

Political Pa and Mindful Ma Ferguson:

The Charismatic Commensal Couple of Texas Governorship

Perhaps only Texas would have the audacity to elect and reelect leaders that were clearly un-ideal for office, and that is because all involved were truly Texans; hoping for the best, despite the possible worst. James and Miriam Ferguson were the most influential couple in Texas during the time slot between World War I and World War II. This rag-tag duo, better known as “Pa” and “Ma” Ferguson, held an evident co-governorship of Texas 1925-27 and 1933-35 due to the fact that Pa wasn’t allowed to run for himself because of his impeachment back in 1917, after two years of being governor. Their first campaign together in 1924 swayed popular with the small town folk, farmers, “wets,” and anti-Ku Klux Klan supporters, but, after Ma’s disappointing first term, she seemed out of politics. The period between Ma’s governing terms gave way to the Great Depression. Devastated Texans turned back to motherly Ma Ferguson in the 1932 election. The Fergusons’ fan base was revitalized in 1932 not only because of the couple’s original surface popularity with the many “down-home” Texans, but also because of the type of relationship this couple shared. And this is a point that the scholarly literature, stressing only the unique folk rapport of the Fergusons, misses. Ma and Pa Ferguson had a commensal, symbiotic relationship. Rather than a mutualistic or a parasitic symbiotic relationship, the commensal type allowed the couple to have a set goal and the shared support of that goal without loss of focus or a detrimental falling out. Through their commensal relationship, this symbiotic super couple was able to attract Texan votes and advocate a longer governorship despite their shoddy governing skills and controversial co-governing style.¹

Political couples exhibiting other types of relationships do not seem to have a long-term hold like the Fergusons did. Symbiotic-ness in a relationship pertains to how a couple works together. In the non-commensal forms there is a deficit created ultimately by the division of interest which decreases the power of a couple's drive. Parasitic relationships result in one partner gaining while the other is being leeched from.² An example of a political couple with a parasitically symbiotic relationship would be Lyndon B. and Lady Bird (Claudia) Johnson. Lyndon had a habit of mistreating his wife. A friend of the Johnsons observed: "Lyndon depended on her for everything...he worked her to death! He took her completely for granted, and he expected [Bird] to devote every waking hour to him, which she did. I don't know how she lived through it."³ Later as the years progressed, the LBJ couple fizzled out unto their own interests. Lady Bird picked up an interest in the beautification of the U.S. while Lyndon dealt with issues like the Great Society program and the Vietnam War. No sincere synergy came from this couple. Several photographs at the time also portrayed the couple as being keenly reserved towards one another compared to other subjects in the images. Their lack of closeness (seen by comparison of their closeness to others) exhibits an uncordial relationship rather than a passionate one. The other type of non-commensal symbiotic relationship is mutualistic, which results in a combined gain between partners.⁴ An example of a political couple that exhibits a mutualistic symbiotic relationship is Bill and Hillary Clinton. Both worked with one another to reach their individual goals, but this separation of interest diverged in style from the united front created by the Fergusons. The Clintons are seen as "Hillary and Bill" rather than as a couple; they are two distinct people with differing goals rather than a unanimously objective unit. A synergy is present between them, but it is not concentrated in the highly effective way known to a couple with a shared goal. Many people are put off by couples with unshared intentions

because the division causes mixed signals to the public. If their spouse won't side with them, why should we? Their dissuasion is warranted by mistrust which stems from the couple's lack of cohesive cynosure.



Figures 1-4: Images of the Johnsons: fig.1 top left⁵, fig. 2 bottom left⁶, fig. 3 top right⁷, fig. 4 bottom right⁸

Figures 1-4 give us a brief look into what the Johnson relationship was like based on their body language, positions, and proximities. Couples normally should be seen as closest to their partner. In Figure 4 we see LBJ huddling with a generally smiling group of cowgirls. Lady Bird appears much less enthusiastic, and is alone, in an inferior position, behind the group. We also

see that LBJ has his arms around these women unlike the other man present in Figure 4 and unlike Figures 1-3, where he abstains from so connecting with Lady Bird. In Figures 2 and 3 the two relatively tall couples that share the photographs with the Johnsons each show a more common orientation, even though the man in Figure 3 is clearly being distracted. The hands of the Johnsons in all four photographs orient away from their spouse, and at the same time, in three instances, LBJ's hands are oriented toward other women. LBJ kisses one woman in Figure 1 and Lady Bird is clearly looking away from the act. In Figure 2, we see LBJ with a cheeky grin on his face and Lady Bird with a disheartened or disappointed smile. This couple lacked synchronicity.

The Fergusons' commensal relationship allowed them to advertise their desirably healthy and effective relationship as the foundation to their political façade, which supported their strong grip and longevity in Texas government. Texans especially found some solace in the Fergusons after the onset of the Great Depression. Pa Ferguson had been put out of job, as many Texans had, but there was Ma and Pa still working together, and willing to meet another challenge. There were times when Jim Ferguson's emotional, family appeal meshed so well with the experience of ordinary Texans that audiences were left in tears! Though this "country-time" duo tried to blend into the stereotypical standards of a "down-home" lifestyle, the biggest factor in their political success was their continuously commensal relationship that made them a staunchly symbiotic super couple.⁹

Commensalism worked for the most part because Ma remained mindful of Pa's wishes. But the problem facing this close couple stemmed from this reliance. Would Miriam Ferguson's growing experience distance her from relying on her husband? Would their unity snap with her

accumulation of power? A timeline of Miriam's political development can be divided into three phases: First Lady of Texas; Mrs. Governor of Texas, and her second election. Through each phase she gained political skills, but it is never seen that Ma strayed from Pa's guidance to pursue an independent governorship of Texas. The uniting tie of co-governorship did not unravel even as Ma became more politically involved and famous.

As First Lady, Miriam found it natural to continue in a traditional commensal relation with Jim. From the beginning of their marriage, Ma was grossly "apolitical" and detached when it came to most social affairs, apart from church.¹⁰ Her incessant occupation consisted of her being a loving mother and diligent wife, which she did wholeheartedly. Even before their rise to political stardom, Ma was accustomed to the higher standard of life attainable by wealth, due to her father's dedication, but Ma never flourished diamonds, or modeled the new, plunging necklines. The major challenge that Miriam had to conquer when Pa obtained office was her transfusion from "anonymity" into the political limelight. In an attempt to become more sociable, she hired a "Social Secretary." But this move inadvertently made her seem even less sociable by the people.¹¹ This one setback jolted Miriam back into the role of the traditional mother who knitted, scrubbed, swept, bottled, and darned for the sake of her family's wellbeing. It was very significant that the name, 'Ma' would stick to Miriam later. Her reputation had to have some basis in fact to stick. Her success in gaining the "Ma" epithet also resulted because Miriam Amanda's first two initials could be rightfully re-formatted into the word. Who then later could rail the good "Ma" who represented all other good mothers? Ma's ability to pass as the symbolic mother of Texas overshadowed the bad governing skills and corrupt financial affairs practiced by the Fergusons. Indeed, in 1917, Pa Ferguson was impeached as governor and permanently banned from holding state office due to the "misapplication of public funds."¹² After several

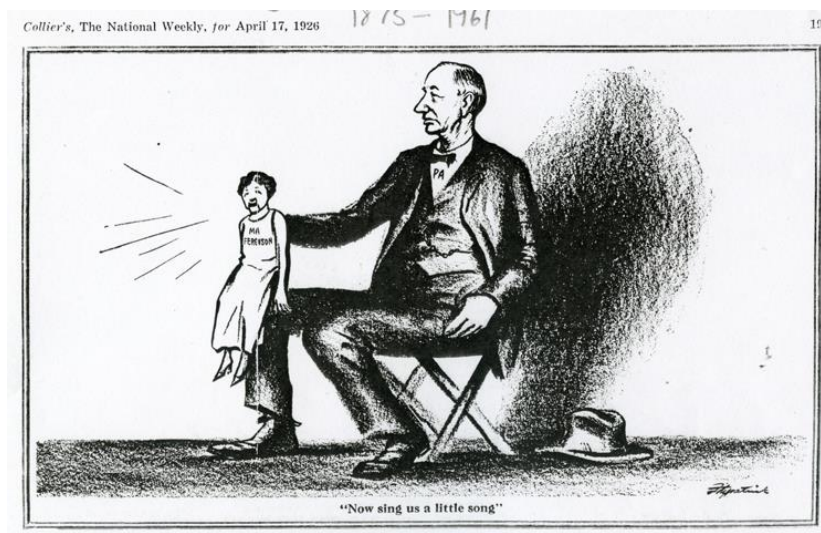
failed runs for other various government positions, Pa decided that he'd run under Ma's name in the 1924 election for Texas governor.¹³

Ma's blanket willingness to run for her husband had a formidable impact on voters in 1924. As the *Ogdensburg Advance* and *St. Lawrence Weekly Democrat* stated, "...she made the run for [Pa's] place more as a vindication than a desire for the office."¹⁴ This rarity of structured commitment during the Jazz Age spawned many respectable votes from traditional Texans, and undercut the moralistic appeal of opponents like the Ku Klux Klan. Ma vindicated her husband both by unswervingly supporting his rectitude, and becoming a symbol of it. So intense was the commensalism of this election that Jim Ferguson could offer a co-governorship with his wife under the slogan "two governors for the price of one."¹⁵ The idea of two governors working harmoniously as one was a fascinating precept. With the case of the Fergusons, it also seemed a likely outcome, one that voters could believe in. Together the concrete commensalism of the Fergusons commenced as Ma, even in her campaign meetings, quickly gave way to Pa, who would dole out a speech for her. Their Klan opponent, Felix D. Robertson, a Dallas District Judge, talked of family values, but the Fergusons seemed to embody the same. The Klan seemed increasingly corrupt, and linked with violence. Jim Ferguson had never attempted to pay back a \$156,000 loan from brewers, but at least he could be associated with a loving relationship. With Ma hedging for Pa, even the corrupt Fergusons could seem the "lesser of two evils."¹⁶ As reported by the *Childress Post* and picked up by the *Bartlett Tribune and News*, the general consensus of anti-KKK members on the 1924 election was noted thus: "We have consistently opposed the Klan from the very start yet we have never thought we should have a woman, or Jim [Pa] Ferguson, for governor...The Childress editor will vote for her, believing it to be the lesser of two evils...We say this with the full knowledge that Jim Ferguson will be governor if his wife

is elected. With this knowledge we are deliberately preferring another two years of Jim [Pa] in office than two years under Ku Klux Klan rule”¹⁷

This first great success with commensalism also challenged its ongoing dynamic. As Governor, would Miriam continue in her subservient role? As the first female Texas governor, Miriam immersed herself in the business of convening legislatures, considering bills, and weighing clemencies. She could not help grabbing more headlines than her husband. Nevertheless, Miriam refused to play the role of a successful, liberated woman. The *Adirondack News*, a popular New York newspaper, reported that “Unlike most women active in politics and public affairs, Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson . . . has never been identified with a women’s club of any kind.”¹⁸ Ma continued to look for Pa, and took his cause on every issue, from promoting an “anti-Mask” law against the Klan, to issuing 100 pardons of month.

Figure 5: A Political Cartoon Depicting Ma as Pa’s Puppet¹⁹



Ma’s decisions were greatly guided by Pa throughout her terms, but especially in her first one. Their new collaborative work as co-governors led many to be quite confused as to what assurances from either, apart from their spouse, meant. But their unity was a strikingly positive

attribute, and most soon gained the understanding that Pa was directing the action. For critics such as the cartoonist of the image above (Figure 5), Ma Ferguson as governor had simply become Pa's puppet. But this was only a crude and negative way of visualizing a system of co-governorship that actually worked. Authority spoke with a single voice even as two people greeted constituents, and shared the workload.²⁰ Miriam relied on James' political prowess and experience heavily as a newcomer and because of her initial lack of political desire. Historical writer Spike Gillspie noted that Ma placed two chairs side-by-side in the governor's office, and even when Pa was not present, his chair was. She learned from him. At times Pa would actually write a note in pencil, that she would then copy over into ink. Nevertheless, Miriam Amanda became increasingly confident about her governing skills.²¹

As her term progressed, Miriam became at once less dependent, and yet more skilled, as a deputy or proxy of her husband. The joke, that had someone hopping into an elevator, saying "pardon me" to Miriam, and Miriam saying, "you'll have to see Pa about that"--was only half true.²² She grew to enjoy pardoning as an act of "mercy" for people not able to afford defense attorneys, and as a way to minimize prison expenses.²³ The over 1,200 releases accumulated in her first term made many people suspicious of Ma. But what would stick in people's minds for a later date was her continued fidelity to Pa. She would introduce him, not as "my husband," that is, the husband of the governor, or as "Mr. Ferguson," but as "Pa." This not only reinforced her name as "Ma," but conveyed the patriarchal slant of their commensalism. She would talk tough as governor about the Ku Klux Klan, as an "un-Christian" and "un-American" organization that had threatened her husband, and bravely appear as ready as her husband to absorb the vengeance of the club she loathed. Like her husband, she enjoyed small-town jokes. She probably did not say the line attributed to her that: "Hispanic children should speak only English, for what was

good enough for Jesus Christ, was good enough for the children of Texas.” Unlike most women of her day, Miriam had not only attended college, but had had her own tutor. But she enjoyed joking—especially with young people. She proclaimed a “Laugh Month” in Texas mimicking her husband’s down-home style. Though the pair argued at home according to their daughters, Miriam never publicly expressed disapproval of her husband’s under-the-table highway commission dealings.²⁴



Figures 6-7: Ma in office²⁵ --and alone; The Governor working²⁶--Ma and Pa in office

The above images show how very close Pa actually was to Ma’s work as governor. In Figure 6, it is seen that an extra chair is placed behind Ma’s governor desk, which can presumably belong to Pa. It’s a rather interesting image because traditionally governors will have their picture taken at their desk, but why the blatantly extra chair? No other governor had an additional chair, so why was there this insistence unless to promote Pa’s presence? In Figure 7, Pa is seen directly beside Ma as she works at her desk. He is the closest person to her and whereas others gaze on her work, he poses as if serenely aware of all she is doing. Unlike

Lyndon Johnson, in the above images, he does not stand with the woman beside him, but a step ahead. He seems conscious of both wanting to form a kind of social halo, a concentric circle of honor around Ma, and yet exude his ultimate authority. It is a beautifully staged commensalist image, showing Pa's confidence that Ma would follow his lead.

A huge backlash against Ma followed her first term as Texas governor due to her choice of being a stand-in for her husband. Many newspapers reported on how Miriam's subservience to Pa was a disgrace to the cause of women in politics and that she would lose solely because "she was not governor herself."²⁷ This public ridicule led Ma into staying enjoyably reclusive towards elections until a reemergence, prompted by her husband's "rising desire to again enter a political campaign," in the 1930s.²⁸ Pa's "craving to reclaim the power and prestige" of former years put Ma's name into the election pool again for a try in 1932. Commensalist yearning as expressed by Jim, rather than polls or Miriam's own will determined Ma's reentry into politics.²⁹

Pa showed both keen insight, as well as audacity in entering his wife at the abyss of the American economic collapse. Texans of 1930s Great Depression were being hit by boll weevils, mass unemployment, and a revival of tenancy. Many had failed like the Fergusons. Many remembered the efforts of the Fergusons to aid tenants, and show mercy on those who had resorted to soon-to-be-legal-again strategies such as selling liquor. The Fergusons were swept into office again promoting their notorious "down-home folk" gimmick. They also were "name-lucky" yet again, equating their opponent, "Sterling," with the wealthy, and as also unconcerned with the public's poverty. After what was a nondescript term for Ross Sterling, Texans were ready to roll the dice once more with the duo, bringing another term to the Ferguson family, one where Ma stepped up her own governor game, and showed more self-assertion than ever.

The Fergusons' popularity had never been as high as when Ma returned to her second term as Texas governor. With a more updated amount of political experience under her "bonnet," Ma was able to better make her own decisions, and with a magnitude of power that Pa never enjoyed. Pa remained as Ma's faithful advisor, but Ma threatened the commensal undertaking as it became clear that she no longer needed him in this role. She did better this time in office than all the Ferguson-terms combined. Ma advocated more acts than ever, and showed a financial acumen that kept the government more efficient and effective than in her first term.

Still, Ma fought for the causes of her husband. Her decision to lay off all forty-four Texas Rangers stemmed from an "animosity [that] had long defined the Ferguson's relationship with [them]."³⁰ Ma replaced these men with choices from her husband and appointed 2,344 "Special Rangers." This largely non-professional unit was later terminated by the following governor, but many were impressed that the Fergusons could so audaciously transform the state's preeminent force.³¹ Her decision to clean house showed the advancement in Ma's confidence, as in her first term, she had only dared to reduce the Rangers' number.³² This brazen move by Miriam was not reciprocated until August of 1935, when the Texas Department of Public Safety was formed to be independently headed by the Public Safety Commission rather than a governor's administration.³³

Miriam produced several starting proposals that did not work such as: 1.) the reorganization of the Highway Commission, and the Board of Control and Fish, Game, and Oyster Department, 2.) a 3% sales tax, and 3.) a secondary tax on the overall earnings of corporations. But the display of executive effort changed the image of Ma.³⁴ Though they were prompted and advised by her husband, Miriam was found to be more involved with the process

and more enthusiastic about politics. The increased amount of governmental output paraded an evolution of her political prowess from a sitting duck to a crouching tiger.

One of the most successful acts of Miriam Ferguson was her call for a five-day bank holiday. In light of the Great Depression, Ma saw that the banks were being hounded, several closed across the country due to bank runs and elevated pressure. The break allowed for banks to regroup and it brought forth an overall depression of the allotted dramatics, formed from the inauguration of new president Franklin D. Roosevelt, for all Texans.³⁵

Ma also introduced “bread bonds,” a twenty-million-dollar relief bond insurance that would procure “continued financial aid from the federal government.”³⁶ Pa Ferguson headed this pursuit under the guise of his wife’s position. The Fergusons heavily pushed for the passing of this bond bill. It was passed in August 26 of 1933 along with the repeal of Prohibition, which gratified Pa but later enticed him to partake in his habitual acts of fraud and misapplication of funds. Due to this, the Senate put forth a subcommittee to write a bill that would regulate the insurance of relief bonds and their distribution. Pa’s only penalty for this fraudulence was his being shut off from the process of relief-bond distribution, in an attempt to remove this source of temptation.³⁷

Miriam still continued her over-extensive pardoning. However, this time around, the people were less concerned with this controversial action. Her allowance for pardoning and parole meant there were less criminals to house, and this resulted in some financial relief with the lowering of state expenditure.³⁸ This action helped Ma to begin other initiatives such as Texas House Bill 194 that initiated the future University of Houston, but it was only one of several devices she employed to maintain the state’s financial balance.

The next election did not have Ma Ferguson's name written on the ballot, no matter how severely Pa wanted reelection. On November 29, 1933, Miriam announced that the following year would be her last as governor.³⁹ Miriam was ready for her retirement and the return to a lifestyle of anonymity. For years between Ma's campaigns Pa had tried to influence Miriam's return to the political limelight. Again in 1934, he felt that Texans wanted Ma and additionally himself back in office. But, this time, Ma stood her ground against another campaign. Pa would testify in his diary that he neither had the money nor his wife's desire for a political comeback.⁴⁰ Here at last it was evident that Miriam was no push-over. As when she had first refused his proposal of marriage over thirty years before, the more refined Miriam held her ground. James enlisted numerous newspapers to draft a public poll on the opinion for Ma's return, in hopes that she'd succumb to the public pressure. Miriam fired back to the persuasions of both the public and her husband that "she was not physically or financially able to make the race."⁴¹ James finally dropped his pleas, and Ma, indeed, would not run in 1934.

Had the winsome commensalist relationship of the Fergusons finally died as well? In this one instance of their political career together, Ma had gained the upper-hand. But this time, James went along. Their commensalism survived. The pendulum was flipped, but only for a moment. Miriam eventually did obey her husband, falling back into one more race. Her opponent was the incumbent governor, "Pappy" O'Daniel in 1940. Their teamwork converted back to its original form but this campaign brought the end to Fergusonism. Fergusonian populism relied on personal appeals, but O'Daniel's brand relied on media, and his musical "hillbillyness," which took Texas by storm. By singing of a Texas that was bigger and better than anything Texans had actually known, Pappy had an even broader filial appeal than "Ma and Pa." "Pappy" also profited from the same Fergusonian parental appeal that Ma and Pa had pioneered.

But the endeavors of the Fergusons to incorporate the radio as an instrument of advertising her campaign flopped, just as the veteran orator, James, was unable to connect to the unseen audience. Pappy stole the race with 55% of the vote, leaving Ma in 4th place and bidding her an adieu from the governor races for good.⁴²



Figures 8-9: from Ma’s last run in 1940: Voting,⁴³ and Standing Together.⁴⁴

Photographs from Ma’s last election pointed to her normal compliance towards running for and with Pa. Figure 8 has Ma casting her ballot alongside Pa, with Pa stealing a direct look at the viewer, while chivalrously allowing Ma to vote first. Figure 9 has the couple still parallel, wearing dark hats together and refusing “the Pappy O’Daniel grin” which Pa compared to that of a “Jackass in a briar patch.” In each picture, she dutifully submits while carrying a feminine load, in one case, a good-sized purse, and in the other, flowers. However, the excitement seems gone from her eyes. The motherly Ma was no longer needed when there was a fun-filled Pappy handing the kiddos treats and farfetched promises. Still, the couple remained united in their front

no matter the sticky political situation or defective campaign. Ma's and Pa's collaborative work exhibited that strength which came from their togetherness. Their many identical stances and the willingness of Ma to mindfully back most of Pa's endeavors gave the couple a characterizing solidity that many Texans commemorated despite the lack of any real beneficial bi-products of their incumbencies.

The Idaho Senator, William Borah, noted when Jim Ferguson ran against a Klan candidate in a 1922 Senate race—"thank God only one of them can get elected." Yet the Fergusons were one remarkably popular political couple, and this is all the more notable as Carol Wilson's new book shows them to have been scandalous scoundrels.⁴⁵ Something kept pulling Texans back to supporting a couple where the two partners so completely and at times selflessly validated the other. The commensal relationship between Ma and Pa Ferguson exalted them in Texas politics. Their exemplary cohesiveness hooked many voters seeking a well-balanced governor. Though the Fergusons neither delivered on campaign promises, nor benefitted the state, as they had a habit of monetary fraudulence, Ma's employment into politics allowed for a deft remix on the Fergusonian style. Although sometimes characterized only as a puppet, Ma brought vindication to the Ferguson name through her broadcasted symbiosis with her husband. Their covalent goals made this commensal couple a powerful pair. This duo's total devotion to one another had a major impact on the history of the state. The Fergusons modeled the power that a truly symbiotic super couple can facilitate.

¹ Even though several scholars have noted that the Fergusons gained power from their popularity with the rural folk, none have yet to further analyze that claim: Carol O'Keefe Wilson, *In The Governor's Shadow, The True Story of Ma and Pa Ferguson*, (Denton: University of North Texas, 2014), xiii; Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., *The Chief Executives of Texas From Stephen F. Austin to John B. Connally, Jr.* (College Station): Texas A&M University Press, 1995, 167.; "Ferguson, Miriam Amanda Wallace [Ma]" *The Handbook of Texas Online*,

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- <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffe06>> [Accessed October 12, 2014]. Other efforts to explain the success of the Fergusons point to their use of popular catch phrases, and their ability to use the Klan as a foil: Ross Phares, *The Governors of Texas* (Gretna: Pelican, 1998), 141; Kenneth W. Howell et. al., *Beyond Myths and Legends, a Narrative History of Texas* (Wheaton, Illinois: Abigail, 2011), 325.
- ² “Symbiosis” *Marietta College*, <<http://www.marietta.edu/~biol/biomes/symbiosis.htm>> [Accessed October 31, 2014].
- ³ Sheri Stritof, “Quotes About the Marriage of Lady Bird and Lyndon Johnson” *Claudia "Lady Bird" Taylor and Lyndon Baines Johnson Marriage Profile*, <<http://marriage.about.com/od/presidentialmarriages/p/ljohnson.htm>> [Accessed October 31, 2014].
- ⁴ “Symbiosis” *Marietta College*, <<http://www.marietta.edu/~biol/biomes/symbiosis.htm>> [Accessed October 31, 2014].
- ⁵ “Mr. and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Photograph”, 1956; <<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph60056/>> [Accessed November 03, 2014], University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Hardin-Simmons University Library, Abilene, Texas.
- ⁶ Dietel, Norman. “Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson with Another Couple”, Photograph, n.d.; <<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph63994/>> [Accessed November 03, 2014], University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting LBJ Museum of San Marcos, San Marcos, Texas.
- ⁷ “Mr. and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Photograph”, 1956; <<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph60055/>> [Accessed November 03, 2014], University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Hardin-Simmons University Library, Abilene, Texas.
- ⁸ “Men with Girls Flag Squad”, Photograph, n.d.; <<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph54237/>> [Accessed November 03, 2014], University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Hardin-Simmons University Library, Abilene, Texas.
- ⁹ Carol O’Keefe Wilson, *In The Governor’s Shadow, The True Story of Ma and Pa Ferguson*, (Denton: University of North Texas, 2014), 146.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 57.
- ¹² “Ferguson, James Edward” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffe05>> [Accessed October 12, 2014].
- ¹³ “Ferguson, James Edward” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffe05>> [Accessed October 12, 2014].
- ¹⁴ “Texas Woman Governor” *The Ogdensburg Advance and St. Lawrence Weekly Democrat*, <<http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031423/1925-01-22/ed-1/seq-4/>> [Accessed October 11, 2014].
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- ¹⁶ Wilson, *In The Governor’s Shadow*, xvii.
- ¹⁷ Cates, R. F., editor. *The Bartlett Tribune and News* (Bartlett, Tex.), Vol. 39, No. 1, Ed. 1, Friday, August 8, 1924, Newspaper, August 8, 1924; (<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph76045/> : accessed December 10, 2014), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Bartlett Activities Center and the Historical Society of Bartlett, Bartlett, Texas.
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- ²⁰ Wilson, *In the Governor’s Shadow*, 159.
- ²¹ Spike Gillspie, “Ma Ferguson—Texas’ First Female Governor”, <http://ourfamilyancestors.com/Historical/ma_ferguson.htm> [Accessed October 12, 2014].
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- ²³ *Ibid.*, 164.

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- ²⁶ [Governor Miriam A. Ferguson], March 3, 1925, C02899, Chalberg Collection of Prints and Negatives, <<http://library.austintexas.gov/ahc/foot-door-54446>> [Accessed October 18, 2014].
- ²⁷ Wilson, *In The Governor’s Shadow*, 176.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 187;
Jim’s diary entry from Nalle, 212.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.
- ³⁰ Wilson, *In The Governor’s Shadow*, 192.
- ³¹ Wilson, *In the Governor’s Shadow*, 193;
Dallas Morning News, July 17, 1933. *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <[http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles.The Great Depression](http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/The_Great_Depression_).; “Official Texas Ranger Hall of Fame and Museum Website” <<http://www.texasranger.org/history/BriefHistory2.htm>>.
- ³² Wilson, *In the Governor’s Shadow*, 173.
- ³³ “Texas Ranger History: Timeline - Order Out of Chaos”, *The Texas Ranger Hall of Fame and Museum*, <<http://www.texasranger.org/history/Timechaos.htm>> [Accessed November 3, 2014].
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.
- ³⁵ Wilson, *In The Governor’s Shadow*, 195.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*; 197.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*; 198.
- ³⁸ “Ferguson, Miriam Amanda Wallace [Ma]” *The Handbook of Texas Online*, <<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffe06>> [Accessed October 12, 2014].
- ³⁹ Wilson, *In The Governor’s Shadow*, 201.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 211.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 212.
- ⁴² Wilson, *In The Shadow of the Governor*, 215.
- ⁴³ Douglass, Neal. *Ma and Jim Ferguson Voting*, Photograph, July 30, 1940; (<<http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph19242/> [Accessed November 03, 2014], University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu>; crediting Austin History Center, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.
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