}\)

Oscar's father, Thomas Jefferson Colquitt, was born in Georgia on September 11, 1825. Oscar recalls.

My father was an officer in the Confederate army. He owned a small plantation and twenty slaves, in Mitchell county and practiced law in Camilla, the county seat, before the civil war. . . .

After the civil war was over and slavery was abolished, my father conceived the idea that he could make a fortune farming free negro labor. He sold his smaller farm in Mitchell county and his town house in Camilla, gave up his law practice, and purchased a four acre place in Thomas, ten miles north of Thomasville, on the Little Ochlochnee river. . . . Indorsing the store accounts of the free negro farmers it took just four years for him to go "dead broke" and he had to give up the plantation for a balance due on the purchase price, and we almost had to "walk out of the county" so poor we had become. My father talked about coming to Texas from that time on; my mother was opposed to emigrating to this state. We moved to a farm of an uncle near Marietta in North Georgia.

Finally our father made up his mind to move to Texas; sold all his farm implements, and other stuff, loaded up the household goods comprising an "emigrants [sic] outfit" under the railroad regulations, and was off to Atlanta whither we had to go to buy an emigrant's ticket; we had a kinsman who was governor of Georgia at that time, but our funds were so limited we were not able to put up at a hotel, so we "camped" in a public wagon yard, and the next day we departed for Texas, arriving at Daingerfield January the 8th, 1878, and here we have been ever since, and a glorious state it is to be in. Although the first three years were spent as tenant farmer--a cropper on the halves, and things looked anything but rosy, yet I never lost sight of the better things I thought might be in the future; I nourished my ambitions with the hope of better things ahead. I was not afraid to work at anything that my hands could get to do and gave every minute I could spare from toil to reading such books as I could get hold of--always history if I could get one.\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\)Pamphlet, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\(^{12}\)Colquitt, pp. 5-7.
Oscar Branch Colquitt's mother, Ann Eliza Burkhalter Colquitt, was born on August 22, 1833, and was educated at the Wesleyan Female Academy at Macon, Georgia, one of the first colleges in the world to issue graduating degrees to women. She received her diploma before the Civil War. One of her classmates and friends was Martha Bulloch, the mother of Theodore Roosevelt and grandmother of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Oscar's mother's ancestors, too, participated in the Revolutionary War. Oscar writes: "The Burkhalter's, my mother's ancestors, lived on their farms near Savannah, too, at that time, and were participants in the revolutionary struggle on the side of the Colonists."

In addition to having a distinguished maternal and paternal ancestry, several other relatives attained prominence, particularly in Georgia. Oscar indicates that

One of the Colquitts, Walter T., was United States Senator from Georgia before the civil war. He was in the United States Senate when the first treaty for the annexation of the Republic of Texas came up and made a speech for it, but it was rejected by the votes of senators from northern states on account of the slavery question. His son, Alfred H. Colquitt, was governor of Georgia when we left the state to come to Texas. He was afterward in the U. S. Senate until his death.

Huckaby's observation of the pride that Oscar took in his family genealogy appears justified. He indeed had relatives who provided an aspiration for him.

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15Colquitt, pp. 4-5.
Oscar Branch Colquitt, the future governor of Texas and a figure of some prominence in the Hoover administration, was born in Camilla, Mitchell County, Georgia, on December 16, 1861. His father and mother were married on April 14, 1853, at Buena Vista, Marion County, Georgia. Oscar was the fourth of seven children born to his father and mother.

At the age of sixteen Oscar moved from Georgia to Texas with his parents. His arrival in Texas is synonymous with the time of the first recorded information of Oscar's formal education. Oscar recalls that upon arriving in Texas he and his family lived on a rented farm three miles west of Daingerfield [for the] first year in Texas, and [he] walked to town to attend the public school three months after the crops were laid by. The next two years [he] lived on the Reynolds farm on Boggy Creek, five miles north of Daingerfield, and attended public schools three months at Old Snow Hill on the Morris-Titus county line.

During this period he attended school at the old Daingerfield college and received instructions from Rev. E. M. Sweet. During the session [he] boarded at the home of Hon. John A. Peacock, who was a member of the legislature, paying for [his] board by making fires, chopping wood, and caring for the stock.

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17. Undated autobiographical manuscript, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

18. The Colquitt children include Eulalia, born October 6, 1854; Ida Fletcher, born February 20, 1856, who died in infancy; David Thomas, born June 13, 1859; Oscar Branch, born December 16, 1861; William Fletcher, born February 17, 1864; John Milton, born June 6, 1866; and Pierce, born March 18, 1871.


20. Undated autobiographical manuscript, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
It is difficult to determine from available records the exact extent of Colquitt's formal education. The National Cyclopedia of American Biography indicated that he "received but five months of formal schooling." George P. Huckaby writes that

The exact amount of formal education that Oscar received is not known, as his own and other accounts are not clear. These accounts vary from as little as five months, which is clearly wrong, to describing him as having had an "academy education," which is equally exaggerated.

It seems reasonable to conclude that Oscar Branch Colquitt's education was, at best, meager. But though he did not have the advantage of a systematic formal education, he can be commended for his efforts at self-education. A previous quotation indicates that Colquitt gave "every minute [he] could spare from toil to reading such books as [he] could get hold of." He later corroborates his interest in self-study by admitting that as a boy he "was an inveterate reader of history." He credits a part of his education to a Mr. Reynolds who "had left many interesting books [in his two-story white house] which [he] read."

A final consideration of young Colquitt's education can be viewed in terms of his mother who had received her diploma from Wesleyan Female Academy in Macon, Georgia. Although Colquitt makes no mention of what his mother specifically taught him, he readily acknowledges "that the few good lessons and principles taught [him] by [his] mother [meant] more . . . than all the schooling [he] ever received."

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While the "lessons and principles" taught Colquitt by his mother were to be significant factors throughout his lifetime, her immediate influence was shortlived. She died in September, 1879, and after that "home ceased to be the same interest to [him]." So in 1880 not quite nineteen years old, he moved to Daingerfield, the county seat of Morris County, to seek employment. In Daingerfield he was hired first as a hod carrier. This job consisted of the laborious task of "carrying heavy hods of brick and mortar up a steep round ladder to the roof of a two-story building for the making of a 'stack' chimney."

Colquitt's next job was that of a porter at the Daingerfield railway depot. In addition to his duties of handling all the baggage, sweeping floors, and making fires, he began an apprenticeship as a telegrapher. This fifteen dollar a month employment, however, was soon to come to an end. After two months in his new job, he was suddenly fired. Colquitt comments on the incident.

The agent and operator [for whom I worked] was a "dandyfied" little fellow from Illinois [who] was playing society and was fond of having his boots always looking bright and shiny. Ashton Norris, who was then clerking in the leading store in town, but who formerly worked in the printing office, asked the agent, whose name I will not call, "Why did you let Colquitt out?" The agent replied: "Colquitt is the hardest working boy I ever saw and I never had to tell him to do anything, and I had nothing at all against him, but I wanted my boots shined every morning and I didn't want to ask Colquitt to do it, so I let him out and got me a nigger to shine my boots."

After being fired by the Daingerfield agent, Colquitt took another menial job in a furniture factory, "turning out bedstead posts [and] turning out more of them in a day than any one in the factory." Although his employer did not want him to quit the job, he recalled those boyhood aspirations "of better things ahead" and concluded that he "was ambitious to be a lawyer or an editor, and a chance came."
The chance to which he referred was a vacancy in the printing office of the Morris County [Texas] Banner. The job was that of a "printer's devil."

Upon learning of the vacancy, young Colquitt approached Frank Mitchell, the editor, and applied for the job, describing his "schooling which seemed so deficient," but confidently assuring Mitchell that he "was a pretty good speller and could 'learn anything,' and . . . thought [he] could do most anything." Colquitt persuaded Mitchell to hire him and, even though the pay was less than what he was making in the furniture factory, he accepted the job because, according to Colquitt, "I was ambitious. This was my chance and I took advantage of it and I got the rest of my education in the printing office."

Later when Frank Mitchell sold the Morris County Banner and purchased the Independent Banner [Greenville, Texas], he took Colquitt with him. Colquitt worked in Greenville until January, 1884, often setting up all the type, writing the local news and on one occasion, editing the paper. In 1884 Mitchell decided that he wanted a printer of more experience than Colquitt and terminated his employment, but suggested that Colquitt start a paper of his own at Pittsburg, Texas. So with $175.00 which Oscar had saved while employed by Mitchell and a recommendation from Mitchell to the St. Louis Type Foundry to sell Colquitt a "country newspaper outfit," Oscar, at the age of twenty-three, embarked on his first independent journalistic venture as owner, publisher, and editor of the Pittsburg Gazette. By the end of the first year of his editorship, the cost of the paper was paid in full. One year later, in October, 1886, he sold the paper to his brother William F. Colquitt, moved to Terrell, in Kaufman County, and bought
the Terrell [Texas] Star and later the Terrell [Texas] Times which he consolidated as the Terrell Times-Star. He enjoyed financial success in the publishing business, but in 1900 sold his paper and took up a study of law.\textsuperscript{23}

Although Oscar Branch Colquitt's career as a practicing lawyer was a brief one, it was a significant step in his rise to the station in life he desired. George P. Huckaby describes Colquitt's aspirations.

Having been born poor, and being what is generally termed a "self-made man," he had by force of character and considerable hard work advanced himself until he was recognized as one of the business and civic leaders of Terrell. Had he been content to remain only that, he would have probably stayed in the newspaper business, for he seemed fitted for that work, and he had made a marked financial success of his publishing company.

Colquitt, however, was not satisfied with his station in life. Thus around the turn of the 19th century, he began a study of law. At that time it was not necessary to take formal law courses in a university, so true to his nature Colquitt merely purchased a supply of law books and initiated a program of self-study. Although the standard practice of the day was for an aspiring young lawyer to study as an apprentice with a more seasoned lawyer, Colquitt who was then almost forty years of age, conducted an independent study, eventually applying to the District Court of Kaufman County for a license. The license was granted and he became a practicing attorney of law. Three months later the Supreme Court of Texas authorized him to practice law in any court in the state.

The brief law practice conducted by Colquitt was a lucrative one. Huckaby writes that Colquitt "soon had a large clientele. Judging

\textsuperscript{23}Colquitt, pp. 8-18.
from his correspondence of this period, it would appear that he had comparatively few trial cases, but specialized in damage claims, collections, settlement of estates, and as an adviser and trustee for minors."

In addition, Colquitt had formed a financially rewarding friendship with the then Governor of Texas Joseph D. Sayers which allowed him to act as an agent in the securing of a number of pardons for convicts in the penitentiary, a common practice involving filling out legal forms, filing these forms with the proper authorities, and securing affidavits from prison officials as to the conduct of the prisoner concerned.

Another phase of Colquitt's career in law was financially remunerative. Huckaby points out that

Colquitt's most lucrative work as an attorney . . . was performed as a member of the "third house" of the legislature. He began active lobbying with the opening of the regular session of the twenty-sixth legislature . . . . His lobbying pertained to a wide assortment of subjects, and several different individuals and corporations were numbered among his clients.

Included among the corporations and individuals who paid for his services as a lobbyist were the Pullman Palace Car Company of Chicago, Charles L. Kribs of Dallas, the Viavi Company of San Francisco, and business associates and friends of Terrell, Texas.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that Oscar Branch Colquitt's brief career as a lawyer was a positive force in his life. It was not only financially rewarding, but his entire law career, and particularly his work as a paid lobbyist, was an important stepping stone for his more consuming passion for politics.

That a consuming passion for politics was the chief motivating force in the life of Oscar Branch Colquitt seems undeniable. Huckaby substantiates this conclusion in this manner.
Politics was in his blood, and as a horse that was trained to pull a fire engine could never outgrow a nervous reaction to the sound of a fire siren, so each biennial political campaign was apt to find Colquitt himself running for some office, or, at the least, actively campaigning for someone else.24

The earliest account of Colquitt's interest in politics comes from the future Governor himself. As a tenant farm boy in Morris County, Texas, Colquitt recalls, "when I was a boy, and out of my meager earnings [I] subscribed for a political weekly in which I read every line of politics about what congress and public men did." So even as a young boy, as a later quotation implies, politics was foremost in his mind and he "kept right up with" the subject.

Colquitt's first real encounter with politics came early. He recounts the experience.

A State Senator was to be nominated in 1880 for the district composed of east Texas counties including Morris. It was the custom to rotate this honor between the counties and it was Morris county's time to have the senator. There were two candidates, and John A. Peacock was one of them. I found we lived in the Cason precinct and the precinct conventions were to be held Saturday afternoons. I plowed until noon and had Saturday afternoon off. I said nothing about it to any one, but jumped on the mule I had plowed with all week and rode him to Cason, some five miles away.

Found there, Lee Tittle, justice of the peace and precinct chairman, had not thought of holding a meeting. I got him and several others together, electing him as chairman, and I was elected secretary. I had prepared some high sounding resolutions which I had copied in the main out of my political weekly. I read them and moved that they be adopted. They carried unanimously, for they sounded good and I was highly complimented on them by my elders in the mass meeting. I was elected one of the delegates to the county convention [at Daingerfield]. I was then 19 years old.25

The Daingerfield convention was held a week later at the courthouse. At this convention "some question was raised as to Colquitt's

24Huckaby, p. 62.
age, but he remained discreetly silent, and was seated." The conven-
tion began with the business at hand being that of electing a Democratic
candidate for the state senate.

On the first ballot I voted for Frank Mitchell, the editor of the
county paper who later made me a "devil" in his office. He arose
in the convention and thanked the "young man from Cason," but said
he was not a candidate. The two-thirds rule was adopted and neither
of the candidates had two-thirds for many ballots.

Probably as many as 100 ballots had been taken, one after
another, without a nomination, when two of the delegates from
Daingerfield became thirsty for a drink of liquor and retired to
the district clerk's room and closed the door to imbibe. Most
everybody, it seemed to me, drank then, and most of them drank too
much. I had made some study of parliamentary rules, too, and
during the absence of these two gentlemen who were gratifying
their appetites, the roll was called and when completed Peacock
had the necessary two-thirds to nominate him. A discussion arose
about it and I rose and made the point of order that he had two-
thirds of the votes cast and demanded Peacock be declared the nom-
inee. The chairman agreed with me and sustained my point of order
and declared Peacock the nominee and the convention adjourned just
as the two imbibers came into the court--too late.

While Colquitt's first experience with politics could not be
considered sophisticated, it was nevertheless a beginning and when he
bought his first publishing establishment, the Pittsburg Gazette, he
further developed his political perceptiveness.

Colquitt's newspaper business afforded him an excellent vehicle
for expounding his political views. The power of the press has always
been a potent force in manipulating public and political sentiment.
Colquitt was not shy in expressing his views, even in his youthful
endeavors at journalism. In the first issue of the Pittsburg Gazette he
welcomed his readers with this message.

Salutatory. To-day, the Gazette makes its appearance asking a fair
criticism and considerations by the public of its merit. We desire

\[26\] Huckaby, p. 7.

\[27\] Colquitt, pp. 19-20.
to make the Gazette a representative county paper, and will uphold the interest and advantages of Pittsburg and Camp county and do all we can in the interest of the people.

In coming to Pittsburg, we did not ask for promises or exact pledges, but risk our success upon your appreciation of our efforts to give you a worthy paper—one that will work for truth, honesty, and morality.

Our political faith is in the Democratic Party and its principals, and we will never hesitate to express our political convictions.

Colquitt gave the citizens of Pittsburg what he promised them.

As a later publisher of the paper indicated:

As owner and publisher of the Pittsburg Gazette, Mr. Colquitt always discussed politics just as he viewed the public questions. He offended some of the politicians in Pittsburg and they tried to silence him with threats of injury to his paper, but it did not work.

Later, when Colquitt assumed the editorship of the Terrell Times-Star, he continued to follow "his own convictions and spoke out on all matters of public concern; made some enemies, but many friends."28

Huckaby says that politically Colquitt was a conservative because he was "more apt than not to choose the conventional, orthodox viewpoint on social and economic questions."29 Examples of his reporting and editorializing led credence to Huckaby's evaluation, although some of Colquitt's reporting is somewhat contradictory in nature. For instance, in reference to the Negro problem, Colquitt once advocated returning them to Africa, but expressed at the same time doubts about the success of this solution. Another of Colquitt's articles related the gory details of the lynching of a Negro accused of raping a four-year-old girl, but was followed in the next issue of the paper by a

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28Pittsburg Gazette, February 13, 1884 (as reprinted in the Fiftieth Anniversary Edition, February 16, 1934.)

strong condemnation of mob violence. Colquitt's most conservative stand and his first significant political issue was his advocacy of prohibition, coupled with his vote for prohibition in 1887. His position on this issue was to cause him considerable trouble in later political campaigns.

Colquitt's political interests reached beyond the pages of his newspapers. In 1890 he supported James S. Hogg for the governorship and continued his support for Hogg and his policies throughout Hogg's political career. In 1892 Colquitt "made hundreds of speeches for the then much-maligned but now universally lamented governor" as he campaigned for Hogg's re-election as governor.

Colquitt's support of Hogg did not go unrewarded. In 1891 Hogg appointed him to the board of the North Texas Hospital for the Insane at Terrell as one of the five managers where he was promptly elected chairman by the other members. This was the beginning of a number of appointive positions Colquitt was to hold in his lifetime.

Because of his interest and activities in the political arena, Colquitt served in various capacities. He was elected chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee in Kaufman County; he was a member of

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30 Terrell Times-Star, January 25, 1890, and February 3 and 10, 1893.

31 Letter from Reagan to Colquitt, June 17, 1887, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.


33 Huckaby, pp. 14-16.

34 Pamphlet, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
the 1890 state Democratic Committee that nominated Hogg at San Antonio; he was a member of the state Democratic convention held in 1892 at Houston and again helped to secure the nomination of Hogg as governor; and even though he made no active canvass, denying that he was a candidate, he received more popular votes for state senator from the ninth district than all of the active candidates in Kaufman County in 1892. Although he allowed his name to be presented to the district convention that year, he withdrew in favor of another candidate.

The next major political adventure of Oscar Branch Colquitt was the announcement of his candidacy for the state senate which appeared in his own newspaper.

We do not expect to sacrifice our self respect to be elected senator, and the people don't expect us to do it, either. But we will maintain it and expect to be elected, too, without sacrifice of principle.

Colquitt's chief opponent in the race was William H. ("Alfalfa Bill") Murray of Navarro County. Murray was later to become famous as president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention in 1906 and governor of the state in 1933. In spite of such formidable opposition, Colquitt received the Democratic bid and went on to win the election in November, 1894, by a margin of 1,001 votes, even though he faced strong Populist Party opposition.

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35 Pittsburg Gazette, February 16, 1934.
36 Terrell Times-Star, September 2, 1892.
37 Terrell Times-Star, June 15, 1894.
38 Terrell Times-Star, May 16, 1894.
39 Pittsburg Gazette, February 16, 1934.
40 Terrell Times-Star, July 27, 1894, and November 16, 1894.
Colquitt remained in the state senate from 1885 to 1899 and introduced a number of significant bills, the most important of which was his delinquent tax bill which earned him a state-wide reputation. His legislative efforts perhaps merited him the accolades forecast by the editor of the Austin [Texas] Statesman who predicted that Colquitt would make an enviable record as state senator because "he is a man of influence and intelligence, and will doubtless be to the front on all issues." Equally as important as his record in the senate was the number of political friendships he made and solidified, the most notable of which were those of the then Governor of Texas Charles A. Culberson and the former Governor James S. Hogg.

The most significant phase of Colquitt's political career, other than his bids for the governorship and the United States Senate, was his tenure on the railroad commission. As early as 1897 Colquitt began searching out his political friends regarding their thoughts about his chances for this position. He had been tempted to run for the office in 1898 and 1900, but at those times it would have been politically foolish to contest the strong grasp that Chairman John H. Reagan held on the office. But as time passed, it became evident that the eighty-three year old Reagan was not going to be a candidate for re-election, so on October 5, 1901, Colquitt wrote to Reagan, inquiring if he were going to be a candidate in 1903. Reagan's reply was negative

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42 Austin [Texas] Statesman, December 17, 1894.
43 Huckaby, pp. 34 and 40.
and on January 3, 1902, Colquitt made the formal announcement of his candidacy.\textsuperscript{44} In his bid for the election he had support from many factions of the state—newspapermen, lawyers, politicians, government officials, railroad executives, and business and industrial interests.\textsuperscript{45}

By May 28, 1902, his two Democratic opponents had withdrawn from the election,\textsuperscript{46} insuring his selection as the Democratic candidate and virtually assuring his election over his Republican opponent. Huckaby writes:

In the general election in November Colquitt received 292,945 votes against 4,587 for E. P. Alsbury, his Republican opponent. [Colquitt] took his place on the commission January 21, 1903, where he was destined to remain until in January, 1911, [when] he became governor of Texas.\textsuperscript{47}

Colquitt's tenure on the railroad commission signalled the end of one phase of his political career, but it was only the beginning of a more significant phase in his life. James T. DeShields' comments in \textit{They Sat in High Places} seem appropriate as a summary at this point in Colquitt's life. He reflects:

Such were the political honors that had come to Mr. Colquitt during the period from the time he unhitched his plow mule and rode the animal from Boggy Creek farm over to the little village of Cason down in East Texas, to the time he served as a leading member of the Railroad Commission of Texas. He was now a man of nearly 50 years, and his political ambitions were still high—to be Governor of Texas was his desire.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{44}Dallas [Texas] \textit{Morning News}, January 5, 1902.

\textsuperscript{45}Huckaby, pp. 87-89.

\textsuperscript{46}Dallas \textit{Morning News}, May 28, 1902.

\textsuperscript{47}Huckaby, p. 106.

That Oscar Branch Colquitt used oratorical skills in a moderately effective manner is evidenced by the aforementioned accomplishments. As his career progressed it became increasingly evident that although he was "Not a polished orator [he was] a convincing speaker [and] one of the most effective stump speakers in the history of Texas." 49

Colquitt's speaking abilities, therefore, pose a peculiarly important question for the rhetorical critic. This question centers around the idea of how Colquitt prepared himself for the effective political speaker that he obviously was.

Undoubtedly, the previously mentioned achievements help to prepare Colquitt for speaking. First, his proud ancestry, if nothing else, engendered in him a pride in the sense of personal achievement, making him realize that he was of a lineage of patriotic Americans who either fought valiantly for their country or served in its legislatures. Second, although he had a limited formal education, he managed to learn enough of the basics to enable him to develop an inquiring mind and a desire to learn on his own, particularly the subject of politics. Third, his experience in the newspaper business helped him to refine his stylistic skills and, at the same time, allowed him to develop a keen sense of the political issues of the time and to articulate them effectively. 50 Fourth, his career in law gave him the opportunity to develop additional speaking skills as it was necessary, in some instances, to

49 Webb, p. 381.
50 A report in the Terrell Daily Transcript of July 26, 1906, indicates that "when [Colquitt] talks he says something. This comes from stern newspaper training."
present his clients' cases to either a judge or jury. Fifth, his experience as a paid lobbyist in the Texas legislature was a useful tool in developing an astute political mind and sharp insight into the workings of an intricate system of legislation. Sixth, his political experience in the early precinct and county conventions, his campaigning for other candidates, his own campaigns while seeking the offices of state senator and railroad commissioner, and his efforts in the execution of these offices provided much practice in the art of public speaking.

Training in public speaking, other than that garnered through experience, is not abundantly evident in the life of Oscar Branch Colquitt. The only evidence that is available points to the fact that Colquitt had an appreciation for speakers and may have tried to emulate their expertise. In the Colquitt Papers at the University of Texas at Austin Archives are various clippings, manuscripts, and other documents which verify this conclusion.

The first evidence is an 1897 newspaper clipping entitled "Notes and Reminiscences of Eminent Men of the Present Century." The article is somewhat laudatory as it extols the merits of Walter T. Colquitt, a former Governor of Georgia and United States Senator. Walter was the first cousin of Oscar's grandfather. The newspaper clipping comments on Walter T. Colquitt's oratorical skills.

As an orator he was not excelled by any of his compeers and associates at the bar, in pleading before a jury. He was strong in criminal cases, and could at will open in the hearts of the jury the fountain of sympathy in behalf of his client. So noted was he for this power and influence over a jury, that upon one occasion the opposing counsel warned the jury to beware of Mr. Colquitt: that he would try to make them believe that their hearts were in their feet, hands, or some other part of the body. Mr. Colquitt in reply said to the jury that he did not want them to believe their hearts were anywhere else than in their right place, and that they were beating with warm and broad sympathies for the unfortunate as God had
designed, and that guided by them their verdict would be in favor of his client.

He could touch the sensibilities and stir the hearts of men to tears. Many were the grand achievements to be won in the court room before a jury in criminal cases. One of the most touching instances handed down of his power and pathos was in the case of a client, who had neither money nor friends to aid him. Mr. Colquitt arose to speak and the following sublime exordium fell from his lips.

"Gentlemen of the Jury, my client stands before you friendless as the son of God." There was no play with words, no stale preliminaries. At one stroke he associated the pitiable case of his client with the most solemn and sacred event in the world's history. This appeal touched at once the hearts of the twelve men, and the picture presented with the strains of sentiment that followed, made it the triumph of the hour.

The writer concludes his evaluation of Walter T. Colquitt's speaking skills by declaring that "With his contemporaries . . . Mr. Colquitt's name was the synonym of genius in oratory and the criterion of noble simplicity of character." 51

The fact that Oscar Branch Colquitt chose to include the preceding article in his papers possibly suggests that he looked favorably on the oratorical excellence of his distant relative. The fact that Oscar's father "read law" in Walter's firm 52 might suggest that Oscar had heard his father describe Walter's speaking skills.

The second evidence of Oscar Branch Colquitt's interest in famous speakers is revealed in his collection of newspaper articles dealing with Abraham Lincoln. While the undated clipping "Lincoln Once Arrested for Traffic Violation," 53 is hardly appropriate evidence, the

51 Unidentified newspaper clipping, June 9, 1897, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

52 Letter from Colquitt to Burrows, September 29, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

53 Undated newspaper clipping, Colquitt Scrapbook, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Dallas Morning News headline "Gettysburg Address Sets Lincoln on Level with Pericles as an Orator"\textsuperscript{54} and two undated clippings entitled "New Lincoln Speech Discovered" and "Lincoln Address [Gettysburg] Declared Failure"\textsuperscript{55} help to substantiate Colquitt's interest in and admiration of Lincoln as a speaker.

A third source of evidence further corroborates Colquitt's interest in speakers and speeches. Four manuscripts of Texas speakers are located in the Colquitt Papers. Speeches of Hon. Ira H. Evans, 1871; Governor Richard Coke, 1871; Hon. Gustave Schleicher, 1876; and Hon. Thomas P. Ochittre, 1884, are included in the Colquitt files. In addition, several excerpts from the speeches delivered at the Proceedings of the State Convention of January 23-26, 1871, are a part of the Colquitt Papers.\textsuperscript{56}

A final and not so profound, but somewhat meaningful, bit of evidence is revealed by Colquitt's inclusion of two anthologies of speeches in his archival papers. Selections Relating to George Washington for Declamatory Contests in the Elementary Schools and Orations and Essays of the George Washington Bicentennial Nation-wide Oratorical, Essay, and Declamatory Contests in Schools and Colleges are collections of printed speeches which Colquitt may have used as models for the preparation of some of his own speeches.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{54}Dallas Morning News, November 18, 1923.

\textsuperscript{55}Undated newspaper clipping, Colquitt Scrapbook, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{56}Undated manuscripts, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{57}Undated speech anthologies, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Since very little evidence of Oscar Branch Colquitt's specific speech training is available, it seems reasonable to conclude that whatever expertise he had as a speaker was gained primarily through experience and not through specialized speech training. This, it appears, would justify the statement that Colquitt was a speaker of "untutored eloquence." This does not mean that his eloquence was comparable to that of a Patrick Henry, Daniel Webster, or Abraham Lincoln, but that he mastered the art of speaking expediency as he stumped the state as an acclaimed political orator.

Because of his sense of purpose and of "something better" developed early in his life, because of his journalistic achievements, because of his legalistic abilities, because of his consuming passion for politics, because of his achievements in the political arena, and because of his stump speaking skills, the accolade of the editor of the Pittsburg Gazette's Fiftieth Anniversary edition seems merited. The editor writes:

"Ambitious young men who think they have too many handicaps to reach the peak of success might find some inspiration in reading ex-Gov. O. B. Colquitt's article in the last issue of the Gazette. However much we may have differed with him politically in days past, the ex-governor must command the respect and admiration of those who appreciate his early struggles and his rise to places of highest honor in the state and nation. It was only through grit and determination, plus a liberal use of midnight oil, that Colquitt achieved the success he so richly deserved."

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58 Pittsburg Gazette, February 16, 1934.
Chapter 3

COLQUITT'S GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

I am a candidate for governor of Texas subject to democratic primaries and convention yet to be called in 1906.

With these words Oscar Branch Colquitt announced "To the people of Texas," on April 22, 1905, his candidacy for the state's highest office, rekindling a spark that had been ignited in 1904 when "a group of Colquitt's . . . friends met at Austin on March 28 to decide whether he should announce against Lanham," the then governor of the state. The Austin meeting resulted in Colquitt's decision not to run, a wise decision perhaps in view of the Texas tradition of a two-term tenure for governors. Several of Colquitt's friends were obviously pleased with the decision, feeling that his candidacy at that time would be a

1Letter from Colquitt "To the people of Texas," April 22, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.


3Huckaby, pp. 114-15. See Also Seth Shepard McKay, Texas Politics, 1906-1940: With Special Reference to the German Counties (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech Press, 1952), p. 48. McKay writes that "a tradition had developed to the effect that even a moderately successful governor should be given a second term." See also the list of Texas governors in a book by Fred Gantt, Jr., The Chief Executive in Texas: A Study in Gubernatorial Leadership (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1964), p. 19. This list indicates that of the thirteen governors who held the office from 1867 to 1915, only three did not have four year terms. One of those Governor Elisha M. Pease was a provisional governor and resigned after a three year tenure. Another of the governors Richard Coke resigned after a two year term to enter the
"political mistake." Many of Colquitt's followers felt that 1906 would be a more opportune time for him to seek the governorship and were undoubtedly pleased with his decision.

Slightly less than a year later in a letter of February 25, 1906, Colquitt wrote a close friend that "he expected to be the next governor." The following day he challenged a potential candidate Thomas M. Campbell to a debate on the taxation question. In the intervening time he made a tour of North Texas to feel out the sentiments of the voters. Receiving a warm response from the electorate, he decided the time was right. Consequently, he made his announcement and promised the voters he would release his full platform in due time.

Colquitt did not release his platform until September 11, 1905. On that date he wrote a letter to N. H. Graham of Litwalton, Gonzales County, Texas, in which he admitted that although he was unable "to say at [that] time what all the issues in the campaign next year [would] be, . . ." he was " . . . perfectly willing to state . . . some of the questions which [he thought] of public importance, had how [he stood] on them." He then outlined three general principles of public service, and described in detail four specific areas of needed reform. These

United States Senate. The third governor to serve less than a four year term was Richard B. Hubbard, the Lieutenant Governor who succeeded Coke.

4Letter from Spell to Colquitt, March 30, 1904, and Bass to Colquitt, April 19, 1904, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

6Letter from Colquitt to Galbraith, February 24, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

areas included taxation, schools, free railroad passes, and adherence to party platform.⁸

During the time following his announcement for the governorship and the democratic primaries, Colquitt conducted a letter writing effort aimed at rallying people to his cause. Many of the letters were mailed to his close friends. Excerpts from one such letter follows.

I am a candidate for Governor of Texas, subject to the democratic primaries which the law provides must be held in every County in the State on the last Saturday in July, it being the 28th of that month, this year.

On the reverse side of this sheet I express my views on some of the questions of public interest, [copy of platforms submitted to N. H. Graham on September 11, 1905] and I will appreciate it if you read them. . . .

I believe, too, that my knowledge and experience with public affairs in the state will enable me to administer them in the interest of the general public. Your support and influence will be valuable to me, if you believe me capable and worthy. Will appreciate a reply from you.⁹

Other letters were form letters, some of which were personalized to meet the interest of a particular group of people. Typical of this type of letter was one which left a blank space for a name and address, and was addressed to "Dear Madam." This group of letters was sent to the "lady" school teachers in the State, and while the gubernatorial hopeful acknowledged that lady teachers can not vote, . . . they feel a loyal interest in everything that tends to lengthen the term of our schools and improve their efficiency, and they can always exert a wholesome influence on friends and patrons of the school who are clothed with

⁸Copy of printed letter containing platform from Colquitt to Graham, September 11, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

⁹Letter from Colquitt to Benbrook, March 24, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Still other form letters were sent to a variety of possible voters. Copies of these letters are numerous in the letter presses in the Colquitt Papers. As with the other form letter, the prospective governor merely announced that he was a candidate for office, briefly outlined his ideas as to the qualities a governor should possess, indicated that he had those qualities, solicited support for his cause, and requested a reply to his letter.

Just how extensive Colquitt's correspondence was is difficult to ascertain. However, several indicators point to the fact that it was large, starting in the late Spring of 1905 and continuing well in 1906. As late as April 24, 1906, the Imitation Type-Writing and Address Company shipped Colquitt "50,000 typewritten letters." In addition, there are located in the Colquitt Papers many letters and responses to letters which Colquitt himself wrote to organizations as he sought out voter lists. In his letters he would request the names, addresses, and occupations of potential voters. Some of those organizations and groups he contacted included scoutmasters, public school trustees, district chairmen, teachers, secretaries of local unions, managers and directors of the Farmers' Warehouse Unions, precinct chairman of the Anti-State-wide Prohibitionist Organization of Texas, white voters, newspapers, and

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10 Undated form letter from Colquitt to "Dear Madam," Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

11 Undated form letter from Colquitt to "Dear Sir," Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

12 Letter from Peacock to Colquitt, April 24, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
The response Colquitt received from his letters was phenomenal. From the words of a letter from a nine year old girl Willie B. Crow, "who wouldn't vote for Mr. Campbell if [she] had to be choked,"14 to those of one of Colquitt's admirers, a "friend first, last, and always for any office in the world,"15 the answers came. One voter who could not support Colquitt "as a candidate for governor because of [his] personal acquaintance with and friendship for Judge Brooks . . . wished Colquitt success in his effort [and] . . . wished that [his] relationship with Judge Brooks were not so intimate that [he] might declare for [Colquitt]."16

The answers to Colquitt's call for support were not limited to personal letters. Not infrequently would a well known local citizen respond in a letter to the editor.17 A typical example is the letter of February 14, 1906, to the Houston [Texas] Daily Post from N. A. Shaw, a prominent member of the Farmers' Union. Shaw, while lamenting the fact that a fellow farmer was not one of the candidates, conceded his preference for Colquitt. He wrote:

13 Numerous letters from Colquitt to various groups and organizations, May, 1905, to May, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
14 Letter from Crow to Colquitt, April 28, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
15 Letter from Harbin to Colquitt, March 5, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
16 Letter from Woldert to Colquitt, April 10, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
17 Numerous undated letters to the editor, Colquitt Scrapbook and Broadsides, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
During the fight before the Railroad Commission for the reduction of the freight rate on cotton, . . . I was greatly impressed with the very able manner in which Mr. Colquitt . . . unhorsed the railroad attorneys in their attempt to keep the high rates saddled upon the farmers, whipping their fight for them and reducing the freight rates on cotton.

His further just effort to force the railroad companies to furnish transportation for one passenger to accompany each carload of produce shipped by the truck farmers, and which is denied them because they are not a trust and which is granted by the railroads to the shippers of bananas by the banana trust, as well as other products handled by a trust; his still further effort to reduce the outrageous rate upon lumber, which was detrimental to the interest of every man who is trying to build himself a home—these are direct official acts of Mr. Colquitt in the interest of the farmers, and which are bound to make him friends among this [farmer] class of citizenship.

He has done more and has tried to do more for the agricultural interests of the State than any official since the days of James Stephen Hogg, and for the reasons enumerated I have concluded, with the riders on the track, to give my support, however humble it may be, to the Hon. Oscar B. Colquitt. I might state further that I am drawn to him because every railroad in Texas would rejoice at his defeat.  

Seemingly Colquitt answered all of the personal letters he received and it would be reasonable to say he responded in some manner to the persons writing letters to the editors. Certainly he acknowledged the letter of nine year old Willie B. Crow, so it seems probable that he responded to the letters offering more meaningful support. His response was again that of a form letter in which he stated:

Dear Sir:—

Your very kind letter in which you assured me of your indorsement and support in the race for Governor, is received.

I am very much gratified to have your assistance and everything you may do for me will be appreciated. We must depend on the help of our friends and those who indorse our views and efforts in the

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18 Broadside, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

19 Letter from Colquitt to Crow, May 3, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
discharge of our duty. I will therefore be pleased to hear from you at any time in the future and trust you will write me as the canvass progresses and tell me of any developments in your neighborhood or offer me any suggestions you may think advisable.

I will put your name in the book of my friends that I may communicate with you again. I shall be glad to hear from you at any time.20

In addition to his correspondence with the people of Texas, Colquitt took the advice of one of his supporters W. E. Craddock who urged Colquitt to "go into the fight good and strong" by forming Colquitt for Governor clubs in the various counties in Texas.21 Many of these clubs were formed, and the Terrell, Kaufman County, Texas, Club is a good example of how the formation took place.

The headline of the Terrell [Texas] Daily Transcript of April 16, 1906, read "Home Indorsement of O. B. Colquitt--Rally Held in Interest of Kaufman County's Candidate for Governor--An Enthusiastic Gathering--Excellent Speeches Made and Some Ringing Resolutions Adopted--Large Club Organized." The ensuing article indicated that

Over two hundred friends of Hon. O. B. Colquitt met at the tabernacle Saturday evening for the purpose of organizing the Terrell Colquitt Club and adopting resolutions commending the candidacy of Mr. Colquitt for Governor of Texas. Captain W. E. Craddock was elected temporary chairman of the meeting and George I. Gray secretary. In accepting the chairmanship Captain Craddock made a speech highly eulogistic of Mr. Colquitt, referring to his eminent service to the State as Railroad Commissioner. Mr. Craddock particularly referred to the action of Mr. Colquitt in making the express companies of the State come to time, in the service he had done the commercial travelers of the State in the matter of excess baggage charges and his service to the farmers of the State in reducing the cotton rate. Mr. Craddock spoke of Mr. Colquitt as the business

20 Undated form letter from Colquitt, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

21 Letter from Craddock to Colquitt, April 4, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
men's candidate. He was a home man, too, and the local citizen, who would not support Mr. Colquitt for Governor in the contest, the speaker intimated, was not properly educated along the lines of home pride.

After Craddock's speech a committee was established to draw up resolutions for a permanent Colquitt organization. While this committee was formulating the resolutions, Robert L. Warren made a speech "characterizing [Colquitt] as a man peculiarly qualified to fill the office of chief magistrate of this great State [for which he] received a great outburst of applause."

Following Warren's speech the committee to establish a permanent organization made its report, naming Walter C. Porter as permanent chairman. After being escorted to the chair, Porter "made a rousing Colquitt speech." At this point Porter appointed a number of committees, and while waiting for one of the committees to report, Ed. R. Bumpass was called on for the third speech of the evening. Bumpass' speech contained a quotation from the Bible. He said:

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and held that as Colquitt was a citizen of Terrell and in that sense a neighbor, every citizen should obey the scriptural injunction and vote for him. He also spoke of Mr. Colquitt's eminent public servitude as entitling him to the favorable consideration of the voters all over the State.

The next business on the agenda was the report of the resolutions committee which expressed and declared "unbonded confidence in the integrity, ability, patriotism and statesmanship of ... Hon. O. B. Colquitt [who] ... had ever made it his prime object and chief duty to serve the entire people without regard to station or calling." Following the report of the resolutions committee an announcement that the club membership "numbered nearly six hundred voters, and that no solicitation had been made outside the city limits of Terrell [was] received
with loud cheering." Before adjournment of the meeting a fourth speech was demanded and "... Captain Craddock made another impassioned address."  

Colquitt's efforts to present his candidacy to the voters was not limited to clubs and letters. His campaign literature was an important vehicle used to disseminate his views to the electorate. In the Colquitt Papers are two four page 23 1/2 - 17 inch broadsides which were present along with numerous smaller pamphlets. The broadsides are variously labeled with such major titles as "Colquitt's Views on Rates of Cotton in Texas," "Platform and Biography of O. B. Colquitt, Candidate for Governor," "Public Questions Fully Discussed," and "The Lumber Rates in Texas and Why They Should Have Been Reduced." Smaller subtitles give the reader a glimpse at the areas of Colquitt's political propaganda. These titles include "Trust Laws," "What He Stands For," "Colquitt Asks for Square Deal," "People Want a Man Who Does Things," "Local Option Laws and Prohibition," "Hot Shot in This Speech," "Mr. Colquitt's Battle Axe," "The Colquitt Idea," "Favors Better Schools," "Efforts to Stop the Free Pass Abuse," "To Reduce Passenger Fare," and "Speech of O. B. Colquitt." The smaller leaflets are pamphlet-type publications and are usually devoted to one subject area. Many of the subjects discussed in the pamphlets are identically discussed in the broadsides, but some discuss other political issues in the 1906 campaign such as "O. B. Colquitt, Candidate for Governor, Friendly to the Militia,"

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23 Pamphlets and Broadsides, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
"O. B. Colquitt, Candidate for Governor on the Cotton Differential,"
"Galveston Position Discussed," "Legislative Agent and Lobbyist,"
"Colquitt's Record: While in the Senate Fought the Labor Unions," "Mr. Colquitt's Speech at View," "Home Indorsement of O. B. Colquitt," "Hon. N. H. Gossett's Letter [supporting Colquitt]," and "Our State Candida­tes."

Of course, all the information in the pamphlets and broadsides is slanted to give the best picture possible of Colquitt's candidacy. At the same time, this literature, along with other information, is a rich source for the issues of the 1906 campaign.

Issues which were discussed in Colquitt's campaign literature fall into three categories. First, some issues resulted because of his tenure as Railroad Commissioner. These included Colquitt's efforts to stop the misuse of free railroad passes and his attempts to bring about fair transportation rates for the fruit and vegetable growers, the cotton farmers, and the lumbermen. The second category of issues included those which were not particularly controversial but were seemingly present in all political campaigns. This group consisted of taxation, lobbying, public education, land policy, and the militia. The third category included the more controversial issues of corporate trusts, Colquitt's race for governor while holding the office of Railroad Commissioner, local option, and the prohibition controversy.

Of all the issues the dual question of local option and prohibition was to be the most controversial one in all of Colquitt's gubernatorial campaigns. For that reason it will be discussed in depth.
Although all of the candidates in the campaign felt prohibition should not be an issue and expressed regret that it had become one, it seemed destined to be the major area of controversy. Proof of that statement is evidenced through a series of letters between Colquitt and W. T. Carlock, a merchant, farmer, and lawyer of Pecan Gap, Texas. On May 11, 1905, the day Colquitt formally released his platform, Carlock wrote Colquitt and indicated that the voters of North Texas were not going to support him because of his views on the question of prohibition. Carlock wrote:

The result of that little tilt with Dr. Rankin was to impress upon the minds of the people that you are an arch enemy of the Local Option movement, and that . . . you are an apologist and defender, if not the friend, of the liquor traffic. Understand that I merely say that the impression has been created—wrongfully in my opinion; but Rankin certainly sowed the dragon teeth that will spring up an army of warriors to fight you in 1906.

Colquitt responded to Carlock's letter two days later and denied that he was an "arch enemy" of local option, but was instead a local optionist. He also emphasized that prohibition was not an issue in the campaign. Carlock was not satisfied and penned the following message.

You deal with this question [local option] as an abstract theory in which you are correct in a large measure. I look upon it as an ugly actuality and a sequent condition, believing I reflect the sentiment of the masses in this section. We are all either pros or

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In addition to Colquitt the candidates in the 1906 campaign were Thomas M. Campbell of Palestine, a lawyer and prohibitionist who was known as a friend and follower of former Governor James S. Hogg; Charles K. Bell, former Attorney General of Texas; and Judge M. M. Brooks of Dallas. See Seth Shepard McKay, Texas Politics, 1906-1944, p. 25.

Huckaby, p. 154.

Letter from Carlock to Colquitt, May 11, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Colquitt recounted by indicating that he had once voted for local option and once against it, adding:

I think the local option law is the settled policy of the state and should not be a political issue in the coming campaign. I do not see anything to be gained by making a man's vote on this question a test of his fitness for public office. I think it is entirely a local question that should be determined by the citizens of each county or community for themselves, and I have always and shall continue to advocate that laws adequate should be enacted for its enforcement in communities adopting it.28

In September, 1905, the Colquitt-Rankin controversy renewed the issue of prohibition, Rankin wrote Colquitt asking him to explain a portion of his platform which read: "I do not believe that you can make men good by law, but the laws made by men for the regulation of society and for the punishment of wrongdoing ought to be fairly and impartially enforced through the prescribed legal channels." Rankin was concerned with the first part of the sentence and inquired of Colquitt, "Does this refer to local option law?" Colquitt replied that his remarks reflected only a statement of general principles. He added:

By it I mean that such acts as grow out of the free moral agency of man in matters of conscience, habit, and what one eats and drinks, is not controllable by law; that a man has to answer to himself, to nature, to God, for the abuses of these. Real goodness flows from the heart and may result from training, education, self-control, and repentance, and is not due to coercion or force. You ask me if I did not, in foregoing, "refer to the local option law?" I did not. I referred to prohibition.29

27 Letter from Carlock to Colquitt, May 15, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
28 Letter from Colquitt to Carlock, May 17, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
29 Pamphlet, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
As if the preceding events were not enough fuel for the prohibition flames, a quarrel between Colquitt and J. F. Wolters piqued the interest in the issue. Huckaby described the incident.

Very late in the campaign a quarrel between Colquitt and Colonel J. F. ("Jake") Wolters, attorney for the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Texas, forced the issue dramatically to the front. Despite the fact that Colquitt had stated repeatedly in public that he had voted for prohibition in 1887 but had opposed it ever since then, Wolters suddenly announced that he would have to withdraw his promised support, on the ground that Colquitt had deceived him as to his vote in 1887. Wolters gave his statement to the press, and it was treated as front page news by the papers hostile to Colquitt. Then Colquitt wrote him an eleven page letter, in which he reviewed his entire correspondence with Wolters on this subject, and expressed surprise that Wolters could have misunderstood his position. This reply also received front page publicity. The Houston Chronicle stated editorially that Colquitt was to blame for raising the issue of deception and trickery and that he had acted "in a manner unbecoming a candidate for high office." The Chronicle even went so far as to accuse Colquitt of having deliberately dragged the prohibition question into the campaign, when it should not be an issue. Colquitt's friends fought back by spreading the story that Wolters had been induced to write this letter by the railroad corporations, who were anxious to defeat Colquitt at any cost.30

The die seemed to be cast. Although Colquitt insistently protested that prohibition should not be an issue in the campaign, it was one with which he was continually forced to deal.

Even though Colquitt used a massive amount of campaign literature, it was his public speaking that constituted the most significant phase of his gubernatorial campaign. Of his three canvasses the 1906 campaign was the least active one. Even so, he made over one hundred speeches, 31 most of which were from one and one-half to three hours in

30Huckaby, pp. 156-67.

31A schedule of Colquitt's 1906 speaking dates is attached as Appendix A. This list was compiled from a variety of sources. Newspaper clippings, scrapbooks, flyers, broadsides, letters, speeches and from typewritten speaking schedules, the Colquitt Papers and the Huckaby dissertation were used. To help substantiate the dates a perpetual calendar was utilized.
Colquitt's 1906 campaign started in Dallas on November 6, 1905, and ended in Terrell on July 27, 1906. The following day the voters went to the polls to cast their ballots for the candidate of their choice. When the final balloting had ended the popular vote for each candidate was Campbell, 90,345; Brooks, 70,064; Colquitt, 68,529; and Bell, 65,168. With the vote that close it was possible for anyone to win the nomination at the convention.

The convention was held August 14, 15, 16, 1906, in Dallas, Texas. When the voting began, Brooks was eliminated on the first ballot. After the second ballot began, Colquitt became cognizant of the fact that numbers of Brooks' votes which had been promised to him were, in fact, being cast for Bell or Campbell. Consequently, Colquitt withdrew from the race. In his withdrawal speech he indicated that if the campaign had lasted twenty days longer he would have won. However, things being as they were, he had no chance of winning and, in order to insure that the candidate who had received the plurality be supported by his delegates, he had decided to withdraw. He began his withdrawal speech by blasting the Terrell Election Law.

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32 Unidentified newspaper clipping, June 27, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
33 Huckaby, p. 138.
34 Terrell Daily Transcript, July 27, 1906.
35 Dallas Morning News, August 5, 1906.
37 The Terrell Election Law of 1905 instituted the primary as the method of nomination for the majority of public offices in the state.
I have advocated a nomination of the candidates of the Democratic party by the individual ballots of the freemen of this State. I have said from the stump that the Terrell election law was one of the greatest monstrosities ever put upon the statute books, and that it put in it the power of delegated conventions to overturn the sovereign will of the people. . . . I believe . . . the voice of the people is the voice of God. I ask my friends, who stood by me loyally, in the interest of right to as loyally support Thomas M. Campbell for governor. I ask them in the interest of justice and right and fair play . . . to cast their votes which they have been giving me in the several counties of this state to the man who has received the highest number of votes, Thomas M. Campbell. 39

Colquitt was frequently interrupted during his withdrawal speech with cries of "Hurrah for Little Oscar," "We're with you in 1910," and similar encouraging remarks. 39 Colquitt indeed "captured the convention" with his explosive announcement. He perhaps deserved the accolades of a newspaper which boasted:

Colquitt made a manly fight for the governorship. He showed the same vigor of mind and body that would have characterized his administration had he been made governor. The more the people saw of Colquitt the more they were impressed with him, and had the campaign lasted a while longer his chances would have been most flattering for success. The people have more admiration for him today than they had yesterday, and they will have more four years hence than they have today. Colquitt's future is not at all dimmed by his

The 1906 campaign was the first campaign held under the law. The law required the Democratic party to provide for a cumbersome two-fold system for the nomination of candidates for state and local office. The primary elections were held; but the convention vote of each county was prorated among the several candidates for each office on the basis of the primary election votes cast for such candidates. The convention was required to drop the low man after each ballot, and county delegations were authorized to give the released votes to candidates of their choice. This plan, of course, continued the convention as a potent factor, capable of determining the nominee on occasion when there were several candidates for the same office. See Gantt, p. 269.

38 Dallas Morning News, August 17, 1906.

39 Dallas Morning News, August 7, 1906.

40 Undated and unidentified newspaper clipping, Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
defeat, but instead has become brightened.\footnote{Undated and unidentified newspaper clipping, Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.}

So perhaps Colquitt's withdrawal was an important stepping stone for his future career as a politician. Perhaps it was a politically strategic maneuver, designed to carve for him a more rewarding niche in the 1910 campaign. Perhaps his withdrawal was the beginning of a significant movement that would permit Colquitt to fulfill the prophecy of the editor of the Houston \textit{Daily Post} who predicted that "The next governor's name will begin with 'C.'"\footnote{\textit{Times Herald [Dallas, Texas]}, July 31, 1906.}

In a letter to Charles E. Graves which was officially released for publication on May 29, 1909, Oscar Branch Colquitt formally announced his candidacy for the 1910 Democratic gubernatorial primary.\footnote{Copy of printed letter containing platform from Colquitt to Graves, May 25, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.} In the letter to Graves Colquitt submitted a brief, ten-point platform promising at a more appropriate time to elaborate on the crucial issues of the day.\footnote{Copy of printed letter containing platform from Colquitt to Graves, May 25, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.} Thus, Colquitt again renewed a lifelong aspiration and began to fulfill the prophecy of the Houston editor who in 1906 predicted that the name of the next new governor of Texas would "begin with 'C.'"\footnote{\textit{Times Herald}, July 31, 1906.}
The Democratic primary election of 1910, in which Colquitt was to emerge as the victor, was destined to be a complex, interesting, and lively campaign. By July, 1909, six prominent candidates had entered or were preparing to enter the race. Two of these candidates were soon to drop out of the contest and by early 1910 only four hopefuls remained. They were, in addition to Colquitt, Robert Vance Davidson, state Attorney General; Cone Johnson, Tyler attorney; and William Poindexter, Cleburne attorney. 46

The strategy which Colquitt used in the 1910 campaign was somewhat similar to the pattern he followed in the 1906 canvass. He again conducted an exhaustive letter writing effort, using a variety of form and personal letters. Most of the letters were similar to those of his first gubernatorial campaign in that he announced that he was a candidate for governor, briefly outlined his ideas as to the qualities of a good governor, expressed the sentiment that he felt he possessed those qualities, solicited support for his cause, and requested a reply to his letter. 47

Shortly after the announcement of his candidacy Colquitt began his letter writing campaign. In a letter dated June 12, 1909, to J. M. Gilmer, Colquitt admitted that while it was "very early yet to begin a political campaign for next year," 48 he thought it advisable to write to

46 Huckaby, pp. 203-04.

47 Numerous letters from Colquitt to potential voters, May, 1909, to May, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

48 Letter from Colquitt to Gilmer, June 12, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
a few of [his] friends and prominent citizens in different sections of the state for the purpose of soliciting their support and assistance in organizing for the campaign . . . [because] a man's friends and those who endorse his views can do much more to line up a situation and organize than he can do himself.49

An innovation in his 1910 letter writing campaign was the inclusion of a printed pamphlet with a cover letter, copies of some of his speeches, and his printed platform. This commercially prepared literature took the following form.

My Dear Sir:
I will be a candidate for Governor of Texas, before the Democratic primaries the last Saturday in July, 1910.
Herewith I am handing you copy of speeches delivered by me at San Saba, Honey Grove, Haskell, and New Ulm, giving my views on important governmental questions. I will be glad for you to read the same carefully and write me if my views as expressed therein meet with your approval. I also direct your attention to my platform as printed in this pamphlet.
I would greatly appreciate your support and assistance in the coming campaign, and will be pleased to have a letter from you.50

Colquitt's dependence on correspondence to get his message to the people was abundantly evident in the 1910 campaign. The letter presses in the Colquitt Papers at the University of Texas at Austin Archives more than tripled in size in comparison with the 1906 letter presses. The 1906 letter presses were filed in two boxes, containing three volumes of replies to letters; the 1910 letter presses were filed in six boxes, containing two volumes each of replies to letters.51

49 Letter from Colquitt to Gilmer, June 12, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

50 Pamphlet, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

51 An indication of the volume of Colquitt's correspondence can be seen in a short article in the San Antonio [Texas] Express, July 15, 1910, which indicated "The Austin post office today 'went struck' again because of the immense amount of Colquitt's campaign literature going out. The force was unable to handle it."
Equally significant was the number of letters Colquitt received from his supporters. The sheer volume alone attested to the magnitude of the correspondence. Again, the size of the files seemingly doubled, an indication that many of Colquitt's calls for support did not go unheeded.

As with the 1906 campaign letters of support and advice came from all over the state. Most of the letters avowed intense loyalty for Colquitt's candidacy, endorsed his views on the political issues of the day, and requested literature and campaign buttons for distribution to the voters in the letter writer's locality and suggested names of other prominent citizens for Colquitt to contact. A typical letter was the one received from J. C. Howard of Longview. Portions of Howard's letter follows:

Yours of recent date received and will say that I expect to support you for Governor of Texas and shall take great pleasure in rendering you any service in my power. I have never supported a candidate for office whose views I agree with more nor supported a man for office with more pleasure than I have you in your past aspirations and I have lost none of my zeal in your welfare . . . . From a canvass among [residents of Rusk and Harrison counties] I find that you are strong and that you will receive support from men whom I never expected to be favorable to you. . . . Please instruct me as to your plans and send literature to aid me as I have already begun my work, in fact have been talking for you ever since I know positively you would be in the race.

I enclose herewith names of prominent men of different parts of the county whom I believe would be impressed with you and who are favorable to your candidacy. I suggest you send them literature and otherwise encourage their support.52

In many instances Colquitt's letters resulted in his picking up support from those who had voted against him in 1906. C. P. Chastain, an attorney of Hamlin, Texas, wrote Colquitt.

52 Letter from Howard to Colquitt, January 13, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
I suppose you remember stopping at my home in Eastland during the campaign of 1906. In that campaign, my desire was to support you, but I had pledged myself to Governor Campbell, and was honor bound to support him, but in this campaign I am with you to a finish. I interweave into all my social, and a great deal, of my business correspondence, everything possible, to advance your interest in the coming campaign for Governor. I will be over a great deal of the Western part of the State for the next few months, and, I expect to sow seeds for harvest.53

Not infrequently a supporter would offer more than the routine assistance. In a letter of March 23, 1910, Dr. J. M. Wells, not only offered to distribute literature in his district, but advised Colquitt that if he would "outline a short speech . . . [he] would take the stump in [Colquitt's] behalf."54

As in the 1906 campaign, Colquitt again benefited from endorsement of well known citizens through open letters to the editors of some newspapers. One such letter which Colquitt received in the 1910 campaign was from Jonathan Lane, whom Colquitt had criticized in the 1906 campaign.55 Lane's long letter to the editor was in fact an essay against prohibition and defense of the local option rights of the individual. It concluded thus:

For the above reasons . . . and for many others too numerous to mention in this letter, I oppose prohibition and everything of that character. Believing that Mr. Colquitt, if elected, would oppose all of these threatened injuries, to the fullest extent of his ability, and realizing that the other gentlemen named would not, I feel it to be my duty, as a citizen and democrat, to support his candidacy.56

53 Letter from Chastain to Colquitt, January 6, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
54 Letter from Wells to Colquitt, March 23, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
56 Pamphlet, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Again, as the voluminous letter presses indicated, Colquitt acknowledged each letter he received, using a form letter similar to the one he used in the 1906 campaign. In some cases, however, Colquitt resorted to personal letters. After Lane had endorsed his candidacy Colquitt wrote:

I have read your open letter to the public, giving your reasons for supporting me in the race for Governor.

I think your argument and your reasons one of the strongest presentations on the issues in this campaign that I have seen from any source. I take this occasion to sincerely thank you for your friendship and support in this contest. I think it means a great deal to the people of Texas.

I can say to you truthfully and mean it when I say it, that if I had seen any other person on the political horizon who would have stood out boldly and made a fight in the campaign for a defense of the people's rights as you and I see and understand them, I would have been glad to have foregone the labor, expense and worry of this fight.

Another part of Colquitt's campaign strategy in the 1910 canvass was the organization of Colquitt clubs. There were, of course, numerous clubs in operation in the 1906 campaign, but greater emphasis on the importance of the organization and a more concerted effort at organization seemed evident in the 1910 campaign. Corroboration of the influence of these clubs can be seen in a form letter to the membership of the Travis County Colquitt Club in Austin. The president Charles Rogan and secretary-treasurer Henry Hutchings of that organization mailed the following letter to its members.

A meeting of the Colquitt Club will be held Saturday, March 26th, 1910, at eight o'clock sharp, in the Colquitt Headquarters at the Driskill Hotel. At this meeting matters of great importance are to be discussed in the interest of our choice for governor.

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57 See pp. 37-38, above.

58 Letter from Colquitt to Lane, March 22, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
It is our desire to increase the membership of this Club to 1000 or more members. It is the purpose of his friends to have Hon. O. B. Colquitt deliver an address at Austin in the near future, and on that occasion it is the purpose of his friends to give him a rousing reception, second to none in the State, and to demonstrate our purpose and ability to elect him governor of this State. We want you to not only be present yourself next Saturday night, but to also invite other friends of his to this meeting.59

Another testament of the quantity of Colquitt Clubs was the correspondence Colquitt received from various portions of the state between January 15, 1910, and January 24, 1910. During that time Colquitt received ten letters, an average of one per day, indicating that Colquitt clubs were being formed.60 The enthusiasm was so great for the Colquitt organizations that Frank Beauman "organized a ladies Colquitt club in Lampasas."61

In addition to advancing his campaign through letters and Colquitt clubs, the gubernatorial hopeful utilized printed copies of pertinent speeches he had made. As indicated earlier in this chapter, he mailed copies of his speeches with his correspondence. He also used the newspaper as a medium for making his speeches available to the public. After his opening address at Wichita Falls, Texas, for example, he mailed 15,000 copies of that speech to Jonathan W. Bassett, publisher of the Venus [Texas] Times, to be included as an insert folder to

59 Form letter from Rogan and Hutchings to "Dear Sir," March 25, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

60 Letters from Murray, January 15, 1910; Pesik, January 16, 1910; Kindred and Johnson, January 20, 1910; Braham, January 21, 1910; Frances, January 22, 1910; Burnett, January 23, 1910; Skinner, Findley, and Hayes, January 24, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

61 Letter from Beauman to Colquitt, April 7, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
supplement Bassett's newspaper and to be sent to other newspapers. Just how much Colquitt used this strategy cannot be exactly determined, but from the numerous requests for copies of his speech and letters promising to honor the request, it can be generalized that he used this method to a great extent. 62


In addition to campaign literature in English, Colquitt also catered to his German following by publishing materials in that language. Copies of speeches given at San Saba and New Ulm are located in the 1910 broadsides and pamphlets. Furthermore, a letter from Colquitt to H. V. Schumann of New Braunfels, Texas, indicated that "literature printed in German" 64 would be forthcoming.

Another strategy which Colquitt employed in the 1910 campaign was the use of prominent men to speak for him. He had, of course, used speakers in the 1906 canvass, but not as extensively as he did in 1910. There are numerous letters in the Colquitt Papers seeking out possible speakers. As early as December 13, 1909, Colquitt wrote F. F. Hill for

62 Numerous letters to and from Colquitt, September, 1909, to June, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
63 Broadsides and Pamphlets, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
64 Letter from Colquitt to Schumann, February 24, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
his assistance.

I am now writing to ask if I can put you down among those of my friends upon whom I can depend to make some speeches as the campaign progresses next spring and summer, either in your county or adjoining counties where picnics and barbecues may be held and where a speaker will be needed. I recognize your great ability in this respect and would be very much pleased to have your assistance.65

Colquitt did not limit his request for speakers to those using the English language. Cognizant of the numerous voters of German and other descents, he utilized the skills of members of those ethnic groups to his advantage. A letter from Colquitt to W. A. Wurzbach requested that Wurzbach "go into his section and make one or more speeches in the German language [in order that] our strength . . . be materially solidified."66 San Antonio Express in reporting on a speaking campaign wrote:

Claude V. Birkhead, campaign manager in Bexar County, announced Saturday that during the week there will be speeches at Leon Springs, Westmore, Macdona, Van Ormy, Sayers, Somerset, Thelma, Adkins, Elmendorf, Oak Island, Converse and Eratt. Addresses will be in Polish, Mexican, German, and English.67

Even though Colquitt realized that other speakers could prove worthwhile in his cause, he was not indiscriminate in his selection of orators. In a personal letter to B. L. Gill, Colquitt voiced the opinion that he would use a person only if he were "a good stump speaker."68

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65 Letter from Colquitt to Hill, December 13, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

66 Letter from Colquitt to Wurzbach, June 20, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

67 San Antonio Express, July 17, 1910.

68 Letter from Colquitt to Gill, June 18, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Many of the issues discussed in the campaign literature of 1910 were carried over from the 1906 canvass. Public education, concern for the farmer, penal reform, prohibition and local option, running for one office while holding another, and taxation, among others were rehashed in 1910. New issues injected in the campaign were local self-government, "legislative rest," "Baileyism," and the Rankin-Colquitt controversy. Because of the intense voter interest in "Baileyism" and the Rankin-Colquitt controversy, these issues will be discussed in some detail.

Second to the issue of prohibition, one of the most controversial and complicated, issues in the 1910 campaign was that of "Baileyism." Seth S. McKay and Odie B. Faulk, in their book *Texas After Spindletop*, write, "Perhaps the most controversial figure during this period [1901-1913] was Joseph Weldon Bailey, and the greatest issue was his honesty—or lack of it."69

Bailey, a Mississippian by birth and a Texas transplant, had a long and turbulent career in politics. In 1890 he was elected to the United States House of Representatives where he served for ten years. In 1900 he was elected to the United States Senate.70

Soon after Bailey's election to the Senate he began to accept fees from the railroads and other large corporations, the most notable of which were the Standard Oil Company and its numerous subsidiaries. As the great corporations were considered to be the enemies of the

70 McKay and Faulk, pp. 17-18.
people, there was considerable opposition when Bailey sought re-election in 1907. However, Bailey braved the storm of protest and was unopposed for his seat in Congress. It appeared that he had won a clear victory over his political adversaries, but before the Texas State Legislature could meet in 1907 to confirm his election, Robert Vance Davidson, who was to be one of the candidates for governor of Texas in 1910, instigated an inquiry into Bailey's relations with the larger oil companies. Upon further investigation it was found that Bailey accepted a retainer of $100,000 as counselor for the Water-Pierce Oil Company. In the fall of 1906 Davidson filed a suit against the company, petitioning the court to cancel the company's right to operate in Texas and to assess it approximately five million dollars in penalties. During the highly publicized trial which ensued, it came to light that Bailey had been advanced money during the 1906 election. This money had been termed a loan, but Bailey had never repaid the oil company. Thus, the Water-Pierce Oil Company was ousted from the state of Texas and fined nearly two million dollars.

As a result of the trial, the Texas legislature appointed a committee to investigate Bailey's record, but before the committee had done much work on the case, the same legislature that authorized the committee re-elected Bailey by a large majority, thus exonerating Bailey. Bailey, however, was not satisfied and put his case before a special primary election in 1908. A bitter contest between the pro-Bailey and anti-Bailey forces ensued, but again Bailey and his friends won by a large majority.

McKay and Faulk draw the following conclusion concerning the Bailey issue. They state:
Texas voters were almost equally divided on the Bailey controversy; old friends had fallen out and even fought over the issue of the senator's honesty. Some seemed to consider Bailey a sort of political "saint" who could do no wrong, while others insisted that he was a representative of "predatory wealth" and had used his office as United States senator to secure more and larger legal fees. For nearly three decades after 1900, Texas voters were inclined to judge the qualifications of all aspirants for public office on the basis of whether the candidates favored or opposed Senator Joseph Weldon Bailey.71

Thus, in 1910 Colquitt, as well as other seekers of the governor's office, had to contend with the Bailey issue. How to deal with the question indeed posed an interesting dilemma. If Texans were equally divided on the Bailey issue, as McKay and Faulk suggest that they were, then either an endorsement by Bailey or rejection by him would theoretically split the vote.

As the situation progressed Colquitt seemed to enjoy the most enviable position of all the candidates. Although Bailey eventually endorsed Poindexter,72 he wrote a letter to Colquitt in which he said that "while he [would] support either Brooks, Poindexter, or Shaw against [Colquitt] for Governor, because [he] was under deep political obligation to all of them, [he] would infinitely rather see [Colquitt] elected to that high office than either Davidson or Johnson."73 Of course, Colquitt was not reluctant to share the contents of Bailey's letter with his political friends. Finally, near the close of the campaign, the newspapers in the state published a letter, supposedly from Bailey to Colquitt, in which the Senator was quoted as saying Colquitt's

71 McKay and Faulk, pp. 20-23.
72 Dallas Morning News, July 17, 1910.
73 Letter from Bailey to Colquitt, January 8, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
platform more closely coincided with his own political philosophies than any of the candidates. Even though Bailey vehemently denied that he wrote the letter, it was excellent political artillery for Colquitt and his supporters.  

The Rankin-Colquitt controversy seemed a perennial issue each time Colquitt ran for office. Instigated in 1904, the differences between the two seemed destined never to be reconciled. In the 1910 campaign Rankin redoubled his efforts, using every means possible to defeat Colquitt.

Rankin's first effort to defeat Colquitt was his announcement that he would support Davidson in the upcoming election. In December, 1909, Rankin wrote in the Austin [Texas] Statesman:

There is one man in the race whom we regard as very inimical to our cause. He is opposed to prohibition, to submission and to all restrictive legislation. He believes in the open saloon, a lax Sabbath and the dominance of a certain element of politics that would make his election a calamity to the moral and the material weal of the state.

Colquitt did not let Rankin's December, 1909, statement go unheeded. In a terse but emphatic letter, he vehemently protested the accusations. Rankin retaliated by accusing Colquitt of straddling the fence on the local option question, of being on best terms with the liquor interest and expecting their support in the election, and condemning Colquitt for receiving free transportation from the railroads to make his political canvasses. Finally, Rankin indicted Colquitt for

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74 Austin Statesman, May 18, 1910, and May 20, 1910.
75 Austin Statesman, December 14, 1909.
76 Letter from Colquitt to Rankin, December 17, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
his castigation of Governor Campbell's use of the State Rangers to enforce local option laws at Amarillo after the local authorities had refused to do so.\textsuperscript{77}

The battle of letters continued throughout the campaign and were widely published in the newspapers throughout the state.\textsuperscript{78} Of course, the controversy made intensely interesting reading and was followed avidly by both friend and foe of the two camps.

Colquitt's reply to one of Rankin's letters in the March 12, 1910, issue of the Comanche Chief captured the essence of the controversy. Colquitt began his diatribe with these words:

I have read your open letter as printed in the state papers of last Sunday and Tuesday. I refrain from characterizing your mis-statements and false deductions about me as they should be for I do not care to be as unseemly as you are. I would not trespass upon the public patience nor the space of the newspaper to give you further notice except for the fact that you pose as a leader and political boss of the prohibition element in the Democratic party, and seek further to impress your insinuations and slanders upon the reader by reason of the supposed sanctity of your calling. There are two new . . . matters which you introduce into your discussion in last Sunday's paper which I want to refer to. You refer to some falsehood which you perhaps caused to be circulated against me on the primary election in July, 1906, about a speech I made in Comal county.\textsuperscript{79}

Colquitt then quoted a portion of Rankin's open letter in which he accused Colquitt of making a political, prohibition speech on Sunday to the Sons of Hermann. Colquitt countered by saying that the speech

\textsuperscript{77}Letter from Rankin to Colquitt, December 20, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{78}Fort Worth [Texas] Record, January 9, 1910; Austin Statesman, January 23, 1910; and various unidentified newspaper clippings, Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{79}Comanche [Texas] Chief, March 12, 1910.
was not a political one, that the remarks attributed to him in the speech were falsehoods, that Rankin knew they were falsehoods, and that Rankin was the much more guilty of the two for perpetrating the falsehoods. He then proceeded to cleverly turn the tables on Rankin by condemning him for his political sermons delivered on the Sabbath. The Comanche Chief continued Colquitt's letter.

If I violated the proprieties in making a speech on Sunday what must be said of you who have been making and lately made a political speech in the opera house in Dallas on Sunday evening, filled with a tirade of political abuse of those whom you didn't like, at a political meeting called by you and others to discuss prohibition and form an organization for Dallas county to elect members of the Legislature pledged to carry out your political ideas? And what about the members of the legislature who went out to different towns and made political speeches in the pulpits of certain Methodist churches on prohibition? They were political speeches. Does the vice of a thing, in your opinion, depend solely on whether the man who does it is a friend of yours or because he agrees with you in a particular matter? And do you think that you have the right to do as you please and because you do as you please should have the right to prevent others from exercising the same right you claim for yourself?

Colquitt next took Rankin to task for misrepresenting Colquitt's actions in connection with his supposed denouncement of the school teachers while Colquitt was a member of the State Senate. Colquitt admitted that he did condemn some of the teachers, but that Rankin only brought to the attention of the public Colquitt's unfavorable comments to that element of teachers who were using the schools for political gain. Thus, he failed to disclose Colquitt's true sentiment. Colquitt asserted that the total picture would reveal that he was responsible in part for the passage of legislation which was beneficial to the teaching profession, adding:

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80 Unidentified newspaper clipping, July 28, 1906, Colquitt Scrapbook, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
I am and always have been for public schools. . . . And no man has a higher respect for the real school teacher than myself. It was not with the real school teacher that I ever had any trouble on account of my attitude in this matter--my controversy and disagreement was with the politicians. . . . It was to this class that I addressed my criticism in the article I wrote to the School Journal--for I said naught against any [real] teacher in debating the bill before the senate.

Colquitt then reiterated that if Rankin had published the whole truth, and not taken out of context that portion which suited his need, he would see that Colquitt's "strictures applied only to the 'political teacher' . . . and not to teachers as a class."

To insure his straightforwardness in his actions and to nurture respect of the potential voters, Colquitt concluded his newspaper attack on Rankin by offering him access to the Colquitt records.

Now in conclusion of this and in dismissal of you let me say: If you are going to be the political scavenger for my political enemies, I want to offer you all of the facilities possible for you to get all of the facts concerning an incident to all my participation in politics, and all my official acts. I have kept a file of all letters and telegrams sent me, either in political or official matters, and besides this scrapbooks compiled for the last twenty years show proceedings of conventions and platforms which may furnish you information, and I tender them all for your inspection to enable you to verify or disprove any ill report which you may hear concerning me. . . . I now dismiss you to your own meditation and connivance.81

Obviously, many of Colquitt's supporters were pleased with the manner in which he dealt with Rankin. Furthermore, the controversy seem to bring many voters into the Colquitt camp. Numerous letters attest to these conclusions. Excerpts from some of the letters follow:

I have been reading your and Rev. Rankin's "open letters," and until this argument had proceeded I like many others had not fully made up my mind as to who I would support for Governor. But now

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81Comanche Chief, March 12, 1910.
I cheerfully say that I am with you.  

I have just finished reading your reply to the Rev. Mr. Rankin of Dallas and what you did to him was a plenty. I am certainly glad to see that you "handed him a package," for if there ever was a hypocrite on the face of the earth, it is certainly old Geo. C. Rankin of Dallas. I think his is full of better people than him. Now I am certainly right in the middle of the road for Colquitt and anything that I can do for you and any information you would like to have from San Antonio, don't fail to call on me.  

I read with much interest yours and Geo. C. Rankin's letters . . . and in my opinion the conclusion is inevitable that the principle crime laid at your door by this political-preacher and slanderer is that you are advocating pure and undefiled democracy.  

I have just read your "romp" on the political preacher. It makes me feel like I just want to take you by the hand and give it a hearty shake. In my opinion, you have him up a tree. Just keep him there.  

Finally, Colquitt himself recognized the value of the controversy. In a letter to Abe Cross he wrote:  

I am glad that you were pleased with the manner of my correspondence with Dr. Rankin. I have received a large number of letters of approval and endorsement from various sections of the state.  

The speaking of Oscar Branch Colquitt again constituted the most significant phase of his political strategy in the 1910 gubernatorial campaign. As near as can be estimated Colquitt delivered
approximately 193 major addresses, ranging from one to two and one-half hours in length.

It seems safe to assume, therefore, that his speaking was helpful in his efforts to receive the Democratic bid for governor. When the final ballots were tabulated Colquitt won by a plurality of 66,742 votes. He went on to win in the general election and was sworn in as the twenty-sixth governor of Texas on January 17, 1911, in a "simple and impressive . . ." ceremony "... characterized by a spirit of genuine magnanimity."  

This "spirit of genuine magnanimity" that pervaded the gala atmosphere of the inauguration was short-lived. Colquitt was destined during his first tenure as Governor to be involved in many bitter quarrels with his legislature, his political enemies, elected state officials, and persons already holding offices in state related agencies.

Although Colquitt's first administration was beset by a number of problems, the legislature passed and Colquitt approved significant laws. As indicated in the General Laws of the State of Texas, 1911, included 1) an act limiting the number of hours women could work in

87 A schedule of Colquitt's 1910 speaking dates is attached as Appendix B. This list was compiled from a variety of sources. Newspaper clippings, scrapbooks, flyers, broadsides, letters, speeches, and typewritten speaking schedules from the Colquitt Papers, and the Huckaby dissertation were used. To help substantiate the dates a perpetual calendar was utilized.

88 Letter from Rawlins M. Colquitt to Oscar B. Colquitt, May 2, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

89 Dallas Morning News, August 9, 1910.

90 Austin Statesman, January 18, 1911.
industry to fifty-four per week, 2) an act regulating the labor of children under seventeen years of age in specified industries, 3) an act appropriating $20,000.00 for the establishment of a Confederate Women's Home in Austin, 4) an act forbidding food adulteration, 5) an act appropriating $100,000.00 to build two tuberculosis sanitariums, 6) an act establishing an anti-tuberculosis commission of three citizens, the Governor, and the state health officer, 7) an act creating free public schools in rural districts, 8) an act providing for the parole of convicts by the prison commission, and 9) an act providing for suspended sentences to be given for misdemeanor crimes by criminal courts.

In addition to the laws passed, the legislature proposed five constitutional amendments. These proposals were 1) a provision for a six year term for regents and trustees of institutions of higher learning, 2) a provision for six year terms for the prison commission, 3) a provision for allowing a city of 5,000 or more population to adopt a charter by popular vote, 4) a provision for allowing the legislature to provide the payment of pensions to Confederate veterans' widows, and 5) a provision for prohibiting the manufacture, sale, barter, and exchange of intoxicating liquor. The first four of the amendments were ratified in the November 5, 1911, general election. The prohibition amendment was submitted to the electorate in a special election on July 22, 1911, and was defeated by a vote of 231,086 to 237,393.

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Other than the aforementioned achievements Colquitt's major accomplishment during his first administration was the improvement in the prison system. First, he allowed the prison commission to lease farm land upon which the prisoners could work.\footnote{Texas, House Journal, Thirty-second Legislature, Regular Session (Austin, Texas: Austin Printing Company, 1911), p. 637.} Second, he was responsible for the gradual abolishment of corporal punishment of the convicts, reducing the 1,037 whippings that had been inflicted from 1910 to 1911 to 271 whippings from 1911 to 1912.\footnote{Letter from Cabell to Colquitt, March 25, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.} Third, and most important, he established a work system for the convicts on the county roads, paying them fifty cents a day and allowing them to keep one-half of their wages and give the other half to their families.\footnote{Dallas Morning News, January 3, 1912.}

Colquitt's 1910 campaign was strenuous and his first administration was stormy. Nevertheless, he waged both battles successfully. Furthermore, he was to fight again in 1912 when instead of bearing the derogatory title of "Little Oscar," he was to assume the more laudatory christening of "Little Napoleon."\footnote{Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald, Governors I Have Known (Austin, Texas: Austin American-Statesman, 1927), p. 31.}

The man who was to be dubbed "Little Napoleon" should have had an easy campaign in 1912. Huckaby in his dissertation "Oscar Branch Colquitt: a Political Biography" points out that Governors of Texas are re-elected to a second term so regularly that such practice is almost an unwritten law. A governor must have alienated a large section of the electorate even to rate a strong opponent in his bid for re-election, because of the powerful
effect that his appeal to maintain the tradition has upon the great majority of the voters.97

Seth McKay in Texas Politics, 1906-1944 corroborates Huckaby's conclusion by indicating that "a tradition had developed to the effect that even a moderately successful governor should be given a second term."98 McKay affirms that Colquitt was a fairly successful governor,99 and Huckaby declares that "all except the most prejudiced observers admitted that [Colquitt] was considerably stronger in 1912 than he had been in 1910."100 Two questions, then, arise. First, why would anyone oppose a candidate who was so obviously a strong contender for re-election? Second, why was the campaign of 1912 such a long and bitter one? Both Huckaby and McKay agree that the answers to both questions were to be found in the issue of prohibition.101 McKay writes:

In the Democratic primary of 1906 the combined vote of two prohibition candidates, Campbell and Brooks was 27,000 higher than the combined votes of the two anti-prohibition candidates, Colquitt and Bell. In the 1910 contest the victory of Colquitt is explained by the fact that he was the only one of the four candidates of about equal prominence and reputation who was unqualifiedly against prohibition. The dry sentiment was spreading rapidly, as was evidenced by the prohibition success in local option elections, especially in the heavy voting North Texas counties. The drys had planned several times to get a vote on statewide prohibition. In 1908 the question of submission of such an amendment to the Constitution carried in the Democratic primary by a vote of 145,530 to 141,441; but the legislature did not follow the mandate and submit the proposal. Aroused to a feeling of indignant frustration, the prohibitionists had the question put on the ballot again in 1910, and despite the

97Huckaby, p. 296.
98Seth Shepard McKay, Texas Politics, 1906-1944, p. 46.
99McKay, p. 46.
100Huckaby, p. 296.
101Huckaby, p. 296; McKay, p. 46.
easy victory of Colquitt for governor at the same election, the drys were able to carry submission by a vote of 154,601 to 125,809. The statewide prohibition amendment, as submitted to the voters in 1911, failed by a vote of some six thousand in a total of less than half a million; but the drys felt that the close vote, together with the victory of 1910 for submission by a majority of almost thirty thousand, indicated that the drys had an overall Texas majority, and that in a fair contest they might win the battle with a candidate whose record for good government and prohibition was consistent. There was a feeling, also, that many of the Colquitt policies aside from prohibition had made that candidate vulnerable. 102

Three of the outstanding leaders of the dry faction of Texas politics were former Governor Thomas M. Campbell, Cone Johnson, and Judge M. M. Brooks. These men, intent on "burying 'Oscar Budwiser' in the primary election," 103 were instrumental in the selection of Judge William Franklin Ramsey, an associate justice of the Texas Supreme Court and a former chairman of the Texas Penitentiary Board, as Colquitt's opponent. 104 Ramsey resigned his seat on the Supreme Court in order to "save the state." 105

Thus, in 1912 Colquitt faced another full fledged campaign, this time against a single opponent. In that canvass, as in all others, Colquitt used all of his political acumen in an effort to defeat his adversary and was ultimately successful in his endeavors.

In conducting the 1912 campaign Colquitt utilized many of the strategies he had used in his two previous canvasses. He again conducted an extensive letter writing campaign, he and his staff were

102 McKay, pp. 46-47.
103 Austin Statesman, November 13, 1927.
104 McKay, pp. 46-47.
105 Fitzgerald, p. 31.
instrumental in the formation of Colquitt clubs in the various counties, he provided the electorate with voluminous printed literature, and he spoke on numerous occasions.

Perhaps Colquitt realized that the 1912 campaign was going to be a hard one. Therefore, he began his political correspondence even earlier than he did in 1910. By April 1, 1912, he was sending out form letters, bearing the Governor's Office official letterhead. The content of Colquitt's letter was as follows:

You doubtless know that I am a candidate for renomination for a second term as Governor of Texas. I am writing you to ask if I can have the benefit of your influence and support in the campaign, and in the primary election July 27th next. Your aid will be very much appreciated.

I have conscientiously done my full duty, and carried out the policies advocated by me in the campaign of 1910, when I received the nomination of the Democratic party for this high office, as far as could be done, notwithstanding the opposition of an unfriendly majority in the legislature, and persistent efforts to embarrass my administration.

I still believe that we need legislative rest and political peace in Texas. As far as I have been able to do it, I have tried to bring about this desired condition in our State, and I am proud to call your attention to the improved conditions in our schools, colleges, live stock and agricultural industries, and the era of good feeling that now exists between the various classes of our citizenship. I do not believe the laws have ever been better or more firmly enforced, and I am sure that as much progress in the reformation of the Penitentiary System in the short space of one year has been accomplished as could have been done. The lives and property of our citizens on the border have been vigorously protected.

In the administration of the duties of the Governor's Office I have tried to be the Governor of all of the people, without regard to the peculiar views or politics of any portion of them, and all have received equal protection of the laws of the State as far as I have been called upon to administer or to enforce them.

I will thank you for a reply, and hope to have your encouragement.106

106 Letter from Colquitt to "Dear Sir," April 1, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Colquitt's response form his constituents was again phenomenal as it had been in the 1910 campaign.107 A sampling of the letters Colquitt received will indicate the nature of the support.

I am still an admirer of Governor Colquitt and shall do everything in my power to carry the Sealy box stronger than ever for you at the July primary.

Your friends in Austin County are going to try to give you a larger vote than we ever did and make this the banner County for Colquitt in the State. Am sure the bitter and unwarranted attacks made by Judge Ramsey against your administration will only hurt his cause and lead to a greater victory for you.

Your friends are aware of the fact that you had a very un-friendly legislature . . . and have admired your level-headedness in dealing with these parties and carrying out the policies you advocated in your 1910 campaign.108

I am very much interested in your campaign, for re-election to the office you now hold, for several reasons. First, I do not believe in doing away with the time honored tradition of giving a Governor two terms in office. Second, I think you have given the State and the people at large a good business administration and I admire you for the stand you have taken in regard to prohibition and numerous other questions.109

I have read Ramsey's opening speech and if he could be elected Governor of Texas we would have a second Christ on earth. I want you to take off your gloves and handle him right and left and leave no stone unturned. I know that you are able to do it.110

It was a pleasure to vote for you in the last primary . . . and I now assure you it will give me double pleasure to again support you this year--for I believe (though harassed as few men is such position have ever been) you have closely adhered to what you promised.111

107 Numerous letters to and from Colquitt, April 1, 1912, to June 1, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

108 Letter from Schaffner to Colquitt, April 7, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

109 Letter from Meredith to Colquitt, April 7, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

110 Letter from Cleveland to Colquitt, April 5, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

111 Letter from Jenkins to Colquitt, May 2, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
The effort to form Colquitt clubs was begun on the same day as the Colquitt correspondence. On April 1, 1912, Rawlins Colquitt, Oscar's son and campaign manager in both the 1910 and 1912 campaigns, began mailing letters over the state to various county leaders. The letter read:

I am anxious to form an organization of our friends in Goliad County to the end that the Governor will receive a good majority in his candidacy for re-election.

It is necessary that our friends take immediate steps toward perfecting organizations and I want to urge upon you to confer with some of our other friends in Goliad County, especially Wayne Davis, Sheriff Willemine, Patton, and others.

We want to select a County Chairman who will appoint good men to assist him in the various voting boxes to carry on the campaign and see that all of our friends vote in the primaries next July. I assure you that anything you may do will be appreciated.  

On the county level many of the local leaders in turn sent out letters to solicit support for Colquitt organizations. A typical letter follows:

I am writing you this letter in the belief that you are with Governor Colquitt for re-election in the coming Primary Election which is to be held next July, and I want to ask you to act as Precinct Chairman in your Precinct in the distribution of literature, and in the organization of a Colquitt club if necessary.

Will you act as Precinct Chairman? The work will not be arduous, and will only require a little of your time. The principle thing is to get the stay-at-homes; the very old men, and the very young men, who are qualified to vote, to go to the polls. In other words, we want to keep everybody alive to the necessity, and we want to make Austin County the BANNER COUNTY for Governor Colquitt.

If you are not willing to act, or have not the time, will you please give me the name of a prominent citizen, and a voter in your precinct who will.

An immediate reply will be very much appreciated.

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112 Letter from Rawlins Colquitt to Albrecht, April 1, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

113 Letter from Hill to "Dear Sir," April 2, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Colquitt used a large volume of printed material in his bid for re-election. The campaign literature again included broadsides and pamphlets. The majority of the material was aimed at reminding the voters of Colquitt's achievements in his first administration. The publications were variously labeled, including such titles as "An Unholy War Built on a False Issue," "Legislative Facts," "Friendly to Governor," "The Confederate Soldiers," "An Endorsement of Governor O. B. Colquitt for a Second Term," "Governor Colquitt's Answer to Ramsey," "Reasons Given by a Prominent Prohibitionist, Farmer, and Businessman, Why He is Supporting Governor Colquitt for Re-election to His Second Term," "The A. and M. College Appreciates Governor Colquitt," "The Pardoning Governor," and "Colquitt and the Ex-Confederate Soldier." 114

One innovation in the 1912 campaign literature was the publication of a bulletin by the Colquitt headquarters in Austin. The format of this extremely partisan publication was that of a newsletter consisting of various articles commenting on Colquitt's first term administrative achievements, endorsements of various individuals and newspapers, activities the Governor was engaged in at that time, and excerpts from several of his campaign speeches. Just how many of these bulletins the Colquitt headquarters published at what intervals cannot be ascertained. Only six issues of the bulletin are presently found in the Colquitt Papers. These are dated May 31, 1912; June 6, 1912; June 8, 1912; June 12, 1912; June 21, 1912 and July 2, 1912. It is also impossible to determine the number of the bulletins which were

114 Broadsides and Pamphlets, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
distributed to the voters, but it seems reasonable to assume that since the bulletins were prepared by a professional printer, the distribution was fairly large. It seems an equally reasonable assumption that the bulletins were instrumental in relaying Colquitt's achievements in office and views on current issues to the electorate.

The array of issues was not as broad in the 1912 campaign as it had been in 1910. In fact, other than Ramsey's condemnation of Colquitt and Colquitt's counter accusations, there were no new issues in the 1912 campaign. Of course, the ever present issue of prohibition had to be dealt with, but this time in Colquitt's political career his views of the subject had relatively little new material that could be said. Nevertheless, "prohibition was the paramount issue," in the campaign.  

Colquitt's campaign literature, of course, focused on the achievements of his first administration which promoted his most favorable image. Using his own words and those of his friends and supporters, Colquitt's written communication directed the voters' attention to his record as it pertained to 1) penitentiary reform, 2) pardoning power, 3) educational record, 4) relations with farmers, 5) relations with organized labor, 6) treatment of the Confederate soldier, and 7) prohibition. At the same time he defended policies which Ramsey had attacked and launched additional accusations at his opponent.

The speeches of Oscar Branch Colquitt were again the major thrust of his 1912 campaign strategy. As in 1910 he traveled exten-

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115 Huckaby, p. 297.
116 Fitzgerald, p. 30.
sively over the state, making approximately 175 speeches. Colquitt formally opened the 1912 canvass in Sherman, Texas, on April 27, 1912, and closed it in his hometown of Terrell on July 26, 1912. The Terrell speech closed a canvass wherein Colquitt had traveled some "21,000 miles, 7,000 by rail and 14,000 by automobile." The Wichita Daily Times [Wichita Falls, Texas] reported that "Governor Colquitt broke all records in a Texas gubernatorial campaign Friday when he spoke in eight different towns in Grayson and Fannin counties," a campaign that Colquitt described as the hardest one he had ever waged.

The fruits of Colquitt's efforts, however, were successful. In the primary election held on July 27, 1912, Colquitt received 219,080 votes to Ramsey's 179,857. Colquitt and his forces also controlled the convention which met in San Antonio, "smashing the extreme 'pros' on the first day, the extreme 'antis' on the second day, and then writing a platform sanctioned by Colquitt." In the general election in November Colquitt received 233,073 votes, a margin of 207,815 over his

117 A schedule of Colquitt's 1912 speaking dates is attached as Appendix C. This list was compiled from a variety of sources. Newspapers, scrapbooks, flyers, broadsides, letters, speeches, and typewritten speaking schedules from the Colquitt Papers, and the Huckaby dissertation were used. To help substantiate the dates a perpetual calendar was utilized.

118 Austin Statesman, July 27, 1912.
120 Wichita Daily Times [Wichita Falls, Texas], July 14, 1912.
121 Austin Statesman, August 1, 1912.
123 San Antonio Daily Express, August 15, 1912.
After Colquitt's inauguration it was apparent that the thirty-third legislature was no easier to deal with than the thirty-second legislature and been. In spite of the lack of harmony laws soon began to grind out of the legislative mill. The *General Laws of the State of Texas* indicated that the laws passed by the legislature and approved by the Governor included: 1) an act providing for six year terms for regents at all state institutions of higher learning, 2) an act providing for pensions for more Confederate veterans, 3) an act forbidding hazing in any state educational institution, 4) an act establishing the scholastic age limit from seventeen to twenty-one years, 5) an act creating a state bureau of child and animal protection, 6) an act establishing a state insurance commission, to set rates and regulate the activities of the fire insurance companies, 7) an act prescribing the procedure for presidential primary elections to begin in 1916, 8) an act prohibiting intrastate shipments of intoxicating beverages into prohibition territory, 9) an act which closed liquor dealers' establishments from 9:30 p.m. until 6:00 a.m. and all day Sunday, 10) an act authorizing a two million dollar bond issue for the paying of the debts of the prison system and for constructing new prison buildings, 11) a "blue sky law" for the regulations of stocks and bonds, a bill establishing a permanent

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126. *General and Special Laws of the State of Texas, Thirty-third*
warehouse system, and 13) legislation providing for the popular election of United States senators.

In addition to the laws passed the legislature proposed five constitutional amendments. In compliance with Colquitt's request in his January 30, 1913, message the legislature submitted an educational amendment to separate the Agricultural and Mechanical College and the University of Texas and to allow bond issues for buildings at all state educational institutions, as well as the eleemosynary institutions. To this oversized package was added an amendment which allowed political subdivisions of the state to borrow money to build public warehouses for the storage of agricultural products. This amendment also stipulated that all measures should be put on the same ballot and voted on as one unit. A plebiscite was held on July 18, 1913, and the measure was defeated by approximately 100,000 votes. The other three amendments consisted of 1) a proposal to increase the salaries of legislators and extend the regular session until the business of that session had been completed, 2) a proposal allowing Gulf counties to issue bonds for acquiring land and building sea walls, and 3) a proposal providing for the


General and Special Laws of the State of Texas, 1913, pp. 101-02.


Austin Statesman, July 20, 1913.
initiative and referendum of state laws. All three amendments were defeated in the November, 1914, general election.

Oscar Branch Colquitt concluded his second term of office on January 15, 1915. Of the achievements of his four year tenure in office the Houston Daily Post commented:

Whatever may have been his shortcomings, the showing is creditable to him, and his actual achievements will stand comparison with those of his predecessors. The progress of the State has been great during his term of office and he has labored diligently to promote it at all times. He leaves the State government and all the State institutions in much better condition than he found them, and in all respects his administration has been a palpable improvement upon the preceding one.

Governor Colquitt's predecessor was not so careful to leave him a comfortable situation to deal with. On the contrary, it is not an unfair assumption that especial pains were taken to make his pathway as difficult as possible, and in addition to such embarrassments as were deliberately bequeathed to him he had to endure the personal and political hostility of two legislatures and overlooked few opportunities to make it difficult for him to redeem his pledges.

In spite of all this, Colquitt has done well. He has made mistakes, of course, as was to have been expected, and at times it appears that his temper got the best of him. He has said things that he would have better left unsaid, and, in our judgement, he lost several opportunities to accomplish things that would have been greatly to his credit. But when you inspect the record and make fair comparisons, it will be found that he has served the people well and diligently and is as much entitled to public gratitude as most of his predecessors.

This chapter presents an overview of Colquitt's 1906, 1910, and 1912 canvasses for the governorship of Texas. Chapter 4 will delineate the nature of the audiences and occasions which were integral elements of those campaigns.

132 Austin Statesman, November 5, 1914.
133 Houston Daily Post, January 16, 1915.
According to Brembeck and Howell there are two key elements peculiar to any type of public speaking. They write:

Any speech must be centered on the audience and occasion. It must be developed and presented in terms of the experiences, attitudes, sentiments, emotions, and desires of the audience and with full regard for the conventions, purposes, and physical setting of the speech occasion. Analyses of these factors are prerequisite to the selection of the attention elements, basic appeals, and type of organization to be used in the speech. In short, a speech must be tailored specifically in order to fit the peculiar demands of each occasion and audience.¹

As Colquitt stumped Texas in 1906, 1910, and 1912 he encountered a variety of audiences and occasions. Thus, an examination of, first, the audiences and, second, the occasions, will perhaps provide insight into the overall rhetorical pattern of Colquitt's political persuasion.

In classifying attitudinal trends of the people during the early twentieth century, it seems apparent that some trends may fall into one or several categories, such as economic, social, religious, moral, and

political. Political overtones, in particular, are encompassed in most of the patterns dominating the interests of a citizenry. For academic reasons, however, the trends will be discussed in relation to their major emphasis.

The audiences that Colquitt addressed in his three campaigns in the early twentieth century represented a divergent group of citizens. Texas' total population in 1900 was 3,048,710; in 1910, 3,896,542. The 1900 population statistics indicated that 520,759 or 17.1 per cent, were urban dwellers and that 2,527,951, or 82.9 per cent, lived in rural areas. By 1910 the urban population consisted of 938,104, or 24.1 per cent of the total population, with 2,958,438, or 75.9 per cent of the population rural dwellers.\(^2\)

Four major ethnic groups made up the Texas population in the early part of the twentieth century. Native white Texans constituted the majority of the citizenry with 2,964,864 members.\(^3\) The second largest group was the Negroes who numbered 690,049. The Mexican population, consisting of an estimated 250,000, was the third largest group. Close behind the Mexicans were approximately 240,000 citizens of foreign extraction.\(^4\) While the Germans made up the largest element of this population group, it also included English, Irish, Czechs,


\(^3\) This figure includes approxiamtely 240,000 white citizens of foreign extraction. See The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide, 1936 (Dailas, Texas: A. H. Belo Corporation, 1936), pp. 134-35.

Poles, Italians, French, Austrians, Russians, and Canadians.  

The native white Texans were spread over the entire state. Although the most populous areas were located in the southern, northern, and eastern parts of the state, the west was developing rapidly. The Negroes concentrated primarily in the eastern third of the state and in the cities. The Mexicans lived for the most part in the southern section of the state. The Germans, as the native white Texans, were located in all parts of the state. The largest concentration, however, was found in the southwestern portion of central Texas. Germans were particularly attracted to the counties of Austin, Comel, DeWitt, Fayette, Gillespie, Guadalupe, Kendall, Lee, Medina, and Washington.

As both the 1900 and 1910 rural dweller statistics suggest Texas was primarily an agricultural state at the dawn of the twentieth century. In 1910 there were 416,377 farmers living on 416,377 farms,

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6Copy of speech delivered at Haskell, Texas, September 17, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives. See also Rupert Norval Richardson, Texas, The Lone Star State (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943), pp. 383-400. Richardson points out "With the coming of the railroads to western and southern Texas in the 1880's, the farming frontier lost its comparatively solid front. It was during this decade that several colonies of farmers were establishing in western Texas . . . . With the first decade of the twentieth century came the extension of farming to most of the counties of the High Plains."

7Steen, p. 412.


totalling 109,226,000 acres of land valued at $1,822,713,000. The major crops consisted of corn, wheat, oats, barley, rice, grain sorghum, sugar cane, potatoes, hay, truck crops, fruit, and cotton, with the latter being the largest production item.

The impact of agriculture in the growth and development of Texas provided clues as to the nature of the Texas citizens.

The prosperity of Texas, the growth of its cities and its progress along all industrial and commercial lines during the last decade are due, in a large measure to increased developments of the State's almost unmeasurable agricultural resources. The greatest industry in Texas is agriculture and associated lines. The prosperity of Texas, depends upon the prosperity of those who till the soil.10

Horses, mules, cattle, sheep, chickens, and hogs constituted the major livestock aspect of the agricultural economy. The livestock was labeled the

leading industry of this country. Statistics show a steady increase in the value of live stock throughout the United States. This country now claims 80,000,000 head of cattle, irrespective of other live stock: the packing houses of the country has played a most conspicuous part in the growth and development of the State of Texas, and is today one of its chief industries. Texas is the foremost of all the States of the American Union in the production of cattle.11

Although agriculture was one of the key elements of Texas' economy and involved a sizable voting bloc, the state's manufacturing industries were also of significance and added to the overall picture of the electorate. The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide points out that while "The vision of Texas as a great manufacturing State has been in the minds of its people from the beginning of Anglo-American


development, ... there was not much growth until about the beginning of the present [twentieth] century."\textsuperscript{12} However, the census of 1900 shows the number of persons employed to be 48,153, and factory products valued at $119,414,982. The census of 1905 reports 61,202 men employed in Texas factories, which produced that year $193,453,270. The Texas Commercial Secretaries' Association, in a canvass of the State in 1909, found 100,000 persons employed and the factory product to be valued at $249,201,000.\textsuperscript{13}

Therefore, the manufacturing segment of the population was important to any gubernatorial hopeful.

At the turn of the century the petroleum industry was in its infancy, but on January 10, 1901, a gusher near Beaumont, Texas, came in, bringing forth oil "in such profusion and such quantity the world has never seen before."\textsuperscript{14} The initiation of the Spindletop oil field in 1901 was a momentous incident in the history of Texas because "no single thing . . . stimulated the manufacturing development . . . as much since 1900 as [did] the succession of oil discoveries."\textsuperscript{15} Petroleum production was to influence Texas economics for the next century. In the first decade of that century the state produced 145,880,923 barrels of petroleum. Other major minerals found in Texas include coal, mineral water, portland cement, sand and gravel, salt, silver, asphalt, lime, and copper.\textsuperscript{16} Certainly the wage earners in this prosperous segment of Texas economy did not go unheeded by the politicians.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item[12]\textit{The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide}, 1936, p. 280.
\item[15]\textit{The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide}, 1936, p. 280.
\item[16]\textit{The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide}, 1912, p. 161.
\end{thebibliography}
The role of education in the early twentieth century accentuated the attitudes of Texans. Perhaps the most significant influence in the educational system of Texas was the passage of the school law of 1884. This edict 1) provided for an elected state superintendent of public instruction, 2) placed schools under the immediate supervision of county judges, 3) allowed counties to be divided into school districts and gave them the privilege of voting a local school tax, 4) extended the scholastic age from eight years to sixteen years, 5) stipulated that the teachers hold certificates, and 6) required a system of registers and report. 17

T. H. Shelby, Chief Clerk of the State Department of Education, indicated that in 1911 Texas had "more than 8,000 common and independent school districts." He also claimed that "The scholastic census of 1910 place the number of children over 7 and under 17 years of age in Texas at 968,267, a gain of 19,261, as compared with the census of 1909." Furthermore,

There [were] 556 independent districts incorporated for school purposes only, 114 cities and towns having control of their schools, and 7,500 common school districts. Ninety-five per cent of the independent districts and the cities and towns levy a local tax for school purposes.

In addition,

There [were] 20,098 certificated teachers in the State, 34 per cent of whom [were] graduates of high schools, normal schools, colleges or universities. . . . Of the 16,893 white teachers in the State, 5,038 [were] men and 11,855 [were] women; of the 3,205 negro teachers, 1,313 are men and 1,893 are women. 18

17Richardson, p. 343.
In spite of the envisioned improvements by legislators and the advances made in urban education, the progress of change was slow, particularly for the rural school districts. Rupert Norval Richardson writes:

Especially discouraging was the indisposition of the people to vote local school taxes. "The chief effect of the law of 1883," says Fredrick Eby, "was to lift the responsibility for educational progress from the state as a whole and to place it upon the local communities." Thus the common country schools remained poor and inefficient while improvement was largely to the towns and cities.19

Furthermore, Texas in 1910 had 407,522 illiterate persons ten years of age or older.20

In view of the illiteracy rate, the needs of rural schools, and the low salaries of the teachers of the state,21 education was a significant element influencing the attitude of Texas citizens. Thus, the educational needs of the state warranted the attention of public officeholders.

Religion was a major factor affecting the attitudes of Texans in the early twentieth century. The guarantee of "Freedom in religious matters [was] a sacred right of an American citizen [and was] jealously guarded by the laws of Texas." The 1912 Texas Almanac and State


21According to The Texas Almanac and State Industrial Guide, 1911, p. 100, the average annual salary of white teachers was $394.00; for the colored teachers the yearly income was $292.00.
Industrial Guide boasted that

The latest statistical data credits Texas with a representation of 12,354 religious organizations. All denominations are represented, many of which have millions of dollars invested in houses of worship, schools, colleges and universities. No section of Texas is without a church.

In 1906 the membership of all denominations was 1,226,906. By 1910 this figure was estimated at 1,349,596. Church property was valued at $22,949,976 in 1906 and $26,392,472 in 1910. The five leading denominations and their respective memberships were Baptist, 401,720; Methodist, 317,495; Roman Catholic, 308,556; Disciples of Christians, 73,495; and the Presbyterians, 62,090.22

Further evidence of the religious zeal was revealed by the revivals held in the first decade of the century. The following instances are indicative of the evangelic spirit of the times.

From Texas came an account of a Methodist revival on the Glenwood Charge near Fort Worth, where "there was evident the 'old-time' power, as Christians were made happy and shouted." Participants also "shouted as of old, and gave unmistakable evidence of religious joy" during a "most glorious" revival at Oak Grove Baptist Church, in Navarro County, Texas; Nocona, Texas, Methodist told of being swept by a spiritual wave.23

Social problems which affected the Texas scene during the first part of the twentieth century included the plight of prisoners, concern for the insane, and others confined in eleemosynary institutions, the care of the Confederate veteran and his spouse, and the highly emotional and controversial question of prohibition. These conditions originating in the 19th Century, surfaced significantly in the early 1900's.

Texas' prison system seemed to be a perennial problem. Rupert Norval Richardson suggests that from its origin in 1849 it was beset with difficulties. Soon after the Huntsville facility was constructed it became so crowded that a new one was started at Rusk. By 1871 the "death rate of convicts doubled and the number of escapes per year increased more than three-fold. In the year 1876 alone, 382 convicts made their escape, a condition that aggravated seriously the problem of crime in the state." However,

Penitentiary and prison reform, long overdue, began during the period of the Campbell and Colquitt administrations. In 1908 and 1909 some of the big city newspapers in the state published long series of articles calling attention to the appalling conditions in the penitentiaries. These articles had the desired effect; the Thirty-first Legislature of 1909 created a committee to investigate the situation. The committee's report ... caused a sensation over the state. It revealed that convicts had been shot or whipped to death for small offenses; that they were given unreasonable tasks and were severely punished for failure to accomplish them; and that food was poor, clothing inadequate, and sanitation worse. Financial affairs of the penal system were in confusion; the books were so poorly kept that they could not be audited.

With these conditions it is no surprise that the system would continue to be a source of social and political concern to the voters of Texas.

The treatment of the mentally ill received considerable concern during the period immediately after the turn of the century, causing Texas historian Ralph W. Steen to condemn the state for its negligence in allowing so many patients to remain in jail. In 1899 Texas had only three institutions for the care of the insane and "were filled to capacity and ... one thousand remained in jails, on poor farms, and in private homes." In 1905 "it was estimated that no less than one thousand

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24 Richardson, p. 337.
25 McKay and Faulk, pp. 31-32.
insane persons were confined to county jails and poor farms." In 1910 there were 4,053 patients in hospitals or other institutions. By 1913 the number of those mentally incapacitated was approximately five thousand, but only "350 remained on poor farms and in county jails." Conditions had improved by 1913, but prior to that time dealing with mentally ill was another social concern for Texans.

The concern that citizens of the Lone Star State for the care of the infirm can be evidenced by the number of eleemosynary institutions which were already in existence in 1900 and those which were built later. The State Orphan Asylum; the Blind Asylum; and the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylum for Colored Youth were among the early twentieth century efforts to aid the unfortunate. In 1907 the Pasteur Hospital to aid in the prevention and treatment of hydrophobia was established. In 1911 the state legislature made provisions for the building and maintenance of two hospitals for the treatment of tuberculosis.

In spite of considerable advancement there was a general agreement that more could be done. Other proposed and much needed institutions such as a state home for the lepers, a state hospital for cancer and pellagra, and a psychopathic hospital never materialized.

Nevertheless, the mood of Texas was decidedly in favor of more assistance for the sick and needy. Steen captured the essence of this spirit when he wrote:

> a society which produces persons who are mentally and physically incapable of caring for themselves is endowed with the duty of caring for them. A civilization in which poverty is a chronic ailment and in which pauperism exists side by side with wealth cannot

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26 Steen, Twentieth Century Texas, p. 174.

27 Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1917, p. 64.
escape the necessity of caring for those whom the machines have trampled. Texas has expressed an interest in these people who are neither more nor less than wards of society. Society has given them much; perhaps it owes them more, for in most cases society has made them what they are.28

The emotionalism evoked by the image of the Confederate veterans and their wives generated a mood among Texas which was both patriotic and altruistic. The ex-soldiers, in particular, were revered by the masses. Consequently, starting in October, 1889, a sum of $4,050,000 had been appropriated and distributed to the old, venerable citizens and their spouses. By acts of the legislatures in 1910 and 1911 one million dollars was appropriated for these pensioners.29 Prior to 1900 a home for the care of the aged and indigent ex-Confederates was established. Furthermore, there was agitation by some of the citizenry for the construction of a similar home for the care of the wives and widows of the veterans. A constitutional amendment for this purpose was defeated in 1907, but a similar one was approved in the 1910 general election.30 In its concern for the welfare of Civil War survivors many of Texas' citizens exhibited a thoughtful and benevolent attitude.

The question of prohibition generated both social and political overtones. The flavor of the social aspect of the problem can be illustrated through a description of a word war between one of Texas' leading newspapers and proponents of prohibition. Such description also emphasized the intensity of feelings evoked and delineated the sharp division

28 Steen, Twentieth Century Texas, pp. 174-82.
30 Steen, Twentieth Century Texas, p. 179.
which emerged between the pro and anti social forces.

Sam Acheson, author of *35,000 Days in Texas*, a history of the Dallas-Galveston [Texas] *Morning News*, stated that his newspaper dared to take a stand against the prohibition amendment. As the campaign drew to a close,

attacks on The News from certain moral crusaders . . . increased . . . . Now the paper was used as a target in the post-mortem discussions. J. C. Bigger, a former Republican officeholder, was quoted as saying, "it is a peculiar coincidence" that The News inaugurated its costly special train to Denison and Sherman just before the campaign opened. Anheuser Busch of St. Louis and other brewers were credited with having "bought" The News, a charge of corruption which several clerical advocates of prohibition enlarged upon. The News noted in sorrow that some members of the clergy, having gone upon the hustings, had "not hesitated to resort to abuse, misrepresentation, vituperation, angry and provocative language and the low arts of the demagogue."

Several weeks after the amendment had been defeated, one weekly newspaper expressed the opinion that

the two newspapers at Dallas and Galveston [The News] are a baneful influence upon the country in the direction of a lack of respect for religion and good morals. . . . The time has come when our people should give an emphatic condemnation to this course and vicious attacks upon the Christian ministry.

To these charges The News responded:

This is one of the foul eruptions marking the sequel of a moral pestilence bred by the prohibition campaign. It is one of the strongest practical arguments against agitations of this nature that they bring forth agitators enflamed with bigotry and intolerance and riotous with the very drunkenness of malignity.

Why this concerted scheme to brand and proscribe The News as an enemy of morality and religion? It is because The News met the rising virulence of the prohibition contest with a sincere plea for temperance in all things.

This rebuttal, however, did not terminate the word war. In October, 1887, the Texas Baptist Convention met in Dallas and offered a resolution which in part read: We regard The News as dangerous to the morals and good order of society and recommend to our friends everywhere to shun it as they would the Police Gazette or any other impure litera-
ture. A motion to table the resolution was made and agreed upon, but only after one of the delegates was allowed to substitute a prayer instead. Major W. E. Penn, a lay minister, "fervently and feelingly prayed for the News and all its editorial staff, petitioning that they might be directed into right paths, might conduct the journal in a way to do good, and that they might all be saved finally in Heaven."

The News staff was outraged and was determined to have the final word. The paper editorialized:

Although the result was virtual repudiation of the calumnies against The News invented and disseminated by the editor of the Texas Baptist and Herald and kindred spirits in malignant unchristian and unscrupulous enterprise, the delegates did themselves and their church credit by rejecting the resolution. Major Penn might very consistently supplemented his prayer for The News and all its editorial staff with a prayer for the riddance of his church from such pestiferous excrescences.31

Of all the political issues in the first two decades of the century, the question of prohibition dominated. It was destined to keep Texas in a divisive uproar until the state ratified the 18th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Texas historian T. R. Fehrenbach relates:

Democrats of each faction condemned each other. . . . The brewery industry, which had become an important interest in the state, raised more than $2,000,000 in campaign funds, supporting drinking candidates no matter what their other politics. Conversely, when a poll tax amendment went through after the beginning of the century, requiring a head tax in order to vote, this was heralded by the prohibitionist reformers as a great triumph for morality. It would hold down the Mexican, beer-bibbing vote; prohibition was another Anglo-American utterly incomprehensible to the Latin Catholic mind.32


Thus, according to McKay, the issue which originated in 1886 was to come to a climax in 1911, resulting in "one of the bitterest political fights in the history of the state . . . ." In the 1911 campaign

The leading orators of the state were active in the contest, speaking to crowds of thousands . . . . Both groups had their speeches carried in full by the larger newspapers, . . . . "Letters to the Editor" often covered entire pages of the paper . . . . During the last ten days of the campaign the list of announced speaking engagements for the prohibitionists frequently covered more than an entire newspaper column. In Dallas alone sixty speeches a night were made during the last two weeks of the campaign.

The antis argued "that prohibition would increase taxes, would be harmful to the public schools, and would be detrimental to the principles of government." The pros responded with a similar argument, insisting "that the open saloons 'seek to control the politics and government of the state, and all other important interests, including the schools.'"33

Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Grambrell, in their book A Social and Political History of Texas, trace the development of the political trends in Texas from statehood to the depression years in the twentieth century. They argue that pre-Civil War politics were characterized by "vigor and . . . effectiveness;" post-Civil War politics were virtually non-existent because "the mass of the voters of Texas . . . were excluded from the franchise;" politics following the Republican carpet-bagger regime were "expecially vigorous during the early 1890's when important issues were championed by leaders almost as picturesque and colorful as those of the Republic," and were characterized by a period of major reform under the leadership of James Stephen Hogg; politics between 1899 and 1907 "ceased to hold the interest of most of the citizens of Texas," resulting in an era of "political peace" under the

33McKay, pp. 38-40.
administration of Governors Sayers and Lanham; politics between 1907 and 1911 brought "political peace" to an end and instituted an era of more reform. Finally, Oscar Branch Colquitt promised a return to "political peace" and a cessation of unnecessary legislation, promises which were difficult, if not impossible, to keep.  

Major and minor political issues--those specific questions which the candidates incorporated in their political rhetoric--were discussed in Chapter 3, and will not be reconsidered here. However, a summary of these issues will perhaps add to the total fabric of trends affecting the thinking of Texans in the early 1900's. The major issues which most concerned the voters were prohibition and local option, "Baileyism," penal reform, legislative rest, initiative and referendum, labor relations, public education, the Rankin-Colquitt controversy, Colquitt's administrative achievements, blanket primaries, running for a state office while holding another one, defense of the Mexican border, stabilization of the cotton market and Governor Campbell's ineptness in office. Minor issues included Colquitt's achievements while a railroad commissioner, taxation, professional lobbying, land policy, graft, local self-government, mental illness, nepotism, separation of Texas A. and M. and the University of Texas, public health, use of pardoning power, and the establishing of a home for wives of Confederate veterans.

34 Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Gambrell, A Social and Political History of Texas (Dallas, Texas: Southwest Press, 1932), pp. 375-93.
35 Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Gambrell, Texas: Yesterday and Tomorrow (Dallas, Texas: Turner Company, 1949), p. 280. The authors write: "Thousands of common people of Texas, when asked what they believed about a public question would answer, 'What does Bailey think of it?"
The preceding discussion has attempted to delineate certain attitudes and beliefs of the people who composed Oscar Branch Colquitt's 1906, 1910, and 1912 audiences—audiences ranging from 200 to 20,000 persons who listened to speeches which were from one to two and one-half hours in length. Colquitt delivered his messages to a variety of groups with diverse interests. Among others he spoke to farmers, businessmen, ranchers, Confederate soldiers, Germans, merchants, bankers, clerks, lawyers, and politicians. He was usually followed by a corps of newspaper reporters.

Four ethnic groups representing a large rural population, composed Colquitt's basic audiences. First, were the white Americans who made their homes primarily in East and West Texas. These citizens, whose ancestors came mainly from the western group of southern states,
"were farmers who were attracted to Texas by the cheapness and fertility of the soil." Second, were the Negroes, confined largely to East Texas, whose literacy rate was 38.7 per cent in 1900 and 24.6 per cent in 1910. The majority of the Negroes were tenant farmers whose destiny rested largely with a group of white landlords who had little concern for the plight of the black man. The third group, the Mexicans, were not much better off than the Negroes. They, too, were plagued by a high rate of illiteracy. Most of them were unskilled laborers who were generally suppressed by white Americans. Both the Negro and the Mexican had little influence on Texas politics. The fourth group, composed of those Americans of foreign extraction, was largely dominated by people of Germanic origin. Characterized as having "love of individual freedom and free institutions . . . this group's . . . habit and practice of social drinking of wine and other beverages . . . was destined to become a factor in Texas politics in the counties in which German-American population was preponderant."

Agriculture and manufacturing formed the core of the Texas economy. In addition, discovery of oil at Spindletop in 1901 was a major boon to the state. The major occupations in terms of percentage of those employed, in order of rank, were 1) farming, livestock raising, and forestry, 2) manufacturing and mechanical industries, 3) trade, 4) 

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46 Newton and Gambrell, A Social and Political History of Texas, p. 128.
47 McConnell, pp. 172-78.
48 McKay, p. 20.
domestic and personal services, 5) transportation, 6) clerical workers, and 7) professions which included teachers, doctors, and lawyers. 49

Fundamentalist religion played an important role in the lives of early twentieth century Texans. Protestant denominations, with the Baptists and Church of Christ being particularly strong, exercised considerable control over the affairs of the state. Such groups were most active in the northern and eastern parts of the state. These areas, frequently referred to as the "Bible Belt,"50 exhibited a conservative religious temperament which often thwarted many liberal advances.51

Texas politics in the early twentieth century could be classified as moderately conservative. Although the Republican Party, Prohibition Party, and the Socialist-Laborite existed, Texas was then and is now a traditionally Democratic Party state.52

Two significant political issues that permeated the thinking of the people were "Baileyism," which terminated about 1912, and prohibition, which was resolved by the ratification of the 18th Amendment in 1918. Other major issues influencing voter attitudes were penal reform, public education, stabilization of the cotton market, and the Mexican boundary problems.


51 Wichita Falls [Texas] Times, May 6, 1978. The impact of conservative religious groups is still felt in the state. On May 5, 1978, the state as a whole defeated para mutuel betting by a vote of 476,320 to 368,867. Furthermore, some counties today are totally dry and others refuse to allow the sale of liquor by the drink.

The preceding discussion has been an effort to illustrate one of the distinctive qualities of the audiences to whom Colquitt delivered his campaign speeches. The following discussion will be an attempt to describe the occasions for the speeches which Colquitt delivered.

As Colquitt stumped the state in 1906, 1910, and 1912, he had in mind one major objective. This objective is succinctly expressed by Stephen C. Shadegg in his book How to Win an Election who writes that "The purpose of a political campaign can be summed up in one sentence—to address a persuasive request to every registered voter to support your candidate at the polls." Gathering votes, then, was Colquitt's major concern. More specifically, however, he wanted to present his political views and programs to the masses and to discredit the programs and views of his opponents. In addition, in 1912, Colquitt was faced with the task of defending his first gubernatorial administration.

In an attempt to accomplish his objective Colquitt traveled extensively, taking his message to all sections of the state. One of the first Texas governors to use an automobile extensively for campaigning, his itinerary carried him from Texarkana in East Texas to Amarillo in West Texas, from Wichita Falls in North Central Texas to Corpus Christi in South Texas, and to numerous towns and communities between these distant points.

Fred Gantt, Jr. designates early twentieth century political campaigning as the age of the platform speech, indicating that


55See Appendixes A, B, and C.
the stump-speaking tour, in which the candidates mounted the hussings for face-to-face meetings with the electorate, was the most significant method of campaigning in Texas. It produced the state's most famous orators in such figures as O. B. Colquitt, James E. Ferguson, Pat Neff, and Dan Moody, each of whom travelled to speak in distant parts of the state from bunt-covered platforms, from beds of wagons, from courthouse steps, or at street corners.56

In addition to the makeshift podiums described by Gantt, a variety of physical settings became Colquitt's "stumps." In the 1906 campaign he spoke at Terrell on a stage constructed "in the center of a beautiful grove of oaks"57 and, at Farmersville on a stand in the public square were "people sat on chairs in the street, on the curbstones, and crowded the sidewalks."58 Visiting Dalhart in 1909, his podium was the main exhibit hall and dance pavillion at the Trans-Canadian Fair. In 1910, Colquitt spoke at a skating rink in Ballinger, a pavillion in Beeville, and a farm wagon on the main street in DeKalb.59 In 1912, he delivered his opening address at Sherman from a platform built on the steps of the local high school.60 Later in that campaign he spoke in Teague in the Chautaugua Park where "many hundreds of people [were] forced to remain standing throughout the entire time the speech was being delivered."61


59 Houston Daily Post, July 14, 1910.

60 Fort Worth Star-Telegram, April 28, 1912.

61 Houston Daily Post, May 19, 1912.
In other instances Colquitt spoke at what the newspaper designated "political picnics." Colquitt disliked these occasions and tried "to make it a rule to . . . speak on occasions other than a picnic" because "on such occasions [he had] to make an address in the open air to an audience that [was] continually moving about and one that [was] creating confusion and hub-bub." In spite of his own desires Colquitt frequently complied with the wishes of his audiences because of the popularity of the picnic.

The most frequently used and most frequently preferred platform, however, was a traditional speaker's podium located in a courthouse, a theatre, or an opera house. On these occasions Colquitt often spoke to capacity crowds, many of whom could not gain entrance to the main hall.

Inclement weather, particularly rain and heat, sometimes affected Colquitt's speaking occasions. In Kerrville the candidate arrived "at the height of an electric-storm but in spite of the heavy rain there

62Dallas Morning News, June 20, 1906. See also typewritten speaking schedule, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

63Letter from Rawlins M. Colquitt to Gross, May 14, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

64Letter from Rawlins M. Colquitt to Daniels, May 7, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

65Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, May 31, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.


was a band and a committee of representative citizens waiting for him at the depot." 68 In Wharton, "Though handicapped by heavy rains, from all portions of the country a large and enthusiastic audience met O. B. Colquitt." 69 The intense Texas heat, particularly prominent in June and July, was braved by Texas citizens on numerous occasions. An audience in Cleburne gave him undivided attention in spite of "the excessively hot night [with] perspiration flowing freely through the audience . . . ." 70 On another occasion while Perspiring at every pore, and with his collar a wilted mass about his neck, Mr. Colquitt was rushed to the hall where he was to speak, was introduced in brief terms, and mopping his brow with a handkerchief began his address to a crowd which taxed the capacity of the place.

Prior to the visit of their candidate, the local Colquitt club highly publicized his appearance. In Brady, for example, Colquitt's speaking had been well advertised over this section and many came from all parts of the country to hear this candidate for Governor of Texas. The town of Menard, forty miles [away], was well represented, a crowd coming from there bearing banners on their vehicles announcing that Menard [was] for Colquitt and all wearing Colquitt-Menard badges. Mason County was also well represented, and a good number from Concho County were [there]. 71

Occasionally, such techniques as "Rumors that Mr. Colquitt was going to make several pertinent references to the present occupant of the governor's seat . . . served to whet the appetite of the listeners . . . ." 72

68 Houston Daily Post, May 21, 1910.
69 San Antonio [Texas] Express, June 24, 1910.
72 Unidentified and undated newspaper clipping, Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
A significant aspect of the occasions for Colquitt's addresses were the pre-speeching activities. Robert Gray Gunderson, in assessing the impact of such activities, points out that

In 1840, for the first time, a presidential candidate abandoned the traditional Olympia of seclusion for the fervid clamor of the arena. Songs, slogans, and pageantry were used to arouse the multitude, and great conventions were staged to stimulate enthusiasm. Gunderson concludes that these Whig "campaign strategists . . . contributed much to the development of American political techniques."

Variations of the tactics of the Whig Party were evident in the campaigns of the early twentieth century Texas politicians. Although Colquitt and his supporters did not go to the extremes that characterized the campaign of 1840, there were activities preceding Colquitt's speeches which generated, as did the Whig conventions, "the tense excitement of a carnival, the drama of a tent show, the conviviality of a tavern, and the enthusiastic fanaticism of a revival."73

One of the most elaborate pre-speech celebrations was accorded Colquitt in his home town of Terrell on July 26, 1912. The Austin [Texas] Statesman and the Dallas [Texas] Morning News described the event:

when Governor Colquitt entered the confines of his old county of Kaufman . . . pandemonium broke loose. He was accompanied here by large delegations from Grand Saline and Wills Point, including the band from the former place. On reaching the city limits of Terrell, the Governor's cars were assailed by screaming steam whistles, the clangor of bells and the yells of at least 12,000 shouting enthusiasts. It was with difficulty that he made his way through the dense crowd at the depot to the carriage in waiting. Led by the booster band, the parade formed and marched up town. In the parade were carriages bearing twenty-five Confederate Veterans, 200 farmers

on white horses bearing torches, Grand Saline Band and Free State contingent, fifty farmers riding their cultivators and other farming implements, automobiles galore and thousands of citizens afoot. The line of march led up main street to the home of Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Andrews, where the Governor stopped for a short time and partook of luncheon.

Afterward the parade again formed and marched to the Tabernacle on Virginia Street.74

Preceding the speech,

the Governor was presented by Janie Bell Griffith with a beautiful bouquet of flowers. Miss Griffith, with graceful composure, recited a catchy political rhyme in giving the Governor the flowers. One couplet ran this way:

"We've heard many things which we knew were not true,
But as Ramsey had no platform he had to talk about you."

During the evening flags waved and men and women shouted and applauded in an almost unceasing torrent of energetic demonstration. The warmth of the welcome bestowed on Governor Colquitt in his home town tonight would almost seem of itself sufficient compensation for the hardships of this campaign.

From all over this county and from adjoining counties, particularly Van Zandt, where he spoke in the morning and afternoon, large delegations poured into Terrell tonight to indicate their loyalty to their Chief Executive and express their surety in the success of his campaign. The very streets and sidewalks of the city tonight could scarcely contain the crowds that surged through them. Local citizens declared that from 12,000 to 15,000 outside people came in for the Governor's reception.75

Even though the occasion was spectacular, it was not atypical. Many such demonstrations were staged during his three gubernatorial campaigns.76

Of course, other receptions were pitched in a lower key. Colquitt's opening speech in Wichita Falls was an example. The Wichita

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75 Dallas Morning News, July 27, 1912.

Weekly Times wrote:

Yesterday was Colquitt day in Wichita Falls. Some hundreds of the candidate's friends from over North Texas, many of them from distant parts of the state, were in the city to hear him deliver his opening address and cheer him on. The bad weather made the attendance probably smaller than it otherwise would have been, but even in the face of this disagreeable feature, hundreds of the candidates friends were here.

The program for the morning has consisted of an informal reception at the Elk's Club Room, where the citizens took advantage of the opportunity to meet him. It had been planned to take him for an automobile ride over the city, but on account of the weather, this was abandoned. A brass band dispersed music on the streets during the morning...

Throughout his visit in this city Mr. Colquitt has met hundreds of his friends and has received warm assurance of support in the campaign.

At the conclusion of the address yesterday, Mr. Colquitt was then taken out to Lake Wichita, with other visitors, and given an opportunity to see the attractions at that resort. At night he and the visiting newspaper men were guests at a box party at "The Third Degree," at the Wichita Theatre. This was followed by a reception at the Elks' Club, where matters of a social nature were enjoyed.

Music was another aspect of the pre-speaking activities which contributed to the atmosphere of the occasions. Instrumental music, for example, was consistently utilized. In the 1910 campaign Colquitt was serenaded on one occasion with such selections as "Dixie," "How Dry I Am," and "Oh, Mr. Johnson, Turn Me Loose." In the 1906 campaign the lyrics of a song entitled "A Campaign Symphony" were frequently vocalized during political rallies. This song proclaimed:

Since the year 1892,
When Jim Hogg led the fight,
Ne'er a man like Colquitt
Has stood for the people's right.

Now, when you travel east,
Tom Campbell is the cry;
Some of the eastern men believe,
He'll win and not half try.

77 Wichita Weekly Times, March 18, 1910.
And when you ride the western plain,
Some few you'll find for Bell;
And when the fight is over,
He'll come out fairly well.

When into the north you go,
Some have it in their books,
That our next governor will be
A gentlemen named Brooks.

Now Campbell's, Brooks', and Bell's support
Are in districts here and there;
But at the present time in Texas,
Colquitt's name is everywhere.

For Colquitt knows no north, no south;
He knows no east or west;
But he's for Texas, everywhere;
For what is right and best.

Now, at the close of this campaign,
Campbell some votes will lack;
And he will travel sadly home
With sore bumps upon his back.

And when Colquitt is elected,
You'll hear a sound from Bell,
But instead of a merry tinkle,
'Twill be a funeral knell.

And now the Brook is rippling,
O'er pebbles and o'er sand,
But after the election,
It will merely be a strand.

For when the fight is over;
The campaign at an end;
Colquitt will be our governor;
Hurrah for the people's friend.

In the campaigns of 1906 and 1910 the burdened taxpayers of Texas perhaps found solace in a song entitled "The Colquitt Way," a stanza of which declared:

The question of taxation is a great vexation;
It was always so, they say,
But the Colquitt plan will be fair to every man,
And will surely pay the way.
To be more explicit, 'twill wipe out the deficit,
And make the creditor gay;
For he'll get his pay on the very same day--
They adopt the Colquitt way.\textsuperscript{79}

In spite of the quality of the lyrics the audiences seemingly enjoyed the songs. They were "received with loud applause."\textsuperscript{80}

In addition to music, banners and signs added to the total effect of the speaking situations. For Colquitt's closing speech at Terrell, "Across Moore Avenue at intervals were large streamers with different inscriptions, such as 'Colquitt, the Farmers' Friend,' 'Kaufman County for Colquitt,' [and] 'Colquitt, our Next Governor.'"\textsuperscript{81}

In Fort Worth above the speaker's stand was a streamer which proclaimed: "Colquitt--the Jackson of Texas Democracy. He never sold the truth to serve people."\textsuperscript{82}

Occasionally, the speaking atmosphere was intensified by disruptions in the audience. At Sherman when a Reverend Binkley accused Colquitt of "having fallen from grace, hot words followed and the band had to play 'Dixie' to quiet the mob of some 15,000 persons."\textsuperscript{83} In Paris a Confederate veteran began running up and down the platform, waving his coat wildly in the air. He then commenced "what would have been a skirt dance had it been of the feminine variety . . . ." At another time a Ramsey supporter deliberately tried to break up the rally. A

\textsuperscript{79}Terrell Daily Transcript, July 18, 1906, July 27, 1906, and unidentified and undated newspaper clipping, Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{80}Unidentified and undated newspaper clipping, Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{81}Terrell Daily Transcript, July 27, 1906.

\textsuperscript{82}Fort Worth Star-Telegram, July 25, 1912.

\textsuperscript{83}Fort Worth [Texas] Record, July 12, 1910.
demonstration ensued as attempts were made to eject the man from the hall. Finally, with the help of the police, the confusion was quieted and Colquitt continued his speech.\(^4\)

Two important features generated by the speech occasions were the platform committees and the introductions of the speaker. These, though varying in elaborateness, were constant elements in all the receptions staged for Colquitt.

The platform committee was usually composed of some of the most prominent citizens of the community and distinguished guests from out of town. The assemblages often included venerable Confederate veterans, business men, farmers, and politicians. The Fort Worth [Texas] Star-Telegram indicates that

> Prominent at the opening of the campaign and occupying seats on the platform was a large Kaufman County delegation wearing county badges.

Fort Worth's delegation made the trip by Interurban, arriving shortly before noon. This, as the delegation from Dallas, included many prominent business men.

In addition, "On the platform also were one hundred members of the Sherman Colquitt reception committee, headed by Eugene Cherry. There were also two Methodist ministers, Col. R. E. Smith, who introduced [Colquitt] and a number of Sherman ladies."

Colquitt's introductions were often made by one, and sometimes three, citizens of the community.\(^6\) On some occasions state leaders...
were used to help establish the candidate's ethos. The introductions ranged from less than ten minutes to almost a full hour in length.

A typical introduction was the masterful address in behalf of [Colquitt's] candidacy by Hon. W. J. Crawford. . . .

Mr. Crawford said, in part: "O. B. Colquitt has done more for the development of our natural resources than any man who has ever held State office. He interested himself successfully in the movement to reduce the rate on rough rice. It was he who instituted the fight, before he became railroad commissioner, which resulted in the reduction of the rates on crude oil, a matter which vitally affected our prosperity and incidentally that of the entire State, making it possible for oil to be used as a fuel in our factories. . . .

Colquitt is the candidate of no class, clique or clan; he is the candidate of the people. And if he is elected governor he will, like Hogg, be governor. And he will stand for something, and do something.

Other factors which influenced the atmosphere in which Colquitt spoke included factory whistles, rowdy cheers such as "Hurrah for Colquitt," and a seventeen gun salute from a Confederate cannon. Often flowers, sometimes as many as seven vases, were presented by the ladies of the community.

This chapter has been an attempt to describe the audiences and occasions for Colquitt's political oratory in behalf of his three campaigns for governor of Texas. The aim of the next chapter will be an evaluation of the man who spoke in those three campaigns.

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87 Houston Daily Post, July 21, 1910.
88 Dallas Morning News, July 22, 1906, and July 14, 1912.
89 Houston Daily Post, July 26, 1906.
90 Dallas Morning News, July 13, 1910, July 14, 1912, and July 21, 1912.
In discussing "the available means of persuasion within the speaker," Brembeck and Howell state:

We can talk more meaningful about the power of the personality to persuade if we introduce a generally accepted term, perhaps strange to some readers, ethos. This word may be broadly translated as "character." In the context of persuasive speech it includes two elements: (1) The reputation or prestige enjoyed by the speaker with respect to his particular audience and subject at the moment he begins to speak, and (2) the increasing or diminishing of that prestige as a result of what he says and does in the speech.

Aristotle recognized the value of ethos when he advised that it is possible that a speaker's "character [ethos] is the most potent of all the means to persuasion."

As Oscar Branch Colquitt faced his audiences in 1906, 1910, and 1912, he was obviously aware of the importance of conveying to his listeners a respectable image. This chapter, then, proposes to describe and discuss the nature of Colquitt's ethos as a part of the total framework of his political rhetoric. It will consider, first, the image created by his reputation, and second, the image which evolved from his


speeches.

When Colquitt began his first campaign for governor in April, 1905, he had already established himself as a formidable public figure. The initial impact of his political career was minimal, but as time passed politics contributed more and more to his image as a public speaker.

Colquitt's first encounter with politics, wherein a knowledge of parliamentary procedure enabled him to secure the election of his candidate for state senator, could hardly have been considered sophisticated and was little noted by the public. However, as the years progressed Colquitt became more involved in political activities and soon he became a well-known and popular politician in his home county of Kaufman.

The first state political office Colquitt held was that of senator. He served in that capacity from 1885 to 1889, where he introduced a number of significant legislative proposals. During his tenure as senator his name became known all over the state. First, he cultivated friendships with Hogg, Culberson, and Sayers, all of whom had been, were or were to be governors of Texas. His friendship with the venerable Hogg, aided by Colquitt's campaign speeches in Hogg's behalf,

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3 See Chapter 2, p. 21.
4 Terrell [Texas] Times-Star, June 15, 1892.
greatly enhanced his image. Second, while serving in the state senate he was appointed by the then Governor Culberson as State Revenue agent. Though "it was a financial sacrifice to accept the job, . . . he undoubtedly did so with the hope and expectation that it would help him further his political ambitions." Colquitt's efficient performance of duty resulted in his appointment by Culberson's successor, Governor Sayers, as a "tax expert on the Tax Commission, a body created by the legislature to revise the tax laws of the state." Third, Colquitt authored a delinquent tax bill which accorded him a state-wide reputation "as an expert on tax matters . . . ."

It was during his tenure as a member of the Railroad Commission, from 1902-1910 that Colquitt's name became a household word. Colquitt decided to run for that office in 1902 and in that campaign the Austin [Texas] Statesman designated "Colonel Colquitt . . . a strong man . . . [who] had the unqualified endorsement and support of United States Senator Culberson." As the campaign progressed Colquitt's strength increased as several letters indicated. Typical of the letters received

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8 Huckaby, p. 44.
9 Pittsburg Gazette, February 13, 1934.
10 Webb, p. 381.
11 Huckaby, p. 43.
12 Huckaby, p. 80. The author writes that the creation of the Railroad Commission was "a personal triumph for Governor James S. Hogg, for he had fought valiantly for a railroad commission while he had been attorney general of Texas, and had won the Democratic nomination and the subsequent election as governor principally on this issue in 1890." Thus, Colquitt again associated himself with the venerated Texas hero.
13 Austin [Texas] Stateman, October 24, 1901.
was that of a Greenville lawyer who wrote:

Your experience with the fiscal affairs of the state, and your opportunities while a member of the Legislature . . . renders you the best qualified man in the state for the position . . . I believe that your well known reputation for doing your duty without [sic] fear or favor will give you a great advantage.14

Later one of Colquitt's friends, in seeking support for his candidate, suggested Colquitt was

a man of fine mental ability, honest and upright in all his dealings, and blest with a robust, vigorous constitution and in the zenith of manhood, of sober and temperate habits, industrious and energetic in conducting his own private affairs and an untiring worker in the discharge of any public duty requiring detailed work.15

Colquitt himself used correspondence in an attempt to boost his image. He prepared and distributed a form letter which stated:

I am not unmindful of the fact that special knowledge is required to properly discharge the duties which devolve upon a Railroad Commissioner. The technical knowledge necessary may be obtained from experience, but such knowledge is useless unless supplemented by the necessary information which will enable one to apply it so that the people will derive a uniform benefit therefrom, and this information can be acquired by an intimate acquaintance with the conditions which prevail in the various portions of the State of Texas.

I believe that my experience, observation and study has [sic] enabled me to acquire this information, and I believe that by close application I can discharge the duties incumbent upon a Railroad Commissioner. I understand that the interests of the people of Texas are inter-dependent. No interest can be injured without affecting, more or less, the whole people. It will be my effort, if elected, to so direct the powers which have been invested in the Railroad Commission as to benefit alike each of the citizens of the State without inflicting injury upon any class.16

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14 Letter from Evans to Colquitt, January 4, 1902. See also letters from Pitts to Colquitt, January 2, 1902; March to Colquitt, January 17, 1902; Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

15 Letter from Dillard to Love, March 23, 1902, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

16 Form letter from Colquitt to "Dear Sir," March 26, 1906,
The impact of the inartistic ethos generated by Colquitt's membership on the Railroad Commission is thus delineated:

before the commercial use of automobiles, busses, trucks, and airplanes the railways furnished the chief means of inland transportation. Consequently, the entire populace was vitally interested in freight and passenger rates, accommodations and services, and anything else pertaining to the utility of the roads. There was also a further reason for interest during the first decade of the twentieth century. That was the age of the "muckrakers" and of President Roosevelt's "trust busting." So far as Texas was concerned, the railroads represented the chief examples of big business trusts, and most of the Texas lines were owned and controlled by out of state corporations. This fact alone was sufficient to make them suspect in the minds of Texans. Therefore, the railroad commission was looked upon as a champion of the rights of the people against the organized greed of predatory, Eastern capitalists. Interest was concentrated upon the commission, also, because it represented the first, and for a long time, the only agency which had been successful in checking the activities of large corporations.17

Colquitt, then, had a potent vehicle to help him project a favorable image to his largely rural, agriculturally and industrially oriented audiences and he frequently took advantage of the opportunities it afforded him.

The first opportunity came when the general manager of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway Company complained in a letter of the "charged conditions and surroundings in the operation of railroads as compared to those prevailing a few years ago."18 In typical fashion Colquitt replied with a lengthy defense of the position of the Railroad Commission. He argued:

You say the cost of operation has largely increased and give as one reason the increased cost of materials and supplies .

Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

17 Huckaby, p. 117.

In addition to this, you say you "have felt the effect of the demands of organized labor, having been obliged to make an increase in the wages of your employees which will swell the total of your pay rolls over $200,00 per year." And you add that "these are matters with which the public is familiar."

"There has been," too, you say, "during the past season, extraordinary expenditures on account of the unusual weather conditions. . . ."

In the first place, the general increase in prices of materials, which may be due, wholly or partially, to combinations formed for the purpose of controlling the output and prices of such materials, the general public has had to pay these increased prices as well as the transportation companies like yours. If you are to recoup this increase in cost of materials, the price of which may or may not be controlled by those who control the transportation companies, by an increase of freight rates on the people of the state, how and by what course are the other consumers of similar materials in Texas, and the manufacturers and producers of the materials and products making up your tonnage, going to be reimbursed? The freight either comes out of the value of the raw material or is added to the cost of the manufactured articles for the consumer to pay. Unfortunately our State appears to be bearing both these burdens. Shall your company, as a citizen of the State, carry its share of the burden as a consumer, or shall you transfer it, by sanction of the Commission, to the shoulders of those who must have it added to the amount to be deducted from the products which contribute a part of their value for transportation to the market?

You would have us increase the rates so as to cover the $200,000 which you are to pay out in increased salaries in compliance with the demands of your organized laborers. I presume to prevent a strike . . .

This matter of salaries is an issue between the transportation companies and their employees, and the resultant burdens of a compromise of this kind should not be shifted to the shoulders of those having no voice in their settlement.

Unfortunately for all business in this State the unprecedented and continuous rains has [sic] decreased business of almost every kind and increased the expense of carrying it on. But shall we add your misfortunes to the burdens of others suffering from the same cause. . . .

Ours is an agricultural State and the farmer who owns his land and produces freight for your road, is the safest, best and most conservative of our citizenship. He can be relied upon to protect the rights of property and preserve good government. Should we not hesitate to place all the burdens upon him?

I think the Commission should be candid enough to say to you that it cannot offer any encouragement in your desire for increased rates. The conditions of our people, as a result of some of the causes of which you complain, are even much worse than yours. I think you may be assured of just and fair treatment at the hands of the Commission, but I cannot bring myself to believe that if you pay all your income out by means of increased salaries that the burden resulting from your own act should be shifted to the people upon
whose prosperity you own so much depends.\textsuperscript{19}

The Dallas \textit{Morning News} published portions of Colquitt's letter\textsuperscript{20} and support and praise for the Commissioner's action came from several sections of the state. The president of Georgetown Oil Mills declared, "Allow me Sir to congratulate the Citizen Ship [sic] of Texas in having such a man as yourself as R. R. Commissioner."\textsuperscript{21} Another constituent wrote: "Please allow the writer to express his sincere appreciation for you in the high position which he helped to elevate you and wish to be able to in the near future to still help advance you to the highest gift of the people."\textsuperscript{22} A third reader requested a copy of Colquitt's letter so that it could be reproduced in a local paper in our county. The article was such a complete refutation of that baseless charge that you were being run for Commissioner in the interests of the railway companies that I desire to have it published not only to vindicate you but myself in supporting your candidacy.\textsuperscript{23}

The highly controversial question which came to be labeled the Houston-Galveston differential gave Colquitt a second opportunity to advance his political image. An account of the problem is presented by S. G. Reed who points out that the reason for the differential was to equalize the freight rates which the shippers paid. It made no differ-

\textsuperscript{19}Letter from Colquitt to Allen, April 21, 1903, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{20}Dallas \textit{Morning News}, April 23, 1903.

\textsuperscript{21}Letter from Whittle to Colquitt, April 23, 1903, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{22}Letter from Wilson to Colquitt, April 23, 1903, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{23}Letter from Evans to Colquitt, April 23, 1903, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
ence whether the goods being shipped passed through both of the cities. The differential represented the cost of water freight charges between the two cities. Galveston was favored on incoming freight and Houston on the outgoing. Goods shipped from Galveston to Dallas would not be apt to go via Houston because the rates would be cheaper if shipped by the direct route. On the other hand, goods going from Dallas to Galveston could travel via Houston for the same rate as by the direct route. This arrangement was not satisfactory with the Galveston shippers and they waged a continuing battle to get the differential removed. Colquitt, of course favored retaining the differential. 24

Although the differential issue was not "settled until the Interstate Commission granted the principle of equalization or rates in 1925," it initiated a war of letters 26 that had considerable influence on Colquitt's ethos.

The war of letters began on April 3, 1905, when George C. Jester, former lieutenant governor, penned the following letter to Colquitt.

Referring to the recent investigation before the Commissioners regarding the railway rates, compress charges and the Houston-Galveston differential, in which you took a prominent part, it appears to me that the interests of the owner-seller of the cotton have not been considered in the differential discussion. That the reduction in freights, rail or water, . . . do not [sic] . . . insure to the benefit of the owner thereof at the place of shipment is, to my mind, so silly as not worth discussing . . . .

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26Dallas Morning News, April 3, 1905. The letters were published in full by the Dallas Morning News.
The controversy between Houston and Galveston is of no concern to the rest of the State, except in so far as its adjustment may be of benefit or otherwise to the State at large. As it can not be admitted that the people of the interior should pay tribute to either of the localities . . . . The owner of the cotton—say in Dallas—is entitled to the lowest freight rate, say to Galveston or New Orleans, that the carrier can afford, . . . . and this state of affairs can not be brought about unless all unnecessary expenses to the carrier are eliminated.  

Colquitt's first response to Jester was in the form of an interview by the Dallas Morning News. Colquitt stated:

The questions which he [Jester] propounds to me directly as a member of the commission were all inquired to at the public hearing, and it is to be regretted that Gov. Jester did not attach enough importance to that hearing to come and hear the questions discussed by the freight agents, by the citizens of Houston and Galveston and by the members of the commission and the general attorneys of the railroads. I think that the discussion of the question in his first open communication to me shows clearly that Gov. Jester does not fully understand the issues which he raises himself. However, when I shall have the time I may answer his inquiries in detail.  

On April 17, 1905, Colquitt found the time and wrote a lengthy letter which was also published in the Dallas Morning News. Portions of that letter follow.

The matter of differential between Houston and Galveston is an arbitrary adjustment of rates between those two points . . . . But in no case that I can recall is the differential higher to Galveston from Houston than it is on the same articles from Galveston to Houston. In each case the differential is fixed by the charge for transportation of boats plying Buffalo Bayou between Houston and Galveston. Houston pays the differential on inbound Atlantic seashore freight and Galveston pays the differential on outbound seashore or trans-Atlantic freight . . . . The Galveston-Houston differential is a question local to those two cities which . . . may soon be settled by giving to Houston the same ocean rates that Galveston has, and to Galveston the same railroad rates that Houston has. This will be done by the improvement

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27 Dallas Morning News, April 3, 1905, and letter from Jester to Colquitt, April 3, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

28 Dallas Morning News, April 5, 1905.
of Buffalo Bayou and its navigation by larger steamers . . . . Personally I have always felt an interest in the development of Galveston and the commission has done all it could to build it up as against New Orleans, and I can have no quarrel with you about Galveston, for I am and have been a good friend to the city and yourself.

But the people have a just quarrel with the commission for allowing the present exorbitant rates on cotton to stand as long as they have.29

Colquitt's reply to Jester resulted in a momentary lull in the fight, but after the announcement of Colquitt's intent to run for governor in 1906, the battle was again renewed. In October, 1905, many newspapers published identical editorials attacking the position of the Railroad Commission and Colquitt, in particular.30 One of the most damaging charges was that Colquitt had used the differential issue for political reasons. Colquitt retaliated by issuing an open letter to the Galveston [Texas] Daily News demanding "that they prove that the differential was created for political purpose or admit their error."31

Colquitt's action ended the letter war and caused the Houston [Texas] Chronicle, a paper which had never been kind to him, to editorialize:

The Chronicle has frequently disagreed with the Hon. O. B. Colquitt, and is in no way prejudiced in his favor, but it must do him the justice to say that his open letter to those carping critics at Galveston was a masterly one and completely disclosed the selfishness, falsity and absurdity of the claim made by the Galveston Chamber of Commerce and its literary bureau.32

29Dallas Morning News, April 17, 1905, and letter from Colquitt to Jester, April 14, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

30Letter from Pierce Colquitt to Oscar Branch Colquitt, October 24, 1905, and letter from Oscar Branch Colquitt to Johnson, October 26, 1905, Colquitt Papers University of Texas at Austin Archives.


32Houston [Texas] Chronicle, December 5, 1905.
The most significant effect of the differential controversy on Colquitt's ethos came as the result of an article published in the Houston Daily Post. The Post contended that

Although ex-Governor J. S. Hogg had not expressed himself for publication on the Galveston differential proposition since the revival of the agitation of that question was begun several weeks ago, it is known that he has taken a deep interest in the discussion. He had a good deal to say on the subject during his recent visit to Austin, and he intimated to his friends that he had been converted by the argument against the abolishment of the differential as advanced by Railroad Commissioner O. B. Colquitt in his published communications.

The fact that the business interests of Galveston have been trying for several years to obtain the influence of Mr. Hogg to bring about the abolishment of the differential makes his position on the proposition at this time unusually interesting. In a conversation with Mr. Colquitt and other friends at the Driskill a day or two before his recent departure for his plantation, Mr. Hogg stated that he considered that the published communication of Mr. Colquitt on the differential question the ablest State document that had ever emanated from the capitol building. The Post correspondent was present when this remark was made by the ex-governor.

Mr. Hogg went further and declared that the situation had resolved itself down to one of money as far as the business element of Galveston was concerned. He illustrated this by referring to the paid advertisements which were being circulated in the interest of that port and city.33

While a member of the Railroad Commission, Colquitt also made efforts to improve the lot of the fruit and vegetable growers, cotton growers, and lumbermen. This coupled with his views on free railroad passes, served to increase his inartistic ethos. Colquitt's advocacy of policies in the interests of agriculture and industry often resulted in clashes with the other two Railroad Commissioners. When this happened Colquitt would take his case to the public. He wrote letters which were subsequently published in newspapers defending his point of

33 Houston Daily Post, December 30, 1905.
In one instance, when one of his colleagues on the Commission accused him of playing with politics with the rate issues, Colquitt replied: "What ever may be the results to my own political fortune it is not of so much concern to me, as the hope I have of being able to do some public good."  

Colquitt's Railroad Commission related activities seemingly had a strong impact in shaping the image he conveyed to the electorate. These efforts motivated one of his admirers to write a letter to the Houston Chronicle which stated: "Col. Colquitt is by no means a stranger to the public of Texas, his acts as a railroad commissioner being known far and wide and which have clearly demonstrated him to be the friend of the common people. He has justly been dubbed the second Jim Hogg."  

By far the most significant factors contributing to Colquitt's inartistic ethos were his three gubernatorial campaigns and two terms as the chief executive of the state. These channels provided opportunities for increasing the favorable image of Colquitt, the speaker.

Five features of Colquitt's gubernatorial campaigns helped to shape his image. They included 1) the influence of Colquitt clubs, 2) the influence of reputation through the testimony of friends and supporters, 3) the influence of public endorsement, 4) the influence of

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34 Houston Daily Post, December 30, 1905.
35 Memorandum from Colquitt to Mayfield, July 13, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
36 Letter from F. W. King to Houston Chronicle, June 1, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
of campaign literature, and 5) the influence of newspaper coverage. These features were constant elements in all of Colquitt's campaigns.

The overall purpose of Colquitt clubs was to advance the cause of the candidate. Chapter 4 illustrated one of the chief roles of the clubs in the discussion of the speaking occasions. Influencing Colquitt's ethos constituted a second important role played by the clubs. A circular prepared by the Crockett Colquitt Club and mailed "to every voter in Houston County" illustrated the procedure used by that club in advancing Colquitt's image. In part, the circular said:

Mr. Colquitt is in every sense of the term a self-made man, one whose political fortunes are not the result of a fortuitous event nor based solely upon the good will of any faction or entrenched by any designing man or set of men who are in the habit of taking so much stock in the political affairs of the state . . . .

In every position to which his aspiration have led him and in which the suffrage of the people has placed him he has met with full measure the obligations of the office and the expectations of his friends. As railroad commissioner, he has mastered the rate situation in Texas, and has discharged his duties with rare good judgement, with fearless independence and with unchallenging fairness. And such traits will well become the chief executive of this great state . . . .

We favor the election of Mr. Colquitt because he stands foursquare to all the political winds that blow; because he represents the best and most ancient traditions of the democratic party; because he is making a clean and clear-cut fight for the constitution, which is the palladium of our hopes, the bulwark of our liberty and our best guarantee for prosperity and happiness and peace; because he will fill with becoming dignity, with fine diplomacy, with marked ability and with unselfish patriotism the high office to which in a few days the people of Houston county and of Texas at large will call him.38

A second method of augmenting Colquitt's inartistic image consisted of the extension of his reputation through the testimony of

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37See Chapter 4, p. 99.

38Circular, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
friends and supporters. This concept included 1) the influence of persons who spoke for Colquitt, 2) influence of public endorsements, and 3) the influence of private endorsement through letters of support. In these three instances Colquitt benefitted not only from what was said about him, but from the reputation of the person who said it. In many cases the individuals working in Colquitt's behalf were well known state and local figures who enjoyed considerable respect from the citizens of their respective domains.

Colquitt utilized many speakers in his three campaigns. He relied heavily on local speakers, using lawyers, judges, state senators and prominent county officials. 39

Typical of a local speech was the one delivered by T. H. Stone in Weimar, Texas, on July 25, 1906. On that occasion Stone "made one of the most effective addresses heard . . . in this campaign." Basically, the address was a speech of praise for Colquitt coupled with denunciation of Colquitt's opponents. Of Colquitt, Stone said:

I am here . . . to speak in behalf of one who is best qualified of all the candidates for the office of governor--Honorable O. B. Colquitt. In this campaign there are issues important to the people and vital to the democratic theory of government. The vote next Saturday will determine whether the professional politicians or the people shall rule in Texas, for the State needs at this time a broad and representative man in the governor's office--a man of disciplined will, clear courage, inflexible backbone and a conscience that can not be swerved from the path of duty. Such a man,

39Letters from Rawlins M. Colquitt to Aycock, Durham, Brite, Carl, Wright, Maurray, Clayton, King, and Stubbs, July 11, 1910; letters from Rawlins M. Colquitt to Collins and Robertson, July 13, 1910; letters from Rawlins M. Colquitt to Puckett, Miller, and McDonald, July 14, 1910; letter from Rawlins M. Colquitt to McKay, July 15, 1910; letter from Rawlins M. Colquitt to Wood, July 18, 1910; and letter from Oscar Branch Colquitt to Hill, December 13, 1909; Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives. See also Houston Daily Post, July 19, 1912, and San Antonio Express, July 25, 1912.
my fellow-citizens, is Hon. O. B. Colquitt. 40

In addition to local speakers, Colquitt profited from prominent state figures. Judge Barry Miller of the Criminal District Court of Dallas County, a widely known friend and supporter of United States Senator Charles A. Culberson, who was later to serve as Lieutenant Governor of Texas, 41 made several notable speeches for Colquitt in 1912. In one of those speeches, Miller declared:

I have always supported Colquitt and I am going to tell you why. He is the kind of man I love to support. I know what it is to tread the winepress alone. I know what it is to enter into a life struggle against conflict and vicissitudes without money and without influence, and I tell you I love a man who can, in the face of adverse conditions, carve for himself a place in the estimation of his countrymen by the honor this man has won for himself. When his opponent was enjoying the fruits of the industry of his forebears, when he was going placidly through the biggest universities, when he was receiving those great aids to future progress coming from education, Oscar B. Colquitt was studying in the bitter school of experience and his curriculum the hard knocks of poverty, his opportunity the opportunity that comes to the barefoot son of a tenant farmer on an East Texas sandy farm land. . . . He came with his parents from the red old hills of Georgia when a sixteen-year-old boy. They came not with wealth. They came as tenant farmers, and rented a little farm down here in East Texas for three years--this man that is today the Governor of Texas--the three most important years that should have been spent, and that Ramsey was permitted to spend, in a college, he spent tilling the sandy soil. 42

Six years earlier Judge Miller had the honor of placing Colquitt's name in nomination at the 1906 Democratic Convention in Dallas. At that time Miller made

40 Houston Daily Post, July 26, 1906.

41 Seth Shepard McKay, Texas Politics, 1906-1944: with Special Reference to the German Counties (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech Press, 1952), p. 188.

42 Broadside, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
an eloquent speech . . . to those in [the] convention whose hearts beat in sympathy with masses . . . [who were] demanding that of this convention the nomination of a man who is not a "dreamer of dreams," but a man "who does things," [and an individual whom] no man has been able to point to a single instance where he faltered in his devotion to the interest of all the people nor a single time when he stood with special interests seeking advantage through legislative action.43

Closely related to the speakers in Colquitt's behalf were the speakers who introduced the candidate on the hustings. Typically, this individual was a prominent local citizen whose speech followed a pattern of praising Colquitt and lambasting his opponents.44

The influence of public endorsements of Colquitt's candidacy was another method of moulding his inartistic image. This technique incorporated both individual and group sanctions.

Several individuals publicly acknowledged their support of Colquitt. M. H. Gossett, "a consistent prohibitionist," in an open letter to the Kaufman [Texas] Daily Post, wrote that in his "judgement whether a candidate for governor favors or opposes prohibition is not a vital or material inquiry in this contest." He then added:

Mr. Colquitt has been a public spirited and honest citizen of Kaufman county for twenty years, and has proven in an eminent degree his capacity in several public offices, remarkable aptness for useful public service. It is my good fortune to have a personal and friendly acquaintance with all of the candidates for governor, and I esteem them honorable and patriotic citizens of this great state, but I am persuaded that there can be no serious question but that the democracy of Kaufman county will give its fellow-citizen, Mr. Colquitt, that creditable majority to which his merits as a democrat, a citizen and a public officer of the state justly entitle him.45

43 Houston Daily Post, August 8, 1906.
44 Dallas Morning News, July 9, 1910, and Houston Daily Post, June 14, 1912.
A one-time opponent of Colquitt, United State Congressman Albert S. Burleson, who later became Postmaster General in Wilson's cabinet, commented:

I have watched with interest the course pursued by Governor Colquitt during this campaign, and whereas on several occasions he has been solely tried, it has been gratifying to me that he has invariably upheld the dignity of the great office he holds and at the same time asserted the right, which, as a citizen, it was not only his privilege, but his duty to exercise—to raise his voice in support of those policies which he believes will redound to the best interests of our State. As you know, I did not support him in his last race for the governorship, but I have determined, regardless of this prohibition contest and regardless of who may oppose him, to lend my humble endeavors towards securing his renomination as his own successor. I do this because I believe that by his course as governor he has deserved it.

Group endorsements came from such organizations as a teachers' group who applauded Colquitt "because of his service to education," a Colquitt Citizens' Committee composed of individuals from all over the state who designated Colquitt as "one Governor who has tried to live up to his platform pledges [and] . . . consistently fought for his measures approved by the people who elected him," and "One hundred and fifty representative citizens from every walk of life in Texas" who characterized Colquitt "As a faithful and fearless exponent of these principles [teaching of human experience and the right of local self government], as a public official of proved ability and as a man of clean public life." These accolades were followed by a long list of

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46 Webb, p. 248.
47 Houston Daily Post, May 21, 1911.
48 Circular, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
49 Pamphlet, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
names and perhaps gave added strength to the endorsements. Colquitt's private correspondence revealed an interesting ethos building technique. His files are replete with letters of support from his friends across the state. Most of the letters took the form of assessing the worth of Colquitt's character and a pledge to further his cause in any way possible. From Terrell came an offer to "speak a good word for a man I have known for 20 years and know he will make the best gov. the state ever had." A voter from Kaufman volunteered to use his influence in South and Central Texas "as a colored man . . ." because he felt Colquitt understood "the great needs of the state." A former Arkansas citizen, then living in San Antonio, informed Colquitt that he was "an Ark. Politician of the Jeff Davis kind" who had helped "to pull him [Davis] through every time." He suggested that he could do likewise for Colquitt and promised if Colquitt would send him a "lot of literature and pictures [he would] see that every farmer between here [San Antonio] and Texarkana [got] one." He then advised Colquitt to "Tell the people who you are and convince them that the very humblest man in the walks of life will be as welcome at the Capitol at Austin if you are elected as the richest [man]." Many of these personal endorse-

50 Broadside, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
52 Letter from Porter to Colquitt, April 21, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
53 Letter from Grant to Colquitt, April 21, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
54 Letter from Haris to Colquitt, June 29, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
ments were later published and distributed to the electorate.55

The height of ethos by word of mouth was revealed in a form letter by a wholesale grocer to his traveling salesman. In part, the letter stated:

We never believe in mixing politics with business, as the two do not work well together.

We believe, however, that the interest of this firm and the interest of every citizen of Kaufman County . . . are largely interested in the candidacy of our worthy citizen and neighbor, Hon. O. B. Colquitt in his race for the position of Governor of the great State of Texas.

Believing this, we desire to call the attention of our salesmen and traveling men to Mr. Colquitt's candidacy for this position, and while we do not want you to allow politics in the least to interfere with your duties as salesmen of this firm, still we want you to realize that we regard the candidacy of Hon. O. B. Colquitt to our interest, and any word that you may say in his behalf will be appreciated by us . . . .

There has been an impression made by those opposed to Colquitt's candidacy that he is without friends in his own town.

We want to contradict this erroneous impression.

Colquitt has come from the masses and by hard work and conscientious endeavor has made a success of everything which he has undertaken.

He has done more to alleviate the inequalities of the great railroad corporations and the express companies during the time he has served as Railroad Commissioner than all the other Railroad Commissioners combined.

He would make Texas an ideal Governor; one whom every citizen could feel justly proud of . . . .

Anything you can do for him, as suggested in this circular, without being officious in any manner, would be appreciated by the firm which gives you employment.56

The influence of campaign literature was a dominant element in the advancement of Colquitt's political image. He made extensive use of pamphlets, broadsides, printed speeches, and speech excerpts.57

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55Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, Campaign of 1912, June 5, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin.

56Circular letter from Craddock to traveling salesman, April 29, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

57See Chapter 3, pp. 9, 23, and 41.
The campaign literature, while aimed at selling Colquitt’s total package, frequently included materials designed specifically to reinforce his image. A 1906 pamphlet declared:

Colquitt is a man of strong initiative. He is a man who does as well as says things. He is the Roosevelt of Texas. Make him Governor of Texas, and in less than a year every mother’s son of those who opposed him will be proud that he is Governor.58

From a 1910 broadside came the colorful declaration that Colquitt was a straight-from-the-shoulder fighter. He has the courage of his convictions and he never knows when he is whipped. He isn’t a masquerader, a hypocrite, a trimmer or a quitter. He began as a printer boy without money or without friends and he has fought his own battles in his own way during all the years of a busy life. When successful he has never boasted; defeated he has never squealed like a stuck pig or squawked like a fat goose worsted in a contest with a game chicken. E. A. Calvin is eminently correct. Colquitt is a very independent chap and sniffs like a free bronco on the free range when the man with the branding iron gets within the hailing distance. Men are born free, in the South at least, and real men have no use for branding irons or brands.59

A 1912 bulletin proclaimed:

When the people meet the Governor face to face and hear him speak, when they lay aside all prejudices, and measure the Governor’s policies which are of pure democracy, free of all isms, then they know their Governor and like him better than ever before. Governor Colquitt is a human man, intensely human and kind. He says what he thinks and does what he thinks is right. His official record while wrought under many obstacles stands a great credit to the Governor and the State of Texas.60

Newspaper coverage accorded Colquitt was a potent conveyer of ethos. Since the newspaper was the only form of mass media during his

58 Pamphlet, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

59 Broadside, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

60 Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, Campaign of 1912, June 8, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
campaigns, the influence of the press could be a decided asset or a distinct liability. Colquitt, fortunately, was generally favored by Texas newspapers. Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald, designated as "the dean of Texas political writers," gives a firsthand account of the influence of Texas governors from Hogg to Moody. Colquitt, Fitzgerald says, "was one of the best copy makers that ever held office in Texas; newspaper men were his friends; his office and the mansion were open to them at all times."

All of the Texas newspapers were not friendly to Colquitt. However, he received support from the majority of them. This, coupled with his knack for making news, resulted in considerable coverage of his campaigns. His campaign trails were frequently followed by a corps of reporters who often detailed in laudatory terms the size and temperament of the audiences, the magnitude and significance of the occasions, and summaries, excerpts, or full copies of the speeches. A survey of the following headlines and subheadlines will indicate the extent of Colquitt's popularity as revealed through news-

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61 Webb, p. 604.

62 Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald, Governors I Have Known (Austin, Texas: Austin-American Statesman, 1927), p. 32.


64 Wichita Weekly Times [Wichita Falls, Texas], March 19, 1910, and Dallas Morning News, March 19, 1906.
Memorable day in city's history; Mr. Colquitt opened his campaign for Governor under most favorable auspices; many prominent visitors here, much enthusiasm manifested.\(^6^5\)

10,000 cheer O. B. Colquitt; great ovation; solid acre of humanity; men and women greet home rule candidate on first appearance in Fort Worth.\(^6^6\)

He nailed lies; Colquitt recommended the golden rule to his slanderers; only frank candidate; aspirant believes he is the only man in racing willing to confess to even trivial human frailties.\(^6^7\)

Colquitt given royal reception in Grayson County; great crowds hear and applaud him at Van Alstyne and Sherman; enthusiasm runs high; banners bearing inscription "Sherman for Colquitt and Constitution" are conspicuous.\(^6^8\)

Packed house greets Colquitt in Dallas; Majestic Theater overflows; cordial reception; declares Bailey "Biggest Democrat" at present time while replying to interruptions from audience.\(^6^9\)

Immense crowd cheers as Governor hits the high spot: . . . he courageously tells of opponents' plan to defeat him; he outlines the achievements of his term; tells of penal reform since he was elected, explains removal of pension clerk, replies to many attacks, some of them slanderous, made by Judge Ramsey.\(^7^0\)

Another effective method of advancing Colquitt's inartistic image was that of the commonly used editorial endorsement. In the advocacy of his 1910 candidacy, the Houston Daily Post argued that

Of all the candidates who seek the democratic nomination, Mr. Colquitt is in the Post's judgement, the one best fitted for the requirements of this time.

He is first of all a sound democrat, and his public service has demonstrated that he is a highly competent, courageous, broad-

\(^6^5\) Daily Gazette [McKinney, Texas], May 13, 1910.
\(^6^6\) Fort Worth Record, July 19, 1910.
\(^6^7\) Houston Daily Post, July 6, 1910.
\(^6^8\) Fort Worth Record, July 12, 1910.
\(^6^9\) Dallas Morning News, July 21, 1910.
\(^7^0\) Austin Statesman, July 16, 1912.
minded, patriotic and intelligent official.
He is possessed of a strain of conservatism that is needed in executive office.
His distinguished service on the railroad commission had indicated clearly that he is well fitted to carry out the policies upon which his candidacy is based.
He thinks clearly, acts with decision and is temperamentally adapted to difficult tasks which require good judgement, a strong sense of justice and an abundance of courage, energy and purpose.
It is because in these respects he excels that the Post prefers him to those who are asking for the nomination.71

On the day of his first inaugural the Beaumont Enterprise told its readers that

Mr. Colquitt possesses qualities that especially fit him for the office, integrity, intellect and vigor, and no man has more intimate knowledge of the state's needs and its affairs of government. He has rendered distinguished service as senator and railroad commissioner, and the step to the highest office is the gift of the people of Texas is largely a reward for duty well performed. Mr. Colquitt has worked his way up from the ranks of the people, and the honor conferred upon him is another lesson of encouragement to the boy who has to make his way over obstacles. Mr. Colquitt, the man, won his fight on intrinsic merit, which is the same that enabled Mr. Colquitt, the governor, to win his fight. Besides he teems with the Texas spirit, is typical of the day and time, and reflects the hopes and aspirations of the best citizenry on earth. He has promised to devote himself to the material advancement of the state, and knowing so well its possibilities and resources no incoming governor has been better equipped to bring about the end most desired by the people, prosperity and peace.72

Thus, it appears that the newspapers not only kept Colquitt's name and image constantly in public view, but projected them to areas of the state sometimes not reached by other media. Such emphasis on the candidate was bound to have a decided impact on the electorate.

Colquitt used his record as governor of the state of Texas to establish both his inartistic and artistic ethos. Because so much of his speaking, particularly during the 1912 campaign, stressed his gub-

71 Houston Daily Post, February 16, 1910.
72 Beaumont Enterprise, January 1, 1911.
ernatorial achievements, this aspect of his image will be illustrated through the speeches themselves.

Brembeck and Howell, in delineating the nature of ethos, quote the traditional Aristotelian definition of the term. The authors then conclude that while reputation or the inartistic image of the speaker is important that "Aristotle [stressed] that the conduct of the speaker and the speech itself, can do much to communicate the 'probity' of the speaker to the audience."73 The next portion of this chapter, therefore, will be concerned with the impression of the speaker, "created by the speech itself,"74 which contributed to the overall picture of Oscar Branch Colquitt.

Three distinct aspects of Colquitt, the speaker, emerged upon an examination of his speeches. They revealed 1) the speaker's rapport or atmosphere of good will with the audience, 2) the speaker's knowledge and 3) the speaker's character traits.

One of the techniques used in establishing a friendly relationship with his listeners stemmed from his frequent compliments of the attributes of his audience. For example, in the introduction of his speech at Haskell in 1909, he commented on the growth and development of that West Texas town. He remarked:

I am more than glad to come to this great section of our State and mingle with and speak to the people about matters of concern to them. I am delighted to note the growth and development here, and am in full sympathy with your efforts to make further progress; but before coming here I knew the progress you were making for in the Railroad Commission office we have daily reminders of your efforts and energies and progress. This increase in railroad mileage and the tonnage of the railways are evidences of your prosper-

73Brembeck and Howell, p. 245.
74Cooper, p. 8.
Colquitt's Wichita Falls Speech in 1910 afforded him an opportunity to praise the character of that city's citizens. He stated:

Looking over the State for a place in which to formally open my canvass for governor of Texas, I selected Wichita Falls, because your progress, enterprise and development is typical of the progress and development I want to see prevail all over the State. This progress and development, I believe, should be the first care of the next governor of Texas. I know something of the struggle the enterprising citizens of Wichita Falls, have made to bring this community to its present state of prosperity and growth. It is no small task to build and develop a city; it is still a greater undertaking to build and develop a State, especially one with the immense area of Texas. To do either successfully there must be concessions, unison of effort and fair dealing; and the laws should be such as to restrain and prohibit unfair dealing; but they should be fair and just and protect legitimate investments, stimulate industry and encourage development.

You have succeeded here to a degree that is remarkable, and it is a great tribute to the indomitable will, industry and go-ahead-tiveness [sic] of your people. I am glad, too, that I selected a community big and broad enough in its political tolerance for all its citizens to co-operate, as I see you have done, to make it pleasant for me and my friends upon this occasion.76

At Sherman in 1912 Colquitt lauded both the county and its residents. At the same time he expressed his appreciation for the support the county had given him in previous campaigns. He said:

I was glad to accept the invitation of friends to open my campaign for re-election here in this great county and in this center of schools and refinements. Grayson county is made up of broad-minded, intelligent and generous people. She has furnished the State with many able and true public servants, and, in the past, as she will in the future, has had great influence in shaping public policy in this State. I remember with pleasure and now acknowledge with gratitude the vote of endorsement Grayson county gave me when I was first elected on the Railroad Commission in 1902, to succeed the lamen-

75 Copy of speech delivered at Haskell, Texas, September 17, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Haskell Speech.

76 Copy of opening speech delivered at Wichita Falls, Texas, March 17, 1910, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Wichita Falls Speech.
ted John H. Reagan, and again in 1910 when you gave me a splendid plurality of over nine hundred votes for Governor of the State.

Colquitt further generated good will by references to speaking occasions. In his closing speech of the 1906 canvass at Terrell, he acknowledged that "the splendid reception accorded [him] by [his] home people would ever be a precious memory for [him]." He termed the reception given him in Cleburne in 1910 "everything I could wish for . . . ." After being presented flowers at his closing speech in 1912, Colquitt remarked, "I prize these flowers . . . more than words can tell and the beautiful sentiment which accompanied them, but more than all, I prize the friendship of this splendid people."

A second technique employed by Colquitt in establishing rapport with his audience was his regard for the Confederate soldier. His audience often included members of this venerated group and his expression of concern elicited approval by other members of the audience.

Colquitt's most eloquent plea for the ex-soldier was in a 1906 speech at Belton. On that occasion he declared:

I hope that God may wither this hand and palsy this tongue if I shall ever be found ready or willing to pervert the heroism the valor, the sacrifice and the suffering of the men who followed Lee and Jackson and Johnson and Forrest into a means of obtaining political office. (Tremendous applause.)

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77 Copy of opening speech delivered at Sherman, Texas, April 27, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Sherman Speech.


79 Austin Statesman, July 27, 1912.

80 Copy of speech delivered at Belton, Texas, June 4, 1906, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Belton Speech.
Another example of Colquitt's respect for the old soldiers was evidenced in an earlier speech made at McKinney in 1906. There he pledged:

If I am called to the discharge of the duties of the office of Governor, I shall do what I can in a proper way to make the declining years of those who need the public bounty easy and pleasant. It is the duty of the younger generation of the South in making an effort to care for them and to bestow the generous care a dutiful son would devote to his father—not penurious and niggardly, but generous and affectionate.

A more universal appeal designed for the establishment of rapport with his audience was made in Colquitt's 1906 opening speech at McKinney. There he voiced the opinion that

the need of the hour is the faithful performance of duty by public servants, and a fulfillment of pledges made in the interests of the masses. . . . I hope to be the people's candidate. I will not be the instrument and tool of any combination or selfish interests. . . . I will meet the issues squarely and tell the people what I think they ought to know. I make no appeal to caste, class, or clan, but appeal to the public's reason and judgement. The public's welfare and every citizen's property, and each citizen's rights ought to receive the equal protection of the law, and each ought to be equally subservient to a government regulated by law.81

These sentiments, reflected in a number of Colquitt's political addresses,82 perhaps contributed to the overall artistic image of the speaker.

Colquitt's efforts at establishing himself as a knowledgeable individual constituted the second distinct aspect of his artistic ethos. Although he often lamented that he did "not . . . enjoy the blessings of

81 Copy of opening speech delivered at McKinney, Texas, June 4, 1906, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as McKinney Speech.

82 See Belton Speech; Wichita Falls Speech; Houston Daily Post, June 16, 1910; and Austin Statesman, July 8, 1912.
a college education . . . ,"83 and although his modesty perhaps pre-
cluded proclamations of his intellectual prowess, his speeches, never-
theless, demonstrated his expertise in several areas.

First of all, reference to his political record often demon-
strated that he was knowledgeable in affairs of Texas government. In
his Haskell Speech in 1909 Colquitt discussed the development of the
railroads in the state. His audience was reminded of his tenure and
activities on the Railroad Commission, a position which gave credence
to his testimony as an expert witness. He stated:

Within the same territory west of the line I have mentioned
railroad building and development have been the greatest, too,
since I have been a member of the Commission. Since 1903, 1273
miles of railroad have been built in the western part of the State,
as shown by the last annual report of the Commission. During the
last year 563 miles of railway were built in Texas, most of it in
this part of the State, and there are 633 miles now under construc-
tion, most of it being in West Texas.

In explaining the role of the Railroad Commission and the freight rate
of cotton, Colquitt said:

When the Railroad Commission was created and after, until 1894, the
maximum cotton rate was 70 cents per hundred pounds, or $3.50 per
bale, and that was the rate basis on which it was sold by the
farmer. At competing points rebating was more or less the rule,
but the rebate was in favor of the buyer. The Commission reduced
the rates in 1894 from 70 to 65 cents per hundred pounds; again in
1897 from 65 to 60 cents and in 1905 that rate was again reduced
from 60 to 55 cents. During the years 1895 to 1908, both inclusive,
according to government reports there were 35,878,031 bales of
cotton produced, and the reduction in the freight rate from that
in effect in 1894, on this cotton, was $20,069,121.84

Colquitt's record as governor was instrumental in furthering the
image of his intellect. His discussion of the prohibition issue, liquor
legislation, public education and the funds thereof appropriated, the

83 McKinney Speech. See also Dallas Morning News, June 1, 1910.
84 Haskell Speech.
Mexican border problem, Confederate pensions, penitentiary affairs, and the Governor's Conference on Cotton represented areas on which the Governor was well versed. His comments on the cotton conference typified expertise resulting from his first term as governor. He commented:

A conference was held at New Orleans, October 30 and 31, and representatives of the farmers' unions from different States were present upon invitation. Bankers and all others interested in the great problem were asked to give their aid and encouragement to the conference. Prior to the meeting I had requested of the Secretary of State a statement from the American consuls in all parts of the world, showing the amount of cotton needed for consumption. The replies showed the world would require approximately 21,000,000 bales...

A day was spent in discussing plans and hear the view of various persons from different States. The world's production of cotton for the year was estimated at about 20,500,000 bales--14,500,000 from the United States and 6,000,000 from the rest of the world. Cotton had gone down and was quoted on the 30th of October at 6 3/8 cents for middling in New Orleans. The experts were estimating the crop at 15,000,000 bales for the United States, and the Government had figured it at less than 14,000,000 bales. The adoption of a plan to check the declining price was conceded to be something almost impossible, but after the discussions were over a committee was appointed to draw up an address setting forth the plans agreed upon by the conference.85

Colquitt possessed an intimate knowledge of the Texas constitution. He frequently made references to this document, often quoting verbatim long passages and then explicating their meanings. His speeches are replete with examples of this procedure. In McKinney he recited Section 22 of Article 3, which dealt with disclosure by a legislator of any private interest he may have in a bill before the legislature, concluding that "This provision clearly recognizes that a member could be influenced in casting his vote for or against a measure by his personal interest."86 Colquitt directed his Wichita Falls audience to

85 Sherman Speech.
86 McKinney Speech.
Article 17 of the state constitution which prescribed "the mode of proposing and submitting constitutional amendments," point out that "the makers of the constitution intended to provide against frequent change in the organic law of the State." To a Houston audience he justified his stance on the prohibition question by suggesting "that the constitution of the State provides that the people of each county, precinct, city, and town shall determine whether intoxicating liquors shall be sold therein and gives the right to the people to govern and control themselves." By 1912 quoting and explaining the constitution were such integral parts of Colquitt's makeup that he quipped:

Ramsey says I am ignorant. He says I wouldn't know the constitution from Hostetter's almanac... The constitution is written in plain and simple language, so that a common man like I am can grasp it. I used to think I did know something about the constitution, but since Tom Campbell appointed Ramsey Judge of the Supreme Court he shot the constitution so full of holes I wouldn't know it now if I met it in the road.

Colquitt's knowledge of government was not limited to an understanding of the Texas constitution. His discussion of the evolution and principles of democratic self-government further enhanced the image of his intellect. In his San Saba Speech in 1909 he articulately delineated the principles upon which self-government was based. He remarked:

The government of all States and nations, which have protected the individual and his rights and the enjoyment of his property, sprang from the necessity of association and personal contact, thus forming society and making necessary some rules of conduct whereby the weaker members of society, or the minority members of society, or of government, if you please, would receive the protection of the whole, as against the aggression of the strong, or the absolute

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87Wichita Falls Speech.
88Broadside, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
89Dallas Morning News, July 14, 1912.
will of the majority. These governments always began at home--were built up from the bottom, from the neighborhood, from the tribe, and were local. And when these "local governments," by federation with other local governments, formed or made up a State or nation, and the habits, customs and rights of the people of the several tribes or municipalities forming the whole were recognized and firmly established, it insured happiness and prosperity to such State or nation.

Colquitt then cited an example to illustrate how the principle of local government worked. He commented:

It was in this way that the government of England began. In the village moot, where the villager and the countrymen met to discuss questions for the common good and for mutual welfare, individual concessions were made, compromises agreed to and local government established. It has been said by a great historian that all that England has been sprung from the rule of local self-government, and that the "township or village was the primary and perfect type of English life, domestic, social and political." I believe I hazard nothing in saying that no great government can be permanent, nor its people happy, that does not recognize the primary right of its smaller subdivisions, or the people thereof, from which good government comes.

Colquitt continued:

England, with all her prestige and power, has never been able to improve the system which sprang from the home rule of her villages, and they have always been strong enough to maintain it for themselves, even though their monarch might oppress his colonies and dependencies through grants of power to him by the Parliament, which Englishmen would not surrender into his keeping. When their sovereigns have attempted to destroy their local independence, the English villages have always risen and driven them from their place of authority. These villagers demanded and established the right to make the laws for themselves through representation in Parliament. They established a representative form of national government, and ultimately they made their Legislature or Parliament master of their king.

In concluding his explanation of the concept of democratic self-government Colquitt analogized:

So it is with us. Our ancestors came from these British villagers and settled the country. The king granted them "charters," which they thought would protect them from frequent change in the fundamental law.... Whenever these changes were made, or sought, it resulted in strife and bitterness and resentment against the king and his government. It was not so much the tax on tea that caused the colonists of Massachusetts to throw it overboard in the Boston harbor as it was the resentment of the people against the
English government for denying to them a voice in the legislation—denying them local self-government of the basis established by the English villagers for themselves. Hence, the government of the English colonies come from the top—the king—and not from the people acting by their representatives from the villages and districts. And so, in their quarrel with the king, the colonies insisted on the great right of equal government as secured to them under their charters, which was their fundamental law—their constitution.90

Closely related to Colquitt's insight into the nature of local self-government was his familiarity with American history. In a 1912 speech at Sherman, while discussing the recall of public officials by initiative and referendum, he observed:

Other nations and peoples have tried the theory, as history tells us but under different names. Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton and other founders and fathers of our government and Constitution considered it, discussed it and rejected it. They had before them the experience of other nations and profited by it. Governor Randolph of Virginia, when he offered his resolutions in the constitutional convention that met at Philadelphia in 1787 included in them provision for the recall of Congressmen. But when that clause and the principles of it were passed upon, it was rejected unanimously, every one of the States represented in the convention voting against it, and the vote of the delegates was unanimous, as is disclosed by the minutes of the constitutional convention. For myself, I will abide the wisdom of men like Washington, Madison, and Benjamin Franklin.91

Further evidence of Colquitt's acquaintance with American history was revealed in a speech at New Ulm in 1909. He said:

Every reader of history knows of the salutary effect upon the happiness of the people in the colonies of these two men [William Penn and Roger Williams] as compared to those who were inhabitants of some of the New England colonies where the "blue laws" sought to regulate and control the conduct of the individual beyond a reasonable degree. Penn, an Englishman, and Williams, a Welshman, had been driven to this country and to the endurance of great hardships, on account of the political and religious intolerance and the paternalistic laws of their native land . . . .

90 Copy of speech delivered at San Saba, Texas, July 29, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as San Saba Speech.

91 Sherman Speech.
The "celebration of German day, which [was] in commemoration of the first German colonists in America," allowed Colquitt not only to advance his image of intelligence but to establish good will with his audience. He observed:

From the best information obtainable the first German colonists founded the town of Germantown, Pa., October 6, 1682. In 1681 King Charles II of England paid a debt which he owed to William Penn of sixteen thousand pounds sterling by granting to him twenty-six million acres of land in America. . . . Penn established his colony as a place of refuge for all of those who were sufferers in the old country from persecution for conscience sake, and he invited all who wanted to be free to settle in his colony.

Next, Colquitt applauded the contributions of the German people to American society.

In the war for independence of the American colonies the German-Americans and their descendants did their full duty. . . . The German colonists and their descendants were foremost in the early history of our country's development; they were pioneers and pushed furthest into the heart of the forest and wilds of the uncivilized country, bringing it under cultivation and developing the agricultural, mechanical and industrial arts. . . . In every State, city, town and village we meet men of pre-eminence in all walks of life who are of German descent, so that it can truly be said that the German colonists and their descendants have done their full duty, along with the descendants of other of the early settlers, in the development of our great Union of States.

Finally, Colquitt commented on the effect the German race had on the state of Texas. He stated that the accomplishments and standing in the history of our State show that many of the early German settlers were scholarly and well equipped intellectually to grapple with the affairs of the country, and their impress has been left upon the history of Texas.

He then cited thirty-nine examples of individual achievements of German-Texans. His list included physicians, authors, jurists, editors, city attorneys, state senators, United States congressmen, United States district attorneys, lawyers, teachers, Confederate soldiers, bank presidents, a member of Taft's cabinet, businessmen, professors, a member of the State Penitentiary Commission, a Commissioner of the Texas
Land Office, and educators. A typical example of the contributions cited by Colquitt follows:

Hon. Gus Maetze was reputed to be a man of fine attainments, a teacher of distinction, and it was from his that many of the young men of Austin county received their instruction and training. He was at one time a member of the State Senate.92

Colquitt's use of quotations from well known persons constituted a final method by which he demonstrated his sagacity. To delineate the nature of self-government he chose three quotations from Jefferson. First, Colquitt said he "still adhered to the doctrine which Thomas Jefferson taught, that the government which governs least is best."93 Second, he stated in that "Jefferson in his first inaugural address, said that some think that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others?" Third, he enunciated Jefferson's philosophy that called for the "diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason."94

In discussing the nature of constitutional law Colquitt referred to John C. Calhoun who had declared:

There can be no constitution without negative power, and no negative power with the concurrent majority--it follows necessarily that where the numerical majority has the sole control of the government there can be no constitution; as constitution implies limitation or restriction--and of course, is inconsis-

92Copy of speech delivered at New Ulm, Texas, October 9, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as New Ulm Speech.

93Haskell Speech.

94Copy of speech delivered at Honey Grove, Texas, August 6, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Honey Grove Speech.
tent with the idea of sole or exclusive power. And hence, the numerical, unmixed with the concurrent majority, necessarily forms in all cases, absolute government. 95

When discussing the prohibition question in Palestine, Texas, 1911, Colquitt availed himself of a statement by Sam Houston. Houston had been approached by a delegation of ministers requesting that he advocate prohibition laws. He replied with a detailed treatise on the laws of nature and then concluded:

To undertake to prescribe rules of conduct for others . . . by legislative enactment, is a species of legislation that will not be tolerated in a free land.

Moral suasion is the only legitimate weapon that ministers of gospel can make use of to win men from vice of every description. 96

In another instance Colquitt referred to a literary figure. In condemning the state ownership of railroads he quoted William Shakespeare to demonstrate that a double standard existed for enforcement of laws governing the operation of the privately owned and state owned railroads. He charged that

Few if any of these statutes have been complied with by the State in the operation of its roads. This leads me to the application of a saying in Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure."

"Twice treble shame on Angelo,
To weed my vice and let his go." 97

A third, and perhaps the most distinctive aspect of Colquitt's ethical appeal, was his attempts to establish himself as a man of good

95 San Saba Speech.

96 Copy of speech delivered at Palestine, Texas, July 13, 1911, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Palestine Speech.

character. Colquitt's speeches revealed him to be an individual of admirable attributes. Specifically his addresses established his image as 1) a self-made man, 2) an honest man, 3) a courageous man, 4) a moral man, 5) a concerned man, 6) a fair man, and 7) an humble man.

On several occasions Colquitt attempted to convey the image of what has been sometimes described as the "self-made man." He frequently related the following story as he stumped the state.

I was born in the grand old State of Georgia and came to Texas when I was 16 years old. I began life in the northeast part of Texas as a tenant farmer boy, going to school after the crops were laid by. I did this three years and not having earned enough to buy a Sunday go-to-meeting-suit of clothes I went to town, where I worked at anything I could find to do. I did carpenter work, carried a hod, worked as a porter at a railroad station and finally went to work in a print office under a six month's contract for $12.50 a month. I paid $10.00 a month board and $1.25 a month to my landlady for washing. This left me the bountiful sum of $1.25 a month to plunge on. From that humble station I have climbed until tonight I enjoy the distinction of being the Governor of the greatest State in the Union.

Perhaps the most dominant aspect of Colquitt's character was his honesty. His speeches were replete with striking examples of this quality.

First, Colquitt presented himself as being trustworthy. On the issue of prohibition Colquitt was particularly straightforward. Throughout his three campaigns his views remained consistent with his

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98 One image may fall in one or more categories. An image in more than one category was classified in terms of its dominant feature. It is also recognized that some of the speaker's ethical appeals could also be considered logical or motive appeals. However, an attempt has been made to avoid overlapping as much as possible.

99 Huckaby, p. 63.

100 Dallas Morning News, July 14, 1912. See also unidentified copy of campaign speech, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as 1912 Campaign Speech.
opening speech in the 1906 campaign.

Colquitt announced that he was "opposed to the submission of a constitutional amendment for State prohibition, and would oppose its adoption if submitted." A similar view was expressed in 1910 when he stated "I don't endorse the principles of prohibition." During the 1912 campaign he affirmed his stance on the question when he said "I frankly told you that I opposed the principles of prohibition and I stand today where I stood then. I am an anti and not a pro and would not play the hypocrit [sic] to hold the Governor's office."

Second, Colquitt's attitude toward an honest ballot was revealed by his speech. He promised to "go to the limits to prevent and punish the casting of any dishonest ballot . . . , [would] scorn the nomination if [he] knew [he got it] by illegal ballots, and would refuse to accept [the nomination]."

A third way that Colquitt demonstrated his honesty was through his denial of using public money irresponsibly. In 1912 at Dallas he observed:

My opponent is not holding up his fitness for the office. In fact, he is doing nothing but holding up my shortcomings. His entire campaign is based on my demerits.

I served four years in the State Senate, eight years on the Railroad Commission and eighteen months as Governor, and I challenge any man to point to the time that I employed the powers of my public office to advance my own private fortunes at the expense of the public.

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101 McKinney Speech.
102 San Antonio Express, April 19, 1910.
To a charge that he was "riding around the country playing politics at the state's expense . . . ," he retorted that "he could not draw a cent from the state without swearing to it . . . . Even a 5¢ street car fare must be attested to have been paid out while on state business."\(^{104}\)

Fourth, Colquitt branded as false the statements made by his opponents that the liquor interest had aided him in his prohibition campaigns and controlled his appointments to state office. He declared:

I deny that I owe the saloons for my first election. . . . I instructed my county campaign managers not to take contributions from liquor dealers, and every one that testified before that investigation committee last summer that investigated everybody's business except its own, so testified.\(^{105}\)

Regarding the charge of the liquor interest, avowed:

I want to tell you that the liquor interests or no other interests have dictated my policies or appointments. For sixteen months I have been governor of Texas myself and I assure you that I owe no one a debt of gratitude which I must pay except the people of Texas.\(^{106}\)

Fifth, Colquitt often revealed his honesty by daring his opponents to examine his public and private life. In 1910 he asserted:

"I am not running for Governor because I'm trying to hide anything. . . . My record is open to you, as Railroad Commissioner and in politics. I fear no attack which may be made upon either."\(^{107}\) In 1912 he announced: "If you can find in all my record as public servant where I have done one thing to benefit myself instead of the people, I

\(^{104}\) Dallas Morning News, February 27, 1910, July 14, 1912, and July 27, 1912.

\(^{105}\) Houston Daily Post, June 8, 1912.

\(^{106}\) Fort Worth Star-Telegram, May 5, 1912.

will not only quit the race for governor, but I will resign."  

Colquitt also consented to have his private life scrutinized. He proclaimed:

I stand ready for them to investigate my private life, too. I am willing that a committee shall be appointed to investigate if [whether] my record is not as clear, and as white as that of my opponent. If an investigation committee will not so declare I am ready to retire from the race.  

Courage was a dominant attribute of Colquitt's character. His speeches suggested that he was, indeed, his own man, and not the political tool of the establishment. "I am not the candidate at the request of any combination, ring, clique, or clan, nor have any made promises of support to me in any shape or form whatever. . . . I will not be the instrument of any combination of selfish interest."  

To a Stephenville audience in 1912 he declared:

I hope that I shall never be coward enough to surrender my individual character and manhood even for the office of governor. I would perhaps have been without opposition if I had been a political coward and bowed-down and kissed the toes of Thomas Mitchell Campbell. But I would not do it, and he pulled his political shadow [Ramsey] off the supreme court to run against me.

The quintessence of Colquitt's belief in manliness was also expressed in a Gainesville speech. He vowed: "I am not afraid of anything except a snake. I like to see a man be a man; to stand out before his countrymen and defend himself and defend his convictions; to stand for

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108 Austin Statesman, June 7, 1912. See also Houston Daily Post, June 5, 1912, and Dallas Morning News, July 16, 1912.

109 Houston Daily Post, June 5, 1912.

110 McKinney Speech. See also Dallas Morning News, July 20, 1912.

111 Houston Daily Post, June 8, 1912.
something and try to do something for the people's good."\(^{112}\)

Closely allied with Colquitt's own man image was his eagerness to fight for a principle. Two examples illustrated his spirit. First, he said:

My conscience will be my guide. I will stand by what I believe to be right, even though I have to fight a whole regiment to do so. I am not like Colonel Campbell's man, John M. Duncan, going around stumps, I am taking them up as I go.\(^{113}\)

Second, in addressing his supporters in Denton in 1912 he stated:

Ramsey and his cohorts . . . are the most desperate gang of politicians that ever tried to defeat the people's will in this State, but I'll stand flat-footed and fight them and fight every politician in Texas unless I think he is right.

Colquitt's fighting spirit was further evidenced on other occasions. Speaking in Austin in 1910, he remarked: "I have determined to fight as hard for political peace and legislative rest after I become Governor of the State as I fought for it in winning the nomination last Saturday." Again, in the 1910 campaign he pointed out that Campbell "said that any one who proposed to repeal any of his laws would have to meet his wrath. Well, I am his huckleberry."\(^{114}\)

Another element of Colquitt's courage can be viewed through his disposition to ministers and church members. He was not at all hesitant to attack them when he felt they had unjustly criticized him. Speaking to his hometown audience in 1906, he labeled members of his church "gamblers who [had] wagered money against [his] candidacy [and

\(^{112}\)Dallas Morning News, March 1910.

\(^{113}\)Times Herald, July 21, 1906.

\(^{114}\)Dallas Morning News, March 20, 1910, July 26, 1910, and July 24, 1912.
denounced] those individuals for their action." On another occasion he voiced the sentiment "that the place for a preacher is in the pulpit, and that he ought to preach the Gospel and not a doctrine of hate and force." Finally, Colquitt castigated his perennial enemy George Rankin. He commented:

I see that Dr. Rankin published a letter, or rather the extract of a letter, which I wrote to Judge Hammer of Colorado, Tex. I always thought that when a man began publishing letters which he had received or had written, he ought to publish all of them. I always do, including the postscripts.

Challenging his opponents to debate him on the stump considerably enhanced Colquitt's courage. In 1910 in a speech at Gainesville he said of Davidson: "He is not my kind of a man.... If he was he would get out and meet me on this question. I challenge him now to meet me anywhere in Texas." In that same speech he urged: "Let Johnson and Poindexter debate; let the prohibitionists select their candidate and I will meet him at Phillippi." Finally, in the 1912 campaign Colquitt announced: "I am ready to meet him [Ramsey] on the stump and discuss these matters and these things he calls issues three times a day until the twenty-seventh day of next July."  

In addition to challenging his adversaries to debate, Colquitt frequently condemned them for dirty politics. In 1910, after reading a letter written by one of his opponents, he charged:

This letter ... is on a parity with the ignorance of Davidson himself.... It is one of the cheapest manifestations of cheap politics in this campaign.... And I say this because

115 Unidentified newspaper clipping July 28, 1906, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
116 Dallas Morning News, February 27, 1910, and March 20, 1910.
117 Houston Daily Post, June 5, 1912.
I believe Davidson's campaign manager came here to hear what I would say. I will say nothing about any man that I am not willing to say to his face.\textsuperscript{118}

In 1912 Colquitt characterized his enemies as "the most desperate gang of politicians in Texas [who would] . . . resort to any method in a hopeless effort to win." Of his opponents' total campaign Colquitt charged: "Judge Ramsey had pitched his campaign upon the lowest scale ever seen in Texas, without a single exception."\textsuperscript{119}

Colquitt's efforts to establish himself as a moral man constituted a fourth distinctive aspect of his character. His speeches demonstrated his morality in three areas.

First, he promised that he would make a conscientious effort to give the people an honest government. He vowed that he would banish the practice of nepotism,\textsuperscript{120} graft,\textsuperscript{121} and partisan political appointments. He promised that he would control the liquor traffic and reform the campaign contribution system.\textsuperscript{122} Colquitt conceded that while official conduct of governmental personnel "may not be criminal or corrupt as defined by law, yet is is baneful and injurious to the public, and begets distrust of honor and integrity of men in public office."\textsuperscript{123} In short, Colquitt promised that if "elected Gov-

\textsuperscript{118} San Antonio Express, May 19, 1910.
\textsuperscript{119} Dallas Morning News, July 17, 1912, and July 27, 1912.
\textsuperscript{120} McKinney Speech.
\textsuperscript{121} "If I Were Governor," copy of speech delivered at Dallas, Texas, November 8, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as "If I Were Governor" Speech.
\textsuperscript{122} Sherman Speech.
\textsuperscript{123} "If I Were Governor" Speech.
ernor of Texas, this State by the eternal Gods, shall have a clean administration."  

Second, Colquitt's allusions to the Bible and the teachings of Christ intensified the impact of his morality. Although he frequently referred to himself as a sinner and "A Methodist Bishop once proposed to kick him out of the Methodist Church for his stand on the liquor question," his speeches were sprinkled with religious references. After demonstrating the use of the "bat" disdainfully remarked, "Whether I be sinner or saint, this practice is not indulged in this administration." On another occasion he commented, "I don't want to boast about my religion, but I have got more in my heart in five minutes than Ramsey and Campbell had in four years." In speaking of his opponents in 1912, he observed:

I am the only man in this campaign that is preaching the real religion of Jesus Christ in the administration of the business affairs of the State. Come, let us put our shoulders to the wheel, and carry the cross of truth and justice to victory on today week. These politicians in prohibition cloaks have forgotten the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule.

Third, because of his views on prohibition Colquitt sometimes had to counter the charge of being "under the influence of intoxicating liquor." To meet this accusation Colquitt stated that he had

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124 Unidentified newspaper clipping, July 28, 1906, Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

125 See Austin Statesman, May 16, 1910 and Dallas Morning News, July 16, 1912, and July 17, 1912.

126 Dallas Morning News, March 9, 1940.

127 Houston Daily Post, June 5, 1912.

128 Dallas Morning News, July 21, 1912, and July 24, 1912.
never been drunk in his life and then challenged "anyone to say that they [had] ever seen [him] under the influence of intoxicating liquor." 

Colquitt's endeavor to project an image of concern for the people of Texas exhibited another dimension of his character. His regard for the welfare of his people encompassed 1) the farmer, 2) the laborer, 3) the mentally and physically ill, 4) the citizens along the Texas-Mexican border, 5) the citizens associated with education, and 6) the state prisoners.

Colquitt's speeches manifested his consideration for the farmer in many ways. Two areas, however, were particularly imminent. The first was the Cotton Conference called by the Governor in 1911. When criticized by his opponent for instigating this meeting Colquitt replied:

   Again, my fellow citizens, he [Ramsey] says I ought not to be re-elected Governor because last fall I called a conference of the Governors of the cotton producing states. This was done for the purpose of conferring together and devising some plan, if possible, whereby we could be of some assistance to the cotton grower and checking the downward tendency of the price of cotton. He says that I did that for political purposes, and that cotton went down two cents a pound after that conference was held, and every farmer in Texas knows that from that time cotton commenced to go up until now it is two and one-half cents per pound higher than it was then.

In another speech discussing the same topic Colquitt met the charge of political manipulation by retorting:

   Now, if I played politics in calling that conference, I want to say that is the kind of politics a Governor of a cotton-producing State ought to play, and I am going to keep it up as long as I am Governor.

   129 Houston Daily Post, July 6, 1910.
   130 1912 Campaign Speech.
The time is coming, my fellow citizens, when, with the cooperation of the banker and the businessman, the farmers of the South are going to have a voice and influence in determining the value of cotton.\textsuperscript{131}

The second area of Colquitt's concern was demonstrated by his advocacy of bonded warehouses. He announced:

I expect to recommend to the Legislature when it meets next January a law whereby bonded warehouses may be established in every community. . . . Proper warehouse facilities, with proper laws regulating sampling and grading cotton, will make warehouse receipts for cotton as good security as bank stock. It will enable the farmers to market their cotton gradually. He can borrow money at a low rate of interest on his warehouse receipt and discharge his debts without being forced to rush his cotton to market at a sacrifice.\textsuperscript{132}

Colquitt's attempt to establish a harmonious relationship with the labor force further enhanced his ethos. In 1912 he said, "The honest laboring men can reach me and interview me at any hour of the night or day and I am willing to cooperate to the limits to improve his conditions."\textsuperscript{133} On another occasion Colquitt reminded his audience that his voting record would confirm his loyalty to the working force. He stated that from the time he was in the State senate in 1895 through his first term as Governor he had "aided in the passage of all [labor] measures except one."\textsuperscript{134}

Individuals plagued with mental illness were among those for whom Colquitt had an affinity. In his 1906 campaign he voiced the opinion that "The county jail with its hard living and harder surroundings

\textsuperscript{131}Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, July 2, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas as Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{132}Sherman Speech.

\textsuperscript{133}Dallas Morning News, July 14, 1912.

\textsuperscript{134}Fort Worth Star-Telegram, July 25, 1912.
is not a place to keep a poor human being who has lost his reason."\textsuperscript{135}

In 1910 he advocated that "The insane asylums of the State should be enlarged . . . and if necessary a new asylum should be built."\textsuperscript{136} In 1912 he pointed to his achievement in improving the eleemosynary institutions. He remarked: "When I became Governor, it was estimated that there were over five hundred insane persons in the county jails, and now there are only 127 in all the jails of the State, and room will be made for these in a short space of time."\textsuperscript{137}

Colquitt was equally cognizant of the needs of the physically ill. In 1910 he acknowledged that

The public health is always a matter of first importance. At times it requires great vigilance on the part of health officers to keep out of Texas pestilential diseases and to prevent their spread after they develop within our borders. Ample provision, therefore, should always be made for such emergencies. The State should build and maintain a sanitarium for the care of the indigent consumptives and a leprosy colony should be established where those afflicted with that disease could be properly cared for and separated from the public.\textsuperscript{138}

The Texas-Mexican border problem which erupted in Colquitt's first administration and continued during his second administration afforded him another opportunity to enhance further his image of concern for the people. In speaking of that situation he said:

That Mexican border situation has been a perplexing one to handle. We had to recognize and give due consideration to the treaty stipulations and obligations existing between the United States and the Mexican Government. We have done that, and yet we have given adequate protection to the lives and property of our Texas citi-

\textsuperscript{135} Times Herald, July 31, 1906.  
\textsuperscript{136} Wichita Falls Speech.  
\textsuperscript{137} Sherman Speech.  
\textsuperscript{138} Wichita Falls Speech.
The issue of public education helped to advance Colquitt's interest in the well being of Texans. His attitude toward the quality and availability of instructional institutions was indicated in his opening speech in McKinney in 1906. There he expressed the desire to make the University of Texas, Texas A. and M. College and the industrial and normal schools "the best of their kind" in order to "put in reach of every country boy and girl a chance to get a country school training with an opportunity to finish their education in their own beloved state in the University of their own making--one equal to the best in all the land." In his second campaign in 1910 he declared: "I want the educational facilities of Texas made better. I want every country school to have a competent teacher with a good salary." In his 1912 speech at Sherman he reaffirmed his position on the value of education when he stated, "An educated citizenship with proper training of the heart as of the mind, is the best guarantee of a good government."

A situation which received considerable attention from Colquitt was the plight of the prisoners. This particular issue, which allowed Colquitt to utilize both ethical and pathetic appeals, in somewhat dramatic fashion, centered around 1) penitentiary reform, particularly in view of treatment of prisoners and 2) pardoning of prisoners.

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139 1912 Campaign Speech.
140 McKinney Speech.
141 Austin Statesman, May 16, 1910.
142 Sherman Speech.
143 Pathetic appeals will be discussed in Chapter 6.
In 1906 Colquitt termed the management of the prison system "a business problem" which could be solved if prison officials would utilize the numerous avenues available "for the proper and profitable employment of [state] convicts." Concern for the prisoners became a major issue in the 1910 campaign as Colquitt stumped the state with the "bat," an instrument used by officials of the penitentiary to discipline inmates. In addition to abolishing the use of this weapon of torture, Colquitt proposed that the "stripe" and the convict lease system would no longer be used. He further recommended the establishing of a work program that would not compete with free labor, allowing those "incarcerated to learn a trade from which they [could] make an honest living when they [had] served their term with the State." In 1912 Colquitt told his audiences that he had brought about penal reform. He stated:

I promised you in that campaign that there would be prison reform. I said that the stripe ought to be abolished and that the contract lease system should go. I told you that if I were elected governor I would see that convict labor would be taken out of competition with free labor. This system has been abolished.

On June 4, 1912, Colquitt reported that during his first term as Governor he had pardoned approximately three hundred prisoners. In defense of this record he remarked:

144 McKinney Speech.
146 Wichita Falls Speech.
147 Fort Worth Star-Telegram, July 25, 1912, see also Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, May 21, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
148 Houston Daily Post, June 5, 1912.
out of this number I have pardoned a large number of young white men—granted them conditional pardons, conditioned that they would not violate the laws of this State again during the unserved portions of their sentences. I have granted these pardons to young white men who were serving their first terms in prison for their first violations of the law; young white men under the age of twenty-five and over the age of seventeen; young fellows who had left the farm and gone to town hunting more profitable employment and had fallen into bad company and been led astray and into the commission of crime. In most instances they were sons of widow women who had no money or influence. I want to say that I have not used the pardoning power for political purposes. I have not granted pardons on requests of influential lawyers or wealthy politicians, but most of the pardons I have granted have been on the appeals of some old mother or some young wife. I want to say to you that I could stand here and talk to you by the hour and recite to you numbers and numbers of cases on which I have acted favorably—appeals made to me for the liberation of some son or for the pardon of a wayward husband but I shall recite only a few.149

The sixth distinctive feature of Colquitt's ethos was his sense of fair play. His speeches revealed that he demonstrated this character trait in four areas.

First, he insisted that the rights of one group of citizens should not infringe upon other groups of citizens. He claimed:

that if the people of Johnson county have exercised their rights and prerogatives under the Constitution, in good morals, good conscience and good government they have no right to force their opinions on the people of some other county which does not want it.150

Second, Colquitt articulated the right of the individual. He vowed:

When an enemy of mine has come before the Railroad Commission he has got a square deal just the same as a friend, and I do not want to be Governor except in the same way. If elected Governor, and I shall be, I want Senator Bailey and his friends and I want his enemies to feel perfectly at ease in the Governor's office.151

149 Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, July 2, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.


Third, Colquitt spoke of his attitude toward the members of the legislature. He remarked: "I don't ask you to send men to the Legislature who will be my official slaves. I want you to send men of intelligence to represent your county well, not to be servile to me. I am a free man myself, and so should legislators be."

Fourth, Colquitt demonstrated his sense of fair play in his first inaugural address in 1911. At that time he declared:

I promise you now to consecrate an honest and sincere heart and an honest and sincere purpose to enforce the law and uphold its dignity and preserve the rights of persons and of property throughout the confines of the State of Texas. Without bitterness and without strife I hope I will have the cooperation of the members of the Legislature and the citizenship of Texas at large. I want the members of the Legislature to feel at home in the Governor's office; come and counsel with me and let me counsel with you, whether you agree with me on policies and upon questions that are confronting you or not. I ask that you candidly confer with me and see whether we can adjust our differences and unite upon a policy which will lead Texas to first place in the sisterhood of states. I pledge you now every effort of mine shall be directed to the up building and development of our educational institutions, our system of common schools. I want to see the hearts of the people of Texas so educated and trained that all of its citizenship can live up to the injunction of the Golden Rule "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

The final distinctive feature of Colquitt's character appeals was his humility. Although he did not stress this quality to a great extent, his succinct statements seemed sufficiently adequate. In 1910 he said, "I have no education. I graduated in a printing office, and that's my alma mater." In his 1912 campaign he stated, "I am willing to confess my faults and my sins. I am just like every other

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152 Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, June 12, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

153 Copy of inaugural speech, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

mortal man. I do not claim to be better than other people." Later in the same canvass he repeated that he did "not claim to be a perfect man." He then added, "I never heard of but one and he pardoned the thief upon the cross."^156

The purpose of this chapter has been to indicate the nature of the credibility created by Oscar Branch Colquitt in his three gubernatorial campaigns. It has emphasized the scope of Colquitt's ethos from the standpoint of the image fostered by his reputation and the image suggested by his speeches.

The first part of the chapter traces Colquitt's development as an astute politician whose name was well known by the people of Texas by the time of his first campaign for governor. The chapter also discussed the impact of Colquitt's record as Railroad Commissioner from 1902 to 1910 in the formulating of audience opinion of the man. The chapter then enumerates and details five features of his gubernatorial campaigns which helped to shape his inartistic image. These features included the influence of Colquitt clubs, testimony of friends and supporters, public endorsement, campaign literature and newspaper coverage. Finally, Colquitt's speeches were examined to determine the artistic image generated by the speaker. Colquitt's addresses suggested that he was 1) an individual who attempted to establish a friendly relationship with his audience, 2) an individual with knowledge and expertise in a number of areas, and 3) a "self-made" individual possessing character traits of honesty, courage, morality, concern, fairness, and humility.

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^155 Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, July 2, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

^156 Dallas Morning News, July 17, 1912.
In describing the political rhetoric of the 1960 presidential election, Bernard C. Kissel comments on a "basic speech" designed by Richard M. Nixon to meet the various needs of the campaign trail.\(^1\) This speech was compared by Stewart Alsop "to an accordion which would be expanded or contracted in the campaign, enabling Nixon to discard and substitute issues of immediate interest."\(^2\) Kissel concludes that such a vehicle was a flexible campaign tactic, engineered in such a fashion as "to be adaptable to the electorate throughout the country."\(^3\)

A majority of the campaign speeches of Oscar Branch Colquitt between 1906 and 1912, like those of past and present political aspirants, revealed the use of a technique similar to the one in Nixon's accordion speech. For each of his formal, opening speaking occasions Colquitt constructed models which could be adapted by adding, deleting, or amplifying ideas demanded by each speaking situation. This basic speech, then provided Colquitt with a communicative elasticity which enabled him to fulfill the many rhetorical requirements of his political

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\(^3\) Kissel, p. 358.
That Colquitt used a basic speech is corroborated, first, by a comparison of the texts of his political speeches. For example, in his opening speech at McKinney, Texas, in the 1906 campaign, Colquitt briefly described his feeling for the Confederate soldier, expressing the sentiment that it would be his duty as Governor and the duty of the younger generation of the South to make an effort to provide for the Confederate soldier and to bestow on them "the generous care a dutiful son would devote to his father--not penurious and niggardly, but generous and affectionate."\(^4\) Two months later in a speech at Belton, Texas, Colquitt, using the basic argument he had introduced in the opening speech, expressed the same sentiment. On this occasion, however he used the technique of amplification to emphasize his keen concern for the Confederate soldier. After detailing his efforts as a state senator to improve the plight of the old soldiers, he said:

I believe now, as I have always believed, that we should treat the Confederate soldier liberally and not niggardly. That we should do for him, not something that would satisfy the easy conscience of the place-hunting politicians, but something that would really protect the Confederate soldier against the gales of necessity.\(^5\)

A second verification of Colquitt's use of the same basic speech is provided by newspaper accounts of his addresses. In 1906 the Dallas [Texas] Morning News reported that during a speech at Commerce, Texas, Colquitt chose to emphasize the faults of one of his opponents,

\(^4\)Copy of opening speech delivered at McKinney, Texas, May 12, 1906, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as the McKinney Speech.

\(^5\)Copy of speech delivered at Belton, Texas, June 4, 1906, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as the Belton Speech.
but that the "remainder of the speech was along the lines of the one delivered in Dallas, although it was shorter, requiring about an hour to deliver."\(^6\) In describing a 1910 speech delivered by Colquitt in Tyler, Texas, the Houston [Texas] Daily Post noted that "Barring his opening references to the distinguished Tyler Citizen [another of Colquitt's political opponents], Mr. Colquitt's speech was about the same as delivered elsewhere."\(^7\) The Austin [Texas] Statesman of May 30, 1912, declared that Colquitt's "view of the prohibition issues was the same as heretofore, as was also that of the penitentiary system."\(^8\) Numerous other newspaper accounts indicated Colquitt's repetition of the same basic speech.\(^9\)

Colquitt, of course, did not use the same speech each time he delivered a political address. Depending on the audience and occasion he adjusted to the rhetorical demands of each situation. However, a majority of his speaking was based on the concept described earlier as the "accordion" speech. For that reason this chapter proposes to analyze and evaluate the rhetoric which constituted the thrust of Colquitt's three gubernatorial campaigns. Specifically, it will examine

1) Colquitt's methods of preparing his arguments, 2) his basic premises,


\(^7\)Houston [Texas] Daily Post, July 7, 1910.


3) his lines of argumentation, 4) his use of evidence, 5) his use of motive appeals, and 6) his rhetorical effectiveness in the political arena.

Although Oscar Branch Colquitt had little formal training specifically in the art of public speaking, the contents of his speeches suggest that he exerted considerable effort in the researching and writing of his major political addresses as well as those he delivered to the legislature. References in his speeches to the history of democratic forms of government, to American history, to the Bible, to religious history, to religious tenets of religious groups other than Christians, to the classics, as well as his expertise as a Railroad Commissioner, his knowledge of the Texas constitution,


11 Copy of speech delivered at San Saba, Texas, July 29, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as San Saba Speech.

12 Copy of speech delivered at New Ulm, Texas, October 9, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as New Ulm Speech.

13 New Ulm Speech.


15 Copy of speech delivered at Palestine, Texas, July 13, 1911, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Palestine Speech.

16 Copy of speech delivered at Wichita Falls, Texas, March 17, 1910, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Wichita Falls Speech.


18 Wichita Falls Speech.
his knowledge of Texas tax laws, and his voluminous use of statistical data on a variety of subjects, are significant indicators of a man who devoted a considerable amount of time arming himself with rhetorical ammunition.

The content of his speeches, indeed, revealed Colquitt to be a master of the many subjects he discussed in his three gubernatorial campaigns. That he was prepared was abundantly clear. A question, then arises. How did the Texan obtain this knowledge?

Obviously, the reading habits Colquitt acquired as a youth remained with him throughout his lifetime and provided him with an arsenal of supporting material. More specifically, however, the Colquitt Papers at the University of Texas at Austin Archives provide several answers as to the nature of Colquitt's speech preparation. These files are replete with letters, scrapbooks, and miscellaneous materials which implicitly infer methods used by Colquitt.

First, Colquitt relied heavily on newspapers for pertinent information about political, social, and economic events in Texas. There is evidence that as early as 1905 Colquitt subscribed to all major daily newspapers in the state as well as numerous small town weeklies. A further indication of Colquitt's use of newspapers is

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19 Austin [Texas] Tribune, February 1, 1905.

20 Wichita Falls Speech.


22 List of Newspapers, October 16, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

With the aid of the press Colquitt was able to keep abreast of the temper of the political, economic, and social climate of the state and nation as well as the activities of his political opponents. From the texts of his speeches it seems evident that this information was an integral part of Colquitt's preparation process.

Perhaps the most potent method used by Colquitt in his speech preparation was his voluminous correspondence. This constituted a second major source of information.

\(^{23}\)Scrapbook, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
An examination of his correspondence reveals that Colquitt utilized three distinct ways of collecting data for the implementation of his ideas. First, he contacted agencies, both public and private, asking for specific facts and figures. Second, he contacted individuals for information and advice. Third, he frequently benefited from information elicited from the general public.

Numerous pieces of correspondence in the Colquitt Papers reveal the nature and extent of the Texan's request for specific information. He sought so much information that he frequently resorted to a form letter to expedite his research.\(^\text{24}\)

Responding to one of the form letters was the International and Great Northern Railroad Company. W. L. Maury of the firm's accounting department, wrote:

> In compliance with circular [italics not in the original] letter of March 3rd, signed by you, received in an envelope addressed to me, asking for four statements regarding taxes paid by the I. & G. N. R. R., I enclose herewith the following statements, prepared by our Land and Tax Department.\(^\text{25}\)

Another response from a private industry, the Lone Star Fish and Oyster Company of Corpus Christi, Texas, illustrates the breadth of Colquitt's use of letters for research purposes. The company stated:

> Your favor of the 27th. The expert information as regards oyster culture that will enable you to speak expertly would require your study of the question from many documents, for the statistical record you will be able to obtain of the secretary of state at Austin copies of the Fish & Oyster Commissioner's reports, since

\(^{24}\)Letter from Colquitt to Maury, March 3, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\(^{25}\)Letter from Maury to Colquitt, March 7, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
its inception. I am mailing you, under separate cover, some docu-
ments that will enlighten you somewhat as to the extent attention
is being given the subject of "Conservation of Fish and Oysters."26

In addition to contacting private firms, Colquitt frequently
requested information from state agencies relative to their operations.
A typical letter follows:

Will you kindly furnish me with a statement showing the exact
amount of money expended in support and maintenance of the State
Deaf and Dumb Institution for the fiscal years 1900 to 1905, both
inclusive. Also furnish me a statement showing the exact amount
of money expended for maintenance of your institution from 1897 to
1898, both inclusive. Also for each of these periods and for each
year, give the average number of patients in the institution.
Include in your statement separately for each year the amount of
any deficiency incurred for maintenance, but eliminate from the
statement all sums expended for permanent improvement.27

In almost all instances Colquitt received responses to his
inquiries. The Superintendent for the Texas State Penitentiaries, for
example, replied thus, "Replying to your favor of the 19th instant,
beg to say, in answer to the questions asked, that the information we
give you herein, is up to January 31st, 1906." He then gave detailed
answers to the eleven questions Colquitt had posed.28

Colquitt's correspondence requesting information and advice from
individual citizens was a second method the Texan employed in gathering
material for his speeches. On February 23, 1910, he wrote the following
letter to twenty-two individual citizens, some of whom were respected
doctors, lawyers, newspaper editors, and politicians.

26 Letter from Gibson to Colquitt, January 1, 1910, Colquitt
Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

27 Letter from Colquitt to McNulty, September 20, 1905, Colquitt
Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

28 Letter from Baker to Colquitt, February 26, 1906, Colquitt
Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
I am gathering data together to write my formal opening speech which I expect to make in Wichita Falls on March 17th.
I am writing to ask if you have any suggestions that you care to make in addition to the matters mentioned in my platform on the reverse side of this sheet.29

That Colquitt received and utilized this information is evidenced by the numerous letters dating from March 1, 1910, through April 1, 1910.30 To one of his respondents, Clarence Ousley, editor of the Fort Worth Record, Colquitt replied:

Your letter of March 1st, with suggestions in compliance with my request, received.
In some of my speeches, which have not been fully reported, I have been presenting the idea which you refer to in your first suggestion, to-wit, the "reverse of the Prohibition contention."
Your second proposition I think is also sound and is in line with speeches which I have been making throughout the state. . . .
I have been presenting the ideas which your letter contains to my audiences and find them willing listeners.31

In a more general way Colquitt solicited advice and information from a large segment of the state. Letters from the general public constituted a third method used by Colquitt in his speech preparation. Using a form letter, he stated:

I will . . . be pleased to hear from you at any time in the future and trust that you will write me as the canvass progresses and tell me of developments in your neighborhood or offer me any suggestions you may think advisable.32

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29 Letter from Colquitt to Vowell, February 23, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
30 Letterpresses, March 1, 1910 to April 1, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
31 Letter from Colquitt to Ousley, March 3, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
32 Form letter from Colquitt to "Dear Sir," Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
In 1906 Colquitt received a tremendous response to his form letter. One supporter pragmatically advised Colquitt to take the platform on which he received the nomination and show what he advocated then and which of those measures had become law. He further counseled Colquitt to "show how, in accordance with [his] promises, [he had] reduced appropriations and saved the State useless expenditures." Another urged that when Colquitt answered Bell's speech referring to Lanham's record as a Confederate soldier that he should "tell the people that the last bugal [sic] call had hardly died away before Lanham had accepted a place under E. J. Davis to prosecute his own people." Because of the 1906 response to his form letter Colquitt used it again in the 1910 and 1912 campaigns.

In addition to letters written and received by Colquitt in his information gathering process, the Texan sometimes used informal conferences and private conversations with his more intimate friends. In the 1910 campaign Colquitt consulted Clarence Ousley, urging him to "confer with Capps, Judge Armstrong and other friends . . ." for their opinion relative to certain issues in the campaign. After Ousley's conferences,

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33 Letterpresses, March 1, 1906 to April 1, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

34 Letter from Haven to Colquitt, April 10, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

35 Letter from Buckner to Colquitt, June 1, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

36 Form letter from Colquitt to "Dear Sir," Campaigns of 1910 and 1912. See also Letterpresses, Campaigns of 1910 and 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

37 Letter from Colquitt to Osuley, January 28, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Colquitt indicated that he would "run up [to Fort Worth] one day next week to have a conference with you [Ousley]." On another occasion Colquitt wrote A. Haidusek, stating that he would be glad to have a personal interview with him to discuss the issues of local option and prohibition as soon as possible.

Another technique which was helpful to Colquitt in preparing his addresses were the speeches, particularly, the opening speeches, of his opponents. In the Colquitt Papers there are transcripts of his opponents' speeches for each of the three gubernatorial campaigns. Throughout each campaign Colquitt received a barrage of letters which contained excerpts from and descriptions of the speeches his opponents had delivered. These speeches were particularly helpful to Colquitt in preparing rebuttals against his opposition's arguments.

Colquitt sometimes used his own speeches to sound out public opinion on some of the issues he planned to elaborate on in a forthcoming campaign. In 1910, for example, he addressed a lumberman's convention in Galveston, Texas, using that occasion to test his ideas on legislative rest before developing them in detail in later campaign

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38 Letter from Colquitt to Ousley, January 28, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
39 Letter from Colquitt to Haidusek, February 24, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
40 Copies of Speeches, Campaigns of 1906, 1910, and 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
41 Letters from Young to Colquitt, June 6, 1906; Stone to Colquitt, April 18, 1910; Jenkins to Colquitt, May 2, 1912; and numerous other letters of the period, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
speeches. It seems logical to assume that the four speeches Colquitt gave in 1909 at San Saba, Honey Grove, Haskell, and New Ulm were clearly springboards for some of the major arguments he introduced in the 1910 campaign.

When Colquitt had written out a manuscript copy of a major speech, he often sent it to several prominent Texans for an appraisal. On March 15, 1910, Colonel J. F. Wolters, a political friend and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anti-State-Wide Prohibition Organization of Texas, responded. He commented:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favor of March 14th enclosing advance copy of your opening speech. It took me just 30 minutes to read it; I read every line of it. I have never read an opening speech of any candidate that pleased me more. In the language of our mutual friend, Judge Tom Simmons, "it sounds like old time religion." It is a great speech, not only in what it contains and the manner in which it is worded, but in the fact that it is not laborious nor tedious.

In 1912, while advance copies of his opening speech resulted in several letters of approval, it also brought him some stern criticism, resulting in rewriting sections of the speech which "dealt severely with personalities rather than issues."

Brembeck and Howell suggest a major consideration in the preparation of any speech is an analysis of the specific audience for whom

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42 Fort Worth Record, April 15, 1909.
43 Letter from Wolters to Colquitt, March 15, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
44 Letters from Ousley to Colquitt, April 1, 1912, and Guion to Colquitt, April 16, 1912, and other letters of the period, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
45 Letters from Johnson to Colquitt, April 14, 1912, Ousley to Colquitt, April 1, 1912, Rawlins M. Colquitt to Oscar B. Colquitt, March 30, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
the speech is intended.\textsuperscript{46} There are several indications that Colquitt was keenly aware of the importance of this tenet of rhetoric.

First, before the 1906 campaign Colquitt made a tour of North Texas "to determine the attitude of the voters."\textsuperscript{47} He made similar tours in 1910 and 1912.\textsuperscript{48} Second, his letters to the general public became integral elements of his campaign strategy. These letters always encouraged the recipients to keep Colquitt posted on the developments in a particular community.\textsuperscript{49} Quite often the response gave Colquitt valuable information about the attitudes and opinions of the electorate. A letter from Jonathan N. Harris revealed the nature of some of the audience information Colquitt received. Harris wrote, somewhat ungrammatically, of the attitude Colquitt could expect of a San Antonio audience. He stated:

Now the Rail Roaders will not support Campbell on account of that fellow servant bill you want to harp on that, he cant carry Palistine. In comming to San Antonio look out for Prohibition, let each locality govern itself, In the manner of free passes I would let alone, unless I would say that I was in favor of the Arkansas law making it a felony to accept one, Tell the People who you are and convince them that the very humblest man in the walks of life will be as welcome at the Capitol at Austin . . . as the richest, Use the idea that you are in sympathy with the with the farmers which I Am sure you are [sic].\textsuperscript{50}


\textsuperscript{47}Dallas Morning News, April 22, 1905.

\textsuperscript{48}Letter from Colquitt to Priest, January 4, 1910, and letter from Colquitt to Strong, March 10, 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{49}Form letter from Colquitt to "Dear Sir," Campaigns of 1906 and 1912, letter from Colquitt to DeGorge, January 12, 1910, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

\textsuperscript{50}Letter from Harris to Colquitt, June 29, 1905, Colquitt Papers.
Supporters advised Colquitt that the audience in Decatur, Texas, considered the concept of prohibition and local option of great importance. Colquitt obviously considered this a major factor in preparing for that particular speech. After the speech an unidentified supporter wrote, "He [Colquitt] held the people from start to finish as few speakers have ever done in Decatur. He made, as we advised him, Local option vs Statewide prohibition the paramount issue."  

Finally, Colquitt's speeches revealed that he made a careful study of his audiences. In New Ulm, Texas, Colquitt spoke to a predominantly German audience. He began his speech by tracing the development of the first German colony in Germanstown, Pennsylvania, by William Penn, praised the German-Americans for their devotion in the American Revolution, noted the achievements of many prominent German-Americans, and commented on the first German-American settlement in Texas. In an eloquent passage of the address he extolled the virtues of the German-Americans.

The German-American is perhaps the broadest minded, most liberal and conservative type of our citizenship. He is liberal and charitable in his views and opinions as to the religious, political and personal beliefs of all men. He believes in the greatest liberty of thought and action consistent with right living, good conduct and the orderly observance of laws. At the same time he is conservative in his own habits and views and does not indulge in excesses either of opinion or of conduct.

In this his creed harmonizes with that of the great men who laid the foundation for the freest and best government ever yet devised, and is in consonance with the spirit of tolerance which actuated William Penn to invite the Germans, the Swedes, the Hollanders and the "oppressed of all nations" to abide within the confines of his possession. This spirit of amity and of justice even brought the

Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

51Letter from "Father" to "Frank," June 29, 1905, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
savage Indian into leagues of friendship, whereas, in other instances, where force and injustice were applied to him, he revolted and rebelled against it. 52

On another occasion speaking to the citizens of Haskell, a West Texas community, Colquitt adapted to his audience by praising them for their tremendous growth and development, particularly in the area of cotton production. He said:

I am delighted to note the growth and development here, and am in full sympathy with your efforts to make further progress; but before coming here I knew the progress you were making, for in the Railroad Commission office we have daily reminders of your effort and energies and progress. . . . In 1903, when I first became a member of the Railroad Commission of Texas, the area . . . produced only 535,963 bales of cotton, or less than one-fourth of the total Texas crop. For the year ending August 31, 1910, in the same territory, the cotton production amounted to 1,134,039 bales or nearly one-third of the Texas crop. This fact, in itself, shows the rapid development of agriculture in this part of Texas, the increase in cotton alone amounting to over 100 per cent. 53

A summary of Colquitt's speech preparation reveals that he used a number of sources. Among them were 1) his self-study habits, 2) his reliance on newspaper and scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, 3) his voluminous correspondence, 4) his informal conferences, 5) his study of the speeches of his opponents, 6) his own speeches which he used to sound out public reaction to his ideas, 7) his habits of sending advance copies of his major speeches to prominent citizens for criticism, and 8) his prior analyses of his audiences. It would appear, then, that when Colquitt reached the speaker's podium he was well informed on the ideas he intended to discuss with his audience.

52 New Ulm Speech.

53 Copy of speech delivered at Haskell, Texas, September 19, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Haskell Speech.
The main ideas which Colquitt discussed with the electorate in his three gubernatorial campaigns rested on three basic premises. First, he believed in local self-government. Second, he believed in political peace and rest. Third, he believed that government should be administered for the benefit of all the people.

The essence of Colquitt's philosophy of local government was succinctly expressed in his San Saba Speech of July 29, 1909. In that speech he elaborated on a theme which was both an integral part of his political platform and a firmly entrenched tenet of his political philosophy. In defining the nature of local self-government Colquitt traced the progress of free government from the age of the cave man to the present time as he elaborated on the role of local government in the total scheme of constitutional authority.

Colquitt believed that

The government of all States and nations, which have protected the individual and his rights and the enjoyment of his property, sprang from the necessity of association and personal contact, thus forming society and making necessary some rule of conduct whereby the weaker members of society, or the minority members of society, or government, if you please, would receive the protection of the whole, as against the aggression of the strong, or the absolute will of the majority. These governments always began at home—were built up from the bottom, from the neighborhood, from the tribe, and were local. And when the "local governments" by the federation with other local governments, formed or made up a State or nation, and the habits, customs and rights of the people of the several tribes or municipalities forming the whole were recognized and firmly established, it insured happiness and prosperity to such State or nation.

John C. Calhoun's discussion of the theory of concurrent majority further explicated Colquitt's belief. Calhoun had contended that

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54 Copy of printed letter containing platform from Colquitt to Graves, May 25, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
"the minority or negative power makes the Constitution, and the positive, or majority, makes the government." Furthermore, there could be no constitution without negative power, and no negative power without the concurrent majority—it follows necessarily that where the numerical majority has the sole control of the government, there can be no constitution; as a constitution implies limitation or restriction—and, of course, is inconsistent with the idea of sole or exclusive power. And hence, the numerical, unmixed with the concurrent majority, necessarily forms, in all cases, absolute government.

Capitalizing on Calhoun's phrase of "absolute government," Colquitt defined that type of government as "one-man power, or the power of the majority, unrestrained by the minority. It is government despotism. The principle of constitutional government is compromise; the principle of absolute government is force."^55

In a later speech Colquitt related the sanctity of local self-government to America as a whole. He declared:

local self-government was one of the most cherished rights even of the early colonists. It was the one essential protection against tyranny and despotism. Every man persecuted for conscience sake felt the need of its protecting principle. Roger Williams, one of the greatest and best of men, established firmly as the rule "in civil things" in his colony this great principle. It is also firmly established for the government of the Baptist Church, of which Roger Williams is the reputed founder in America. This great religious organization is one of the completest establishments of the principle of local self-government to be found anywhere. Each congregation or church is separate and independent of any other and governs itself and regulates its own internal affairs without interference from any superior body.

Colquitt's firmly imbedded philosophy of the importance of self-government led him to conclude that local self-government was completely necessary if "liberty of thought and freedom of conscience unhampered by the force of power antagonistic to its free exercise"^56 were

^55San Saba Speech.

^56New Ulm Speech.
to prevail.

The second major premise dominating Colquitt's political philosophy was the concept of "legislative peace and rest."\(^{57}\) This concept was initiated in Colquitt's opening address in the 1906 campaign. In that speech he expressed the belief that the state presently had many good laws and suggested, "It is not that we need laws so much as we do the enforcement of those we now have."\(^{58}\) In his 1910 political platform Colquitt more forcefully declared:

In my opinion we have all the restrictive legislation in this State now that we need. I see no necessity for further legislation at this time which would needlessly hinder the people in their personal or business affairs or in their efforts to make a living and accumulate a competency, or restrict them in their personal enjoyment of the same.\(^{59}\)

In his opening speech in Wichita Falls he re-emphasized his belief in political rest. He said that Texas could "afford now to take a rest from additional new and untried laws and legislative theories of governmental interference with the detailed activities of the citizen in his business affairs."\(^{60}\)

In his inaugural address in 1911 he reiterated to his audience his attitude toward additional legislation when he said:

let me again express the opinion that, after many years of strenuous legislative programs, we can well afford to take a rest from additional new and untried laws and legislative theories of useless

\(^{57}\)This phrase was repeated by Colquitt so often in all of his campaigns that it became a trademark of his personality. See Huckaby, p. 232.

\(^{58}\)McKinney Speech.

\(^{59}\)Copy of printed letter containing platform from Colquitt to Graves, May 25, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin.

\(^{60}\)Wichita Falls Speech.
governmental interference with the detailed activities of the citizen in his business affairs. We need time in which to familiarize ourselves with the laws we already have. Although many of them need amending, there is no general demand on the part of the Texas people for any harassing new ones. Needless legislation and unnecessary political strife retards the progress of the citizen himself and keeps back the development of the State.61

Finally, in his 1912 speech at Sherman Colquitt reminded his audience of his efforts to insure legislative rest. He stated.

If you will examine the statutes passed, you will find that the legislative rest promised has been given to you. I said that "our laws regulating and defining the rights of corporations are very strong and efficient, and I do not believe we need or that the people demand further restrictive legislation along this line at this time, but that there is a very urgent demand that the people be given time to adjust themselves to the laws we already have, and rest from the passage of new ones and the consequent agitation and uncertainty that precedes and follows their enactment.62

Thus, it would appear that Colquitt believed firmly in the Jeffersonian doctrine which declared that government which governs least is the government which governs best.63

The third major premise dominating the political thinking of Oscar Branch Colquitt was that government should be administered in such a way as to benefit all the people. Colquitt considered the people of paramount importance in the administration of the welfare of the state. At the close of the 1906 Democratic Convention in a somewhat dramatic setting Colquitt withdrew from the race and gave his support to Thomas M. Campbell, the candidate with the largest number of votes in the four

62 Copy of speech delivered at Sherman, Texas, April 12, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Sherman Speech.
63 Haskell Speech.
candidate contest. In making this move Colquitt declared that "The voice of the people is the voice of God," an action which caused the headlines of one Dallas newspaper to praise Colquitt because he "bowed to the will of the majority . . . ." Another newspaper commented that Colquitt "recognized the divine right, not of a king--but of the people to rule, and to their will he bowed."64

Passages from Colquitt's speeches constituted further testimony of the Texan's regard for the welfare of the people. In McKinney, Texas, in 1906 Colquitt said that political graft could be eliminated "if the public [would] resolutely grasp and put into practical effect the idea that officers are 'public servants' . . . who should never be permitted to become masters of the people."65 In Houston in 1910 he declared that he was "not so anxious to become governor as to trample the rights of laboring men under foot to ride into the gubernatorial office."66 In Sherman in 1912 Colquitt pointed to his administration's prison reforms. He commented:

The convicts have been well fed and clothed, better housed and cared for generally. . . .

At the beginning of the campaign of 1910 I told the people, if elected, the penitentiary "stripes" would be abolished, as relics of barbarism. This promise of reform . . . has been fulfilled. Only the incorrigible prisoners wear stripes . . . . We have abolished the "bat"--the brutal whippings heretofore inflicted; we have given the convicts better moral surroundings; we have abolished the gambling orgies which used to be pastime for

64Dallas [Texas] Times, August 8, 1906.
65Undated and unidentified newspaper clipping, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
66McKinney Speech.
67Unidentified newspaper clipping, June 15, 1910, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Sundays, and substituted preaching and teaching; the convicts are being classified, and the younger and short-term men separated from the hardened prisoners, and the white and negro prisoners have been separated.\(^{68}\)

An overview of Colquitt's speeches illustrated that the Texan's philosophy of administration of government for the good of all was a basic tenet of his beliefs. A survey of his speeches in his three gubernatorial campaigns revealed a number of groups whose welfare was a major concern to Colquitt. These groups included Confederate soldiers and their spouses,\(^{69}\) mentally and physically incompetent,\(^{70}\) elementary, secondary, and college teachers,\(^{71}\) elementary, secondary, and college students,\(^{72}\) farmers, and fruit and vegetable growers.\(^{73}\)

The quintessence of Colquitt's premise concerning the administration of government to benefit the welfare of all was found in the conclusion to his speech in Wichita Falls. At that time he declared:

Let's cast our political bread upon peaceful waters and gather it hence in the future in the abundance of an unlimited prosperity. Let's develop the minds and hearts of our people to a higher standard and to a better understanding of each other and of the rights of each individual under the constitution; develop our educational institutions and bring every citizen to realize his personal interests and right to enjoy the full benefit of them; encourage the development of the great latent wealth in the iron fields of East Texas; establish experimental stations wherever advisable to encourage the development of the farming, stock raising and raising of fruits and vegetables; let's encourage the investment of capital, foreign and domestic, in any and all legitimate pursuits and enterprises. . . . Let us protect labor in all

\(^{68}\) Sherman Speech.

\(^{69}\) Wichita Falls Speech and Belton Speech.

\(^{70}\) Wichita Falls Speech.

\(^{71}\) McKinney Speech.

\(^{72}\) Sherman Speech.

\(^{73}\) Haskell Speech.
its just demands on organized capital, and protect organized capital in legitimate uses and development from a vengeance of predatory politicians; encourage the development of the fish and oyster business on our coast. Encourage the building of homes, churches, schools and colleges, good roads, paved streets; develop our cities and towns and give employment to idle labor at good wages. Make adequate provision for the protection of public health; for the care of the insane, for the education of the deaf and dumb and blind children of the State. . . .

Let's discourage political and factional strife; put patriotism and the good of the State above political and personal hate. . . .

I appeal to all citizens who agree on these matters to join me and we will plant the flag of peace and good will on the ramparts of the capitol at Austin, and progress and development shall permeate the State.74

A survey of Colquitt's speeches indicated certain lines of argumentation dominated his persuasive thinking. An overview, then, of his major addresses generated the following skeletal outline.

I. The most desirable form of government is local self-government.
   A. Its tradition is deep-rooted.
      1. It began as "home rule."
      2. It spread to England.
      3. It spread to the United States.
      4. It spread to Texas.
   B. It is the safest form of government.
      1. It protects the rights of the majority.
      2. It protects the rights of the minority.
      3. It can be changed to meet the needs of the people.
   C. It is the fairest form of government.
      1. Taxation should be primarily a local matter.
      2. Sale of intoxicating beverages should be primarily a local matter.
      3. Protection of the citizens should be primarily a local matter.

II. Certain policies pose serious threats to the concept of local self-government.
   A. Prohibition poses a threat to local self-government.
      1. Constitutional prohibition is wrong in principle and unjust in application.
      2. Statutory prohibition is wrong in principle and unconstitutional.
      3. The proposed quart law is unconstitutional.
   B. Initiative and referendum pose serious threats to local self-government.

74Wichita Falls Speech.
1. They will promote despotism.
2. They will destroy representative form of government.
3. They can be used to condone the passage of other unjust laws.

III. The state of Texas needs "legislative rest."
A. The people have too many laws governing their activities.
B. The people need to adjust to the present laws.
C. The people need peace from agitation and political strife that new laws might foster.

IV. Government should be administered for the benefit of all the people.
A. Governmental power is a gift of the people.
   1. Public officials are servants of the people.
   2. The chief executive should make himself available to the people.
B. Government should be based on a sound economic foundation.
   1. The state should return to and maintain a "pay as you go" policy.
   2. Appropriations should be consistent with revenue.
C. Government should be based on an honest foundation.
   1. Nepotism should be abolished.
   2. Political graft should be abolished.
   3. Professional lobbying should be regulated.
D. Some governmental programs are helpful to the people.
   1. Programs of education benefit the people.
   2. Programs of penal reform benefit the people.
   3. Programs of care for the mentally and physically ill benefit the people.
   4. Programs of care for the Confederate veteran and his spouse benefit the people.
   5. Programs of land law reform benefit the people.
   6. Programs of assistance to the farmer benefit the people.
E. Some governmental policies are harmful to the people.
   1. Prohibition does not benefit the people.
      a. It does not foster temperance.
      b. It does not make men moral.
   2. Inequitable taxation does not benefit the people.
   3. Trusts do not benefit the people.

There were several lines of argumentation underlying Colquitt's basic premise that local self-government was the most desirable form of government. Colquitt argued, first, that the tradition of local self-government was deep rooted. Second, he argued that local self-government was the safest form of government. Third, he argued that local self-government was the fairest form of government. Fourth, he argued that certain policies were detrimental to the concept of local
In developing his argument that the tradition of local self-government has a deep rooted tradition, Colquitt noted that self-government sprang from the village moot, where the villagers and countrymen met to discuss questions for the common good and mutual welfare of all members of the community. As a result of these meetings "compromises were agreed to and local governments were established."

Continuing, Colquitt indicated that the home rule concept was responsible for the beginning of local self-government in England. The Texan further contended that this system of home rule which motivated the establishment of local self-government in England was a superior system which had always been maintained. When the people's sovereigns "attempted to destroy their local independence, the English villagers [had] risen and driven them from their place of authority."

Thus,

These villagers demanded and established the right to make the laws for themselves through representatives in Parliament. They established a representative form of national government upon the basis of their village government, and ultimately they made the Legislature or Parliament master of their king.

Colquitt then detailed the development of local self-government in the United States. He said:

Our ancestors came from these British villages and settled the country. The king granted them "charters," which they thought would protect them from frequent changes in the fundamental law, or their "charter rights." Whenever these changes were made, or sought, it resulted in strife and bitterness and resentment against the king and his government. It was not so much the tax on tea that caused the colonists of Massachusetts to throw it overboard in the Boston harbor as it was the resentment of the people against the English government for denying to them a voice in legislation--denying to them local self-government on the basis established by the English villagers for themselves. Hence the government of the English colonies came from the top--the king--and not from the people acting by their representatives from the villages and
districts. And so, in their quarrel with the king, the colonists insisted on the great right of local self-government as secured to them under their charters, which was their fundamental law—their constitution.

Finally, Colquitt applied the concept of local self-government to the state of Texas. He contended that

The government of the Republic of Texas was born out of the necessity for local self-government and it was formed in the same way that other governments of English-speaking people were formed—by representatives from the villages and settlements or districts.

A major argument advanced by Colquitt was that local self-government was the safest form of government. This concern for equal rights for all citizens led Colquitt to declare "that no government can be permanent, or the people happy, that does not recognize the primary right of the smaller sub-divisions or the people thereof from which good government comes." Furthermore, in Colquitt's opinion self-government "was the one essential protection against tyranny and despotism." In addition, Colquitt argued that

The right of local self-government . . . and the spirit of tolerance and of liberty was a forceful aid in the establishment of the doctrine that "every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not on the equal freedom of any other man."

In defending his belief that local self-government protected the rights of both the majority and minority, Colquitt admitted that the majorities control governments. However, he maintained that local self-government gave the minority enough influence to be a dominant factor in the legislative process. He reasoned that

majorities have the power of acting; minorities have the power of preventing or arresting action, and the two combined make

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75 San Saba Speech.

76 New Ulm Speech.
constitutional government. Our State government is administered by the majority of the people through their chosen officials, but minorities are given the power to prevent change in the constitution which they believe dangerous or destructive of their property rights. And so it should be; it is proper for it to be so. It is the only safe way in which we can have stable government.\textsuperscript{77}

Finally, Colquitt argued that in order to continue to protect its citizens, Texas formulated a constitution. Colquitt believed that this document was

a written charter guaranteeing the people's rights. It established a representative form of government. The Constitution was written by delegates elected by the people of the several districts or counties of the State. Representative of different shades or political opinion as well as representatives of various sections and interests of the State, were present, each anxious to preserve the right of local self-government.

Colquitt next reasoned that if some portion of the constitution came to be in opposition to the will of the people or new social, economic, or political conditions arose which were not accounted for in the original document, a plan had been devised to amend the constitution. Thus, "By a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, amendments may be proposed to the constitution, to be voted on by the qualified electors for members of the Legislature."\textsuperscript{78} The constitution, then, assured continued protection for citizens.

In addition to establishing the rationale that local self-government was the safest form of government Colquitt also maintained that it was the fairest form of government. He firmly believed that some governmental matters were mainly local concerns and should be

\textsuperscript{77}Copy of speech delivered at Honey Grove, Texas, August 6, 1909, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as Honey Grove Speech.

\textsuperscript{78}San Saba Speech.
dealt with as such. Three lines of argument will illustrate Colquitt's defense of this position.

First, Colquitt felt that the system of taxation used by the state of Texas was unfair. He initially voiced this opinion in his "If I Were Governor" Speech, declaring that inequality and injustice were the end results of the state's present taxation system. Colquitt then proposed that "a slight change in the tax law [could] be passed which [would] separate the objects of taxation for state purposes from the objects of taxation for local use." More specifically, he advocated that properties "be designated, from which the revenues needed by the state [could] be collected by assessing a tax against them which [would] equal the average tax borne by property in the counties and cities." Colquitt argued that this would be a more desirable and fairer system because it

would exempt land and personal property from state taxation altogether and leave their rendition and the amount of tax burdens they should bear to each county, city and town, respectively, thus making their assessment a local question to be determined by local authorities, [thus] what one county would value its property at would then not concern the citizens of another county.79

Second, the dual question of local option80 and prohibition provided Colquitt his most forceful example for proving that local

79 Copy of speech delivered at Dallas, Texas, November 6, 1905, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, hereafter referred to as "If I Were Governor" Speech.

80 The term "local option" generally means any legislative matter left to the discretion of a local unit of government. While some passages in Colquitt's speeches indicated that he was using the term in its generic sense, he primarily used it when referring to the right of local citizens to determine if intoxicating beverages would be available in a particular locale.
self-government was the fairest form of government. He argued that the citizens of each county had been granted by the constitution "local option in the control of the manufacture and sales of alcoholic stimulants." Extending his argument, he reasoned that

During all these years the people of the counties have been given the right of local option. And under it more than 160 counties in Texas have adopted it. And all the rest have a right to adopt it. Are not the counties which have not adopted it, or their people, as capable of self-government as those who have it? It is now a constitutional right and the people of each county have to settle the question for themselves. But by this prohibition amendment it is proposed to take that right away from them and confer it upon the state. The experiences of all ages have shown the best and most democratic governments have been those where the most power of self-government was conferred upon the smaller subdivision--conferred on the precincts and the counties.81

Colquitt concluded his argument by inferring that the right of each county to accept or reject prohibition was the fairest method of dealing with the question and that he could see "no reason or necessity . . . why the people of one county might not be satisfied with the regulation of their own internal affairs without attempting to force their views upon some other county that would not desire to accept them."82

Third, the question of the propriety of using the Texas State Rangers offered Colquitt another example to corroborate his argument that local self-government was the fairest form of government. He commented:

There seems to be in Texas some Democrats who think there should be a State police force at the beck and call of the chief executive, which can be sent by him into the various counties to ignore and usurp the authority of the sheriff and other constituted authority. The most hateful provision of the law passed during Roosevelt's administration affecting the National Guard, and one which was most

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81Palestine Speech.
82McKinney Speech.
severely denounced and condemned by the lamented Jim Hogg, was that which authorized the President to send the militia of one State into another, ignoring the States authorities and the State militia.

It is all right to send the Rangers and the militia when the sheriff or local authorities call for them, as provided in the Constitution, but to use them in total disregard of the local authorities, indiscriminately, is a new development under Democratic self-government, in a free State like Texas. Suppose there should be a strike or other disturbance in Texas, which the Governor might not care to take a hand in voluntarily, and the President was to send the militia of Kansas down here to take charge of the matter, and ignore your own State officers and militia, how would you like it?

But would it be any worse than the present practice of sending the Rangers into peaceable and law-abiding communities as the "personal" detectives and police of the Governor?

In the light of events as they are familiar to the reading public of Texas, I leave the thinking people to answer these questions for themselves. Some of the people will remember, however, the hateful State police that was at the beck of call of E. J. Davis [Republican Governor of Texas, 1870-1874], and how he lorded it over the people in counties where they had been able to take control of local affairs out of the hands of the carpetbaggers.

In addition to establishing that local self-government was deep rooted and was the safest and fairest form of government, Colquitt argued that certain policies posed serious threats to the concept of local self-government. Two of these threats--1) prohibition and 2) initiative and referendum--in Colquitt's opinion, constituted the most imminent dangers.

Colquitt dealt with the threats of prohibition on three levels. He indicted constitutional prohibition, statutory prohibition, and the proposed quart law.

Colquitt maintained that the greatest risk of constitutional prohibition was that it would result in the use of force and thus deprive citizens of their basic rights. He declared:

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83 New Ulm Speech.
I am opposed to the application of force and believe that the correct doctrine is to preach temperance and to persuade men into the paths of sobriety, honesty and correct living [because] ... the doctrine of force is wrong in principle; it is intemperate; it is injustice. Man is a free moral agent, endowed by his Creator with a knowledge of good and evil, with a power to choose between the two. No statute law can rise to a higher level than the rule prescribed by the divine law.84

Colquitt further enhanced his argument by pointing out that one prominent prohibitionist had boasted that if the constitutional prohibition amendment passed he would "call out the rangers; then if necessary he would call out the militia. If necessary he would take the offenders away from their home counties to dry counties to try them." Colquitt warned:

That is just what will be demanded if the amendment carries. Civil liberty will give way to military despotism to appease fanaticism on this subject. God will spare us from this despotism. Is the crime of taking a drink as a beverage so bad as to justify such tyranny? Is all civil liberty and human rights to fall prostrate and be trampled under foot in this way? Can our rights of local self-government in due and constitutional form be made to give way to frenzied fanaticism which will induce a good citizen to declare himself for a policy like that announced by the vice-chairman of the prohibition state committee? Shall our constitution become a dish rag for the convenient use of political despots leading a popular clamor? Or shall it remain the bulwark of protection to the individual and continue to confer upon him and the community, and the county, that governmental autonomy, security, protection and effectiveness, necessary to the happiness and tranquility of the people.85

Colquitt, of course, opted for the latter alternative.

Colquitt opposed statutory prohibition, first, for the same reason that he opposed constitutional prohibition. He was convinced that prohibition was wrong in principle and, therefore, an unjust application of the doctrine of force. Second, Colquitt considered statutory

84Wichita Falls Speech.
85Palestine Speech.
prohibition unconstitutional. He quoted former Governor O. M. Roberts who said "that it was not 'within the constitutional power of the legislature to pass such a bill . . . .'" A final threat that Colquitt foresaw was that statutory prohibition would have the effect of destroying the splendid system of local option laws already upon [the] statute books, as well as the Robertson-Fitzhugh law, which [was] one of the best regulatory statutes for the control of liquor traffic enacted in any of the states of the American Union.

The proposed quart law, which was an extension of the prohibition question, generated Colquitt's third argument on the dangers that prohibition posed to local self-government. This law was a further attempt on the part of the determined prohibitionists to do something, no matter how insignificant, to control the liquor traffic in Texas. Specifically, it was believed that

If the people of Texas [elected] a legislature . . . that [would] not propose and submit a prohibition amendment to the constitution and [would] not pass Statewide statutory prohibition, then it [was] proposed to pass a law prohibiting the sale of liquor in less quantities than pints or quarts as a restrictive measure. It was further proposed to prohibit its sale within three miles of a school house or church in an unincorporated city or town.

Colquitt countered that the three mile restriction, if passed, "would be clearly in violation of the constitution," adding

Governor O. M. Roberts, in 1879, in returning a bill to the legislature, which proposed to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within five miles of the Southwest Texas Male and Female College in Jasper County, declared such an act was in conflict with section 20, article 16, of the constitution.

Colquitt then quoted Roberts' veto message which emphasized that the quart law was in direct opposition to the method prescribed by the constitution to determine whether intoxicating beverages could be sold. He added that the law was satisfactory then and should be satisfactory now. Hence, there was no need for a law which was in direct opposition
to the principle of local self-government. 86

A second major threat to the concept of local self-government was initiative and referendum. 87 Colquitt contended that this policy would lead to "anarchy, disorder, uncertainty and insecurity [and was] dangerous to the permanency of the law, and [left] the individual in the pursuit of happiness at the mercy of agitators and to the caprice of the whole community or of the whole State." 88

Colquitt's main objection to the concept of initiative and referendum was that it "would destroy the principle of republican form of government with constitutional guarantees of individual and property rights." 89 He maintained that if

you ignore the right of the people of the districts to act for themselves through their representatives and by the State referendum vote direct the legislative branch of the government, it follows necessarily that you could direct the executive and judicial departments in the same way.

He then questioned.

What use is there for government regulated by law, if the initiative and referendum is to control? If you were to make a law that would compel the representatives to obey the expressed will of the referendum, could you or would you then call for a referendum vote and instruct the courts to uphold such a law?

Colquitt concluded his objection to the initiative and referendum plan of government by warning that if this method

86 Wichita Falls Speech.

87 Initiative is a system of government which allows citizens to put proposals on a ballot by petition and to make them into laws by a majority vote. Referendum is the process which allows voters to petition against and reject laws passed by the legislature.

88 Sherman Speech.

89 San Saba Speech.
be adopted for controlling party action and securing changes in the constitution, then in the same manner the provision of law which guarantees the laborer's wages from garnishment can be destroyed. By the same means another provision of the constitution which protects the liberties and property rights of the individual citizen can be changed.\textsuperscript{90}

Arguments stemming from Colquitt's second major premise that the state of Texas needed "legislative rest" were simple in nature and did not receive a great amount of attention in any particular speech. But Colquitt incorporated the arguments in the majority of his speeches. Sometimes he made only a fleeting reference to the concept\textsuperscript{91} and other times he gave the concept more attention.\textsuperscript{92}

Colquitt used three basic lines of argumentation to support his position on "legislative rest." First, he believed that Texas had enough laws to adequately govern the state. Second, he felt that the people should be given time to adjust to the present laws. Third, he contended that the people needed peace from the agitation and political strife that new legislation might foster.

In constructing the argument that the state had enough laws already, Colquitt voiced the opinion that there was "no necessity for further legislation at this time. . . .",\textsuperscript{93} pointing out that

The Congress of the United States after working 135 years for 90,000,000 [people] has written about 5,000 articles into the code. In Texas there are 10,000 [articles] in the criminal codes regulating the personal conduct and individual business of the citizens. We had better stop awhile and study these we

\textsuperscript{90} Honey Grove Speech.
\textsuperscript{91} Dallas Morning News, July 25, 1912.
\textsuperscript{92} Wichita Falls Speech.
\textsuperscript{93} Haskell Speech.
have and enjoy the peace, rest and prosperity we so greatly need.\textsuperscript{94}

Furthermore, Colquitt insisted that time was needed in which to familiarize ourselves with the laws we already have and do not need any harassing new ones. Needless legislation and political strife retard the progress of the citizen himself and development of the State.\textsuperscript{95}

Finally, Colquitt argued that Texans needed "peace from political strife [and] rest from legislative turmoil and radicalism."\textsuperscript{96}

To enhance this argument Colquitt concluded with the following statement:

The vexation question of prohibition should have been allowed to rest and the people given a rest from acrimonious discussion and vituperous debate upon it. An election upon constitutional prohibition and contest over statutory prohibition would be bitter and destructive, at least for a time, of the peace, happiness and prosperity of the State. I say, therefore, that it is the part of wisdom to let matters stand as they are and we should recognize that it is human to err and that no man is infallible either in habits or his thoughts.

Colquitt's third major premise that government should be administered for the benefit of all the people evoked five major arguments. They were 1) government is a gift of the people, 2) government should be based on a sound economic foundation, 3) government should be based on an honest foundation, 4) some governmental programs are helpful to the people, and 5) some governmental programs are harmful to the people.

Basic to Colquitt's political thinking was the fact that the power to govern was a gift of the people. He argued that the "power to represent and act for them was conferred upon such members [of the legislature] by the people composing their districts."

\textsuperscript{94}Dallas Morning News, July 17, 1912.

\textsuperscript{95}Wichita Falls Speech.

\textsuperscript{96}Sherman Speech.
Extending his argument, he maintained that since government was a gift of the people, then "public officials [were] servants and not the masters of the people." Officials, therefore, should "administer the law in the interest of the public and not for the benefit of the special interests."97

Colquitt's concept of the relationship of the public officials and the citizens encompassed the chief executive as well. Thus, he declared, "If I were governor, I would have no deputy, but every citizen of high or low esteem who desired it, would be granted a hearing on any matter of public concern."

Colquitt's second major argument supporting his premise that government should be administered for the benefit of the people dealt with the economic status of Texas. Colquitt argued that the state should "return to and maintain a 'pay as you go' policy." This could be accomplished by not allowing the state to "pile up a surplus of money in the state treasury [because] it begets a spirit of extravagance." Colquitt believed that the state should "institute the old-fashioned way of keeping the expenses within the State's income [and] if extraordinary appropriations [were] made they [would] be vetoed, unless provision [was] made for payment." He then added:

Appropriations will be cut to fit the revenue, and a number of offices which I think are incubus on the State will be abolished. There will be no evasion of responsibility by attempts to meet extravagance in appropriations and expenditures by a reliance on uncertain revenues to meet them.99

97 Wichita Falls Speech.
98 "If I Were Governor" Speech.
99 McKinney Speech.
A third major argument which Colquitt developed in corroborating his premise that government should be administered for the benefit of all the people was concerned with honesty in government. He was so convinced of this tenet that he vowed that

Strict business integrity would be insisted upon in every department and nepotism would be banished from the executive office and every department subject to executive control, for public office is a public trust and not a family graft.

To accomplish integrity in government he promised to "give the head of each department . . . a new broom with instructions to give his department a thorough cleaning." 100

Specifically, Colquitt argued that three reforms would result in a more honest government. He contended that nepotism and political graft should be abolished and that professional lobbying should be regulated.

Concerning nepotism, Colquitt stated "that the practice of late years in Texas of public officials crowding the places subject to their appointment and control with their near kin [was] neither good public policy nor in accordance with democratic teachings . . . ." He then pledged if elected governor he would "banish the practice from the capitol as far as it would be in [his] power to do so [in order that] the sons and daughters of other men besides the public officials [could be] entitled to an equal chance for [these offices]."

In developing his argument dealing with political graft, Colquitt, first detailed the problem. He declared:

Senators and congressmen have been indicted and convicted of taking fees for their influence with men in official places.

100"If I Were Governor" Speech.
Judges and others have been on trial before legislatures with impeachment charges facing them, because of similar use of their official positions. Favors are accepted and granted to the detriment of the public good by public officials and, in many instances, public places are used for private gain in a way that has called forth condemnation. We find graft most prevalent in those sections of the country where one political party has held long sway and the offices have been filled by persons selected by the political bosses and political rings. Where this is the case it often results in a feeling on the part of the occupant of the office and those who put him in authority that public office is a "private snap," and that the offices belong to the politicians, or to the man who can line up most of the politicians for him.

Colquitt then told his auditors that the people could be instrumental in helping to abolish this dishonest practice. He said:

If the public will insist upon the maxim that "public office is a public trust," and the officer a public servant, entitled only to emoluments allowed by law for his service, then will the public service be clean and free from graft. But as long as the people are indifferent and political nominations are dictated by bosses and rings, just so long will the grafter thrive in public life.

Colquitt's argument on the regulation of the professional lobbyist was similar to his argument on political graft. First, he delineated the problem. He lamented that

Under existing practices it is not uncommon for members of the lobby to take seats by the side of members on the floor, offer suggestions, write amendments and hand them to members to be offered while the bill is being considered and voted upon. To such an extent has it gone that the shrewd representatives of special interests consume most of the time of the Legislature in considering private bills or special laws intended to benefit special interests . . . . The result is that class legislation, pushed by a legislative lobby, finds its way upon the statute books and the general welfare is overlooked.

Colquitt concluded his argument by advocating a solution to the problem. He said that he would initiate legislation which prescribed "the rules of practice before legislative committees." Furthermore, he believed that when "the advocates and opponents of a measure [had] been fully heard by a committee, they should return to their homes and leave the
Legislature to discuss and deliberate over the merits of the bill and the arguments submitted for and against it."

The fourth major argument used by Colquitt in his advocacy of the beneficial nature of government was concerned with the programs he felt would benefit the people of Texas. A survey of his political speeches pointed to six areas of concern. These included 1) education, 2) penal reform, 3) mental and physical illness, 4) Confederate veterans, 5) land laws, and 6) farmers.

Colquitt's program to benefit public education was wide ranged, including all levels of instruction. He contended that an effort should be made
to afford and put in reach of every country boy and girl a chance to get a country school training with an opportunity to finish their education in their own beloved State in the University of their own making—-one equal to the best in all the land.

To accomplish this end he proposed that

Every county should be provided with competent supervision. Such supervision should be in the hands of a competent educator, who [would be] able and capable of supervising matters pertaining to education, counsel teachers and trustees, lecture on school and educational work, organize and arouse an educational spirit in the county with the people as well as with the teachers and trustees, and scrutinize and pass on all claims against the county school fund.101

As for higher education Colquitt argued that what was most needed by the Agricultural and Mechanical college now [was] sufficient appropriations to construct additional buildings to accommodate the youths of the State who desire to attend this institution of learning, and to keep the buildings already constructed in proper and decent state of repair.

Colquitt concluded his argument by promising support for not only the Agricultural and Mechanical College, but all other institutions of

101 McKinney Speech.
higher learning. He stated:

I am in favor of furnishing all necessary means for adequate appropriations for the proper maintenance and support of the Agriculture and Mechanical College, the State university, the normal schools and the Industrial School for White Girls. I want to see these institutions made the best of their kind in the land. I want to see them taken out of legislative politics and the means of maintaining them supplied without their officers and trustees having to go before the legislature and plead and lobby for what ought to be furnished without asking.

A program of penal reform was a major issue in all three of Colquitt's campaigns. This subject provided the Texan with an excellent argumentative vehicle.

Colquitt first noted that "The recent exposures of the maltreatment of convicts have shocked the sensibilities of the people of Texas." He further claimed that "The penitentiary system . . . [had] been more or less a political machine and its management largely dominated by political considerations."

To alleviate some of the adverse conditions of the prison, Colquitt advocated a number of changes. First, he was in favor of "the creation of a board of penitentiary commissioners to serve six years, one being elected every two years, who should be elected by the people, and who should receive compensations commensurate with the importance of the duties which would be imposed upon them." This, according to Colquitt, would allow the penitentiary system to be "divorced from politics [and] a complete separation of the management and control of the penal system from the governor's office, [placing] the responsibility for the management of the same . . . upon those elected by the people as penitentiary commissioners." Furthermore, Colquitt argued that "The law should be so changed as to give [the commission] full authority over its business and make them responsible for the success or
failure of its management." Second, while "it would probably be neces-
sary to adopt a uniform for the convicts . . . ," he strongly felt
that "the law ought to require the abolition of the stripes . . . , as
relics of barbarism." Third, "a classification of convicts would un-
doubtedly tend to the elevation of those who want to improve their sur-
roundings and conditions." Fourth, while "there must be order and
discipline . . . , it should be brought about by humane treatment and
reasonable disciplinary measures." Fifth, "Elevating literature should
be supplied and the State should take pride in its endeavors to elevate
the sentiments, the habits and principles of those whom it is punishing
for a violation of the law." Sixth, the policy of leasing convicts for
pay should be abolished "and it should be done without further unneces-
sary delay." Finally,

Wherever it [was] practical to do so, manufacturing industries
in connection with the penal system should be established, so as
to enable those who [were] incarcerated to learn a trade from which
they [could] make an honest living when they [had] served their
terms with the State [as] there are many kinds of manufactures
which [could] be established with small expense, and the products
disposed of without seriously coming into competition with free
labor, or legitimate private enterprises in the State.

Colquitt argued that the aforementioned changes would benefit not only
the convicts but the people as well. 102

Concern for the mentally and physically ill was a third argu-
ment which stemmed from Colquitt's philosophy that the government should
benefit all the people. His argument consisted mainly of courses of
action he felt would alleviate the problems faced by the mentally and
physically ill.

102 Wichita Falls Speech.
Colquitt first voiced his concern for the mentally incompetent. He proposed that these "unfortunate wards of the State should be supplied with a place of discipline, comfort and medical attention in an asylum." He further maintained that it was "the duty of the State to take care of these unfortunates and afford to them the best treatment science [could] give [because] to fail to do so would almost amount to criminal neglect of an obligation [owed] to society."

Colquitt concluded his argument by stating that "present institutions could be enlarged at comparatively small costs [and] many temporarily insane persons could have their reason restored if promptly taken to an asylum for treatment."103

Colquitt's argument regarding the physically ill took the form of relating the accomplishments of his administration in behalf of public health. First, he said:

Wholesome laws for the protection of the public health were enacted by the last Legislature. Among other things, a bill was passed for the establishment of two sanitariums for the treatment of consumptives... The Health Department has been energetic and watchful in enforcing the health laws and extending all possible assistance in the recent epidemic of meningitis in the State. The State Health Officer is establishing a laboratory in his office at the Capitol where the antitoxin for diphtheria, typhoid fever, and vaccine for smallpox will be manufactured and dispensed to the poor at actual cost, and, where necessary, furnished free.

Colquitt ended his argument by emphasizing the role he played in providing care for the physically ill.

I have given my hearty co-operation toward all these things and their accomplishment is well worthy of any man's earnest effort. I shall continue to urge the perfection of our health laws and bring every means of preventive aid and relief from disease within the reach of all people.104

103 McKinney Speech.
104 Sherman Speech.
Although Colquitt had promised in all of his three campaigns to do as much as possible to aid the Confederate veteran, his most realistic argument was a course of action which was within the realm of his possibilities as Chief Executive of the State. He pointed out:

There are now 12,000 names on the Confederate pension roll, and they are receiving an average of $11.25 per quarter. It is not my purpose to make promises to these old veterans that I know are impractical of fulfillment. The full maximum amount now allowed under the constitution for Confederate pensions is being paid annually, but provision should be made whereby this small sum should be promptly paid in full without discount or expense of any kind to the beneficiary.

For the widows of Confederate veterans, Colquitt stated:

I appeal to the manhood of the State to vote for and adopt the amendment to the constitution proposed by the last legislature which provides for giving aid by the State to support the Confederate Woman's home. The Daughters of the Confederacy, with loving devotion and sacrifice, have built this home with their contributions and are supporting it in the same way, where they take care of a limited number of dependent surviving widows of Confederate soldiers.\footnote{Wichita Falls Speech.}

Revision of the provisions of the land laws was another example of a program Colquitt felt would be helpful to Texans. In discussing this question he maintained that although "the present system is liberal to the settler, [it] makes some unfair exactions from him." He said:

An actual settler is required to live on the land three years. If misfortune overtakes him and from any cause he cannot remain on the land for this time, he forfeits it with the cost of improvement, or if he remains on it three years, and seasons are unfavorable and he is forced to abandon it, some large holder of lands is benefitted by his misfortune, for the large holder can then buy his claim and acquire title to the land.

To make the provisions of the land laws more beneficial Colquitt proposed that the laws "should be changed so as to allow a purchaser to pay cash for the land and get the title immediately, or to allow him to pay
twenty-five or fifty percent of the purchase price in cash, and the rest in annual installments . . . with reasonable interest."\(^{106}\)

A major argument which appealed to a large contingent of voters was the one Colquitt used in behalf of serving the needs of the farmers. Although his gubernatorial rhetoric was aimed primarily at the betterment of the cotton farmer, Colquitt insured that the voters were aware of his efforts in behalf of the fruit growers, vegetable growers, and cattle farmers.\(^{107}\)

Colquitt's concern for the cotton farmer centered around two areas of his administrative policies. First, he argued that the Cotton Conference for which he was primarily responsible was of tremendous benefit to the farmers. Second, he indicated that he was in favor of establishing a system of bonded warehouses for the storage of cotton until the market was at its most competitive level.

Colquitt's reasoning regarding the Cotton Conference included three lines of analysis. First, Colquitt credited the original idea for the Conference to his political friend Clarence Ousley, publisher of the Fort Worth Record. Second, he pointed out that the purpose of the Conference was to adopt "a plan to check the declining price of cotton . . . ." He stated that many thought the project "to be something almost impossible," and that "the Conference would make radical

\(^{106}\)"If I Were Governor" Speech.

\(^{107}\)Colquitt's campaign literature is replete with examples of actions proposed and passed as a result of his tenure on the Railroad Commission from 1906 to 1911. See Broadsides and Pamphlets, Campaign of 1906; Memorandum from Colquitt to Mayfield, July 13, 1905, Campaign of 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives, and Minutes of the Railroad Commission of Texas, May 11, 1904, Official Railroad Commission Papers, Texas State Library, Austin.
and impractical recommendations and play politics with the question."

Instead

The recommendations were all practical and agreed to unanimously. The farmers were asked to reduce their acreage 25 per cent and representatives were to be appointed by the Governor of each State to take charge of a campaign in each cotton-producing county for the purpose of securing pledges for the reduction of acreage. This policy, with co-operation of the Farmers' Union, was inaugurated. It has been pushed with as much energy as possible under the circumstances, and the acreage should show very substantial decrease this year under that of last year. The conference recommended that Congress pass laws regulating cotton exchanges so the market could not be manipulated by tendering delivery of spot cotton of inferior grades. Another recommendation was that the States producing cotton pass laws providing for a warehouse system that would give the farmers safe and cheap storage where they could hold their cotton for a better price.

Third, Colquitt spoke of the achievements of the Conference. He indicated that

the data presented and the conservative and practical recommendations made materially improved the situation. The price began to go up and on April 1 spot cotton was bringing 11 5/8 cents in local Texas markets, an increase of nearly $12.50 per bale, and is still advancing. The prospects are good that all of the recommendations made by the conference will be put into practical effect. A bill is pending in Congress for the purpose of regulating cotton exchanges in line with recommendations made; the farmers are reducing their acreage, the next Legislature of the cotton-producing States will likely pass laws under which bonded warehouses may be established for the safe storage of cotton at minimum cost.  

The second argument that Colquitt used in his effort to benefit the farmer was directly related to the first. Colquitt was of the opinion that a "system of interior warehouses ... being advocated and established by the Farmers Union [was] in the right direction." Thus, he favored "a law, to be passed by the next legislature, for the

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108 Sherman Speech.

109 Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, May 31, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
building and equipping of bonded warehouses, at any point in the State where . . . needed, so that certificates of deposit [could] be used as a basis of credit."  

Colquitt's fourth and final major argument that government should be administered for the benefit of all the people, was that some governmental policies were harmful to the people. Three specific reasons were offered in support of this contention. First, Colquitt argued that prohibition did not benefit the people. Second, he maintained that inequitable taxation did not benefit the people. Third, he claimed that trusts did not benefit the people.

One aspect of the issue of prohibition--the impact of prohibition on local self government--was discussed earlier in this chapter. Colquitt, however, had a second major argument in support of his stand against prohibition. He forcefully objected to prohibition on the grounds that it did not benefit the people.

The first objection was that prohibition did not prevent drunkenness. In advancing this argument Colquitt referred to the states which had adopted prohibition and pointed out that "from the record cited by the most ardent advocates of the adoption of the prohibition amendment to our constitution, it is shown that prohibition has not had a tendency to decrease the consumption of liquor." Colquitt concluded his argument by declaring "No man believes in intemperance or drunkenness. Prohibition does not prevent either, as the enormous quantity consumed in prohibition states must show."  

110 Pamphlet, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
111 Palestine Speech.
Colquitt's second objection to prohibition was that it did not make men moral. He contended:

We can not make men good by law. It is only through education, Christian and charitable influences and growth of the intelligent consciousness and responsibility in the individual man himself that this can be done. We can not destroy drink nor the appetite for it through man-made laws, and we can not successfully prohibit drink through the same medium. It is proposed to make men sober by an effort to destroy drink. You might as well adopt the policy of making men honest by destroying property. . . . So I repeat that a man is a free moral agent and statute can not cleanse his heart; this is the work of Christian grace and the application of political force tends to retard rather than to develop this growth.

In addition to arguing that prohibition did not help the people, Colquitt also maintained that inequitable taxation was not beneficial to the citizen. In defending this contention he pointed out the harm of the existing laws because, first, it increased the tax value of land and more importantly, it allowed for inequality of valuation of land. He cited ten adjoining counties to illustrate both the exorbitant increase and the disparity in land values. He blamed the injustice of the taxation system on the present law, stating:

Under the law, property is assessed by a separate assessor in each county and equalized by a commissioner's court for each county, and there is no uniformity of valuation or uninformity in assessment now any more than before the law was enacted. . . . It is manifestly unfair to make lands and other property in one county, of practically the same value, subject to higher valuations and heavier taxes for State purposes than the owners of like property pay in adjoining counties.

Colquitt then proceeded to propose a solution to the problem. He said:

I still believe that the solution of this vexatious question is the separation of the objects to be taxed for State purposes from those taxed for county and other local uses. The time will soon come when we can derive enough revenue to meet the expenses of the State government from a separate tax on corporations having no physical property in the State, and make the collection of a State tax on land and personal property unnecessary.

A final argument which Colquitt used to advance his theory that some governmental policies were harmful to the people was that a trust
did not benefit the people. In advancing this argument Colquitt told his audiences that he believed strongly that anti-trust legislation should be firmly and fairly enforced. In his further discussion of the anti-trust laws he, first, referred to the state anti-trust act of 1903, stating that "it is made a penitentiary offense, punishable by imprisonment for a term of not less than one or more than ten years, to violate the provisions of said act, and the act makes it the exclusive duty of the attorney general of the State to see that its provisions are enforced." Colquitt inferred that the attorney general had failed to enforce this act and chastised him for this failure because "Whenever the States compromises with these violators of its law for money, it takes a partnership interest in the vice which it denounces." Second, Colquitt, while admitting fines had been levied against some trusts, indicated that there was

Not a single so-called trust that [had] paid a penalty as such but what [was] not doing business in Texas, either in its own name or under some other, and in most cases [had] added many times the amount which it paid to the State to the price of articles controlled by it and in every such case the consumer [had] contributed the penalty the state collected. 112

The previous lines of argumentation reflected the essence of Colquitt's political rhetoric. The following section of this study will treat, first, Colquitt's use of evidence and, second, his use of motive appeals.

In examining Colquitt's use of evidence attention will be focused primarily on the methods by which the Texan used supporting material and evidence to clarify his ideas and to substantiate his

112Wichita Falls Speech.
arguments. Before discussing the ways Colquitt used his supporting material, a brief consideration will be made of 1) the forms of evidence used and 2) the amount of evidence used.

The forms of supporting material cited by Monroe and Ehninger in their book *Principles and Types of Speech* seem particularly appropriate for Colquitt's persuasive rhetoric. They discuss seven forms of verbal support which may be used to clarify a point or to prove an argument. This list includes 1) explanation, 2) analogy, 3) illustration, 4) specific instance, 5) statistics, 6) testimony, and


114 An explanation is designed "to make a term, concept, process, or idea clear and intelligible. It may also set forth the relation between a whole and its parts." See Monroe and Ehninger, p. 157.

115 An analogy is a type of comparison where "similarities are pointed out between something which is already known, understood, or believed by the audience and something which is not." See Monroe and Ehninger, p. 159. Some rhetoricians break down the analogy into subcategories. A "literal analogy compares objects or events in the same class [while] . . . the figurative analogy links objects in widely different fields." See Giles Wilkerson Gray and Waldo W. Braden, *Public Speaking: Principles and Practices* (2nd ed., New York: Harper and Row, Publishers. 1963), p. 307.

116 "An illustration is a detailed example. . . . It is the narration of an incident to bring out the point you are trying to make. . . . There are two types of illustrations: hypothetical and factual." See Monroe and Ehninger, pp. 161-62.

117 "A specific instance is an undeveloped illustration or example. Instead of describing a situation in detail, you merely refer to it pointedly and succinctly, in passing" See Monroe and Ehninger, p. 164.

118 "Statistics are figures used to show relationships among things; to point out increases or decreases, to emphasize largeness or smallness, or to show how one phenomenon affects another." See Monroe and Ehninger, p. 166.

119 A speaker uses testimony when he "cites verbatim the opinion
7) restatement. In addition to the preceding types of support, an eighth category of support, the literary quotation, characterized Colquitt's rhetoric.

A study of Colquitt's speeches demonstrated that he used all of the forms of support cited above except the hypothetical illustration. More specifically an examination of eight major addresses and fifteen speech excerpts revealed that he used seventy-four groups of statistics, sixty-five specific instances, thirty-one examples of testimony or quotations from authority, twenty-two literal analogies, seventeen factual illustrations, twelve literary quotations, ten restatements, six figurative analogies, and four explanations. Although political communication has sometimes been indicted because of a lack of "facts and arguments," it would appear that Colquitt's rhetoric should not be so charged. This is not to say that he substantiated every argument with evidence. It does, however, suggest that he was aware of the added weight that supporting material gave to his claims.

opinions or conclusions of others." See Monroe and Ehninger, p. 169. However, some uses of testimony involve indirect quotations.

Restatement is a form of support which "gains its strength from the power of repetition to clarify or to persuade." See Monroe and Ehninger, p. 171.

Examples of literary quotations are excerpts from poems, plays, novels, short stories or other types of literature.


In his Palestine Speech Colquitt's dogged insistence that his political opponents furnish him evidence of the charges against him indicated his respect for evidence and would suggest that he considered it an integral part of an argument. The vast amount of evidence that Colquitt gathered in preparation for a speech points to this same conclusion.
By far the majority of the evidence which Colquitt used in his speeches was aimed at developing his arguments. Occasionally, he used supporting material to clarify a point or amplify an idea.

According to the available evidence Colquitt showed a distinct preference for statistics. His speeches abound with detailed figures. This extensive use of statistics caused one of his contemporaries to label him "a wizard when it came to marshalling facts and figures which caught the ears or the minds of the masses of democrats in the rural regions of the state."\footnote{Fitzgerald, p. 30.}

Colquitt used statistics to corroborate a number of claims. Three of his arguments will demonstrate his ability and versatility when utilizing figures as a form of supporting material.

In his 1910 Wichita Falls Speech he advanced the following argument:

The unfairness of our present taxing laws and taxing system is manifest. The platform of the democratic party adopted in 1906, demanded that the legislature provide for the full rendition of all property for taxation, and a bill looking to this and was enacted. Under this law tax values have greatly increased, and the amount of taxes paid upon the same property has, as a rule, been increased.

In proving this argument Colquitt combined statistical data with specific instances. He said: "I have selected a number of counties in different sections of the State, adjoining each other, to illustrate the general increase of taxes on lands and the inequality of valuations still existing under the so-called 'full rendition law, . . . .'"

Colquitt then cited ten specific instances accompanied by statistical data, to substantiate his claim. A typical example follows:
1906. Cherokee county, valuation, $2,500,386; tax rate 39 cents; amount, $9,501.47; 1908, valuation, $4,662,275; tax rate, 22.91 cents; amount, $10,681.27; increase, $1,179.80.

Colquitt concluded that the "full rendition law" had "resulted in an enormous increase in the taxes on the land holders of the State."

Colquitt again used statistical data in his 1912 Sherman Speech to justify his veto of portions of an appropriation bill for the University of Texas. Colquitt said that in spite of the item which he vetoed the bill "carried the largest appropriations for educational purposes of any bill ever enacted in [the] State . . . ." To support this statement Colquitt listed legislative appropriations approved by governors during the past twelve years. His evidence consisted of the following data.

Sayers' last term (1901-3) .................. $265,000.00
Lanham's first term (1903-5) .................. 346,013.32
Lanham's second term (1905-7) ................. 240,500.00
Campbell's first term (1907-9) ................. 310,500.00
Campbell's second term (1909-11) ............. 590,000.00
Colquitt's first term (1911-13) ............. 668,455.00

The statistics demonstrated that he approved a decidedly larger amount of money than any of his predecessors.

A third example of the use of statistics came in the form of refutation of Colquitt's prohibition opponents who charged that liquor led to insanity and crime. Colquitt pointed out the fallacies of this type of causal reasoning by referring to the number of persons in state insane asylums from dry counties, partially dry counties, and wet counties. His compilation of data follows:

125 Wichita Falls Speech.
126 Sherman Speech.
Number Inmates Insane Asylum at Austin:
Dry Counties, 584
Partially Dry Counties, 570
Wet Counties, 381
Total: 1535

Number Inmates Insane Asylum at San Antonio:
Dry Counties, 407
Partially Dry Counties, 202
Wet Counties, 607
Total: 2206

Number Inmates Insane Asylum at Terrell:
Dry Counties, 1566
Partially Dry Counties, 427
Wet Counties, 213
Total: 2206

In dealing with the statement made by his opponents that ninety percent of the inmates in prison are there as a result of the liquor traffic Colquitt countered by pointing out that "A total of 5111 convicts were sent to the Penitentiary during the period of 1906 to 1910 inclusive, and of this number 43% were from the totally dry counties, 22% from the partially dry counties, and 35% from the wet counties."

The use of specific instances appeared to be Colquitt's second most preferred type of evidence. These undetailed examples were employed primarily for proving statements. In the 1906 campaign one of the attacks made by Colquitt's opponents was that if he intended to be a candidate for governor, he should resign as Railroad Commissioner. To answer this condemnation Colquitt resorted to historical precedents. He asked "have democratic candidates for office been in the habit of resigning their positions in case they become aspirants for higher positions or for re-election?" Colquitt then proceeded to list the

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127 Palestine Speech.

128 Unidentified newspaper clipping, June 14, 1906, Colquitt Scrapbook, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
specific instances.

Governor Hogg was a true democrat and a true man. He was a man who respected democratic doctrine and democratic practice. Governor Hogg was attorney general when he ran for governor for the first time and he did not resign.

Charles A. Culberson was attorney general when he first ran for governor, and he did not resign when he became a candidate for the governorship.

John H. Reagan, my illustrious predecessor in the office of the railroad commission, was a candidate against Mr. Culberson, but he did not resign in order to make the canvass.

Joseph D. Sayers was a congressman when he was nominated for governor, and he did not resign his congressional office until about the time he took the oath of office as governor.

S. W. T. Lanham was a congressman when he was a candidate for the nomination [as governor] and he did not resign until about the time he took the oath of office as governor.

Oran M. Roberts was chief justice of the supreme court when he was nominated for governor and he did not resign.

L. J. Storey, chairman of the railroad commission, in 1900 was a candidate for re-election with strong opposition and he did not resign and nobody asked him to resign, and he is again a candidate for re-election, and yet the men who are calling upon Judge Brooks and me to resign do not invite Commissioner Storey to step down and out.

Why is it . . . that these critics of ours insist upon applying to Judge Brooks and to me a stand severer and more rigorous than that which was applied to Hogg and Culberson and Roberts and Reagan and which they even now apply to my associate, Commissioner Storey?

From these instances Colquitt inductively inferred that asking a politician to resign for one office was incongruous with the action of former Texas candidates for office. 129

On another occasion Colquitt employed specific instances to establish his ethos and to stimulate his audience. In his New Ulm Speech, which is partially a speech of praise, one of Colquitt's objectives was to impress upon his audience the past and present contributions of the German people to the state of Texas. To accomplish this end Colquitt, first, cited twenty-five individuals by name who had made

129 Unidentified newspaper clipping, June 14, 1906, Colquitt Scrapbook, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
significant contributions to the state. A typical example would be his comments on Hon. Gus Maetze whom he characterized as "a man of fine attainments, a teacher of distinction, and it was from him that many of the young men of Austin county received their instruction and training."

In discussing the present achievements of the Texas German, Colquitt noted fourteen individuals and their contributions to the social, economic, and political well being of the state. He then lamented that it was "impossible . . . to mention all the German-Americans who have or are now shaping the affairs of this State and who form the active forces in our political, business, and social life."\(^{130}\)

The third form of evidence utilized by Colquitt was that of testimony or quotation from authority. This technique was used primarily to give added significance to Colquitt's arguments.

Some of the sources Colquitt quoted were John C. Calhoun,\(^ {131}\) Thomas Jefferson,\(^ {132}\) O. M. Roberts, Governor of Texas from 1879 to 1833,\(^ {133}\) Sam Houston, Charles A. Culberson, Joseph Weldon Bailey, John Wesley, Tyerman,\(^ {134}\) Mrs. Ballington Booth,\(^ {135}\) the Anti-discrimination Act of 1889,\(^ {136}\) decisions of the Texas Supreme Court,\(^ {137}\) the

\(^{130}\) New Ulm Speech.
\(^{131}\) San Saba Speech.
\(^{132}\) Honey Grove Speech.
\(^{133}\) Wichita Falls Speech.
\(^{134}\) Palestine Speech.
\(^{135}\) Sherman Speech.
\(^{136}\) Wichita Falls Speech.
\(^{137}\) McKinney Speech.
State Constitution, General Rules of the Methodist Church, the entire Chapter 5 of the Methodist Discipline, the Constitution of the United States, the Comptroller's Report for the years 1906 and 1908, Inter State Commerce Commission, "an associated press dispatch," a Texas newspaper, Governor Hooper of Tennessee, and Colquitt's own speeches.

For the most part Colquitt documented or partially documented his sources when quoting them. For example his quotation from Calhoun came from his essay "Disquisition on Government," his statistics on prohibition and mental illness came from the Superintendent of State Asylums, one of his statements on temperance came from Rule 28 of the general rules of the Methodist Church, one of his quotations came from John Wesley's essay "on Primitive Physics" and another from Tyerman's *Life and Times of Wesley*. Occasionally, Colquitt's documentation was not as complete. In his San Saba Speech he quoted "a great historian." At Sherman he referred to Mrs. Ballington Booth as "one of the really great women in the country . . . ." When quoting famous Texans such as Sam Houston, and Charles A. Culberson it was necessary

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138San Saba Speech, Wichita Falls Speech, Sherman Speech, and Honey Grove Speech.
139Palestine Speech.
140San Saba Speech, Wichita Falls Speech, Sherman Speech, and Honey Grove Speech.
141San Saba Speech.
142Palestine Speech.
143San Saba Speech.
144Sherman Speech.
to give their qualifications as they were known by even the lowest citizen.

The majority of Colquitt's statements from expert witnesses were direct quotations. He rarely paraphrased. The length of his quoted material ran from one line phrases such as Jefferson calling "for a 'diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason,'" to a one and one-half page single spaced typed response by Sam Houston to a group which asked him to advocate prohibition laws in 1853.

A fourth type of supporting material found in Colquitt's speeches was the analogy. He used both the literal and figurative analogy for proving statements and emphasizing ideas.

The literal analogy was frequently employed by Colquitt to stress the persuasiveness of an argument. In his San Saba Speech Colquitt voiced a strong objection to the concept of initiative and referendum. To impress his audience of the dangers posed by initiative and referendum to the concept of local self-government, Colquitt analogized:

> When we drift away from the principles of constitutional government we will cut loose from the moorings of our safety and drift like the Athenians did when control of the government was given to the man who could sway the crowd with his eloquence and set their feelings on edge and fire their passions, and in such a moment un-make and make governments. There can be no stability, peace or prosperity under such a rule--it is the rule of the mob in its passion and fury not the government of reason and judgement.

145 Honey Grove Speech.
146 Palestine Speech.
147 San Saba Speech.
In refuting the argument that prohibition would increase school attendance Colquitt combined statistics with a literal analogy. He stated:

Contention is made by prohibition campaign orators that prohibition will increase the attendance in the schools. The records of the prohibition states, by comparison, do not support this contention. The latest statistic show the following by comparison:
Tennessee, a prohibition state, shows scholastic population of 766,849, and 47.46 per cent attended school. Oklahoma, prohibition with 515,488, scholastic population 44.82 per cent attended school. Georgia, prohibition, with 735,471 scholastic population, 48.64 per cent attended school. . . . Now with these states compare Texas, anti-prohibition, with a scholastic population of 949,006, 61.63 per cent attended school.148

Colquitt used the figurative analogy less frequently, but in a seemingly effective manner. In one speech he stated that "A man opposed to prohibition who favors submission is a good deal like setting a house on fire just for the purpose of ascertaining if you can put the fire out."149 On another occasion he said:
The question of the hour is whether a man is going to be a man or not; shall he stand up like a giant oak of the forest and try all issues from his knowledge of them and try to the abuses of the day at the bar of reason and judgement? Or will he be driven like chaff before the changing winds of sentiment or of passion? By gentleness and persuasion you can influence men, but you can not drive them.150

Colquitt did not use the hypothetical illustration in any of his speeches, but he relied on the factual illustration to some degree. This form of support was primarily designed to influence the audience that certain of Colquitt's actions were justifiable or to corroborate an argument.

148 Palestine Speech.
149 San Saba Speech.
150 Honey Grove Speech.
In a speech delivered at McGregor, Texas, in 1912, the use of the factual illustration in defending his pardoning of prisoners, with decided emotional overtones, tinged with elements of a contemporary soap opera, he related three case histories which had motivated his action in the release of prison inmates. One story follows:

One day last summer an old blind father and mother came into my office. I asked them to sit down and tell me about their trouble. They did so, and I took the papers from their hands and went over them and found that their only son was serving a two-year sentence in the penitentiary for burglary. The papers in the case showed that he had been led astray and into the commission of the crime by an older person who had previous experience in burglarizing. When they were arrested and arraigned the older person who had led him into the trouble turned State's evidence and on his testimony the younger man was convicted and "railroaded" off to prison. He had not served quite one half of his term, but he had a good prison record and the old blind father and mother were appealing to me for his liberation. I said to them, "If the boy will promise me not to violate the law again during the unserved portion of his sentence, and will return to you and labor and work for a living for you, I will grant him a pardon on those conditions," and he wrote me he would accept the terms, and I granted him a conditional pardon and sent him home to the old blind father and mother, and gave the young fellow a second chance in life, and he is making good.\footnote{Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, July 2, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.}

Another example of the use of factual illustration was found in Colquitt's Sherman Speech. While discussing the subject of recall of public officials, Colquitt reminded his audience that the system had been rejected by the founding fathers.

Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and other founders and fathers of our government and Constitution considered it, discussed it and rejected it. They had before them the experience of other nations and profited by it. Governor Randolph of Virginia, when he offered his recommendations in the constitutional convention that met at Philadelphia in 1787 included in them provisions for the recall of Congressmen. But when the clause and the principle of it were passed upon, it was rejected unanimously, every one of the States represented in the convention voting against it, and vote of
the delegates was unanimous, as is disclosed by the minutes of the constitutional convention.152

Literary quotations constituted the sixth type of supporting material used by Colquitt. These were extremely short quotations of not more than four lines. They were used primarily to stress a point or to give Colquitt's language attractiveness.

Twelve quotations were garnered by a survey of eight complete speeches and fifteen speech excerpts. Seven of the twelve quotations were religious in nature, with three coming from the Bible, three from hymns, and one from an unidentified source;153 two of Colquitt's quotations were from Shakespeare and Alexander Pope;154 two quotations, from unidentified sources had to do with politics;155 and one was a regional quotation which Colquitt adopted for a West Texas audience.156

The use of restatement as a form of supporting material was clearly evident in Colquitt's addresses. The example of the Texan's philosophy of "legislative rest" was often repeated, not only in the same speech,157 but from speech to speech in each of his three campaigns. He first mentioned his concept of "legislative rest" in 1906,158

152 Sherman Speech.
154 Wichita Falls Speech and Sherman Speech.
155 Haskell Speech and Sherman Speech.
156 Haskell Speech.
157 Colquitt emphasized legislative rest twice in his McKinney Speech, twice in his Wichita Falls Speech, and twice in his Sherman Speech.
he repeated it in his Wichita Falls Speech in 1910, he voiced the same sentiments in his Sherman Speech in 1912. Between his opening speech at McKinney through his closing speech at Terrell Colquitt constantly re-emphasized that Texas should "take a rest from additional new and untried laws and legislative theories of governmental interference with detailed activities of the citizen in his business affairs."  

Explanation was the least used form of supporting material in Colquitt's speeches. His use of this device was mainly to prepare his audience for arguments he intended to develop later in his speech. For example, in his San Saba Speech he explained the concept of "absolute government," labeling it

one-man power, or the power of the majority, unrestrained by the minority. It is government despotism. The principle of constitutional government is compromise; the principle of absolute government is force.

This information prepared his audience for an argument on the dangers of initiative and referendum.

Having considered the image that Colquitt conveyed to his audiences in Chapter 5 and his logical arguments in this chapter, attention will now be directed to his use of motive appeals. Taking into account Gray and Braden's statement that "various motives, or impulsions to action, rarely stand alone . . .," Colquitt's use of motive appeals will be divided into four categories. This classification includes appeals to 1) contempt or disgust, 2) fear, 3) benefit or satisfaction.

158 "If I Were Governor" Speech, Wichita Falls Speech, Sherman Speech, San Saba Speech, New Ulm Speech, and 1911 Inaugural Address.
159 San Saba Speech.
160 Gray and Braden, p. 163.
faction to others, and 4) pride.

Contempt or disgust were the appeals most frequently used by Colquitt. Primarily, he used this device to evoke audience contempt for 1) the treatment of prisoners and 2) the tactics that his political opponents used against him.

Colquitt's method of stirring up contempt in his audience rested on the use of visual as well as verbal support. In the 1910 campaign he introduced a rhetorical device which was to become a trademark of his political rhetoric. The device which Colquitt used was a whip or the bat, which was frequently applied to the prisoners' backs. This instrument of punishment, variously called by the prisoners the "bat," the "whip," "Old Billy Hell," and the "Yellow Heifer," was a strap of three plies of cowhide approximately three inches wide and five feet long and was attached to a heavy wooden handle. One man, using both hands, lashed the convict who was securely tied or held spread-eagled on the floor by other inmates. 161

In his use of the whip Colquitt employed that form of proof which Aristotle characterized as inartistic 162 in that

At a certain sentence in his set speech, a henchman sitting in the front row would hand up a bloodstained leather tug. With this replica of the bat used for whipping prisoners, Colquitt would storm up and down the platform for half an hour. 163

161 Dallas Morning News, March 9, 1940, and March 11, 1940.
163 Dallas Morning News, March 9, 1940.
He used this technique on many occasions coupling with it verbal remarks. He made particularly good utilization of the bat in his 1921 campaign, charging that his opponent Judge William F. Ramsey and Ramsey's chief supporter Charles Campbell were responsible for its use. During a speech at Brenham, Texas, in 1912 Colquitt produced a bat and declared:

This bat was one used at the Huntsville penitentiary during the last year of my predecessor's administration, and before the Legislative Investigating Committee made its investigations; it was referred to as the "yellow heifer." It is three-ply of leather sewn together, about four feet long and will cut the life's flood at every lick. I don't know why they called it the "yellow heifer" unless it is that it took most of a yellow heifer's hide to make it. I have another one of these bats in the Governor's office at Austin which was used in punishing convicts at the sawmill. The convict sergeant who used it wrote on one side of it in plain letters the name by which it was known. He called it "Old Billy Hell," and it is the bat with which convicts were whipped at the sawmill where the cross-ties were cut that went into the railroad that Ramsey and Campbell built.164

On another occasion Colquitt told his audience that his opponent willfully allowed mistreatment of prisoners to continue. He stated:

Ramsey was chairman of the Penitentiary Board from 1907 until Campbell transferred him to the Court of Criminal Appeals and he had the power during all that time to make rules and regulations without restraint. He could have issued an order abolishing the bat and stripes, stopping gambling on Sundays and other reforms, but he sanctioned and permitted them, instead, at a time when he had absolute power to stop them all.165

The emotional impact wrought by the bat was tremendous. The Wichita Daily Times described a speaking situation involving its usage:

When Gov. O. B. Colquitt stood before a Sherman audience today with a "bull whip" in his hand which measured seven feet in length, was eight inches wide and consisted to three thicknesses of harness leather sewed together with flax thread of many strands, with spots

164Bulletin, Colquitt Headquarters, May 31, 1912, Campaign of 1912, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

165Dallas Morning News, July 14, 1912.
of human blood from the handle to the tip of it and asked his hearers if they thought he had done wrong in contributing to the eradication of this form of punishment in the state penitentiary and on the convict farms of Texas, there were loud cries of "No, no," and there were tears in the eyes of his audience. . . .

The bull whip was passed through the audience by Col. R. E. Smith, who introduced the Governor, and such words as "shame" and "scandal" were frequently heard. 166

The campaign tactics of his political enemies provided Colquitt with another opportunity for evoking an attitude of contempt in his audiences for his opponent's strategies. Through the use of disparaging language aimed at his opponents, Colquitt attempted to convince his listeners to look upon his political enemies with distaste, using phrases such as "most desperate gang of politicians in Texas," 167 "an infamous slander and falsehood," 168 and "chicanery and treachery of political manipulators." 169 In the 1912 campaign Ramsey and his supporters were frequent targets for Colquitt. A typical attack follows:

They know they are defeated. They are preparing to resort to any methods in a hopeless effort to win. I have received notice that tomorrow the friends of Ramsey will send telegrams all over North Texas, saying that negroes and Mexicans are being voted in squads in South Texas. The purpose of sending these telegrams is to create a false impression and to arouse prejudice in North Texas. 170

Ramsey was not the only opponent that Colquitt attacked. In his first campaign he made an effort to stir up contempt for former Governor S. W. T. Lanham, who was supporting one of Colquitt's opponents. Said Colquitt:

166 Wichita Daily Times, April 28, 1912.
168 Austin Statesman, June 7, 1912.
169 Belton Speech.
I Know, and Judge Bell knows, and the Confederate veterans of Texas know, that when the smoke of battle cleared and the war closed, this same S. W. T. Lanham, the man who Judge Bell says is "the purest and noblest man that ever lived in the state of Texas," came to Texas and did what, my fellow citizens.... It is ... a fact that ... Lanham, soon after the war, when the negro police were patrolling this state under carpet bag rule, accepted from the Republican governor, E. J. Davis, an appointment as district attorney to prosecute the southern people who were then being oppressed in their weakness, plundered in their poverty and mocked at their calamity by Davis and his contemptible carpetbaggers. (Applause)

Lanham not only accepted the appointment from Davis, but he also filed with Davis at the same time his resignation, signed in blank, so that if Davis did not like the way Lanham was prosecuting Confederate soldiers and the southern people, he (Davis) could fill out the date left blank and fire Lanham without notice. (Applause)

This tactic undoubtedly appealed to Colquitt's audience.

The second motive appeal which characterized Colquitt's rhetoric was that of benefits or satisfactions to others. As it is with politicians, Colquitt was most anxious to generate a feeling in his auditors of his desire to help all factions of the state. Thus, he proposed measures and reminded his listeners of many things that should be done or had been done to benefit Texans. 172

The first group that Colquitt showed considerable concern for was inmates in the state penitentiary. After relating the many accomplishments made in prison reform, he concluded his remarks with this appeal.

I implore the Throne of Mercy that the hearts of the people may not be hardened by political strife, and thereby induced to turn away from the humane and enlightened efforts we have been making to better the conditions surrounding prison life in Texas.

171 Belton Speech.
172 McKinney Speech, Wichita Falls Speech, and Sherman Speech.
In addition to encouraging humane treatment for the convicts
Colquitt made appeals for the pardoning of some prisoners. He said:

Chastisement without possibility of pardon and forgiveness dis­
courages and degrades; prevention is better than punishment, but
justice does not exclude mercy. Hope of rehabilitation provokes
effort, and there are hundreds of convicts in the penitentiary who
are today better behaved men because they have been inspired with
faith in the improved conditions. "Faith is the substance of
things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." The strongest
incentive to faith is the outpouring of the sympathies of the human
soul to one in distress and trouble.173

A second group which Colquitt sought to help was the Confederate
soldiers. He made an eloquent pledge, albeit, somewhat myth-laden,174
to "protect the Confederate soldier against the gales of necessity."175
Colquitt continued his emotional appeal.

These old heroes are fast passing away. In their declining years
many of them need the help of the loving descendants of those who
have already "passed over the river." If I am called to the dis­
charge of the duties of the office of Governor, I shall do what I
can in a proper way to make the declining years of those who need
the public bounty easy and pleasant. It is the duty of the younger
generation of the South in making an effort to care for them to
bestow the generous care a dutiful son would devote to his father--
not penurious and niggardly, but generous and affectionate.176

A third type of appeal found in Colquitt's rhetoric was a fear
appeal. In Colquitt's opinion, the issues of initiative and referendum
and prohibition posed significant threats of local self-government and
"legislative rest," respectively. Hence, he attempted to instill in his
audiences a fear of the dangers of these political concepts.

173 Sherman Speech.
174 See Waldo W. Braden, Rhetoric of the People, ed. Harold
175 Belton Speech.
176 McKinney Speech.
By far the greatest danger to the people of Texas was that which would result if the state embraced initiative and referendum. Labeling this new trend in government "irresponsible absolutisms--the despotism of one man power," he denounced it as a crime against the constitutional rights of the people; a crime against the Democratic doctrine of local self-government; an attempt to steal away the constitutional rights of the people to act through their chosen members of the Legislature to amend their organic law in a constitutional way and confer that authority upon a mere plurality of the voters of a single political part. Such course is revolutionary.177

He further argued that the constitutional safeguard of individual and property rights ought not to be put in jeopardy and endangered by the mere force of majorities, but that under our form of government the people's representatives should receive their instructions direct from the people of their districts and not under referendum from the state at large.178

Finally, he contended that his greatest fear of initiative and referendum was that it could completely replace local self-government. He questioned:

If the rule of absolutism is to be the rule of action in the future, why have representatives at all? If the doctrine is right, as it is contended for in Texas now, why would it not be right in the nation? In that case the people of New York could outvote the people of Texas and instruct our Senators and Representatives in Congress how to vote upon all public question. That would be the same as electing all Congressmen from the nation at large and not from the States and by districts. But it is no worse than is proposed for the government and control of affairs of this State. If the doctrine is too apply, what's the use of having Representative districts in this State? Why not vote on them over the State at large? Why not elect them all from one county or from one section? The doctrine is fallacious and destructive of every local right vouch-safed by constitutional government.179

177 San Saba Speech.
178 Honey Grove Speech.
179 San Saba Speech.
One of Colquitt's envisioned fears would be as the result of the submission of a prohibition amendment was that it would result in political strife. He noted:

In the beginning, I said that we would be reviled and viciously assailed as emissaries of evil during this [prohibition] campaign because of our opinions, and they have reviled us with every slur they could conjure up. . . . Abuse and vilification is the chief stock and trade in the argument of the advocates of prohibition—they can see no good, no honesty of purpose or of conviction in those who differ with their particular views on the question. It has always been so in such campaigns. Bleeding sores are made that time only will heal—just because of and for opinion's sake—for conscience sake, many will suffer calumny and persecution. And that persecution is most bitter when instigated by religious frenzy or moral zeal.

A more menacing fear was that the passage of such an amendment would lead to military discipline and tyranny. He argued that if the prohibition amendment passed "Civil liberty [would] give way to military despotism to appease fanaticism on [the] subject. He then questioned:

Is the crime of taking a drink as a beverage so bad as to justify such tyranny? Is all civil liberty and human rights to fall prostrate and be trampled under foot in this way? Can our rights of local self government in due and constitutional form be made to give way to frenzied fanaticism. . . . Shall our constitution become a dishrag for the convenient use of political despots leading a popular clamor?180

Appeal to pride was a fourth device which Colquitt used to evoke emotions. He used this device in three ways.

First, he directed his audience's attention to the pride he felt for being a member of a family which contributed to the Civil War. He declared:

I am the son of a Confederate soldier. My father and his brothers and all their kin devoted their lives, their property and their sacred honor to that sacred cause. The blood of the Colquitt family has wet the battlefields of the Civil War from Gettysburg to Florida. Their devotion and sacrifice are to me a sacred trust, a holy memory.

180Palestine Speech.
Moving from his feelings for his family, he expressed his pride for all Confederate soldiers, inferring that Southerners should feel the same way. He stated, "God forbid that I, like some other men I might mention, should ever be found making the heroism of our fathers a subject of barter and sale in a political campaign. (Renewed applause and cheers.)"181

In another speech Colquitt appealed to pride by referring to one of Texas' greatest public officials, the late James S. Hogg. He commented:

The mantle of Jim Hogg is a sacred heritage. I want the people of this beloved state to preserve it in its entity. I want it left hanging where the people can see it in all its glory and where coming generations will drink the courage and inspiration of the man who wore it. (Cheers.)182

Colquitt also tried to awaken pride in terms of the special interests of his audience. In the conclusion to a speech delivered in Haskell, a West Texas town, his praise of the settlers of that section of Texas seemingly would have stirred up a strong feeling of pride. Colquitt said, "the matchless perserverance of the people of the West merits the greatest admiration. A section of the State, a few years ago considered a waste without water, you are going to make it a garden of prosperity and plenty."183

Another time, speaking to a German audience, he used a similar technique. He contended:

181 Belton Speech.

182 Times Herald [Dallas, Texas], July 21, 1906.

183 Haskell Speech.
The German colonists and their descendants were foremost in the early history of our country's development; they were pioneers and pushed furthest into the heart of the forest and wilds of the uncivilized country, bringing it under cultivation and developing the agricultural, mechanical and industrial arts.

Throughout our common country today we find Germans in all the learned professions, and German scientists have contributed much toward intellectual and economic development in the United States. In every State, city, town and village we meet men of pre-eminence in all the walks of life who are of German descent, so that it can truly be said that the German colonists and their descendants have done their full duty, along with the descendants of others of the early settlers, in the development of our great Union of States. They are especially entitled to credit for the impetus they have given to music and the other arts and sciences, and the fine critical taste of Americans for music is largely due to the Germans. 184

Thus, it can be concluded that although Colquitt did not use motive appeals extensively, he apparently was aware of their impact on an audience. Therefore, his appeals to contempt or disgust, fear, benefit or satisfaction to others, and pride seemingly gave added significance to his total persuasive efforts.

A final consideration which should be taken into account in a study of Oscar Branch Colquitt's speeches is the overall effectiveness of his rhetorical efforts. There are several indicators which can be utilized in evaluating this aspect of Colquitt's persuasion.

The first and most obvious index of Colquitt's effectiveness was the immediate response. Colquitt was usually warmly welcomed in the cities and towns where he spoke. When he appeared at the podium he was greeted by prolonged cheering and often a standing ovation. 185

184 New Ulm Speech.

185 See numerous newspaper accounts in Dallas Morning News, Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Houston Daily Post, April through July, 1906, 1910, 1912.
by "Cheers," "Applause," "renewed applause and cheers," and "Prolonged applause." 186

In addition to the immediate feedback from the audience, Colquitt's effectiveness can be gauged somewhat by the response of the press. The press frequently referred to his persuasive endeavor as "a masterly effort. The views of a statesman on the important issues of the day, clearly and boldly expressed," 187 "great speeches," 188 and his speech "was delivered in a most effectual manner and with a natural brace that bespoke the real orator."

It would be expected that the newspapers which supported Colquitt would be kind to him. However, he occasionally won praise from a less biased source. The Wichita Daily Times [Wichita Falls, Texas], while admitting it was "not supporting Mr. Colquitt," reported as follows:

No matter to what degree we may differ with Candidate Colquitt in his attitude on the leading questions of the day, and no matter how his opinions may cross ours in the treatment of the same question, it cannot be denied that his speech delivered at Wichita Falls today places him fairly and squarely on record on every issue. With equivocation and without dodging, he constructs his platform and stands on it firmly with both feet. . . . In general, the whole tenor of Mr. Colquitt's remarks is pleasing and cannot fail to meet with favor. The speech shows careful thought and in it are reflected the many and varied experiences of a long and useful public service. 189

A second index of Colquitt's effectiveness was demonstrated by his audiences. Most of the descriptions of Colquitt's speaking situa-

186 Belton Speech.
188 Texas News [Kountze, Texas], Colquitt Scrapbook, Campaign of 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
189 Wichita Daily Times [Wichita Falls, Texas], March 17, 1910.
tions were similar to the following: "There were fully 2000 people crowded in the opera house and as many on the outside standing near the doorways and windows that might hear. Many were turned away because they were unable to get within hearing distance." Many times an audience has to brave a rain storm or some other natural disaster in order to hear Colquitt speak. On one occasion "Very few left before the speaking was over, which was remarkable owing to the heat and the crowd packed like sardines over every inch of space in the large hall which [was] one of the largest in the state."

An examination of Colquitt's popularity as a speaker provided a third index to his rhetorical expertise. He was constantly sought as a speaker. To a request seeking Colquitt as a speaker on Labor Day, September 6, 1909, Colquitt responded, "I am receiving so many invitations to make speeches that it is impossible for me to accept more than one out of ten."

Colquitt was not only sought after as a speaker during his own campaigns but also when governor. In August, 1914, Colquitt wrote his daughter-in-law that he had "made some twenty-five to thirty speeches for Mr. [James] Ferguson in the campaign for the Democratic nomination for Governor." Somewhat later, in 1926 Colquitt also campaigned

190 Houston Daily Post, July 14, 1912.
193 Letter from Colquitt to Shannon, August 2, 1909, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
194 Letter from Colquitt to Mrs. Sidney B. Colquitt, August 19, 1914, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
Furthermore, he was extremely active in the prohibition campaign of 1911.

In addition to speaking engagements, Colquitt was invited out of state several occasions to speak. In 1915 he spoke at the Hippodrome in New York City. At the invitation of the President of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, whom Colquitt had defeated for the Texas State Senate in 1892, Colquitt delivered one of the major addresses at the convention.

A fifth index of Colquitt's speaking effectiveness was an invitation to join the lecture circuit. On July 15, 1911 he received the following letter:

I am writing you relative to terms and dates for lecture work in Nebraska and throughout the country during the next year, and in all probability for some years in the future. . . .
I want your best terms for as much of your time as you can devote to the lecture platform between September 1, 1911, and September 1, 1912, and all probability for several years in the future. . . .
I am sure you have a message worth while for the people throughout the country. As we come nearer to the great presidential contest of 1912, your message will increase in its interest and importance. And with men of your type, we can maintain the high standard of the Lyceum platform set for it by that prince of lecture managers, Major James B. Pond, when he said: "The lyceum platform stands for ability, genius, education, reform and entertainment. On it the greatest readers, orators and thinkers have stood. On it reform has found her noblest advocates, literature her finest expression, progress her bravest pleaders, and humor its happiest translations. Some of the most gifted, most highly-educated, and warmest-hearted men and women of the English-speaking race have in

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195 Letter from Moody to Colquitt, May 5 and June 5, 1926, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.
196 Austin Statesman, July 20, 21, 1910.
the last fifty years given their best efforts to the lyceum, and by their noble utterances have made its platform not only historic, but symbolic of talent, education, genius, and reform."

The vote gathering ability of Colquitt's rhetoric is probably the most revealing aspect of his speaker effectiveness. In spite of his defeat in 1906, his speaking played an important role in all three of his gubernatorial campaigns. This conclusion can be substantiated in two ways.

First, numerous letters stressed the importance of Colquitt's speeches in favorably influencing the vote in particular counties. Typical of the many letters written to Colquitt are those which follow:

Your speech at Farmersville was favorably received. Several parties told me after the speech that you gained many votes. The people respect a man who is true to his convictions and is not afraid to express them.

The field in these parts is "white unto harvest" for you, and a forcible speech along the lines that you delivered at Wichita Falls yesterday would be the means of turning quite a number of supporters into your camp.

We are very anxious that you receive a plurality in our County in July and feel sure that if you can make a speech here that we will carry by several votes.

199 Letter from McBrien to Colquitt, July 16, 1911, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

200 Even though Colquitt was not elected, the 1906 campaign had a decided impact on his two later campaigns. See Times Herald, August 2, 1906.

201 Letter from Graves to Colquitt, July 23, 1906, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

202 Letter from Smith to Colquitt, March 18, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

203 Letter from Bourn to Colquitt, March 23, 1910, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives. See also Hensley to Colquitt, March 21, 1910; Crow to Colquitt, March 24, 1906; Hulen to Colquitt, April 1, 1910; Bass to Colquitt, August 5, 1905; and other
Second, and perhaps more revealing, was election returns. The 1910 campaign will be used as the basis for an analysis. In 1910 Colquitt won in twenty-five of Texas's thirty-one senatorial districts. The Houston Daily Post commented:

Colquitt ran first in twenty-five districts carried by him and ran second in each of the remaining six senatorial districts carried by his opponents. Poindexter ran second in ten districts; Johnson in six and Davidson in nine. Poindexter ran third in ten districts, Johnson in seventeen and Davidson in three. Colquitt was not as low as third in any district. Poindexter ran fourth in six districts; Johnson in six and Davidson in eighteen. Colquitt did not run as low as fourth in any district.

Of the 118 legislative districts Colquitt carried eighty-four.

Perhaps more illuminating was the wet-dry vote. The Houston Daily Post indicated:

An analysis of the vote in the democratic primaries for governor, according to "wet" or "dry" counties may be interesting to the reader. Of the counties holding elections in the recent democratic primaries, 150 of them are entirely under the operation of the local option statute. There were seventy-nine counties that may be termed partly or wholly "wet" counties, most of which contain precincts that are under the operation of the local option law. An analysis of the gubernatorial vote, according to this classification, is as follows.

Of the 150 totally "dry" counties, Colquitt carried seventy-five, or half, Poindexter carried fifty-one, Johnson seventeen and Davidson seven. Of the seventy-five counties carried by his three opponents, Colquitt was second in fifty-four of them.

The vote received by each of the four leading candidates in these 150 counties was as follows:

Colquitt 71,215, Poindexter 59,400, Johnson 51,545, Davidson 27,767, showing a plurality for Colquitt over Poindexter in these 150 "dry" counties of 11,815 and 19,670 plurality over Johnson. This shows that Colquitt would have been nominated for governor by the counties which are totally "dry," even if no election had been held in the other seventy-nine counties that held primaries. [Italics not in the original]204

letters of these periods, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.

204 Houston Daily Post, August 31, 1910, and September 1, 1910.
Finally, an analysis of votes received by Colquitt in the counties where he spoke will provide insight into his speaking effectiveness. In the 1910 campaign Colquitt spoke in 113 of Texas' 254 counties. He won in seventy-eight of the 113 counties, and lost in thirty-five. Of the thirty-five counties where he lost he was second in thirty, third in four, and fourth in one. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that Colquitt's speaking added significantly to the total impact of his political rhetoric.

This chapter has been concerned with the speeches Oscar Branch Colquitt delivered in behalf of his candidacy for governor in 1906, 1910, and 1912. It has focused on 1) his speech preparation, 2) his major premises, 3) his lines of argument, 4) his use of evidence, 5) his use of motive appeals, and 6) his effectiveness as a speaker.

205 The methodology of this analysis consisted of grouping the towns in which Colquitt spoke by counties. Using the official election returns an overall picture of Colquitt's success or failure at the polls in the various counties was determined.

206 There were five candidates in the Democratic primary.
Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation is a study of Oscar Branch Colquitt's political rhetoric in his three canvasses for the governorship of Texas in 1906, 1910, and 1912. It has emphasized the Texan's use of invention in the preparation of the speeches he delivered to the electorate. A consideration of the background of the speaker and an overview of the three campaigns he was involved in has added to the scope of the study.

Colquitt was born in Camilla, Georgia, on December 16, 1861, of a proud ancestry dating back to the pre-Revolutionary period of American history. His family moved to Texas in 1878 where Colquitt spent three years working as a tenant farmer for his father. Before entering the field of politics he worked at such menial jobs as railroad station porter, lathe turner in a furniture factory, and a "printer's devil" in a newspaper office.

While working for the newspaper, Colquitt's interest in journalism gradually increased, resulting in his eventual purchase and consolidation of the Terrell [Texas] Star and the Terrell [Texas] Times into the Terrell [Texas] Times-Star. This venture proved to be financially rewarding, but Colquitt was not satisfied with his station in life. Consequently, he began an independent study of law and was soon granted a license and became a practicing attorney.

A consuming interest in politics, however, led Colquitt to abandon both his newspaper and law practice. For the remainder of his
life he was almost constantly involved in some kind of major political activity. Public offices held by Colquitt included Texas State Senator, Railroad Commissioner, and Governor.

Considering his limited formal education, Colquitt's political achievements assume added significance. It is difficult to determine how much schooling Colquitt had. At best it was meager. However, his efforts at self-education were strong forces in his life and earned for him the label of "a 'self-made' man."\(^2\)

Colquitt's formal speech training was more meager than his overall education. The available evidence points to the conclusion that experience was his speech teacher. His natural abilities, coupled with his journalistic training, his career as a lawyer, his speaking in behalf of other politicians, and his own political campaigns seemingly were the most significant aspects of his speech education.

In spite of his lack of special training in communication, Colquitt planned and participated in three vigorous campaigns, using several strategies in addition to oratory, to relay his message to the


electorate. In the 1906, 1910, and 1912 canvasses he used correspondence, Colquitt Clubs, speakers in his behalf, and campaign literature to advance his candidacy. Through these media Colquitt's views on issues such as local option, prohibition, taxation, public education, physical and mental illness, penal reform, transportation rates, cotton prices, and local self-government, among others, were conveyed to the people of Texas. In addition to the above vehicles, Colquitt used rhetoric as his most important conveyer of his messages. In the three campaigns Colquitt delivered approximately 475 speeches all over the state. While he did not win in his 1906 bid for the governorship, that campaign was instrumental in his victories in 1910 and 1912.

Colquitt stumped the state in his three gubernatorial canvasses, he encountered a variety of audiences and occasions. An insight into these two elements of public speaking was helpful in determining the overall impact of Colquitt's persuasion.

The total population in Texas from 1900 to 1910 ranged from approximately three to four million persons. The voters, the majority of whom were rural rather than urban dwellers, formed four ethnic groups. The white population was the largest group, blacks were the next largest group, Mexicans were third, and individuals of German, English, Irish, Swedish, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Italian, Austrian, Russian, and Canadian extraction were fourth. Agriculture, manufacturing, and petroleum were the main economic sources for these people.

During Colquitt's campaign there were several issues of major concern to Texans. These included education, penal reform, treatment of the mentally and physically ill, the care of the Confederate soldier and his wife, and prohibition.
Religion was an important aspect of the social life of Texans. Protestant fundamentalist denominations dominated the religion of the state, resulting in the northern and eastern sections of the state being labelled the "Bible Belt." The most numerous religious sects were the Methodists, Roman Catholics, Disciples of Christians, Baptists, and Presbyterians.

The occasions where Colquitt addressed his audiences of farmers, businessmen, ranchers, Confederate soldiers, Germans, merchants, bankers, clerks, lawyers and politicians were many and varied. From the bed of a hay wagon, from a street corner or from the top of a car, Colquitt addressed his audience. More frequently, however, he spoke in a courthouse auditorium or a large hall. A typical speaking occasion included a rousing reception when the candidate arrived in the city, a parade through the city led by at least one marching band, arrival at a hotel for a short rest, another parade to the speaking site, an elaborate program of pre-speaking activities, consisting of songs, band music, floral offerings and from one to three eulogistic speeches of introduction. Following these introductions the speaker often received a rousing standing ovation. It was in this atmosphere that Colquitt presented his arguments to the masses.

As Colquitt traveled the state presenting his arguments he was obviously aware of the importance of his political image. It was through both inartistic and artistic means that he conveyed this image to his audience.

Several media were responsible for Colquitt's inartistic image. His performance of duties as a public servant, brought to the people's attention primarily by newspaper accounts; his and others' correspon-
dence, some of which was published in newspapers; and his three gubernatorial campaigns wherein his image was shaped by Colquitt clubs, private and public testimony, campaign literature, and newspaper coverage all conveyed the image of a self-made man who was intelligent, trustworthy, honest, straightforward, industrious, concerned, dignified, humane, and responsible—in short, an individual whose diligence allowed him to give up the reins hitched to his horse in an East Texas cotton field and take up the reins of state government in the Governor's Office in Austin.

The artistic image which Colquitt projected to his audience was an important contribution to the total persuasive impact of his speeches. Establishing rapport or an atmosphere of goodwill with his audience, establishing his knowledge, and establishing his character traits were integral elements of his ethos.

Colquitt used the techniques of complimenting his audience, showing respect for the Confederate soldier, and demonstrating a genuine concern for the well-being of all Texas citizens in promoting goodwill. References to his political record, elucidation of the issues in the campaigns, quotations from the Texas constitution, knowledge of American history, his literary quotations, and quotations from persons such as John Wesley, Thomas Jefferson, and John C. Calhoun help to establish him as a knowledgeable person. Concerning his character Colquitt's speeches suggested that he was a "self-made" man who possessed traits of honesty, courage, morality, concern, and humility.

In addition to establishing a favorable image, Colquitt's speeches demonstrated that they were carefully prepared. As a youth Colquitt had acquired good reading habits which remained with him for
his lifetime. He used this asset along with other techniques in preparing his major speeches. Evidence indicates that Colquitt relied on 1) newspapers, 2) voluminous correspondence seeking facts, figures and opinions from private and public agencies, personal friends and the general public, 3) informal conferences, and 4) speeches of his opponents in gathering information for his speeches. In preparing an address Colquitt took into consideration the audience and the occasion where the speech would be delivered. After completing a manuscript copy of a major speech, he often sent it to several prominent Texans for appraisal.

The argumentation in Colquitt's rhetoric was based on three major premises. First, he believed that local self-government was the best type of government. Second, he believed in "legislative rest," a concept which involved a reduction in the passage of unnecessary laws which retarded the progress of the people and promoted political strife. Third, he believed that government should be administered for the benefit of all the people.

From these three premises sprang Colquitt's major arguments. He contended that local self-government was the most desirable form of government because it had deep rooted traditions, was the safest form of government, and was also the fairest form of government. He maintained that certain policies such as prohibition and the concept of initiative and referendum pose serious threats to local self-government. Furthermore, Colquitt argued that the people of Texas need "legislative rest" from excessive restrictive laws. Finally, Colquitt was persuaded that government should be administered for the benefit of all the people because governmental power is a gift of the people, government should be based on a sound economic foundation, government should be based on an
honest foundation, some governmental programs benefit the people, and some governmental policies are harmful to the people.

To back up his arguments, Colquitt used a variety of evidence. He relied heavily on statistics and specific instances, but also incorporated explanation, literal and figurative analogy, illustration, testimony, literary quotation, and restatement. Some of these forms of support were used to clarify ideas, but the majority were used for proof of arguments.

Colquitt did not limit his appeals to logical and ethical ones. He also used emotional appeals to some extent. Contempt or disgust, benefits and satisfactions to others, fear, and pride were his favorite motive appeals. Colquitt's rhetoric, then, was a blend of logical, ethical, and emotional proofs.

Colquitt's cognizance of the nature of his audiences and speaking occasions, his projection of a positive image, his speech preparation, his development of logical arguments, and his utilization of motive appeals resulted in a political rhetoric that was effective in garnering the vote that the Texan so doggedly sought. While such factors as favorable immediate response to his speeches, laudatory descriptions of his speeches by the press, his ability to draw and hold audiences, and his popularity as a speaker were indicative of his speaking abilities, his success at the polls was the most meaningful index of his effectiveness as a speaker.

Before evaluating the overall impact of Colquitt's activities in the political arena, a consideration of the desirability of studying a state figure might be appropriate. If this study has added to the field of research in rhetoric and public address, its main contribution is that
it demonstrates that there are speakers and groups of speakers who spoke abundantly and whose speaking was confined to the state level. This suggests that state speakers are potential sources for thesis and dissertation research. Texas alone provides several possibilities. They include:

1. E. J. Davis, Republican Governor of Texas, 1870-74.
3. The Rhetoric of "Baileyism" in Texas.
5. Female Speakers for Prohibition in 1911.
6. Female Speakers against Prohibition in 1911
7. Male Speakers for Prohibition.
8. Male Speakers against Prohibition.
9. Oscar Branch Colquitt's Speaking while a Member of the Railroad Commission.
11. Political Rhetoric of any Number of Selected Gubernatorial Candidates.

In determining the impact of a political speaker on the lives of the people he encountered evokes two questions. First, what were the motives of the speaker? Second, were the motives of the speaker commendable?

Determining Colquitt's motives is a simple process. All evidence points to the fact that Colquitt was an ambitious individual whose main goal was to hold public office. Some charge he was overly ambitious, but even if these allegations were true, the consequences of his ambitions nullify any major negative overtones. His record as
governor corroborates the conclusion that public office not only pro-
vided him the means to satisfy his personal aspirations, but to serve
the people as well.

A second question addressed the issue of how commendable were
Colquitt's motives. There can be no denial that some of his motivation
was of a personal, and perhaps selfish, nature. Overriding evidence,
however, points to his private and public honesty, suggesting that his
efforts were primarily motivated by his desire to help the people and
not for self-glorification.²

Appraising Colquitt from another point of view raises the ques-
tion of the Governor's place in the history of Texas. Unfortunately,
Colquitt has not made a significant impression on Texas historians.
Although he was labelled one of the state's ablest governors,³ history
has not been kind to him. Huckaby suggests that the major reason for
Colquitt's historical insignificance was a misunderstanding of
Colquitt's views on prohibition, an issue which dominated his political

²A typical example of Colquitt's putting the people before
personal gain was his attitude toward prohibition and the threat it
posed to local self-government. Clarence Ousley, a long time friend
and editor of the Fort Worth Record, advised Colquitt to maintain a
low profile in the prohibition matter. He suggested that Colquitt make
one anti-prohibition speech and then step in the background. Colquitt,
however, did not take his friend's advice. Throughout the 1910 guber-
natorial campaign Colquitt had repeatedly announced that if a prohibi-
tion amendment were submitted he would strongly oppose it. Thus, in
response to Ousley's advise, Colquitt proclaimed, "I have no ambition
to be Governor of Texas longer than two years, but I am willing to die
politically if need be, and I accept the challenge of those who would
destroy constitutional government by defeating me for re-election, and I
shall meet them at Phillipi." See letter from Colquitt to Ousley,
May 15, 1911, Official Colquitt Letters, Texas State Library at Austin.

³James T. DeShield, They Sat in High Places: the Presidents and
Governors of Texas (San Antonio, Texas: Naylor Company, 1940), p. 408.
See also Huckaby, p. iv, and Johnson, Barker, and Winkler, p. 1068.
life. In 1946 Huckaby optimistically predicted that time would soften and obliterate "the memories of the fierce antagonisms . . . [and] Colquitt will be accorded a much higher place in the history of Texas . . . . Upon Colquitt's death his perennial enemy, the Dallas Morning News, commented:

Newspapers digging into the reference books to refresh memory on the Colquitt career are impressed by the fact that there is great need of rewriting Texas history to stress the Texas of today without ignoring the glories of colonial and revolutionary Texas on which historians love to dwell.

Unfortunately, history books have not been rewritten. They give only scant attention to Colquitt's role in the development and progress of Texas. There is no evidence which suggests that this will be changed in the future.

Although Colquitt did not make a particularly significant impact on Texas history, he seemingly made a positive impression on the

5Huckaby, p. iv.
6Huckaby, p. iv.
7Dallas Morning News, March 9, 1940.
Texas electorate that he encountered in the early twentieth century. He was indeed ambitious. He was determined to the point of being stubborn. He was honest, not only in his dealings with his constituents but in personal matters as well. He was so honest in fact that when he left the Governor's Office he was heavily in debt. He was pragmatic. He was an astute politician. His rhetoric was not eloquent, but it served him well. Its plainness had an appeal that captured the conscience of the crowd. He was courageous. He frankly stated his opinions without regard for his personal or political popularity. He was, above all, a self-made man who used his native abilities, not only to do big things but to do them well.

\footnote{When asked if he planned to run for a third term he replied that to do so would result in even heavier personal debts. See letter from Colquitt to Williams, February 20, 1914, Colquitt Papers, University of Texas at Austin Archives.}
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APPENDIX A. Campaign Speaking Dates, 1906.

May

12 McKinney
15 Itasca
22 Van Alstyne
25 Liberty
26 Woodville
28 Caldwell
29 Alvarado
30 Moody
31 Burnet
   Lampasas

June

1 Llano
2 Field Creek
3 Belton
   Temple
   Jacksonville
   Troupe
   Tyler
6 Lindale
   Mineola
   Grand Saline
7 Atlanta
   Linden
8 Clarksville
   DeKalb
   New Boston
9 Honey Grove
   Paris
12 Denton
   Aubrey
   Pilot Point
   Pottsboro
13 Gainesville
   Muenster
   Whitesboro
14 Denison
   Sherman
   Van Alstyne
15 Bonham
   Bells
   Whitewright
   Greenville
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Marlin
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Mexia
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Corsicana
Hubbard City
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Moody
5    | Rodgers
Belton
Killeen
6    | Temple
Rockwall
Greenville
Farmersville
8    | Italy
Waxahachie
Ferris
Ennis
9    | Midlothian
Venus
Alvarado
Cleburne
10   | Tioga
Van Alstyne
Whitewright
11   | Bells
Detroit
12   | Honey Grove
Bonham
Denison
Dodd City
Blossom
Clarkesville
Paris
Sherman
Dallas
Austin
Celina
Gonzales
Lockhart
Luling
Buckners Orphans' Home
Mesquite
Garland
Richardson
Carrollton
Sulphur Springs
Mount Vernon
Cooper
Wolfe City
Paris
Denton
Fort Worth
Waco
West
Wills Point
Grand Saline
Terrell
VITA

Dencil R. Taylor, the son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Lee Taylor, was born in Rover, Arkansas, December 8, 1934. He was educated in the public schools of Louisiana, receiving his Bachelor of Arts in 1956 and his Master of Arts in Education in 1962 at Northwestern [Louisiana] State College. He has taught speech and drama and directed forensics in public and private secondary schools in Louisiana. On the college level he has taught speech and directed forensics at Florida State University, Louisiana State University, and Midwestern State University in Wichita Falls, Texas. For four summers he was on the faculty of the Louisiana Governor's Summer Program for Gifted Children. He is married to the former Patricia Avery Higgins.
Candidate: Dencil R. Taylor

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: The Political Speaking of Oscar Branch Colquitt, 1906-1913

Approved:

Major Professor and Chair

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Francine Merritt

Fabian Bula

Harold Mijares

Date of Examination:

April 18, 1979