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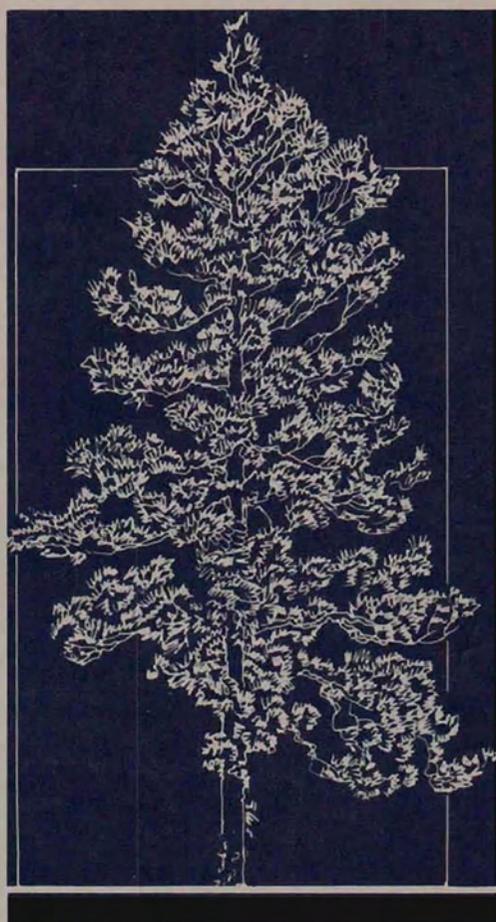
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REGIONAL DIMENSIONS OF THE TEXAS REVOLUTION, 1835

by *Paul D. Lack*

The Anglo Texas colonists who revolted against Mexico in 1835 never tired of linking their cause with the tradition of their forefathers: "We are *the sons* of the BRAVE PATRIOTS of '76 [who] are invincible in the cause of FREEDOM and THE RIGHTS OF MAN."¹ In large part this rhetoric represented an effort to give the Texas Revolution an image both noble and grandiose — of a significant step in the ever-expanding course of human freedom. This simplistic view holds considerable appeal to Texas chauvinists but invites scholarly skepticism. Nevertheless, the analogy with the American Revolution can lead to useful perspectives on the Texas Revolution, even if the insights are quite different from the intended messages of Texas propagandists. One important line of inquiry into the similarities between the circumstances in 1775-76 and 1835-36 should emphasize the importance of regional disharmonies. Historians have long recognized the sectional dimensions of the American Revolution, both as an obstacle to achieving the unity required for independence and as a challenge to the emerging sense of nationalism.²

Diversity rather than uniformity characterized the land and the inhabitants of Texas. The people, generally believed to have numbered about 40,000 (excluding Indians) in 1835, spread out over a vast expanse of geographically varied territory. From San Augustine near the Louisiana border to San Patricio on the Nueces River in southwestern Texas was a journey of approximately 425 miles. Except for 4000 or so Mexicans, who lived mostly near the towns of Goliad and Bexar in the west and Nacogdoches in the east, almost all of the settlers had emigrated during the fifteen years between 1820 and 1835. They came under a variety of circumstances. Especially in eastern Texas many people simply crossed the United States-Mexican border, picked out a plot of unoccupied (though not always unclaimed) land, and went to work. A more regular process occurred for those who emigrated under the auspices of one of the several empresarios who claimed land grants to colonize Texas. However structured the colonization efforts may have seemed on paper, a haphazard quality of competing land claims characterized the settlement process. This attribute carried substantial political consequences. As empresario Sterling C. Robertson noted in October 1835: "Texas is divided into small municipalities unconnected by any bond of union except their common danger."³

This observation could have been extended much further because rivalries and jurisdictional and disagreements placed the different colonies or political units in conflict with one another rather than being merely "unconnected." By 1834, with the establishment of a third department

that divided Texas into the jurisdictions of Bexar, Brazos, and Nacogdoches, the political boundaries stood for real differences. In the west the Department of Bexar contained a population of non-Anglo Americans. Irish colonists settled in and around the towns of San Patricio and Refugio and blended in reasonably well with their Mexican neighbors, except for some land title squabbles at the latter place. The Tejano population of this area increased with the establishment of a colony by Martin de Leon at Victoria; however, indistinct boundary lines made for conflict with colonists brought in by empresarios Green De Witt and Stephen F. Austin to the north and east. Except for this instance and the case of Nacogdoches in east Texas, most Anglo settlements had occurred in places apart from the Tejanos, making for a kind of *de facto* residential segregation. This colonizing pattern helped prevent a rupture during the 1821-1835 period, but it did not encourage a sense of unity when the revolution came.

The region drained by the Colorado and Brazos rivers, organized into the Department of Brazos in 1834, contained mostly Anglo-Americans brought in under the auspices of empresarios Austin, Robertson, or DeWitt. But their relatively homogeneous ethnic origins did not make for placid politics. The frontier municipality of Mina, disputed between Robertson and the potent Austin-Williams partnership, contained many settlers who saw reason to be suspicious of the machinations of leaders in other municipalities. The De Witt colony engaged in rivalry for land and influence with its neighbors in all directions. In the Department of Nacogdoches a colossal confusion prevailed over rights to the land as a result of inefficient government and fraudulent empresarios speculations; few of the people shared a sense of common identity with others outside their immediate community.⁴

Chronic disputes between Texas and the various governments of Mexico helped to bind the people together, but serious intraregional divisions limited the revolutionary potential. No colony, or town, achieved political unanimity during the summer of 1835. Factional jealousies, especially between the Austin and Wharton cliques in the populous Brazos valley, divided many communities. In southeast Texas a long-standing quarrel involving political authority, land titles, and perhaps even ideology created disputes between Anahuac and nearby Liberty. As the triumph of centralism unfolded in Mexico in 1834 and 1835, opinion became mesmerized by the land speculation charges levelled at those involved with the *Coahuila y Tejas* legislature. Leaders who warned most vigorously of the dangers posed by Santa Anna often lost credibility because of their association with the "Mammoth Speculations" that reputedly had occurred in Monclava.⁵ Citing these and other factors, various historians have noted what one called the "almost continuous internal strife" of the revolution.⁶ While leadership jealousies and even ideological quarrels undermined unity to some extent, during the initial stage of the rebellion in the summer of 1835 divisions in Texas took on an essentially geographic dimension.

The Department of Bexar took a separate path in the revolution from the beginning. Briefly it displayed promise of leading opposition to the centralism of Santa Anna. In response to Governor Augustin Viesca's call for troops to defend the federalist cause and the state government, a group of about 100 Bexar militiamen marched out of town toward Coahuila on May 16. This bold move quickly collapsed under the threat of military retaliation and other pressure exerted by the centralist commandant, Domingo de Ugartechea. Jefe Politico Angel Navarro and the Bexar Ayuntamiento ordered the militia unit home only a few hours after it left. A public meeting supported the effort to avoid hostilities; a key ingredient seemed to be that the memory of death from past revolutionary conflicts continued to fill the heads of older citizens. Although residents of this district split their loyalties or showed genuine reluctance in supporting the Santanistas, after this momentary flirtation with rebellion Bexar became a centralist stronghold for the remainder of the summer. Other towns or colonies in the department followed this lead and for the same reasons: the presence of other military garrisons at Lipantitlan and Goliad, the existence of genuine Mexican loyalties among both Tejanos and Irish colonists, and religious ties with Mexico since a majority of the population there remained genuinely Roman Catholic.⁷

With the Department of Bexar opting to acquiesce in the Centralist political order, resistance to Santa Anna's regime came mostly from regions dominated by Anglo colonists. More specifically, the spirit for confrontation in militant-sounding public meetings and militant actions such as the attack on Anahuac led by William B. Travis at the end of June derived mostly from Stephen F. Austin's colony. When settlers from outlying regions of Texas spoke, they did so in protest against being led into rebellion against their will. The first group met on July 4 at Mina on the upper Colorado River, an area disputed between empresarios Austin and Robertson, and declared its determination to "at all times sustain the legal authorities in the exercise of their constitutional duties." Soothed by the assurances of the pacific intentions of the current rulers of Mexico, the citizens who convened there again a few days later attacked the "misconduct" of "designing men" seeking to sow "disaffection to the General Government." This kind of disgruntlement suggested that the Committee of Safety and militia unit organized by the Mina public meetings served to guard local interests, whether challenged by Mexico or by other Texans.⁹ The people of Gonzales in the De Witt colony also condemned San Felician rashness and, in the words of a correspondent of Ugartechea, asserted "their right to live in tranquility and peace with their Mexican brothers."

Much more unequivocally than in Mina, a meeting at Gonzales went beyond an attack on those who sought to precipitate a crisis and declared acceptance of the Santa Anna regime. Its resolutions attacked corruption in the state government, suggested modifications in customs policies to

make them acceptable, expressed confidence in the president and the General Congress, and protested against creation of a provisional government in Texas. The proceedings of this meeting also offered the refusal of the province to heed Viesca's call for armed support as evidence of the Texans' loyalty "towards the Nation." To the southwest of Gonzales the public also expressed an unwillingness to become embroiled in civil war and gave at least qualified support to the regime that ruled Mexico.²⁰

By mid-July sentiments of reaction had swept backward into the municipality of Columbia, which previously had hedged its position. On July 11 Columbia's ayuntamiento criticized the rebellious, "uncautious and unreflecting" minority and joined in the attempt to restore "peace quiet harmony and concord." Soon this body proclaimed that "the citizens of this Jurisdiction hold themselves to be true, faithful, loyal, and unoffending Mexican citizens." Even the local committee of safety assured the people that they need not fear Mexican aggression but should adhere strictly "to the laws and constitution of the land." The voices of harmony and peace in Columbia included that of erstwhile radical John A. Wharton.²¹ In San Felipe political activists either kept a sullen silence or sought a more moderate course.

From July to mid-August the conservative tide from western Texas carried the rest of the province toward peace. The *jefe politico* at San Felipe pursued policies of conciliation that appeared to emanate from both the Mexican government and the people of his department. His counterpart in Nacogdoches used the excuse of distance to avoid a clear commitment either toward or away from rebellion. Substantial pockets of conservatism, with both the native Mexican population at Nacogdoches and the people of Liberty opposing overt resistance to the Centralist authorities, also encouraged caution in this department. Citizens meetings in mid-July in Harrisburg and other places in East Texas suffered from lethargic attendance, disunity, unwieldy or cross-purposeful resolutions, and poor coordination.²²

Several developments in late summer brought about more unity and moved Texas toward revolution. From the beginning of the crisis the political chiefs had adopted such zig-zag courses that public confidence in the established government waned. This collapse left Mexico with enfeebled means of directing public opinion and enforcing its own will. Although many Texans had renounced violence and affirmed conditional loyalty to Mexico, no real progress occurred to build on this framework. Instead, Mexico proceeded with plans for a military buildup that all observers in Texas acknowledged would provoke further opposition in the colonies. News of the dreaded coming of reinforcements began to reach the Brazos department in early August, stimulating a new series of public meetings sponsored by committees of safety¹³ established previously. By mid-August, many of the leaders of these groups sensed a strategy of moderation — of calling a convention to work for peace while preparing

for a possible conflict — that appealed to a sufficiently broad spectrum of public opinion in most Texas communities.

The idea of a convention originated with a conservative faction. In early July the Mina Committee of Safety recommended this procedure to combat the “rash and precipitate measures” of San Felipe. Not even all conservatives supported this proposal, but throughout the month the convention technique gained favor among those looking for a middle ground to promote unity, check radical aggressiveness, and ascertain the majority will.¹⁴ Most believed that public opinion had reached a consensus “to keep peace as long as ([the Centralists keep their] hands off) and when our rights and privileges are invaded to kick like mules all feet at once,” in the homespun language of one leader from southwest Texas.¹⁵

Supporters of a convention presented it as the solution to the internal disunity of Texas, a method of ending “the evils of petty feuds and factions” and restoring “order, peace, and confidence.”¹⁶ At first the movement for a convention grew slowly, but in mid-August it gained the approval of an increasing number of communities. Two factors contributed to the success of the convention campaign: alarm at the arrival of Mexican troop reinforcements, and endorsement by the more radical-minded groups in the Austin colonies. Mass meetings in Brazoria, Columbia, and San Felipe issued calls and developed procedures for a “consultation.” Although some held back for fear that other districts would refuse to cooperate, eastern and northern Texas municipalities soon fell into line. On other questions the different communities continued to be separated. The fiery resolutions adopted in Nacogdoches asserted revolutionary theories and threatened the “Tories,” while the cautious Liberty district passed a set of proposals that continued to reflect a desire to live peacefully in the Mexican nation. Since the Mina municipality had initiated the drive for a convention in early July, it hardly could withhold approval. Altogether this support, though still incomplete with respect to western areas, represented about as much unity as Texas could hope to muster under the circumstances. The committee of safety at Columbia finished setting the stage by issuing a plan with dates for the selection of delegates and instructions for the Consultation to gather on October 15.¹⁷

Other events in September added to this growing sense of purpose and unity. News of the release of Stephen F. Austin meant that he was no longer being held hostage to the good behavior of Texas, and thus freed his reluctant supporters to join the movement of resistance to centralism. The great empresario soon arrived in person. Before he surveyed the Texas scene he continued to think in terms of prudent and defensive policies, but Austin quickly joined the developing consensus. Although a few of his correspondents still wrote of the old theme of disunity from personality clashes and “sectional feeling,” most presented news of cooperation both within and among the various communities. Austin quickly endorsed the Consultation and echoed the hope of other leaders that it would over-

come the “divisions” that traditionally had plagued Texas. Historians generally have repeated the assertion of Austin’s partisans that his leadership brought sudden unity to the people of Texas; in fact, Austin only helped to solidify support for a course of action that already had been set in motion.¹⁸ The factor that finally galvanized Texas resolve was the news of Mexican military advances in September; this development led would-be peacemakers to acknowledge their failure even before an actual clash of arms occurred on Texas soil. As broadsides announced the arrival of Mexican reinforcements, more communities — including San Augustine in the east and Matagorda to the west — gave their approval of the Consultation. Even in areas that remained unorganized, individuals reported the existence of support for measure of political and military preparedness.¹⁹

The emergence of a higher degree of political consensus among the various regions and political subdivisions of Texas was of great importance, especially since the initial armed clashes occurred in the western, more conservative region. A sense of unity prevailed through October and November. Volunteers from throughout Texas converged on the scenes of action to form an army that represented a true cross-section of the people. The Consultation, although hampered by the outbreak of war, met in November despite absent delegations and managed to enact enough compromises to give Texas a fledgling, if shaky, government. To arrive at that stage Texas had to overcome the sense of localism and other divisions that initially hampered the movement of resistance to Mexican centralism. These and other forces of internal discord had been repressed temporarily rather than eliminated and would soon rise again to challenge Texas in the growing crises of war and revolution.

NOTES

¹Broadside, “*To the People of Texas*,” February 13, 1836. A.J. Houston Collection, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

²Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The Coming of the American Revolution* (New York, 1959), pp. 11-12; Edmund S. Morgan, “Conflict and Consensus in the American Revolution,” Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1973), pp. 297-306.

³Sterling C. Robertson to Mr. Hunt, October 5, 1835, in John H. Jenkins, ed., *The Papers of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836*, II (10 vols., Austin, 1973), p. 51.

⁴David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1982), pp. 163-166; Malcolm McLean ed., *Papers Concerning Robertson’s Colony in Texas* (12 vols., Arlington, Texas, 1974-1985), has chronicled the Robertson-Austin dispute extensively in a manner critical of the Austin-Williams position.

⁵Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin Founder of Texas* (Nashville and Dallas, 1925), pp. 460-477; Margaret Swett Henson, *Samuel May Williams, Early Texas Entrepreneur* (College Station, 1976) pp. 63 (quotation), pp. 64-75; Brazoria Texas Republican, June 27, 1835; Ayuntamiento of Liberty to (the Public), June 1, 1835, in Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 136; Jno. A. Williams to (Henry Rueg), July 3, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 185; William C. Binkley, *The Texas Revolution* (Baton Rouge, 1952), pp. 48-49.

⁶Binkley, *Texas Revolution*, p. 127 (Quotation); John Henry Brown, *A History of Texas, 1685-1892*, I (2 vols.; St. Louis, 1892-1893), pp. 279-280. Not all historians emphasize the internal conflict factor. David Weber asserts that "when centralist forces marched into Texas in the early summer they met unified resistance." *Mexican Frontier*, p. 250. Actual unity developed very late in the summer and evaporated quickly.

⁷Domingo de Ugartechea to (Angel Navarro), May 16, 1835, in Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 109; Angel Navarro to (Domingo de Ugartechea), May 16, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 110; Angel Navarro to Secretary of State of Coahuila and Texas, May 18, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 112-115; (Edward Gritten) to Domingo de Ugartechea, July 5, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 204; Samuel Rogers to the Political Chief of the Department of Brazos, July 4, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 191.

⁸Address of R.M. Williamson, July 4, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 195, 199; Antonio Tenorio to Domingo de Ugartechea, June 25, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 168; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*, pp. 243-244; Binkley, *Texas Revolution*, pp. 48-49.

⁹Mina Resolutions, July 4, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, pp. 191-194.

¹⁰(Edward Gritten) to Domingo de Ugartechea, July 5, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 204. (1st quotation); Samuel Rogers to the Political Chief of the Department of Brazos, July 4, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 191; (Gonzales Citizens meeting), July 7, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 216 (2nd quotation).

¹¹Asa Brigham, Circular, July 11, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 230-231 (1st quotation); Asa Brigham to San Felipe meeting, July 14, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 240 (2nd quotation); Committee of Columbia to citizens, July 15, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 242 (3rd quotation).

¹²Wyly Martin to the Ayuntamiento of Columbia, August 10, 1835, in McLean, ed., *Robertson's Colony*, XI, p. 269; Wyly Martin to Domingo de Ugartechea, August 16, 25, 1835, *Robertson's Colony*, XI, pp. 303, 354; (James H.C. Miller to J.W. Smith, July 25, 1835), Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 274; Henry Rueg to the Ayuntamiento of San Augustine, July 3, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 183-184; John Forbes to James B. Miller, July 21, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 269-270; Henry Read (*sic*) to the Political Chief of the Department of Brazos, July 28, 1835, Provisional Government Letterbook (Archives, Texas State Library); H. Rueg to Ayuntamiento of Liberty, August 22, 1835, Alcalde Papers (2 vols., typescript, Archives, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin).

¹³John J. Linn to James Kerr, July 30, 1835, in Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 288; John J. Linn to James Kerr, August 1, 1835, Provisional Government Letterbook; Katherine Hart and Elizabeth Kemp, eds., "E.M. Pease's Account of the Texas Revolution," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXVIII (July, 1964) p. 82.

¹⁴William J. Fisher to Committee of Safety for Mina, July 4, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 189 (quotation); Resolutions, San Felipe Citizens Meeting, July 14, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 238-239; *Brazoria Texas Republican*, July 18, 1835.

¹⁵James Kerr to Ira B. Lewis, August 3, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 303.

¹⁶Jonus (pseudonym), "Union," in McLean ed., *Robertson's Colony*, XI, pp. 333-335, 336 (1st quotation); Wm.H. Wharton *et al.*, to (the Public), July 25, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 277 (2nd quotation).

¹⁷*Brazoria Texas Republican*, July 25, August 8, 22, 1835; (Brazoria Meeting calling a convention), August 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, p. 323; W.B. Travis to (Henry Smith), August 5, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 312-313; Benja. F. Smith to Jas. F. Perry, August 15, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 346-347; W.B. Travis to Henry Smith, August 24, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 368; resolutions, Nacogdoches Public Meeting, (August 15, 1835), *Papers*, I, pp. 343-345; B.T. Archer *et al.* to fellow citizens of all Texas, August 20, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 355-358; Resolutions, San Felipe Public Meeting, August 26, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 370-371; Resolutions, Liberty Public Meeting, August 30, 1835, Records of Citizens Meetings, Secretary of State Pre-Republic Legislative and Executive Bodies (Archives, Texas State Library).

¹⁸John R. Jones, Jr., to (Moses Austin Bryan), September 1, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, pp. 383-384; (F.W. Johnson) to S.F. Austin, September 5, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 417 (1st quotation), S.F. Austin (speech at Brazoria), September 8, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 427; S.F. Austin to T.F. McKinney, September 26, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 491 (2nd quotation); (Henry

Austin) to M.A. Holley, September 10, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 431; Brazoria *Texas Republican*, September 19, 1835; Moses Austin Bryan to (William F. Hunter), September 15, 1835, Gerald S. Pierce, ed., "Some Early Letters of Moses Austin Bryan," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXX (January 1967), p. 469; Binkley, *Texas Revolution*, p. 34-35.

¹⁹E.M. Pease to D.C. Barrett, September 15, 1835, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, I, pp. 447-448; Resolutions, Committee of Safety for the Jurisdiction of Columbia, September 22, 1835; *Papers*, I, p. 478; Philip A. Sublett *et al.*, to Austin Committee of Safety September 22, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 480; James Kerr to Stephen F. Austin, September 30, 1835, *Papers*, I, p. 509; Resolutions, Meeting of Citizens of Matagorda, September 26, 1835, *Papers*, I, pp. 489-490.

THE WAR AND PEACE PARTIES OF PRE-REVOLUTIONARY TEXAS, 1832-1835

by *Jodella D. Kite*

Although many people are conversant with the Texas Revolution and events leading to it, relatively little research has been published until recently on the War and Peace parties of 1832-1835. These two factions within the Anglo-American population of Texas helped to sway public opinion both for and against armed conflict in the crucial days leading to the revolution. The War and Peace parties cannot be defined easily because they were not established political parties. They were labels for persons of opposing political dispositions. Both factions surfaced during the disturbances of 1832. Members of the War Party either participated in the disturbances or condoned them. The Peace Party, probably representing more Texans throughout the period, loudly criticized the agitation. Events of 1835, which displayed the increasing centralized nature of Santa Anna's regime, began to define the lines between the Peace and War parties.

The War and Peace parties were not called by those names until July 1835. The parties did not label themselves by these terms but instead described the opposition with them. Usually one faction referred to the other in such harsh terms as "tories" or "political fanatics." Although histories of the revolution use the terms, few writers define them or provide a list of prominent leaders of the parties. Margaret S. Henson recently offered an account of the Peace Party, but she did not include a full-scale, quantitative analysis of leadership in that faction or in the opposing War Party. Her generalizations are supported by information concerning five spokesmen for the Peace Party and six for the War Party. The list is based on the crises in 1832. Further, her points of comparison do not include slave ownership or motives for coming to Texas.¹ In the present study, biographical profiles for eight leaders of the Peace Party and fourteen leaders of the War Party include information on age, origin, length of residence in Texas, occupation, motive for coming to Texas, economic holdings including slaves, and marital status. From these collective profiles of each party, generalizations can be drawn regarding the groups. These profiles present distinct differences in the makeup of the two parties which clarify their contrasting viewpoints. Only by realizing the historical climate in which these groups functioned can the clash of these individuals and their points of view be understood.

The War and Peace parties of Texas are rooted in Mexican history, beginning with the advent of Anglo settlers. Although not appearing until 1832, these factions emerged largely as a result of previous policies established by the Mexican government such as the emancipation decree of

1829 and the Law of April 6, 1830. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1829 attempted to prohibit slavery in the Mexican republic, but the seeds of discontent were sown with the Law of April 6, 1830, which repealed the national colonization law admitting American colonists and suspended all incompleting contracts of empresarios. This law resulted from a report by General Manuel de Mier y Terán following his inspection tour of Texas in 1827-1828. The disturbances in 1832 at Anahuac, Velasco, and Nacogdoches, in which certain Anglo settlers clashed with Mexican officials, set the stage upon which the final acts of the revolutionary drama were played.² Although not referred to in specific terms at that time, the War and Peace parties made their initial appearances in these disturbances of 1832.

These recent events convinced Texans that the time was ripe to voice their grievances to the new liberal government. Conventions met in 1832 and 1833 to address the most pressing issues of the colonists in order to obtain redress from the Mexican government. Stephen F. Austin served as president for the Convention of 1832, and William H. Wharton, a more aggressive colonist than Austin, presided over the second convention. Austin, preferring to present the views through the strictly legal channels of petitions arising from *ayuntamientos*, advocated a calm, respectful manner in order to accomplish their goals. The Convention of 1833 petitioned for the abolition of part of the Law of April 6, 1830 and drew up a constitution for the proposed separate State of Texas. Stephen F. Austin bore the memorials to Mexico City and, after interminable delays, he had a satisfactory meeting with President Santa Anna, who agreed to everything except separate statehood. On his return trip, Austin was arrested at Saltillo and forced back to Mexico City because the authorities had found out about a hastily written letter to the *ayuntamiento* of Béjar urging it to take the lead in establishing a provisional government. Austin spent eighteen months under arrest in Mexico City waiting for Mexican justice. Despite personal periods of despondency, Austin advocated a "dead calm" to be held in the Texas colonies.³

Since declaring for Santa Anna in 1832, the Texans had managed to avoid entanglements in Mexico's civil wars. In 1834, disputes between Monclova and Saltillo concerning the location of the state capital of *Coahuila y Texas*, and public disfavor over the sale of lands to speculators, brought the disagreements closer. The newly established Monclova legislature passed liberal land sale acts in an effort to raise revenue quickly for the state treasury. Frank Johnson and Samuel Williams attended the session, so they were in a position to take advantage of these new speculation decrees. When the hue and cry went up against Santa Anna and his turn toward centralism, these speculators emerged at the forefront of active agitation against his regime. Thus the cry to fly to arms easily could be understood as speculators simply trying to save their grants, while peace advocates such as Thomas J. Chambers could be accused of sulking over

being left out on the lucrative deals. Most Texas colonists were appalled at what seemed to be the squandering of public lands.⁴

In a repeat performance of 1832, the federal government again sent to Anáhuac a customs collector with deputies and a small detachment of soldiers under the command of Captain Antonio Tenorio to begin the collection of shipping duties. After clashing with the Mexican officials over a perceived inequity in the application of customs laws, a group of colonists under the leadership of Andrew Briscoe and William B. Travis forced Tenorio to surrender his post on June 30.

The majority of Texans disapproved of the rash action and, with only three exceptions, every public meeting condemned it. Travis was forced to write a conciliatory letter apologizing for his actions. Edward Gritten and D.C. Barrett were sent to General Martín Perfecto de Cos at Matamoros to explain the situation and assure the Mexican commander of the loyalty of Texas citizens. Public opinion in Texas almost always had favored caution and conciliation, probably in great part following the example of Austin. Edward Gritten's semi-official reports to Colonel Ugartechea in July reiterated the loyalty of the colonists, but repeatedly warned of the danger of introducing more military troops into the region. He felt that almost anything would be tolerated but that.⁵ The Mexican authorities, justifiably concerned, reacted. General Cos issued an order for the arrest of Lorenzo de Zavala, a Federalist opposing Santa Anna. Cos later included William B. Travis, R.M. Williamson, Frank W. Johnson, Samuel Williams, and Moseley Baker in the arrest order. The Anglo colonists balked at surrendering their fellow countrymen to Cos's military court.⁶ What followed was a snowballing effect toward war.

Community committees of safety and correspondence all over the province of Texas called for a consultation to convene at Washington-on-the-Brazos on October 15. A movement toward a convention of the people moved from a means of public professions of loyalty to becoming a tool of the War Party.⁷ The Committee at Columbia, in its proclamation for a consultation, soberly observed, "we occupy the unenviable attitude of a people, who have not a shadow of legitimate government."⁸ On August 31, Travis proudly boasted in three different letters that people had united and that the Peace Party had fallen virtually silent.⁹ Barker explained this change of mind:

Had there been no atmosphere of racial distrust enveloping the relations of Mexico and the colonists, a crisis might not have followed. Mexico might not have thought it necessary to insist so drastically on unequivocal submission; or the colonists might not have believed so firmly that submission would endanger their liberty. As it was, the Texans at first evaded then categorically declined to make the arrests; while the same municipalities that had professed unswerving loyalty to Mexico were entirely outspoken in opposing the military occupation of the province ... these men who refused to deliver their neighbors to military

authority for trial outside the colony were sons of the generation that indignantly protested against Great Britain's revival of Henry VII's law of treason ... and they had already experienced some inconveniences from Mexican garrisons in 1832.¹⁰

Upon his return from a long imprisonment which had convinced him of the despotic nature of the Mexican government, Stephen F. Austin declared himself in favor of the Consultation. Gail Borden later noted Austin's return as the pivotal point, "if Col Austin is for peace, we are for peace, if he is for war we are for War." ¹¹ The last bastion of peace fell; it was a time for war.

The faction often termed the War Party historically has been called a variety of names — some complimentary, others not. The first use of the term "War Party" appeared relatively late in the pre-Revolutionary period. Few definitions of the faction have been provided in the past. Those who attempt to do so commonly use some patriotic adjectives or the term "action." In the few instances where someone has ventured a list of members, the core of individuals has remained intact while the supporting cast differs widely.

Early Texans often referred to parties, but they almost always meant the political parties of Mexico. The first mention of Texas parties appeared in letter from Stephen F. Austin to Samuel M. Williams on March 12, 1831. Austin stated:

I have understood that Jorge [Fisher] is publishing or has published a book, against me. He is a second Dayton and believes that nothing was wanting but a leader among the settlers to turn them all against me. I fear that the main object is to try and create *parties* in the colony and by that means ruin us all.¹²

On April 22, 1833, Austin prophetically wrote to James F. Perry, "Unfortunately we have some *personal parties*, amongst us — but this is an evil that will correct itself in time."¹³ In reporting his arrest to Samuel Williams, Austin explained his actions toward the San Felipe conventions: "My object was to smother the party spirit and violent and ruinous divisions which I saw brewing in the colony."¹⁴ Two days later in a letter to Perry, Austin repeatedly pleaded for "no more party spirit."¹⁵ By August of 1834, pejoratives were used to refer to what was later termed the "War Party." Austin called them "mere demagogues and political fanatics" in a letter to Perry on August 25, 1834. The next day he described them as "political fanatics and political adventurers."¹⁶ In November 1834, Thomas F. McKinney claimed they were "a few aspiring ambitious demagogues."¹⁷ Stephen F. Austin reiterated this idea on November 6, 1834:

Those who are constantly trying to *climb the skies* without a ladder, must learn by experience that such a course will not do, before they can be useful to the country, or even to themselves ... Young men of this class will be useful and very valuable members of society hereafter, when experience shall have fully matured their judgment

and tempered their youthful ardor and taught them prudence. But untill [sic] then they are better calculated to do harm by keeping up excitements and filling newspapers with violent and inflammatory [sic] remarks than anything else.¹⁸

Henry Austin, in a letter to Perry on November 14, referred to “the unauthorized doings of a few ambitious *agitators of revolutionary measures.*”¹⁹ A frustrated Stephen F. Austin wrote from his imprisonment in Mexico:

I wish that all the unquiet spirits in Texas would organize themselves into a corps and explore a good route for a wagon road to Chihuahua — in *that* way they can be usefull [sic] to Texas.²⁰

A meeting at Gonzales on July 8, 1835, reported that:

many energetic remarks were made in respect to the late corruptions at Monclova and the efforts to cover the headlong retrail [sic] of the *speculating* party in a Provisional Government.²¹

The War Party first received that name on July 25, 1835, when J.H.C. Miller suggested the arrest of the prominent leaders, reporting, “All here is in a train for peace, the war and speculating parties are entirely put down.”²² Thomas J. Chambers reported on July 31, “I shall proceed in a short time to Nacogdoches ... to quiet the war party.”²⁴ The clearest explanation by a contemporary observer appeared in a broadside from an anonymous author. In a plea for unity, the author, under the name of “Jostus,” described the parties in Texas, maintaining that the War Party:

compose a large and very respectable portion of the community, and they urge with very great plausibility, that Texas is now by the repeated acts of the general Government entirely released from her alliance to the *late republic* of Mexico, that she is thrown back into a complete state of nature, and that by the laws of nature and of nations; she has an indisputable right to take care of herself.²⁴

Stephen F. Austin reported to P.W. Grayson on September 19 that General Cos insisted on the surrender of the individuals so “War then is *inevitable* ... War and peace parties are at an end.”²⁵

Historians have made few attempts at defining the War Party. Frank W. Johnson, one of its leaders, noted many years later, “there was a small party in Texas ready to make the most of any occasion for friction with Mexico.”²⁶ Eugene C. Barker called them a “small but very active party ... [which] counseled secession from Mexico.”²⁷ William Kennedy termed them “Separatists” who stood for “proclaiming Texas an independent member of the Mexican Federation, at every hazard,”²⁸ John Henry Brown defended the War Party against critics, stating:

they have been stigmatized as ‘fanatics,’ ‘demagogues’ and ‘agitators.’ The allegation is at war with the truth. It has its parentage in the desire to cover the extreme conservatism of men to whom the people looked as leaders; yet who opposed independence until a unified public sentiment left no grounds upon which such conservatism could stand.²⁹

In her study on the Alamo, Amelia Williams defined the War Party as simply, "a faction of the Texans who were always ready to assert and to maintain their rights, by force if necessary."³⁰

Frank W. Johnson described the activities of the War Party during July and August 1835 as consisting:

chiefly of spreading through the country reports of the progress of centralization in Mexico and of the determination of the government to overwhelm Texas by a military occupation and expel from the country all who had not fully complied with the colonization regulations ... The activities of the war party produced little effect at first because the people believed that the alarming rumors were being spread by land speculators who hoped in some way to profit by an agitation of the public.³¹

In August 1835, General Cos asked the people not to listen to men who were without a country and had nothing to lose. Thomas M. Thompson, an English-born Mexican naval officer, advised the citizens of Anáhuac to remain at home, accusing the War Party of being those without home or families.³²

For the purposes of creating a biographical profile of War Party leaders, which might be used to generalize about them, individuals were chosen by word or deed in agitation for action against the Mexican government in the period from 1832 to 1835. Although some were designated by others as belonging to the War Party, to be included in this study they still had to implicate themselves in some active way that could be documented.

In a scathing letter to Sam Houston in 1844, Moseley Baker provided a list of his fellow War Party members which included John A. and William H. Wharton, Branch T. Archer, W.B. Travis, R.M. Williamson, Samuel Williams, Frank W. Johnson, Thomas F. McKinney, John K. Allen, James Bowie, William Pettus, J.H. Money, and Joseph Baker.³³ John Henry Brown provided two lists. The first included the Whartons, Archer, Travis, Bowie and Williamson, but added Henry Smith, William G. Hill, Asa Hoxey, Edward Burleson, Ira R. Lewis, George Sutherland, and James B. Patrick. Brown's second list concerned only the Navidad and Lavaca river areas. This list of names did not include a single prominent leader. This was part of his effort to prove that the War Party was not all politicians and professional men who lived in towns, but included a sizable number of farmers.³⁴ Eugene C. Barker has maintained that the party numbered no more than a dozen.³⁵ Margaret S. Henson cited five of the most prominent leaders.³⁶ For this study the following persons were used as representative leaders of the War Party: Archer, Baker, Bowie, Andrew Briscoe, Johnson, Robert Mills, Smith, Travis, Edwin Waller, Williamson, William H. Jack, Patrick C. Jack, and the two Wharton brothers.

Composite profiles of Peace Party and War Party leaders includes

the following categories: the age of each member, place of origin, length of residence in Texas, occupation, motive for coming to Texas, residence while in Texas, economic holdings in land and/or slaves, and marital status.

The general profile of War Party leaders is different from that of Peace Party leaders, discussed in detail below. The War Party spokesmen had an average age of thirty-three years at the end of 1835, ranging from Andrew Briscoe's twenty-three years to Henry Smith's forty-seven years. The War Party hailed from the Border South or from the Deep South and migrated into the frontier states or directly into Texas. Moseley Baker, for example, was born in Virginia, moved to North Carolina, and hurried out of Alabama to Texas. The length of residence in Texas of the War Party members averaged five years, from John A. Wharton's two years to Frank W. Johnson's nine years. Lawyers made up thirty-six percent with the rest being mostly merchants, farmers, and surveyors. James Bowie, because of his various schemes, composes a category by himself. Twenty-nine percent came to Texas as a result of crimes they committed or love affairs gone sour, often a combination of both. Fifteen percent evidently came for the adventure while another fifteen percent came for health. Moseley Baker slipped into Texas with \$21,800 that belonged to the Bank of Alabama. William B. Travis experienced trouble in Alabama over the fidelity of his wife, possibly killed a man, and fled to Texas. It is rumored that Branch T. Archer came because he killed a man in a duel. The Jack brothers were simply looking for adventure. Noah Smithwick told of a popular song which commented on the moral fibre of the inhabitants in one particular municipality:

The United States, as we understand,
Took sick and did vomit the dregs of the land.
Her murderers, bankrupts, and rogues you may see,
All congregated in San Felipe.³⁷

The highest percentage of War Party leaders lived in Brazoria with some in San Felipe. James Bowie was the only one who lived in Béjar.

Records of the economic holdings of the War Party leaders are incomplete and difficult to assess. The "Census" of 1840, using tax rolls together with records from the Texas General Land Office, can help to alleviate the paucity of sources, but the census could reflect prosperity *after* the war. Most of the War Party had obtained headright grants by 1835, with fifty percent having little more than their headright. At least seventy-one percent owned slaves sometime in the period from 1830 to 1840. W.H. Jack, Robert Mills, Edwin Waller, and W.H. Wharton had more than thirty slaves by 1840. While the War Party contained both large and small landowners, it included a number of slaveholders who could be classified as planters.

Within the half of the War Party who were married, there existed some interesting variations. William B. Travis, who was separated from

his wife and later divorced, alternately listed himself as single and widowed. Henry Smith married a second wife who was the sister of his late first wife and later a third wife who was the twin of his second.

Contemporary references to "Peace Party" are even more rare than to the "War Party." Travis used the term for the first time in a letter to Bowie on July 30, 1835. He stated, "The *peace-party*, as they style themselves, I believe are the strongest, and make much the most noise."³⁸ The anonymous author of a broadside, dated August 20, 1835, divided the Peace Party into two groups — those who were cautious and those for unqualified submission. On August 31, 1835, Travis referred to the opposition as the "Mexican or Tory Party."³⁹

The Peace Party probably represented the majority of the colonists. William Kennedy claimed that the Peace Party desired to maintain the:

connexion [*sic*] with Coahuila, according to the regulations of the Federal Constitution. By that Constitution, all loyal citizens, whether native or naturalised [*sic*], held themselves bound to abide, according to their oaths ... The bulk of the colonists, consisting of quiet husbandmen, to whose prosperity, peace was all-important, were tranquillised by assurances which harmonised with their wishes.⁴⁰

John Henry Brown called the term "Peace Party" inappropriate and claimed that there "was no unconditional Peace Party, beyond an insignificant little nest of tories, who received the prompt attention of Gen. Houston, immediately after the battle of San Jacinto."⁴¹ Brown also maintained:

The conservative man, counseling moderation one day and hoping for sunshine with the next news from Coahuila or from the capital city, was liable, before a change in the moon, to have his hopes blasted and be driven to modify his views.⁴²

Eugene C. Barker explained the attitude of the Peace Party:

They recognized certain rights of the central Government in Texas, and, desiring peace, were slow to believe, that these rights would be exceeded. More thoughtful conservatives who may have seen the danger from Santa Anna's plans probably feared that Texas could not sustain a struggle with Mexico, and advocated non-resistance as a policy of expediency.⁴³

Some sacrifices, however, the Peace Party refused to make, including the continued garrisoning of Texas and the surrender of the radical leaders to the military.⁴⁴

Peace Party leaders do not lend themselves easily to delineation because action was rarely involved in the quest for a peaceful solution to Texas' problems. Margaret S. Henson supplied two lists of Peace Party members, using the term "tories." One list is composed of five individuals drawn from the crises of 1832 for use in comparison against six agitators of the same period. An appendix to her article names twelve individuals who favored the Peace Party from June 1835, to February 1836 —

relatively late in the war-peace controversy.⁴⁵ The following persons advocated quiet and calm or protested against the actions of the more radical colonists generally throughout the period from 1832 to 1835: Stephen F. Austin, D.C. Barrett, Josiah H. Bell, David G. Burnet, Thomas J. Chambers, Edward Gritten, J.H.C. Miller, and John A. Williams.

The Peace Party had an average age of forty-two years at the end of 1835, excluding two members whose birthdates are unknown. For example, David G. Burnet and D.C. Barrett were both forty-seven years of age in 1835. Fifty percent followed a pattern of being from the Border South or Deep South, migrating west into frontier states or directly into Texas. The other half of the Peace Party came from the North or from a foreign country. Edward Gritten, for example, was born in London but had become a Mexican citizen before moving to Texas. By the end of 1835, Peace Party members had lived in Texas for an average of over seven years. This figure does not reflect accurately the length of residence, however, because two members came in 1835, which made the average much lower than it would have been otherwise. A more typical example would be Josiah H. Bell, who came with the "Old Three Hundred." Twenty-five percent practiced law, with farmers accounting for another quarter. John A. Williams was a planter in Liberty who also owned one of the earliest cotton gins. The motives for coming to Texas for more than thirty-seven percent of the Peace Party cannot be determined. One-fourth came as empresarios, and one-fourth came because friends or relatives lived in Texas. Thomas J. Chambers was appointed by the Mexican government to the judicial system. The Peace Party members resided in various places, but none lived in Brazoria, J.H.C. Miller, for example, was from Gonzales, where the first battle of the revolution took place. Most of the Peace Party members had obtained their headrights by 1835. About half had substantial holdings while the other half had little more than their headrights. Thomas J. Chambers held 40.75 leagues in 1835 to Edward Gritten's 1.5 leagues. At least seventy-five percent owned slaves in the period from 1830 to 1840. Only John A. Williams owned more than thirty. Sixty-three percent were married, and the marital status of twelve percent is unknown. Edward Gritten was married to a Mexican woman.

A strong contrast can be seen in comparing the makeup of the two parties. Sixty-three percent of the Peace Party were married, compared to fifty percent of the War Party. Brazoria was a gathering place for the agitators. Both groups had followed the western frontier migration pattern to some extent, but the Peace Party contained Northerners and Europeans. This suggests that the War Party considered Texas as simply part of the Southern frontier. The nine-year age difference, with the Peace Party averaging forty-two years old and the War Party averaging thirty-three years, probably indicates more maturity and wisdom among the advocates of restraint. The variety of motives for coming to Texas precludes definite conclusions, except for the pocket of war agitators who fled previous

abodes under duress, such as Archer, Travis, Baker, and others. The circumstances under which these individuals left their homes would indicate that perhaps they were more easily aroused to wrath and controversial action. The interpretation that a cultural conflict between Americans and Mexicans was at the root of the Texas Resolution is reinforced by the fact that at least one War Party member, Henry Smith, held strong prejudices against Mexicans as a race, and at least two Peace Party members, Gritten and Chambers, had experienced Mexican culture and society in some depth. The parties differed little in their economic holdings in land. Seventy-five percent of Peace Party leaders owned slaves, compared to seventy-one percent of the War Party. Four War Party members owned more than thirty slaves, however, compared to one member of the Peace Party with that many, which might reflect concern about the loss of slaves and status if Mexican laws were enforced. The seven-year average length of residence in Texas by the Peace Party, compared to five for the War Party, implies a higher stake by Peace Party members in the well-being of their province. The makeup of the War Party with thirty-six percent lawyers is deceptive since fully one-half were qualified as lawyers but held other jobs as well. Thirty-seven percent of the Peace Party were qualified to practice law but probably only one leader did. Stephen F. Austin warned in 1829 of the danger of lawyers in the colonies:

In this country the Lawyer who is most active in getting the ears of the people, has generally succeeded in inlisting [*sic*] their feelings in his favor and in rousing their inflamitory [*sic*] passions or creating violent prejudices against his opponent ... I do believe that a Lawyer would get rich by picking to pieces the property of one hundred americans, when he would starve on 20,000 of any other people on earth.⁴⁶

The War and Peace parties of pre-revolutionary Texas were made up of men caught in the turmoil of their time. These men voiced their convictions and, at times, risked their lives to stand up for those beliefs. The image of the Peace Party as men patiently struggling for understanding between the Mexican government and the Texas colonists can be explained in light of their longer residence in Texas and more broadly based origins. The reputation of the War Party as hot-headed heroes is reinforced by their youth, colorful backgrounds, argumentative nature — especially the lawyers, and their stake in Texas remaining a slaveholding region. Thus, as leading political figures gravitated into opposing camps, they provided contrasting viewpoints around which Anglo-Texans rallied.

TABLE 47
THE WAR PARTY

Name	Age	Origin	Length of Residence	Occupation	Motive	Residence	Economic Holdings	Marital Status
Archer, Branch T.	45	Virginia	4 yrs	doctor	killed man in duel	Brazoria?	1 league, at least 1 townlot in Velasco	W
Baker, Moseley	33	Virginia-N.C.-Alabama	3 yrs?	lawyer, politician, banker	swindled Bank of Alabama	San Felipe	delinquent on taxes for 60 townlots in Galveston, 1476 acres surveyed, 1 townlot in Houston, wife had 1107 completed; 2 slaves; wife had 12 slaves (1840); 10 leagues (bounty)	M
Bowe, James	40?	Tenn. or Kent.-Missouri-Louisiana	7 yrs	slave smuggler, planter, land speculator, Indian fighter	to traffic in land	Bejar	1 league in Austin's 2nd colony; in 1831 \$222,000 but very shady numbers; had to borrow money from father-in-law to go on honeymoon	W
Briscoe, Andrew	25	Mississippi	2 yrs	merchant	?	Anahuac	1 carriage, 1 townlot in Houston, 13 townlots in Harrisburg, 363 acres surveyed, 4 slaves (1840)	M
Jack Patrick C.	27	Georgia-Alabama	4 yrs	lawyer	'young and adventurous spirits'	Liberty-Brazoria	¼ league; 1 carriage, 7 slaves (1840)	S
Jack William H.	29	Georgia-Alabama	5 yrs	farmer, lawyer	adventure	San Felipe-Brazoria	1 league; 5 horses, 75 cattle, 2574 acres completed, 17 townlots in Velasco, 2 townlots in Brazoria, 31 slaves (1840)	M
Johnson, Francis W.	36	Virginia-Tenn.-Ala.-Ill.-Missouri	9 yrs	surveyor	health	San Felipe	1 league; 177 acres surveyed	S
Mills, Robert	26	Kentucky	5 yrs	merchant, planter?	?	Brazoria	¼ league, w/D.G. Mills 26 horses, 26 townlots, 4083 acres completed, 1476 acres surveyed, 500 cattle, 2 saddle-horses, 77 slaves (1840)	S
Smith, Henry	47	Kent.-Tenn.-Kent.-Missouri	7 yrs	farmer, leacher, surveyor, politician	?	Brazoria	1 league; 14 horses, 75 cattle, 177 acres completed, 6 slaves (1840)	M
Travis, William B.	26	S.C.-Alabama	4 yrs	lawyer	fleeing bad marriage, perhaps murder	Anahuac-San Felipe	1 league in Miami's Colony	D
Waller, Edwin	35	Virginia-Missouri	4 yrs	trader/merchant	relative of Jared Groce; health	Brazoria or Velasco	1 league; 16 horses, 136 cattle, 4-wheel carriage, 7 townlots, 1 ship, 32 slaves (1840)	M
Wharton, John A.	29	Tenn.	2 yrs	lawyer and dabbled in newspapers	join brother, William	?	headright; 1107 acres completed, 3321 acres surveyed, 2 slaves (1840)	S
Wharton, William H.	33	Virginia-Tenn.	7 yrs	lawyer, planter	health, (hurted buffalo)	Eagle Isl. Plantation outside Brazoria	1 league; 16 horses, 305 cattle, 15498 acres completed, 61992 acres surveyed, 41 slaves (1840)	M
Williamson, Robert M.	31	Georgia-Alabama	8 yrs	lawyer, land speculator, alcalde	perhaps killed love rival in duel	San Felipe	1 league; at least had slaves	S

THE PEACE PARTY

Name	Age	Origin	Length of Residence	Occupation	Motive	Residence	Economic Holdings	Marital Status
Austin, Stephen F.	42	Virginia-Kentucky-Missouri-Arkansas	14 yrs	empresario	empresario	San Felipe	72 townlots in Brazoria, 53983 acres completed, 139474 acres surveyed (1840); 1 slave	S
Barrett, D.C.	47	Vermont-New York City-Penn.-New Orleans	6 mos	lawyer	?	Minn	estate worth \$140,000 (land \$50,000, \$54,000 in notes); a home in Quintera	M
Bell, Josiah H.	44	S.C.-Tenn.	14 yrs	farmer, stockraiser	former, associate of Austin in Arkansas	Columbia	3 slaves, 2½ leagues (1826 Census)	M
Burnet, David G.	47	New Jersey-New York-Ohio-Louisiana	9 yrs or 16 yrs off and on	empresario-politician	empresario (poor at business)-soldier of fortune appointed	Lynchburg	1107 acres completed in Brazoria (at least owned slaves by 1836)	M
Chambers, Thomas J.	33	Virginia	6 yrs	lawyer, judge		lived 4 yrs in Mexico City; Unk Miami's Colony	40% leagues; 1 townlot (1840); 5 slaves (1840)	S
Gritten, Edward	38	London; certificate of Mexican-citizenship	1 yr	merchant	came with Almonte; brother-in-law of J.M. Carbajal	Miami's Colony (perhaps Gonsales) for awhile; Bejar	1½ leagues in Miami's Colony	M
Miller, James H.C.	?	?	1-4 yrs	doctor	?	Bejar	24 townlots in Gonzales (1840)	?
Williams, John A.	?	?	13 yrs	built cotton gin in 1825, planter	?	Liberty	1 league, 1 townlot, cotton mill; 30 slaves	M

NOTES

¹Margaret Swett Henson, "Tory Sentiment in Anglo-Texan Public Opinion, 1832-1836," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 90 (July 1986), pp. 7-9.

²Alleine Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 16 (April 1913), pp. 391-398.

³H.P.N. Gammel, comp., *The Laws of Texas: 1822-1897*, (10 vols Austin, 1898), 1, pp. 476-503; Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin: Founder of Texas, 1793-1836*, 2nd. ed. (Austin, 1949), pp. 370-375.

⁴Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas* (2 vols New York, 1855; reprint ed., Austin, Texas), I, pp. 319-330; Margaret Swett Henson, *Samuel May Williams: Early Texas Entrepreneur* (College Station, Texas, 1976), pp. 65-73; Eugene C. Barker, "Land Speculation As a Cause for the Texas Revolution," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 10 (July 1906), pp. 76-95; Elgin Williams, *The Animating Pursuits of Speculation: Land Traffic in the Annexation of Texas* (New York, 1949), pp. 55-57.

⁵Eugene C. Barker, "Difficulties of a Mexican Revenue Officer in Texas," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, 4 (January 1901), pp. 191-202; Archie P. McDonald, Travis (Austin, 1976), pp. 109-121; Eugene C. Barker, "Public Opinion in Texas Preceding the Revolution," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1913), pp. 223-225; W.B. Travis to Colonel Ugartechea, July 31, 1835, Eugene C. Barker, ed., *The Austin Papers* (3 vols.; Vols. I, II, Washington, D.C., 1924-1928; Vol. III, Austin, 1927), III, p. 95; Edward Gritten to Colonel Ugartechea, July 5, 1835, July 6, 1835, July 7, 1835, July 11, 1835, July 17, 1835, Barker, ed., *Austin Papers*, III, pp. 80-91.

⁶Domingo de Ugartechea to Antonio Tenorio, [July 31, 1835], Malcolm McLean, comp. and ed., *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas* (12 vols. to date; Arlington, Texas, 1985), 11, pp. 231-232; Barker, "Public Opinion," pp. 226-228; Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, Eugene C. Barker and Ernest W. Winkler, eds. (5 vols.; Chicago, 1914), 1, p. 249.

⁷Eugene C. Barker, "The Causes of the Texas Revolution," pp. 140-150, Eugene C. Barker Papers, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin.

⁸*Texas Republican* (Brazoria), August 29, 1835.

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MOTIVATIONS OF UNITED STATES VOLUNTEERS DURING THE TEXAS REVOLUTION, 1835-1836

by Phillip Thomas Tucker

The romantic idealism that caused many United States citizens to enlist in the People's Army of Texas in 1835 and 1836 has been well documented. Volunteers from mostly the Southern states, but the Middle West and the North as well, played a key and perhaps the decisive role in winning the war for Texas Independence. The best known example of a direct military contribution in manpower from the United States to the Texas Revolution can be found with the two companies of Louisiana volunteers, the New Orleans Greys.¹ In early 1836, the largest Texas force in the field, commanded by Colonel James Walker Fannin, was composed of over ninety percent of United States citizens.² Indeed, among Fannin's contingent were such militia companies as the Alabama Red Rovers, the New Orleans Greys, the Kentucky Mustangs, the Mobile Greys and one more Kentucky unit and an additional Alabama company. Also a full battalion of Georgians bolstered Fannin's command.

Volunteering to fight against Mexico in behalf of Texas independence would come at a high price for these non-Texans. Indeed, most of them were killed in the Goliad Massacre and at the Alamo and the New Orleans Greys' flag was the only one captured by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna's forces at the Alamo.³ Approximately one half of the nearly 200 Alamo martyrs recently had come to San Antonio de Bexar from Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In fact, so many United States volunteers had poured into Texas during the revolution's early days that the influx caused an exodus among the native Texan soldiers. Many Texas troops returned to their neglected homesteads for the spring planting of corn and wheat crops. Before Santa Anna's invasion during the winter of 1836, it appeared that the war practically had ended. Few Texans, if any, expected a northern strike from Mexico in the dead of winter. The resulting manpower shortages, consequently, led largely to the Goliad and Alamo disasters.⁴

Obviously the high motivation for these men to forfeit their lives for a land that most had never seen embodied the usual principles of natural rights and revolution to justify a war for independence. Texas leaders clearly understood the appeal of America's earliest philosophical, moral, and political foundations. A typical request employing an idealistic appeal to seek United States volunteers came from one soldier in Texas, who implored: "The cause of philanthropy, of humanity, of liberty and human happiness throughout the world calls loudly on every man who can, to aid Texas."⁵

The flowery appeals for assistance were effective, drawing hundreds of volunteers from the states. Coming forth to cross the Sabine River,

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for instance, had become a holy mission for members of the New Orleans Greys, "to demonstrate to the world, the strength and purity of the zeal they feel, espousing a struggle for the freedom of their country men; a struggle imposed by acts of tyranny, and the ambition of their author."⁶ In addition, the analogy between the Texas Revolution of 1835-1836 and the American Revolution of 1775-1781 had been made repeatedly throughout the Texan's independence movement. One volunteer, for example, wrote how he had joined the fight to uphold "the principles for which your fathers and my fathers fought in 1776 — and for which I have taken up arms in Texas in 1836."⁷ Such idealistic motivations of many of the United States volunteers has received full attention in the annals of Texas historiography.

But did other motivating factors exist? Did idealism and rhetoric alone cause hundreds of Americans to die at the Alamo and Goliad? Were there other or more important reasons why these young men chose to struggle beside the Texans in a conflict that was not their own and hundreds of miles from their homes? Why would boys from Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Alabama willingly leave their native states and families to uphold the interests of a budding republic and a land that they had never seen before or knew little about? Could some or perhaps even the majority of United States volunteers have been motivated partially, or even primarily, by self-interest and profit?

Volunteers' motivations, of course, were as varied as each man's individual character. A journalist in 1836, for instance, understood as much, stating how the Texas volunteers consisted of "freemen, patriots, heroes, rogues, blackguards, office-seekers, discarded lovers, broken merchants, dismissed office holders, thieves, murderers and politicians." For Southern volunteers, the fear of an abolitionist crusade launched by Santa Anna — Mexico had freed its slaves since she had won independence from Spain — was a fear which sparked enlistment. Especially after Goliad and the Alamo, Mexican forces driving eastward toward the Louisiana border created visions of slaves rising in revolt across the Southland. Indeed, the Mexican Army had liberated the Texan's slaves during its push across the rich agricultural lands of "the Garden of America." Paranoia ran high in 1836, for it was believed that Santa Anna now "threatens to emancipate all the slaves in the South."

The Texas Revolution, consequently, became "the cause of safety of the South. If Santa Anna and the Mexicans are allowed to possess Texas, they will cause negro insurrections in the South, and thus become one of the most dangerous neighbors to the Union that ever appeared on our borders," warned an American in April of 1836. National security, contingent upon a successful Texas revolution, had now become a crucial issue. More Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri, Tennessee, and Kentucky volunteers felt the potential threat and, therefore, enlisted to save homes and families from the horror of slave revolt: another possible blood

bath as had befallen the French in Saint-Domingue.

Even worse, Southerners envisioned a combined strike from three oppressed peoples, who had scores to repay upon white Americans: Mexicans, African-Americans, and Indians. At the end of April 1846, the prospect of the following potential reality sent shock waves rippling across the United States, especially in the South. Long before the main threat to a distinctive Southern civilization came to be viewed as originating from the North, a fear of danger from the nation to the south of the United States' border became excessive:

“One fact has been developed in the conduct of Santa Anna, that will cause a new and extraordinary sensation over the whole south. Santa Anna has proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves in Texas, and called the Indians to his aid.

This is one of the most alarming aspects for the safety, peace, and happiness of the south and west, that the affairs in Texas have yet taken. Taking this movement in connection with the piractical character of the war, we should not be surprised to see the whole South and West pour en masse, and carry their victorious arms to the walls of Mexico itself. Santa Anna not only wars against the colonists of Texas, but he has unfurled the flag against the domestic institutions of the South and West — he throws out menaces upon their safety, which as far exceed the puny efforts of the northern abolitionists, as it is possible to conceive.

It is utterly impossible for the south-western frontier of the United States, ever to be in safety, if the Mexicans possess Texas. Santa Anna has declared war against the inhabitants of the south. Will they stand by and are their very existence assailed? If the government at Washington do not move in this business, the people will move on their own accord.”

This editor's analysis proved correct. It was the American people's united response, which explains why so many United States citizens enlisted in the Texas conflict. As they themselves and their sons would do in 1861, many Southerners joined the Texas struggle to defend their native region and an unique way of life.

In addition, emotionalism served as a catalyst. News of the Goliad and Alamo massacres stirred feelings for vengeance. The enemy's no-quarter policy exemplified Mexican ruthlessness and ungodliness to American minds. “The period of vengeance has arrived — the cup of wickedness is running over. Let the people of the United States rouse as one man,” declared the New York Herald in mid-April of 1836. Propaganda increased as Santa Anna's forces swarmed ever closer to the Louisiana communities along the Sabine River. Further heightening of the fear, grim tales circulated of how the advancing Mexican army engaged in the “indiscriminate slaughter of women and children. The orders given to the soldiery being, to spare the life of no individual over ten years of age.” Indeed it seemed as if Santa Anna was bent on destroying all of Anglo-Saxon civilization in Texas.⁸

A spirit of Manifest Destiny that perpetuated America's historic

mission of spreading republicanism also served as a cause for United States citizens to join the Texan's ranks. The struggle for Texas independence, consequently, was an extension of the nation's historical role in the New World: to bring mankind a brighter future by extending democracy. One American, for instance, viewed the conflict as the continuation of a worldwide liberalism during an age of democratic revolutions. "The war between Mexico and Texas is only the beginning of a new revolutionary movement on that soil, similar to that which began in England in 1640 — which broke out in the United States in 1776 and which is at this day spreading over Europe ... It is the movement of civilization and of self-government [which should] revolutionize and re-instate every one of the worn out governments of Spanish America." The Texans were in the vanguard of the advance of republicanism, which would eventually dominate the entire world, according to this political rationale for national expansion.

Another American now foresaw, through conquest, an "infusion of the genuine spirit of American-Anglo-Saxon principles [which] will regenerate-will reconstruct-will settle that great nation [Mexico] on the basis of right, justice and genuine civil and religious liberty." Military victory at San Jacinto on April 21, 1836 came to be seen not only as the birth of the Texas Republic, but an event "leading to the regeneration of the whole southern continent of America." Indeed, Manifest Destiny had fused with the social and racial concepts of regeneration and the republic's national mission.⁹

But perhaps different explanations other than idealism, fear of slave revolts, Manifest Destiny, and revenge might best explain the motivations of the majority of United States volunteers in the People's Army of Texas. First, the nation's economy was in trouble. An agricultural decline in 1835, a slackening off of exports and an influx of currency circulated by the state banks — causing a frenzy of land speculation — laid a poor foundation for economic stability. The financial crisis sent tremors through the national economy. Escalating economic instability resulted in a full-blown depression.¹⁰ Times had gotten harder for the American nation of common tillers of the soil and the historic "safety-valve" of such economic disturbances often had been westward migration. Texas, despite being embroiled in revolution, perhaps remained the best location in all of North America still offering the most natural rewards — in terms of sizable land and the region's quality — and the greatest opportunities, for migrants to begin a new life during the mid-1830s. If Mexico could crush the revolt, the chance for Americans to migrant into Texas would be closed forever.

But perhaps more importantly, combining with the economic crisis to influence Americans to join the revolution came with official Texas policy. To lure soldiers, the Texas government offered huge bounties of choice acres, consisting of the country's fairest lands. General Sam Houston, for instance, penned an appeal in early October 1835: "If volunteers from the United States will join their brethren in this section

[the San Augustine, Texas, area], they will receive liberal bounties of land. We have millions of acres of our best lands unchosen and unappropriated (sic).”¹¹ Clearly, in the views of many Texas leaders, only by mortgaging their country’s land could they ensure their revolution’s success. Demonstrating the importance of the bounties, a cynical recruiting poster nailed up along New Orleans, Louisiana, streets carried not one word of patriotic rhetoric or left a romantic illusion remaining:

“Now is the time to ensure a fortune in Land: To all who remain in Texas during the War will be allowed 1280 Acres.

To all who remain Six Months, 640 Acres.

To all who remain Three Months, 320 Acres.

And as Colonists, 4600 Acres for a family and 1470 Acres for a Single Man.”¹²

In addition, a Texas appeal for aid appeared in a Northern newspaper editorial, which was addressed “To our friends in the United States.” The request stated how “the people of Texas [now] need your assistance. We present to you one of the most delightful countries on the face of the globe: we offer you the most liberal remuneration in land.” Such a financial incentive and bonanza in land at the onset of a severe economic depression especially beckoned members of the lower and middle classes in the South and West. Many Americans, consequently, cast their destinies with Texas.

And what a land had been offered. The Texas General Council had not exaggerated their country’s richness upon challenging United States citizens to enlist in their cause: “We invite you to our country — we have land in abundance, and it shall be liberally bestowed on you. We have the finest country on the face of the globe ... every volunteer in our cause shall not only justly but generously be rewarded.” And just two weeks after the Alamo’s fall, an American newspaper advertised how “all volunteers shall be entitled to one mile square, or 640 acres of land, to be selected out of the public domain of Texas.”¹³

Indeed, the over 250,000 square miles of “that delightful garden of the world” seemed nothing short of God’s country. It included the beautiful hill country of the Edwards Plateau, the Great Plains’ prairies rolling as far as the eye could see, the piney lands of eastern Texas, the fertile lowlands along the Gulf of Mexico, and the Rio Grande River country. And the countryside has been blessed with a mild climate: an invaluable asset to a nation of agriculturalists. The encroaching depression and the swelling tide of land speculators buying up property from farmers in the United States had made the Texas offer of instant status as a large landowner and future prosperity almost irresistible to the average man. Such rewards proved to be a powerful catalyst for Americans to flood into the Texas Army.

As implored a journalist: “Now is the moment for all young men, who want to create a name, and make a fortune, to bestir themselves. Go to Texas. Enroll yourselves in the brave army of [Texas]. A splendid

country is before you. You fight for a soil and a name that will become your own Enroll yourselves, young men of capital and enterprise, collect recruits they are abundant as the sands of the sea shore — proceed without delay to Texas [and] make the greatest republic yet organized, it is already the youngest. With a territory equal to that of France — a soil for superior — a climate as healthy as any in the world, Texas must soon become the second great republic," The opportunity was too good to let pass for many Americans. Perhaps most of those volunteers enlisting in droves were seduced by the powerful lust for land.

Private Daniel William Cloud, an ex-Kentucky lawyer, had forsaken the prestige of his attorney office to become a lowly enlisted man in the fledgling army. No one more than Cloud, also highly idealistic, understood the implications of the gamble to establish a republic by armed revolt and against a formidable enemy, but "if we succeed, the country is ours" Indeed, for Private Cloud and others, the possible boon in Texas land was worth the risk of their lives. But the twenty-four-year-old Cloud would never see his dream of becoming part of the frontier's large landowning class come true: he died at the Alamo less than three months after penning his life's goals to his father.¹⁴ Cloud and other volunteers had died for one of the richest natural empires in all North America — the great prize at stake in the war between Mexico and Texas.

In an agrarian society where status, wealth, and class had been measured in terms of acreage, the availability of lush Texas acres could mean success not only for the individual volunteer and his family, but for future generations as well. The all-consuming passion of gaining hundreds of acres for risking one's life on the battlefield could best be seen in the average soldier's obsession with Texas lands. John Sowers Brooks, for instance, of the Georgia Battalion, wrote to his Peach State relatives in December 1835 that he would receive 1,100 acres after the struggle's conclusion. Also he would get 600 acres for his military service — not a bad deal for perhaps only a few months of garrison duty.¹⁵ As so many others, Brooks would never claim any of the land he loved, meeting his end with Colonel Fannin at Goliad.

After San Jacinto, New Yorkers enlisted to secure a fantastic bounty: "The captains are to be presented with 1170, and lieutenants 640 acres of fine fat Texas land, equal to the soil of the 'Garden of Eden'." Another volunteer hungry for a sizable chunk of Texas real estate was Private Micajah Autry. Indeed, Autry also sought to start life anew upon the eventual granting of hundreds of acres to him. He had failed in law and business in Jackson, Tennessee. But now the Volunteer Stater, age forty-two, saw that he could reverse his life's fortunes in the land of milk and honey. More than anything else in the world, Autry told his wife of his primary goal: "I am determined to provide for you a home or perish." For Autry and the rest of the Alamo garrison, death came on March 6, 1836.¹⁶

Perhaps no one better summarized the motivations of a good many United States volunteers in Texas than George Dedrick of Colonel Fannin's command. Destined to die in the infamous massacre on Palm Sunday 1836, Dedrick explained to his wife how: "My object of Goin (sic) [to Texas] was for you, my Self and Son and all my femaley (sic) hereafter (sic). in the first place as Soon as [I] became a Sitisan (sic) which by the Laws entitled me as a man of famaley (sic) to one Lease of Land Square which is three miles or fore (sic) thousen (sic) fore (sic) hundred acres of Land which wen (sic) things are seteled (sic) will be worth six thousen (sic) Dollars."¹⁷ Dedrick's viewpoint perhaps best represents the perspective of volunteers from Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Georgia. Clearly, the patriotic and romantic visions of the Texas Revolution had been replaced by more realistic considerations to George Dedrick and countless others.

Many Americans simply could not escape the intoxication of potential wealth in Texas land or the country's beauty. Even a forty-nine-year-old, ex-Congressman from Tennessee, David Crockett, felt the pull of unlimited opportunity in battling for Texas. The frontiersman described: "What I have seen of Texas, it is the garden spot of the world, the best land & prospects to any man to come here."¹⁸ Indeed, Texas was a land worth dying for if necessary for many United States volunteers — a price Crockett paid at San Antonio de Bexar.

Another soldier wrote an optimistic letter to his wife, promising great things for the future: "Be of good cheer Martha I will provide you a sweet home. I shall be entitled to 640 acres of land for my services in the army and 4444 acres upon condition of settling my family here."¹⁹ Indeed, economics also served as a morale booster and source of inspiration among the Americans in the Texas Army. This factor partially accounts for the volunteer's high morale — they were struggling for themselves, family, and the future.

The bounties offered exceeded the most gracious rewards imaginable. Originally each volunteer of the People's Army of Texas was entitled to 640 acres. But later the grants increased greatly. After March 2, 1836, each soldier from east of the Sabine River would get one league [4,428 acres] and one labor [177 acres], if one settled his family in Texas. A single man was entitled to one-third of a league — 1,476 acres.²⁰ Never in the nation's history had Americans been offered a comparable amount of acreage for military service.

Land had become such a dominant factor, and perhaps the most important incentive, in drawing United States citizens into the Texas military that even some conservative Americans denounced their fellow countrymen as "land-pirates" and "free-booters." These men were branded as mercenaries who had only volunteered to gain a "fertile paradiscal (sic) piece of Texian lands, a mile square."²¹

Also exploiting this theme was General Santa Anna. Clearly, no one more than Santa Anna understood that the influx of United States volunteers in the Texas Army might practically guarantee an independent republic. From an encampment beside the Nueces River on February 17, 1836, and less than three weeks before annihilating the Alamo defenders, General Santa Anna made a direct threat to the United States' "claimants to the acres of Texas land [who] will soon know to their sorrow that their reinforcement from New Orleans, Mobile, Boston, New York, and other points north," would not be enough to save them. This threat of reprisals failed to deter the transplanted Texans, however. The mobilization of United States volunteers, ironically, fulfilled another function, providing the Mexican fighting man with the resolve to free his country of the foreign, Anglo invaders.

As if offering a defense for charges of land greed, one volunteer explained his motivation in lofty terms: "I was offered by Texas 50,000 acres of land on going there [but declined for] I have joined [the] cause from the purest of motives."²² But evidently most of the United States revolutionaries were less idealistic and more pragmatic.

The land grabbing reached such proportions that Wall Street, New York City, land speculators, and investment companies were behind some of the organizing of military companies bound for Texas. General Sam Houston's success at the Battle of San Jacinto had a dramatic impact in the financial world: "probably half a million of dollars have been made by the rise in Texas lands in Wall street," estimated one journalist. Victory at San Jacinto, for instance, "has brought into Wall street, Texas, cut up and lithographed, ready like dried apples, for the highest bidder." As lamented a New Yorker, "paradise is at last cut up into lots — the Garden of Eden is lithographed and sold in Wall Street," Indeed, the Texas Revolution has become big business: "in Wall St. [during June of 1836] we have three companies, who are selling scrip night and day, and making money faster than the mint can coin eagles."²³

But the most cynical accusation concerned a New York City volunteer battalion organized for Texas service. A number of Texas landowners and ex-land speculators of New York City had set up capital to form the military unit. These businessmen, thereafter, became the principal officers of the company. As lampooned one newspaperman, "another holy war is organizing, . . ." The newly elected officers "have been engaged for three weeks in organizing six companies of troops to go to Texas and drive the Mexicans out of that country, so that they may be able to raise the value of their lands and sell out." A New York citizen felt sympathy for the naive volunteers, who "had been egregiously duped and deceived by a certain set of speculators in Texas lands [by their officer-speculators who had prayed upon] the credulity of the youth of our city."²⁴

Clearly, there were a number of strong motivations which prompted

American citizens to leave their homes and join the Texas Revolution in 1835 and 1836. More than just simple idealistic and patriotic justifications existed to explain the complex variety of reasons why so many young men of the United States risked their lives in the Texan's independence movement. Personal motivations were complicated and varied, often depending upon each individual case. Even though these revolutionaries from mainly the Upper South, Middle West, and Deep South were key players in the winning of Texas, not all of their motivations were based exclusively upon self-sacrifice and patriotism. Untruths must be separated from reality for accurate evaluations of these men and their motivations.

As in the case of the Texas Revolution, diminishing economic opportunities in the United States caused many volunteers to view service in the Texas Army as a means of profitably benefiting oneself and family. Losing a farm to land speculators, crop failures, and a declining market for the average yeoman or lack of clients for an educated professional during the nation's first great depression, were all factors that caused a good many Americans to enlist in the People's Army of Texas. But regardless of their motivations, the large numbers of United States volunteers who fought at San Jacinto and died at Goliad and the Alamo played a crucial and stirring role during the Texas Revolution. Without the noble contribution of these volunteers, the birth of the infant Texas Republic in violent revolution probably would have never become reality.

NOTES

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²*Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution*, 1, pp. 402-403; William Harrison, *The Thrilling, Startling and Wonderful Narrative of Lieut. Harrison*, (Cincinnati, 1848), p. 6.

³Lord, *A Time to Stand*, pp. 210-212; Jewel Davis Scarborough, "The Georgia Battalion in the Texas Revolution: A Critical Study," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 63, (1960), p. 514; Harrison, *The Thrilling, Startling and Wonderful Narrative of Lieut. Harrison*, pp. 8-9; Binkley, *The Texas Revolution*, p. 96; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, 16: History of the North Mexican States and Texas, 1801-1889*, (San Francisco, 1889), 2, pp. 179, 229; Scarborough, "The Georgia Battalion in the Texas Revolution: A Critical Study," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 63, (1960), p. 514.

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⁵Lord, *A Time to Stand*, p. 41.

⁶*Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution*, 1, p. 85.

⁷William H. Goetzmann, *When the Eagle Screams: The Romantic Horizon in American Diplomacy, 1800-1860*, (New York, 1966), pp. 24, 29; *Papers of the Texas Revolution 1835-1836*, (Austin, 1973), 3, p. 467; New York [New York City] Herald, September 10 and 12, 1836.

⁸New York Herald, April 14 and 23, 1836.

⁹Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*, (New York, 1963), pp. 3-60, 261-266; Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* (Chicago, 1963), pp. 7-9, 100-112, 124-129, 160-181; New York Herald, May 10 and 19, 1836 and September 12, 1836.

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¹¹Amelia W. Williams, ed., *The Writings of Sam Houston 1813-1863*, (Austin, 1938), pp. 302, 304.

¹²Lord, *A Time to Stand*, illustration, n.p.

¹³James E. Winston, "Kentucky and the Texas Revolution," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 16, (1912), p. 31; New York Herald, March 21, 1836 and June 18, 1836; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 153-154; Robert E. May, *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* (Baton Rouge, 1985), p. 87.

¹⁴*Papers of the Texan Revolution*, 3, p. 328; *The Alamo Heroes and their Revolutionary Ancestors*, (San Antonio, 1976), p. 20; New York Herald, June 20, 1836 and July 6, 1836.

¹⁵*Papers of the Texan Revolution*, 3, p. 297.

¹⁶*The Alamo Heroes and their Revolutionary Ancestors*, p. 10; Lord, *A Time to Stand*, p. 24; New York Herald, March 29, 1836.

¹⁷*Papers of the Texan Revolution*, 4, p. 397.

¹⁸*Papers of the Texan Revolution*, 3, p. 453.

¹⁹*Papers of the Texan Revolution*, 3, p. 503.

²⁰Winston, *Kentucky and the Texas Revolution*, p. 53.

²¹Winston, *Kentucky and the Texas Revolution*, p. 31.

²²Carmen Perry, ed. and trans. and Ilerena Friend, intro., *With Santa Anna in Texas: A Personal Narrative of the Revolution*, (College Station, 1975), p. 40; New York Herald, September 10, 1836.

²³New York Herald, April 30, June 16, and June 17, 1836.

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"A HARD LOT":
TEXAS WOMEN IN THE RUNAWAY SCRAPE

by *Stephen L. Hardin*

The women of Gonzales supported the Texas revolt from the beginning. In October 1835, when Mexican dragoons attempted to remove the town's cannon, the ladies urged their men to resist. When the shooting started, Naomie De Witt took scissors to her wedding dress to provide a flag that depicted a lone star, the cannon, and a belligerent challenge to the Mexicans: "COME AND TAKE IT."¹ Later the women saw their husbands off to the siege of B exar and welcomed them upon their triumphant return. Many thought the war over until February 24, 1836. On that day couriers galloped into the settlement with grim news: the Alamo garrison was surrounded by a Mexican army and desperately needed reinforcements. On the February 27, the "Gonzales Ranging Company of Mounted Volunteers" rode to the aid of their fellow Texans.² Again the Gonzales women saw their men off to battle — this time with more apprehension.

The anxiety of the women of Gonzales was not misplaced. They eagerly awaited news from loved ones inside the old mission; when it finally came it was shocking. On March 11, two B exar *rancheros* reported the fall of the Alamo to General Sam Houston, who had arrived in Gonzales to take command of his army. To prevent the spread of dangerous rumors until the facts were confirmed, Houston arrested the unlucky *Tejanos* as spies.³ On March 13, scout Erastus "Deaf" Smith arrived with Susannah Dickinson, who had been inside the Alamo throughout the thirteen-day siege and final assault during which her husband had been among the slain. Accompanied by her infant daughter and Joe, Travis' slave, Mrs. Dickinson brought a message from Santa Anna: all who opposed him would suffer the fate of those at the Alamo. After hearing of the widow's ordeal, Houston, a hard-drinking, loud-swearing veteran of the frontier, wept like a little boy.

Reports of the Alamo stunned Texans, but nowhere was the grief greater than in Gonzales. There the loss of life was intensely personal. George Kimball, the friendly hatter, had fallen; Prudence, his young wife, grieved the death of her second husband. Gone also was nineteen-year-old Johnnie Kellogg; Sidney, his pregnant bride, was alone and bereft. There was not a family in the entire settlement that did not mourn the loss of a friend or relative.⁴ At least twenty women, many with small children, were now widows. John Sharpe, one of Houston's officers, recalled the scene on the night of March 13: "For several hours after the receipt of the intelligence, not a sound was heard, save the wild shrieks of the women, and the heartrending screams of the fatherless children."⁵

Bitter misfortune had not finished with the women of Gonzales. No sooner had they learned of the loss of husband and sons than they were forced to flee Santa Anna's anticipated advance on the settlement. All were unprepared for flight and both time and wagons were in short supply. Captain John Bird told of two widows who were at supper when word came that the army was pulling out. "Having no means of conveyance," Bird recalled, "each woman tied up a bundle of drygoods. Then, each with two children holding to her skirts and one carrying an infant in her arms, they departed." The sight of these two women so moved the soldiers that they discarded vital military stores to make room for them in a wagon.⁶ In the confusion the army forgot the blind Mary Millsaps, another Alamo widow, and her six children. Upon discovering the oversight, Houston sent a squad back thirty miles to rescue them.⁷

Not wishing them to see their homes put to the torch, Houston led the civilians out of Gonzales, then ordered that no roof "large enough to shelter a Mexican's head" was to be left. Captain John Sharpe, a member of the burning party, was troubled for months by memories of women who had fled "leaving all they had for years been collecting — ALL, everything they had, whilst they themselves fled they knew not whither ... many of them without a dollar or friend on earth." Houston's efforts to spare their feelings were in vain, for that night the dull glow on the horizon was a painful reminder of their dashed hopes and shattered dreams.⁸

The terror in Gonzales spread throughout Anglo Texas. Even in Nacogdoches, far from the Mexican threat, residents convinced themselves that the Cherokees had allied with the enemy and were coming to massacre them. Frightened, they fled in disorder toward the Sabine. "The panic," wrote colonist John A. Quitman, "has done its work. The houses are all deserted. There are several thousands of women and children in the woods on both sides of the Sabine, without supplies or money."⁹

The rush to the Louisiana border was known to the Texans as the "Runaway Scrape," the "Great Runaway," or the "Sabine Shoot."¹⁰ Whatever they called it, the wild exodus was a nightmare of terror and suffering for the women. "We must have met at least 100 women and children, and every where along the road were wagons, furniture, and provisions abandoned." wrote Quitman on April 15.¹¹

Texas females, of course, forfeited more than furniture. They detested the enemy they held accountable for the loss of husbands and homes; only the burning desire for retribution enabled them to carry on. After San Jacinto Rebeca Westover, whose husband Ira had fallen in the Goliad Massacre, was incensed when she discovered that the captured Santa Anna was not to be hanged summarily. Even years afterward her efforts to remain calm were betrayed by a trembling voice and clenched fingers, as she exclaimed: "If the women whose husbands and sons he murdered could have reached him, he would not have lived long!"¹² One son described

his mother's remarkable self-control when forced to leave her cabin: "If mother shed a tear I never knew it though there was an unusual huskiness in her voice that day. Mother was brave and resolute, and I heard her say ... that she was going to teach her boys never to let up on the Mexicans until they got full revenge for all this trouble."¹³ No doubt many of Houston's troops shared similar feelings or recalled such feminine admonitions when they charged the enemy camp at San Jacinto.

If Texas women seemed unrelenting, so did the Texas weather, for the spring rains of 1836 were the heaviest in memory.¹⁴ Roads, still little more than trails, were reduced to quagmires. A soldier recalled the conditions:

Delicate women trudged ... from day to day until their shoes were literally worn out, then continued the journey with bare feet, lacerated and bleeding at almost every step. Their clothes were scant, and with no means of shelter from frequent drenching rains and bitter winds, they traveled on through the long days in wet and bedraggled apparel ... The wet earth and angry sky offered no relief.

Six days out of Gonzales, Alamo widow Signey Kellogg gave birth to her baby in the back of a rain-soaked cart. Other women aided as "willing hands held blankets over mother and babe to protect them from downpours and chilling storms." Years later an old Texan veteran of the Mexican War wrote: "I have passed through the fields of carnage from Palo Alto to Buena Vista, [but] I have never witnessed such scenes of distress and human suffering."¹⁵

Constant exposure to the elements caused "measles, sore eyes, whooping cough, and every other disease that man, woman, or child is heir to," recalled Mrs. Dilue Harris. Her younger sister came down with an unidentified ague. People did what little they could — a kindly ferryman allowed families with sick children to cross first — but nothing could be done about the weather. The fever worsened. The mother watched helplessly as the little girl shook with convulsions and died. "Mother," wrote Dilue, "was not able to travel; she had nursed an infant and the sick child until she was compelled to rest."¹⁶

There were other dangers than disease. One woman and her two children rode a horse that bolted at a swollen creek and plummeted into the torrent. Horrified refugees on the opposite bank could only watch as horse, mother, and children were swept under by the swift current.¹⁷

Determined to survive by any means, a Mrs. Dulaney strapped her featherbed across her pony's back, then tied the eldest on top and her two younger offsprings on each end of the mattress. The barefoot woman plodded along holding a baby, "at times so exhausted that she would sink down almost unable to rise and proceed."¹⁸

Others did not even have a pony. Zoroaster Robinson had taken his family's only mount when he rode off to join the army. His wife, Martha,

had given birth to their third child just before she was forced to flee their home in Washington-on-the-Brazos. Joining other refugees, she was able to deposit the two older children in a cart, but there was no room for her. Knowing that to fall behind was to perish, she kept pace by holding onto the leather straps attached to the cart's hind gate. The Robinson story had a happy ending. Zoroaster, who had left the army to care for his family, caught up with them on the road. To his mud-splattered wife he observed, "Madam, you have a hard lot to wade in the mud and carry that babe." Too exhausted even to recognize her mate, his wife laconically lamented, "Yes, sir, my husband is in the army and my lot is hard." "Why Martha," he cried out, "don't you know me?" In a display of genteel restraint, she exclaimed, "Why, it's Mr. Robinson!" Few reunions were as joyous as the one along that muddy road.¹⁹

Martha Robinson was among the lucky ones. During the absence of their men, many women found themselves in unaccustomed roles. As one of the troopers noted: "When a cart became mired — which was an hourly occurrence east of the Brazos — there was no dearth of helping hands. But in proportion the men were few, and so the women and children were forced to perform most of the labor."

At least one wife even protected her man. A Mrs. Moss was transporting her invalid husband in their ox-drawn cart when a Texian foraging party sought to impress her team for the army. Aware that the loss of the beasts meant certain death for her disabled spouse, Mrs. Moss leveled a cocked pistol and coldly announced: "I will kill the first man that attempts to take my oxen." The soldiers reconsidered.²⁰

On another occasion a full-figured widow balked at fording an icy creek where the water was waist deep after the rest of her party already had made the crossing. One impatient frontiersman, frustrated by the delay, recrossed the creek, hoisted the hefty matron over his shoulder, and plunged in. About halfway across the man lost his footing and both went under. He came up yelling for the drenched woman to save him. She did.²¹

Even when their operators worked day and night, the few ferries could not accommodate the large volume of traffic. "There were," Dilue Harris recalled, "fully five thousand people at [Lynch's] ferry ... Every one was trying to cross first, and it was almost a riot."²²

At many rivers women had to cross without ferries. The thirteen-year-old Texian soldier John Holland Jenkins remembered that "it was pitiful and distressing to behold the extremity of families, as ... a team would bog down, and women with their babies in arms, surrounded by little children, had to wade almost waist deep in places." Especially discomfiting was the plight of a Mrs. Wilson, whom Jenkins characterized as "one very large lady." While traversing a stream she "bogged down completely and could not move until pulled out by others."²³ S.F. Sparks

recalled the "courage and fortitude of our women." Streams were flooded and "the bottom lands were from a foot to waist deep in water." At such times "the younger and stouter women would take the feeble ones on their backs and shoulders and wade through water to dry land, set them down, and then go back for another load, and continued until all were over." Sparks exclaimed, "there is no one who can do justice to the women at that time. God bless the women of Texas!"²⁴

Sparks was not the only soldier touched by the plight of Texas ladies. Dr. Nicholas Labadie, a surgeon for the rebel army, also recounted a "spectacle" which he observed along the Brazos bottom:

The cries of the women were ... distressing, as they called our attention to their forlorn situation, raising their hands to Heaven, and declaring they had lost their all, and knew not where to go; expressing their preference to die on the road rather than be killed by the Mexicans or Indians, and imploring with upraised hands, the blessings of God on our arms, and encouraging us to be of stout heart, and avert if possible, the disasters that were threatening the country.

Dr. Labadie had no way of knowing it, but his own wife and two small children were suffering similar privations. Mrs. Labadie and the youngsters had fled toward the border but were detained by the swollen Neches River near Beaumont. About 300 families camped on the wet bank waiting for the flood waters to subside, but the ground there was wet and muddy, creating an epidemic of dysentery and whooping-cough. The sickness killed many youngsters, as well as some adults. "My two children," Dr. Labadie laconically remarked, "did not escape." He was not however, to learn of their deaths until he returned home after San Jacinto.²⁵

While many women like Mrs. Labadie struggled on without their husbands, some would have been better off without their mates. Sparks recalled one who fled with her spouse, four children, and about a dozen head of cattle. As they approached Washington-on-the-Brazos, a group riding by them shouted that the Mexicans were following just behind them. The reasonable course, the husband informed his wife, would be for one to escape rather than for all to perish. He then pulled his wife and youngest child off their nag, mounted, and rode away. With nowhere else to turn, the forsaken wife continued to drive the bovines along the trail and across the river. There she found her husband snoozing under a tree.

Employing the Brazos as a natural obstacle, Houston's troops had erected a barricade of cotton bales to contest the enemy's crossing. "Now you get behind this breast-work of cotton bales and fight," the wife ordered her husband, but he refused. Any such action, he protested, "would not be worth while" since the Mexicans would simply kill anyone who stayed to resist. Disgusted with her cravenly spouse, the woman exclaimed: "Well, I will. If I can get a gun, I'll be durned if I don't go behind that breast-work and fight with those men." Overhearing her, one of the soldiers called

out: "Madam, here's a gun." She took the rifle and according to Sparks, "remained over half the night behind the breast-work."²⁶ Fortunately for them, no Mexican soldiers tried to cross that night.

It seemed only natural that slaves throughout Texas would take advantage of the turmoil and escape; certainly contemporary accounts reveal that whites feared slave uprisings. Those same accounts, however, pay homage to the blacks who stood by their masters. Dilue Harris stated that even though blacks outnumbered whites in her group "there was no insubordination among them; they were loyal to their owners." In one crisis, "Uncle" Ned, an old black man, took charge of the group, Mrs. Harris wrote. "He put white women and children in his wagon. It was large and had a canvas cover. The negro women and children he put in the [open] carts. Then he guarded the whole party until morning."²⁷ Another slave who stood by his mistress was "Uncle" Jeff Parsons, who, upon being interviewed years later, recalled:

The women, children, and old men reached the Sabine before the battle of San Jacinto. There was a lot of scared folks in the "runaway" crowd. Some went on sleds, some on contrivances made with truck wheels, some on wagons, some on horseback, some on foot, any way they could get there. I can't begin to describe the scene on the Sabine. People and things were all mixed, and in confusion. The children were crying, the women were praying and the men cursing. I tell you it was a serious time.²⁸

Mary Helm recalled, "there were very few white men; negroes seemed to be the protectors of most of the families." She had nothing but praise for her "man of color" without whose help "we might never have succeeded."²⁹

Tejanas also took part in the Sabine Shoot. Most were neutral, looking after their families and striving to keep out of harm's way until the storm subsided.³⁰ But those married to *Tejanos* known to have cooperated with rebellious Anglos had good reason to fear the wrath of Santa Anna. "Deaf" Smith's Mexican wife took to the road with her daughters because she was no longer safe in her San Antonio home.³¹ Neither was Josepha Seguin. Wife of Erasmo and mother of Juan Seguin, she was the matriarch of one of B exar's leading families. From the early days of Austin's Colony, she and her husband had been loyal friends of the Anglos. During the siege of B exar in 1835, the Seguins had supplied over \$4000 dollars worth of food and provisions to the insurgent army.³² The family paid for its friendship in 1836 when Santa Anna's forces ransacked their ranch. Josepha and Erasmo fled northeastward with Anglo Texians. After a long and perilous journey, during which enemy soldiers captured most of their livestock, Dona Josepha and her family took refuge in San Augustine.³³

The Runaway Scrape proved even harder on *Tejanas* than on most women. Escaping to the Anglo regions of East Texas, they entered a land that was geographically and culturally foreign, a land where few

understood their language, where — despite their contributions to the revolt — many despised them as “greasers.”³⁴

After the victory at San Jacinto, many of those who had damned Houston as a cowardly drunk now praised him as the savior of Texas. Even so, the triumph on Buffalo Bayou displeased widow Peggy McCormick, who owned the land where the battle had been waged. She considered that the presence of hundreds of decomposing enemy corpses reduced the value of her property. A few days after the battle, she demanded that Houston remove the putrefied bodies. To mollify the angry woman, the general appealed to her sense of posterity. “Madam, your land will be famed in history as the classic spot upon which the glorious victory of San Jacinto was gained.” She was not impressed. “To the devil with your glorious history!” the matron replied. “Take off your stinking Mexicans.”³⁵ Her demands, however, went unheeded, and for years afterward the sun-bleached bones of unburied Mexican *soldados* littered the McCormick homestead.³⁶

Although Mrs. McCormick was less than thrilled about one result of the victory at San Jacinto, the news left most other Texas women exultant. Mary Helm, a painfully proper Episcopalian, remarked that the members of her party were so excited that they “all turned shouting Methodist.” She wrote that people reacted differently: “some danced; some laughed; some clapped their hands.”³⁷ For Mary Ann Zuber the thrill of victory was dampened by notification that her son William had fallen at San Jacinto. Her grief was such that she could not begin the trip home. The next day another messenger arrived fresh from the battlefield. The first report had been false; William was alive and well. A relieved and euphoric mother quickly joined in the celebration.³⁸

After San Jacinto, the women and their families could make their way home, but their troubles were far from over. For many, the return trip was the hardest. The Mexicans were no longer a threat but nature remained unrelenting. The women of Gonzales returned to burned homes and ravaged fields. For Josepha Seguin it was much the same; with reports of victory she and her family traveled from San Augustine to Nacogdoches where they all fell victim to fever. Far from home, without friends, and “prostrated on their couches,” the lack of money compelled the Seguins “to part, little by little, with their valuables and articles of clothing.” When at last they returned home, they found their ranch had been sacked and the cattle scattered.³⁹

Upon learning of the victory at San Jacinto, Mrs. Labadie returned to her farm only to discover that pillaging Texians had burned one of the buildings, killed most of the cattle, and stripped the place of provisions. All that remained were a few strips of bacon and the milk of the few cows that hungry refugees had overlooked.

But there was little time to lament. Dr. Labadie finally returned home,

but the constant exposure during the long campaign brought about his complete collapse. Mrs. Labadie nursed her husband for a full week while he was in a coma. When at last he regained consciousness, he was totally deaf. Few women had paid a higher price for Texas independence than Mrs. Labadie.⁴⁰

A Mrs. King made her way through the treacherous East Texas swamps. Quicksand was a constant danger, and when the wind rose, the refugees were buffeted by high waves. Worst of all, the waters were infested with alligators. Mrs. King's husband, having secured his family on dry land, swam back to retrieve the horses. Dilue Harris told what happened:

He had gotten nearly across with [the horses], when a large alligator appeared. Mrs. King saw it first above the water and screamed. The alligator stuck her husband with its tail and he went under water. There were several men present, and they fired their guns at the animal, but it did no good. It was not in their power to rescue Mr. King.

After a short stay in Harrisburg, the widow King and her two children moved to Galveston. She died before the year was out.⁴¹

During the first four months of 1836 the women of Texas had several occasions to lament the violent deaths of loved ones and many found solace in religion. Mrs. George Sutherland lost her son in March but because of the chaos was unable to inform her sister Sally back in the states until June. Mrs. Sutherland's letter is among the most poignant examples of a mother's faith in the face of crushing sorrow:

I received your kind letter of some time in March, but never has it been in my power to answer it 'till now, and now what must I say (O, God support me). Yes, sister, I must say it to you, I have lost my William. O, yes he is gone. My poor boy is gone, gone from me. The sixth day of March in the morning, he was slain in the Alamo in San Antonio. Then his poor body committed to the flames. Oh, Sally, can you sympathize with and pray for me that I may have grace to help in this great time of trouble.

The remainder of her letter chronicled her hardships during and after the Runaway Scrape. With her husband with Houston's army and her eldest son dead, Mrs. Sutherland was left to fend for herself and four young children. She never felt abandoned, however, for "the Lord supported me, and was on our side for I may boldly say the Lord fought our battles ... Mr. Sutherland's horse was killed under him [at San Jacinto], but the Lord preserved his life and brought him back to his family." George Sutherland finally found his wife and children among other refugees at the mouth of the Sabine and took his family home.

Like many Texas women, Mrs. Sutherland returned to find much of what she had left behind had been destroyed; the family warehouse and one of their residences had been burned. Even so, she accepted her losses with a strong sense of Christian grace. "If we can have peace and can

have preaching," she wrote, "I won't care for the loss of what property is gone."⁴²

The Runaway Scrape had a profound and lasting effect on early Texans. As the years passed a strong bond developed between those who had endured common hardships. Even forty-five years later, Mary Helm regularly corresponded with veterans of the revolution. In one letter she recalled with pride "the stirring time of 1835-36, when more lives were jeopardized by the hardship of leaving comfortable homes ... then fell by the sword of the enemy." Writing to the annual meeting of the Texas Veterans, she assured the membership that "when you cease to get your annual greeting, you may know that one more veteran has passed to the promised land and been gathered to her fathers."⁴³

The women of the Runaway Scrape justifiably could regard themselves as "veterans" of the Texas Revolution. They had endured dangers and hardships as harsh as those faced by their soldier-husbands. And, while not as commonly lauded, their efforts were important.

Santa Anna had made no secret of his objective; he was determined to rid Texas of all "perfidious foreigners." His campaign ended on April 21, 1836. But the victory on the banks of Buffalo Bayou would have meant little if families had disintegrated amid the chaos. In large part, it fell to the mothers to hold them together and to instill values required to survive on the frontier. The women of the Runaway Scrape, therefore, may be considered the midwives who served at the birth of the Republic of Texas.

NOTES

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²Phil Rosenthal and Bill Groneman, *Roll Call at the Alamo* (Fort Collins, 1985), p. 22.

³Sam Houston to James W. Fannin, March 11, 1836, *The Papers of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836*, edited by John H. Jenkins III (10 vols., Austin, 1973), V, pp. 53-54.

⁴Walter Lord, *A Time To Stand* (New York, 1961), pp. 181-182, 125-126.

⁵Henry Stuart Foote, *Texas and the Texans or Advance of the Anglo Americans to the South-West; Including a History of Leading Events in Mexico, From the Conquest by Hernando Cortes to the Termination of the Texas Revolution* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1841), II, p. 268.

⁶William Physick Zuber, *My Eighty Years in Texas*, Janis Boyle Mayfield, ed. (Austin, 1971), p. 56.

⁷Sam Houston to Thomas Rusk, March 23, 1836, Jenkins, ed., *Papers*, V, p. 169.

⁸Foote, *Texas and the Texans*, p. 268.

⁹John A. Quitman quoted in James H. McLendon, "John A. Quitman in the Texas Revolution," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LII (July, 1952), p. 175.

¹⁰James T. DeShields, *Tall Men With Long Rifles, Set Down and Written Out by James T. DeShields as Told Him by Creed Taylor, Captain During the Texas Revolution* (San Antonio, 1935), p. 120.

¹¹John A. Quitman quoted in McLendon, "John A. Quitman in the Texas Revolution," p. 172.

¹²Rebecca Westover Jones quoted in Adele B. Looscan, "Sketch of the Life of Oliver Jones and of his Wife, Rebecca Jones," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, (Hereinafter cited as *QTSHA*), X (October 1906), pp. 176-178.

¹³DeShields, *Tall Men With Long Rifles*, p. 120.

¹⁴John Holland Jenkins, *Recollections of Early Texas: The Memoirs of John Holland Jenkins*, edited by John H. Jenkins, III (Austin, 1958), p. 43. Jenkins recalled that the "spring of 1836 was the wettest I ever knew."

¹⁵DeShields, *Tall Men With Long Rifles*, pp. 121-122.

¹⁶Dilue Harris, "The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris," *QTSHA*, IV (October, 1900), p. 23.

¹⁷Ed Syers, "Fragments of Texas' Big Runaway Scrape," *San Antonio Express/News*, November 28, 1965.

¹⁸DeShields, *Tall Men With Long Rifles*, p. 122; Adele B. Looscan, "Elizabeth Bullock Huling," *QTSHA*, XI (July, 1907), p. 67.

¹⁹Zuber, *My Eighty Years in Texas*, pp. 101-102.

²⁰DeShields, *Tall Men With Long Rifles*, pp. 123-124.

²¹Syers, "Fragments of Texas' Big Runaway Scrape."

²²Harris, "Reminiscences," p. 163.

²³Jenkins, *Recollections of Early Texas*, p. 44.

²⁴S.F. Sparks, "Recollections of S.F. Sparks," *QTSHA*, XII (July, 1907), p. 74.

²⁵N.D. Labadie, "San Jacinto Campaign," in James M. Day, comp., *The Texas Almanac, 1857-1873: A Compendium of Texas History* (Waco, 1967), pp. 144-145, 175.

²⁶Sparks, "Recollections," p. 63.

²⁷Harris, "Reminiscences," pp. 164-166.

²⁸Jeff Parsons quoted in Ira T. Taylor, *The Cavalcade of Jackson County* (San Antonio, 1938), p. 80.

²⁹Mary S. Helm, *Scraps of Early Texas History*, by Mrs. Mary S. Helm, *Who with her First Husband, Elias R. Wrightman Founded the City of Matagorda, in 1828-9*, Lorraine Jeter, ed. (1884; reprint, Austin, 1987), pp. xxviii, xxiv.

³⁰David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1982), p. 254; see also David J. Weber, ed., *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque, 1973), pp. 111-113.

³¹Clarence Wharton, *San Jacinto: The Sixteenth Decisive Battle* (Houston, 1930), p. 46.

³²Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, p. 209.

³³John [Juan] Seguin, *Personal Memoirs of John N. Seguin, From the Year 1834 to the Retreat of General Woll From the City of San Antonio, 1842* (San Antonio, 1858), pp. 16-18.

³⁴Arnoldo De Leon, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900* (Austin, 1983), pp. 12-13, 49; see also James Ernest Crisp, "Anglo-Texan Attitudes toward the Mexican, 1821-1845" (doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1976), pp. 91-92.

³⁵John J. Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas* (New York, 1883), p. 264.

³⁶Josiah Gregg, *Diary & Letters of Josiah Gregg: Southwestern Enterprises, 1840-1847*, Maurice Garland Fulton, ed. (Norman, 1941), pp. 95-96; Smithwick, *Evolution of a State, or Recollections of Old Texas Days* (1900; reprint, Austin, 1983), p. 92.

³⁷Helm, *Scraps of Early Texas History*, p. xxix.

³⁸Zuber, *My Eighty Years in Texas*, pp. 103-104.

³⁹Miles S. Bennet, "The Battle of Gonzales, The 'Lexington' of the Texas Revolution," *QTSHA*, II (April, 1989), p. 313; Bennet observed: "It occasioned melancholy feelings to view the ruins of the burnt town, which had evidently been quite a thriving little city, having

comfortable two-story gin and mills, and a brick yard, and was able to boast of a regular city incorporation." Seguin, *Personal Memoirs*, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁰Labadie, "San Jacinto Campaign," in Day, comp., *Texas Almanac*, p. 175.

⁴¹Harris, "Reminiscences," pp. 169, 170.

⁴²Mrs. George Sutherland to sister, June 15, 1836, in Taylor, *Cavalcade of Jackson County*, pp. 81-82.

⁴³Helm, *Scraps of Early Texas History*, pp. 102-103.

THE FUMBLE THAT COST TEXAS

by Bob Cunningham

“Texas stands alone in her history preceding admission as a State into the Union. She was not acquired by treaty [nor] by the blood or the treasure of the United States. Texas won her independence by her chivalric courage... By the wisdom and sagacity of her own statesmen she established her Constitution ... and was recognized by the great powers on earth as an independent authority.

“She put in successful operation and maintained a civil government. By the voluntary action of her own people [and those] of the United States ... she was admitted as a State [in 1845]. The history of Texas [began with] the introduction of the first colony of Anglo-Americans [in late 1821].”

As in this statement by a Texas senator a century ago, Texas can be proud of winning independence from a repressive, Hispanic government and going her own way. Yet many costs of that achievement could have been avoided; a treasonous and little understood “fumble” back in 1806 robbed Texas, and the United States. Like the state of Louisiana, admitted in 1812, Texas might have begun developing as part of the United States earlier. If not more fruitful than Texas building alone, at least it would have started sooner. Anglo history of Texas began well before 1821.

In 1762, Louis XV of France set up the fateful turnover. Through eighty years of exploration and widely accepted mapping, France claimed as “Louisiana” much of today’s Canada and the United States. (See map.) In the South that claim ranged north from the Gulf of Mexico and the west-east Rio Grande, also called the Rio Bravo and the Rio del Norte; it ranged near west of present Florida to the north-south Rio Grande. It encompassed today’s Texas.

From 200 years of exploration plus colonizing and some administration, Spain also claimed “Texas.” But both France and Spain, ruled by Bourbon cousins, tolerated each other’s conflicting claims. In fact, through “Family Compacts” of 1733 and 1743, the Catholic cousins made common cause against invasion of their lands in North America by any Protestant nation — practically, England.

Events in the year 1762 tested that blockade. England took much of the Northeast from France. It also captured Havana and Manila, key ports in the Spanish empire. The cousins made their defensive pact world-wide. Still, they arranged a peace conference with England that would take place in Paris in 1763.

France foresaw that England would extort all of France’s claims in the New World. So, by the Treaty of Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762, Louis XV ceded to Spain’s Charles III all of France’s claims south and

The next forty years, 1762-1802, boiled with changes affecting "Texas." Spain lost and regained the Deep South east of the Mississippi. Its now doubly recognized "title" to the Lower Mississippi region and the Southwest repeatedly was tested by Americans, English, and resident French. Most of those acts, lacking support by any nation, were blunted without change in Spanish sovereignty.

American squatters and British traders slipped into present Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and Texas. From 1768, French "Tories" in the Lower Mississippi area launched insurrections. American Philip Nolan, ostensibly gathering mustangs, spied out and mapped "Texas" as far as the Brazos River before being killed. Georgia established The Bourbon Company to grab and sell land in West Florida. Pierre Vidal — one of many French traders in "Texas" — laid out roadways connecting San Antonio, Santa Fe, and budding St. Louis and improved the *camino real* to Natchitoches, presumably with Spanish approval.

Other actions were official. The United States pushed Spain into the Treaty of San Lorenzo, October 7, 1795. That recognized the 31st parallel, east of the Mississippi, as the boundary between the United States and Spain's West Florida; it also granted Americans use of the Lower Mississippi and the market-port of New Orleans. In 1796, with the aid of Tennessee Provincial Senator Willie Blount, England laid out a full scale invasion from the Gulf. And in 1799, after Spanish authorities again blocked Americans from New Orleans, the United States threatened invasion.

Earlier in the same period, a series of moves were made to detach much of the Ohio and Lower Mississippi rivers' drainage from United States dominance. In 1787, General James Wilkinson "took an oath of allegiance to Spain [for] a trading monopoly in lower Louisiana" and offered to deliver the Ohio/Mississippi basin.² In 1788, John Sevier from North Carolina offered to ally the lower Midwest with Spain. Instead of accepting either offer, Spain announced that individual Americans were welcome to settle "as loyal vassals of the king."

Schemes to convey much of our Midwest in the 1780s were not as far-fetched as they would seem today. They were grounded on the fact that Americans there largely depended on trade down the Ohio and Mississippi and back by the same route, plus the overland Natchez Trace that led north to Nashville. From present West Virginia through Illinois and southward, none of the region achieved statehood before 1802 except Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796). And those two, as well as the yet-to-be states, looked more to New Orleans than to the hard-to-reach and commercially cool eastern seaboard.

Under French administration of the Lower Mississippi, traffic with the Midwest grew with the watering waves of settlers. But, after Spain took over, trade repeatedly was blocked and re-admitted only under pressure. In the eyes of many Midwesterners, any alliance that would keep

the New Orleans trade lanes open could be preferred over having to rely on the East.

Without this background, the coming fumble — the conniving negligence that lost Texas — would be hard to understand. Meanwhile, France became a republic and executed its Bourbon king. Outraged, his Spanish cousin declared war but was worn down by Napoleon. Suddenly, by the Treaty of San Ildefonso (October 1, 1800), Spain retroceded to France all of “Louisiana.” Again, no western boundary was set.

Pressed by Georgia’s insistence on holding land to the west and the Midwest’s demand for access to New Orleans, President Thomas Jefferson approached Napoleon. Robert Livingston, Minister to France, was directed to find out whether France could deliver West Florida and might release New Orleans itself.

To the first question, Napoleon was non-committal. Responding to the New Orleans question on September 15, 1801, he countered with a staggering proposal: he would sell *all of* “*Louisiana!*” However vaguely bounded, that tract would be larger than the planned extent of the whole United States. While awaiting sea-borne instructions, Livingston persisted in trying — even via Joseph Bonaparte in October 1802 — to have West Florida included in a possible transaction.

Negotiations came to a head on April 12, 1803, when James Monroe arrived to aid Livingston. On April 30, officially, the Louisiana Purchase — for approximately \$15,000,000 — was framed. The United States ratification came on October 20-21. Two months later, initial administration of the immense package was entrusted to Temporary Governor V.C.C. Claiborne and, since 1796, the ranking officer of the Army, General James Wilkinson.

As to the area involved, the key passage in the ratified “Treaty Between the United States and the French Republic states :

“ARTICLE I Whereas by the Article the Third of the Treaty of San Ildefonso ... 1/Oct/1800 ... it was agreed: ‘His Catholic Majesty promises to cede to the French Republic the Colony or Province of Louisiana with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the Treaties entered into between Spain and other States.’”

Without any mention of specific boundaries, this arms-length conveyance continues: “The French Republic has incontestable title to the domain and to the possession of said Territory.”³ Although its ratification was couched in United States Statutes of October 31, and November 10, 1803, “The question of the limits of the [retro-]ceded territory ... was kept in the background.”⁴

Why the United States accepted a literally boundless conveyance is hard to understand, except that Washington continued to hope that West

Florida could be included by negotiation. That aim was the main topic of Secretary of State James Madison's lengthy directive to Livingston in Paris dated March 31, 1804. But he did refer to the southern section of the Louisiana Purchase:

"In the delivery of the province by the Spanish authorities to M. Laussat [Colonial Perfect of "Louisiana"] nothing passed denoting its limits either to the east, the west, or the north. [Privately, however, Laussat] stated positively that no part of the Floridas was included in the eastern boundary. With respect to the western extent of Louisiana, M. Laussat held a language more satisfactory. He considered the Rio Bravo, or Del Norte, as far as the 30th degree of north latitude, to be its boundary on that side."⁵

Pierre Clement de Laussat had not been selected because he was imprudent; sources reporting French archives say he was instructed to say just what he said about boundaries. On that basis, in 1804, Jefferson warned Spain to evacuate "Texas." He also ordered Colonel Thomas Freeman to explore the Red River, flowing southeast through present Louisiana, and Thomas Dunbar to probe the Ouachita, a tributary of the Red.

Both expeditions were merely scouting parties; Dunbar's took only three months and Freeman's was turned back by the Spanish force alerted where to find him. By then General Wilkinson had been made governor of Louisiana Territory, the main mass north and west of present Louisiana. For his private purposes, he sent Lieutenant Zebulon Pike to locate the headwaters of both the Arkansas and the Red rivers. At the same time, he again alerted the Spanish authorities. Pike and his dozen men were found in a token fort on the Upper Rio Grande, not far from Santa Fe, at the most westerly edge of the claim sold by France.

Pike's reception significantly differed from the fate of Nolan seven years earlier. Instead of being killed, he was entertained and escorted back by relays of troops. His journal shows that he found them a caricature of a fighting force. The haughty Spanish officers traveled in luxury; the cavalry was more dashing than militarily effectual; the foot soldiers, woeful peons, were poorly armed and as badly trained.

If General Wilkinson was surprised that Spain backed off from making an issue of Pike's blatant incursion, he might be excused. His even more personal plans and record came in jeopardy, and his future was threatened with disgrace.

Early in the summer of 1805, after ending his vice-presidency, Aaron Burr traveled down the Ohio River recruiting armed support for a secret mission. He called on Wilkinson in St. Louis. Whatever their private talks, "General Wilkinson provided Burr a well appointed barge, ten enlisted men and a sergeant [plus] letters of instruction to Daniel Clark and several Spanish officials in New Orleans. To Clark [former U.S. Consul, denied the governorship, and conspiring against Claiborne] Wilkinson wrote:

'To him [Burr] I refer you for many things improper to letter'"⁶

After three weeks in New Orleans, Burr returned to the East. "He told the French and Spanish ambassadors in Washington that he intended to effect a separation of the [Midwest] He told the British minister that New Orleans and West Florida were his objectives. To Wilkinson, Clark and the [insurgent] Mexican Association he had revealed that the invasion of Mexico was his aim."⁷

Wilkinson always covered his tracks. His many transactions with the Spanish were in code; even his name was a numeral. But decoded copies are in Spanish archives and many of his secret activities have been traced. What came to be called "The Burr Conspiracy" has been examined exhaustively by historians. The scholar quoted above is among the few to doubt that Wilkinson himself conceived the plot, that he confided it to Burr in meetings in Philadelphia and Washington, and that Burr simply did more toward carrying it out.

Perhaps to leaven his own conclusions, the same scholar quotes another historian: "To the last Wilkinson continued to pose as an honest man, was protected and honored by Jefferson, was acquitted by a packed court of inquiry, and left as justification for his deeds three ponderous volumes of memoirs as false as any written by man."⁸

We are not concerned with Wilkinson's career. But his perennial connivance with Spain and his role in the Burr Conspiracy help to explain the fumble that cost Texas. In the fall of 1806, the Spanish colonial administration staged a show to stop infiltration from the northeast. Lieutenant-Colonel (also Governor of Nuevo Leon and later General) Simon de Herrera led more than 1,000 soldiers with cannon to Natchitoches in the upper middle of present Louisiana. Rebuked as an invader by officials there, he withdrew to Los Adaes.

Claiborne, by then full governor of New Orleans Territory, called out the militia. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn ordered that three companies of Regulars with two field pieces be sent to bolster Wilkinson's substantial force quartered at St. Louis. He also ordered Wilkinson south to repel the Spanish intruders and to "hold the Sabine River [boundary]."

Wilkinson shortly received an undercover, civilian courier from Philadelphia. The conspiratorial packet included an appalling note from New Jersey Senator Jonathan Dayton. At the coming session of Congress, Wilkinson was to be arraigned and dismissed from his post! Instead of becoming "the George Washington of the West," heading a new nation that would embrace the midwest and much of Mexico, the commanding general of the United States Army would be disgraced!

Any forceful confrontation of Los Adaes could cause the Spanish to expose his twenty years of selling them United States plans. "If Spain revealed his secret dealings ... Wilkinson would be a candidate for a firing squad. Realizing his schemes could no longer be sustained, Wilkinson

extracted himself with brilliance He wrote President Jefferson that he was on the trail of a great conspiracy [led by] Aaron Burr He personally preferred charges that Burr was out to separate Kentucky and the Louisiana Purchase from the United States.”⁹

That explosive charge would at least postpone the Congressional investigation; it would also counter any charge by Burr, who already was in ill repute. Since losing the presidency to Jefferson, the resentful vice-president’s actions were increasingly suspect. For forcing Alexander Hamilton into a duel and killing him, Burr was ostracized widely. And, his recent moves to gather a force in the Midwest and New Orleans had not gone unnoticed.

By sacrificing his prime pawn, Wilkinson disarmed the threat to himself that was at once most immediate and, as he was ordered to duty in the West, hardest for him to handle personally in the East. He still could not risk anyone else possibly irritating Herrera. Wilkinson’s orders directly from the Secretary of War gave Claiborne’s militia an excuse to back off while the general made his way to Los Adaes.

Before leaving St. Louis, he rushed one of his coded reports to the top authority of New Spain: the Viceroy in Mexico City. It was a shocking block against Spanish exposure of their secret alliance. He reported that Burr was leading a force to invest all Mexico! Wilkinson added realistic detail, including a request for funds. He stated that, ordered to meet Herrera’s thrust, he could prevent Burr’s invasion and confine any issue to the eastern border.

Stalling through protocol with Herrera while anxiously awaiting word from the Viceroy, Wilkinson further protected his rear. To the Secretary of War he sent his official, and demonstratively patriotic, view of the military prospect. “If means and men are furnished, I shall plant our standards on the left bank of the Grand [Rio Grande] River.”¹⁰

That document is notable on three counts. On the Department of War record, it could be expected to show his zeal to any doubters and so slow if not prevent Wilkinson’s arraignment. By calling for support that might be difficult for the United States to provide, it could invite orders *not* to advance militarily; such orders would avoid his having to attack and thus would reduce the risk of his Spanish connection being exposed. And, whatever its degree of sincerity, the letter indicates that the general considered it both welcome in Washington and feasible to take over “Texas.”

Perhaps reflecting concern that Mexico was vulnerable, the Viceroy replied to Wilkinson with unusual promptness. He appreciated the warning as he would further good offices while awaiting directions from Madrid. Reassured that Spain wanted to continue their alliance in secret, Wilkinson moved into private talks with Herrera. He outlined the imminent threat to Mexico. Herrera, already impressed by the evident number

of Regulars and the unexpected field guns, must have worried about facing an invasion by a larger force.

Wilkinson suggested that the two military leaders work out a compromise, one that would remove any excuse for invasion of Mexico and permit both the Spanish and the United States forces to retire with honor. The Viceroy's messenger may have brought new orders to Herrera; regardless, he feared that help would not arrive before the expected invaders. Herrera agreed to negotiate.

Whatever Herrera's orders, Wilkinson was not authorized to make any deal, much less to compromise the United States position stretching to the Sabine River. Yet, to serve himself, he did both.

He knew that the United States had proposed to Spain that, pending settlement of the southwestern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, "Texas" be considered Neutral Ground. The area between the Sabine and the north-south Rio Grande was specified. When Spain demurred, the United States began to organize the territory east of the Sabine.

Now Herrera and Wilkinson agreed that the United States forces would withdraw to the Arroyo Hondo, east of the Sabine. Herrera would withdraw to the west bank of the Sabine and the intervening land would be Neutral Ground. The opposing forces withdrew and the arrangement, although not authorized by the United States, was accepted by both governments.

Consider the opportunity for both Texas and the United States that was missed. The record indicates that Spanish policy, dictated from Madrid, was to contain American intrusions without risking war. Wilkinson's force — nine companies of Regulars plus some 800 volunteers — outweighed Herrera's. The whole Spanish colonial military lacked the support necessary to fight across Texas; American squatters and restive Mexicans there, inviting invasion, would dilute what thin support was available.

Under almost anyone other than Wilkinson, a forceful advance — instead of his give-away — almost certainly would have started a successful campaign. Much of Texas could have been taken before orders could be received from distant Washington. And, with momentum achieved on the honorable quest to collect the southern part of what we had bought from France, it would have been difficult for Washington *not* to extend the move.

Wilkinson escaped his due but his self-serving retreat from Los Adaes indirectly led to a second opportunity to embrace Texas. In 1808, Napoleon deposed the Spanish monarchy. After generations of over-centralized government, the Spanish empire had no leadership. New Spain, excepting the lordly aristocrats, rallied to the *grito!* of a native Mexican priest in 1810. The military could not cope with all of the uprisings.

In evidence of New Spain's weakness, Americans who had settled in

West Florida rebelled and captured Baton Rouge. Governor Claiborne handily annexed the area to his own. Meanwhile, the Neutral Ground had become a haven for outlaws and blocked trade. In 1811, Lieutenant Augustus Magee was directed to clear it out. Doing so, he saw the good prospect of continuing through Texas. When Washington failed to authorize the move, Magee resigned his commission.

One may be reminded of Washington's refusal to let United States troops occupy all of Berlin in World War II — and the resulting problems. True, at the time of the Texas fumble(s), the United States was being drawn into the War of 1812 with England and did not need another. But it also is true that the East-dominated government was more intent on acquiring Gulf Coast land east of New Orleans than acquiring Texas.

Thus, in 1819, two segments of Florida's panhandle were obtained from Spain while Washington would continue to ignore opportunities, and requests, to embrace the Southwest within its Louisiana Purchase.

NOTES

¹Samuel Bell Maxey, "Texas," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, (September, 1893) p. 561.

²Hodding Carter, *Doomed Road of Empire*, (New York, 1963), pp. 177-178; and Jack D.L. Holmes, *A Guide to Spanish Louisiana*, (New Orleans, 1970), p. 15.

³Charles L. Bexans, ed., *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America*, (Washington, D.C., 1971), pp. 812-813.

⁴Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, (Washington, D.C., 1931), p. 507.

⁵*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, II, pp. 575-578 (No. 02, Fiche 9, C 15, U.S. SERIAL SET).

⁶Charles L. Dufour, *Ten Flags in the Wind*, (New York, 1967), pp. 136-137.

⁷Charles L. Dufour, *Ten Flags in the Wind*, pp. 136-137.

⁸Charles L. Dufour, *Ten Flags in the Wind*, p. 139.

⁹T.R. Rehrenbach, *Lone Star*, (New York, 1968), p. 119.

¹⁰Hodding Carter, *Doomed Road of Empire*, p. 185.

THE BRITISH POLICY TOWARD INDEPENDENT TEXAS AS SEEN BY A SOVIET HISTORIAN

by Nina V. Potokova

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Soviet historians have done extensive research in United States history. Their emphases chronologically center upon the struggle for Independence and its immediate aftermath, the early National history, the Civil War, and the New Deal. Thematically, the focus has been on the labor and trade union movement, the history of the two-party system, the development of Soviet-American relations, and current United States policies. Very recently, research has been broadening still further. A major event was the publication between 1983 and 1987 of a four-volume *History of the United States of America*. Nevertheless, Soviet historians have neglected the history of the separate states. The writer's own publications represent pioneer work in this area. At the first All-Union meeting of Soviet Americanists in Moscow in 1971, she pointed out the importance of studying both the process of American westward expansion and the history of the individual states.¹ The result has been the publication of two books on the expansionist theme, but no advance with regard to state history.²

In Soviet Libraries and archives are numerous documents on American history. These have been supplemented by new material, as it appears. Still, there is nothing to match an immediate personal acquaintance with a country and its libraries and archives. In 1979 I spent some time in the United States doing research. In this connection, I would like to express my gratitude to Professors Idris Traylor and Lowell L. Blaisdell, and to Director David Murrah and Associate Archivist Doris A. Blaisdell, both of the Southwest Collection, and all four at Texas Tech, for their help to me. Others also helped on a lesser scale. As the result of my research in Texas history, on my return I was able to publish a number of papers and a book, *The Annexation of Texas*.³

Among the problems of interest concerning independent Texas, one that attracts special attention is that of the British policy toward the Republic. Despite the Monroe Doctrine, this European power showed a very noticeable inclination to try to extend her influence over the great territory that had detached itself from Mexico, but stayed separate from the United States.

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In examining the British role, this paper is based on references from the British archives, even though unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to work in them directly. In the Lenin Public Library in Moscow are various source materials, including the London *Times* in its entirety, selections from other portions of the British press, and some other original documents.

It is the object of this paper to explore the economic and political forces behind British actions, and to emphasize how desirous Britain was to prevent the Republic's absorption into the United States. Such eminent American historians as Ephraim D. Adams and Frederick Merk, for example, seem to imply that Britain followed an essentially conciliatory policy, eventually accepting Texas' annexation by the United States in a resigned frame of mind.³ However, as records show, their officials strove to maintain Texas' independence, hoping to exercise a large influence in the Southwest and to have Texas serve as a buffer between the United States and Mexico.

Britain did not recognize Texas until 1842. While throughout Texas' independence, there were forces drawing England and the Lone Star Republic toward each other that outweighed the ones keeping them apart, the latter were of sufficient importance to retard recognition for some years. One source of strain was that, with Britain having just abolished slavery in her West Indies islands, its presence in the new commonwealth represented a considerable obstacle. In the House of Commons, a well-known abolitionist, Barlow Hoy, instigated debates and pestered the government with regard to the Texans' acceptance of slavery and involvement in the slave trade. This issue had some impact on policy. In an editorial, "Texas and Slavery," the London *Times* offered as its opinion that the "United States annexation of Texas will result in the spread and perpetuation of slavery."⁵ Other British papers asserted that Britain and France were willing to recognize the Southwesterners' breakaway from Mexico only if slavery were abolished.⁶

Another restraining factor stemmed from Britain's multiple interests in the northern hemisphere. Because the Americans continually pushed northward into Canada's eastern and westernmost extremities, Britain had to take account of these pressures on a plane of importance equal to, if not greater than, the issue of Texas' relations with the United States. Canada, an outright possession, deserved greater attention than Texas. Yet, in view of the United States' swift expansion, to stand by while she next made a valuable addition to the southwest was an event to be forestalled, if possible. Lesser aspects of England's varied responsibilities concerned her conflicting interests in Mexico, and the question of Texas' solidity. In relations with Mexico, since British citizens were invested in Mexican mines, here was a reason for encouraging Texas' emergence as a buffer state to block any United States push toward Mexico. On the other hand, British shareholders in Mexican bonds had recently had them refunded

on the security of public lands in northern Mexico. The bondholders did not want recognition of Texas, lest this arouse Mexico's ire, and thus diminish their chances of repayment.⁷ As for Texas itself, it might hardly be worth encouraging. Its finances were in such a plight that no European power — to most of which the Texans applied — was willing to grant the Lone Star state a loan.

By comparison to Britain, *France* did not have the same complicated problems. This simplified her Texas policy. On September 25, 1839, France became the first European power to recognize the Lone Star republic. In the Franco-Texas Treaty of Navigation, Trade and Friendship there was provision for cotton shipping to France. Soon, through J.B. Dubois de Savigny, the *charge'd'affaires* in Texas, France sought to gain a huge 3,000,000-acre land concession. Following France, the Netherlands signed a Treaty of Trade, Navigation and Friendship, September 1, 1840, thereby also granting recognition.

As for the Texans, for obvious reasons they cultivated friendly relations with England even more than France. As an example, in response to reports in the North of slave trading that tended to create a poor impression of Texas in Great Britain, the *Telegraph and Texas Register* argued that since slaves were cheap and money scarce, the importation of African slaves was not occurring because it was unprofitable. According to this paper, "After the revolution took place, not a single party of African slaves landed on the Texas coast."⁸ Actually small groups of slaves were smuggled in as late as 1858.⁹

Meantime, in the case of the British, the elements that tended to advance relations with Texas to the primary plane became increasingly weighty. The most potent factor drawing the island nation and Texas toward each other was that the Industrial Revolution in the first and the rise in cotton production in the second coincided. In general, Southern cotton found a ready market in the British textile industry. In Texas, the rich virgin soil of the settled areas proved to be very suitable to cotton production. As early as April 1, 1826, the Nashville (Tennessee) *Republican*, as part of an advertisement aimed at attracting colonists, reported that "Local soils yield 2500 to 3000 weight of the world's best cotton per each acre of Texas lands."¹⁰ This is probably not much of an overstatement of the agricultural potential of Texas at the time.

According to John MacGregor, in his then authoritative history of the United States, *The Progress of America from the Discovery by Columbus to the Year 1846*, the export of cotton from Texas to the United States went up from 1,473,133 to 7,593,107 pounds between 1836 and 1843. The total value increased from \$232,336.00 to \$379,750.00 despite the price reduction caused by the economic slump in 1837.¹¹

In England, while the sugar interests took a dim view of Texas due to its potential for becoming a rival of British West Indies sugar produc-

tion, the textile manufacturers' pro-Texas attitude was much more influential. At the time, England imported considerable cotton from the slaveholding South, despite the tariffs imposed on her products by the manufacturing North. It was easy to see that in the emergence of a new cotton market in an independent Texas unencumbered by United States tariffs, a great opportunity existed for British textile manufacturers to import a cheap raw product.

By the 1840s British trade with Texas far exceeded that of France and was somewhat greater than any other country except the United States. This exasperated *charge'd' affaires* Saligny in his reports to his government. In his letter to Adolphe Thiers, June 17, 1840, he complained that only a single French ship from Marseilles had reached Texas. Meantime, though Britain had not even recognized the new state, eight or nine of her crafts had arrived in the course of the previous eighteen months, and "two more ships were soon expected in Matagorda."¹² Saligny saw the English traders as constantly outdoing his countrymen, to their own and their nation's profit. In February 1841 he complained to Paris again, remarking that since winter had set in, five new British ships had arrived at Galveston and Matagorda. They had left loaded with cotton, while the Marseilles one continued to be the only one under French flag in the Republic's ports.¹³

Texas' trade quickly expanded in scope. Over the entire year of 1844, at Galveston alone fifty-four United States cargo ships anchored, eleven British ones, thirteen from the German port of Bremen, one from France, one from the Austrian Empire, and three from Belgium. In the same year, twenty-seven American cargo ships departed, loaded with cotton valued at \$33,500, and fifteen British ones carrying L59,000 worth of cotton. Further, ten Bremen ships left, the three from Belgium, and the one each from Austria and France.¹⁴ In its trade with Texas, Great Britain stood second only to the United States.

Along with the economic considerations encouraging close British-Texas ties, there existed a very important political one: the need to try to find some means to curb the seemingly insatiable appetite for territorial expansion of the United States. So far did the Americans' roving eye extend that they were suspected — correctly as it soon turned out — of aiming at California.¹⁵ If Texans were stabilized as an independent nation, this clearly would constitute an obstacle to the United States' westward outreach. Thus it is easy to see why in 1837 Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston suggested in a communication to the Chancellor of the Exchequer Thomas Spring-Rice that "...it would be better that Texas should not be incorporated with the Union."¹⁶

By 1841-1842, the mutual attractions between Britain and Texas were large enough to bring recognition from the first. Three treaties were prepared. As the price of recognition, Britain insisted in one of them that Texas agree to bring to an end any of her citizens' participation in the

slave trade. Further, England nudged her foot in the door for a future expanded influence by means of a clause in one of the treaties providing for her to act as intermediary in Texas' troubles with Mexico. On its side, Texas, as a gesture, offered to pay part of Mexico's debt to Great Britain, which amounted to L9,000,000. Two of the treaties the Texas Senate ratified in 1841, but it took until the following year for it to accept the one abolishing the slave trade. That done, ratification papers were exchanged, and on June 28, 1842, Great Britain formally recognized the Texas Republic.¹⁷

In so acting, England committed herself to Texas' future. Since at least at that moment Texas' acceptance of slavery represented a major obstacle to the North's willingness to accept the Lone Star Republic into the Union, it was in Britain's interest to bolster her Southwestern friend's inclination to stay independent, and thus to enhance the likelihood that Albion herself would be able before long to exert a large, long-term influence.

On Texas' side, for some time her leaders, feeling endangered by Mexico's continued threats and her unwillingness to concede independence, and spurned by the United States, were in a mood to be susceptible to blandishments. As former President Anton Jones wrote, Texas brought home to Britain that she had "cotton lands enough to raise sufficient of this great staple for the supply of the world. Texas was then [i.e., about 1843] a rich jewel lying *derelict* by the way."¹⁸ As a further example, the famous Samuel Houston, writing *charge'd'affairs* Sir Charles Elliot in 1843, compared the United States territorial voraciousness to Rome of the late Republic and Empire. In response, it made him "...desire to see Texas occupy an independent position among the Nations of the earth."¹⁹

In the effort to encourage Texas, England in the early 1840s had at her back the moral support of France and the other European powers, all of whom were concerned about the rapidly growing potency of the United States. This was so to such a degree at about 1843 that in one-time President Jones' opinion afterwards, war between the United States on the one hand and Britain, France, and Mexico on the other was entirely possible.²⁰

However, more important than the European powers' attitude at a distance was the need to induce Mexico to concede Texas' independence in time to forestall any possible increase of a favorable attitude toward annexation in the United States. Likewise essential was the nerve to brazen out accusations from the United States of undue interference in New World affairs on the part of Uncle Sam's favorite scapegoat and old-time enemy.

We have indications of the efforts to realize the first objective. In July 1843, Elliot sent a note to President Jones, a copy of which he dispatched to the new Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Aberdeen. In it, he offered "...assurances of the continued interest left by Her Majesty's

Government in the prosperity and independence of Texas, and of the full determination to persevere in efforts *for the peaceful adjustment* of the difficulties between this country (i.e., Texas) and Mexico, whenever a hope of success should present itself.”²¹ As further evidence, in 1844, as the possibility of United States annexation became more likely, Britain and France drew up a joint statement that time did not permit them to put into effect. It read: “Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom and Ireland and His Majesty the King of the French [are] strongly impressed with the importance of restoring Peace between the Republick of Texas and the Mexican Republick and of the establishment and preservation of the Republick of Texas as an Independent State under her own national Government.”²²

As it turned out, Britain failed in the attainment of both of her essential tactical needs, but not because she switched to a restrained and uninvolved policy. What changed was the person of the foreign secretary. Had the ever-aggressive Palmerston continued in office until the mid-40s, he surely would have pressed Mexico extremely hard to grant recognition to Texas without a moment more of delay, and he would have answered belligerently any American complaints of interference in New World concerns. However, his successor, the cautious Aberdeen, moved more sluggishly than he, and outcries from the United States made him hesitate. Loose talk had spread in the United States of British intentions to bring about the abolition of slavery everywhere, including Texas, and thus threatening the security of the southern half of the country. Through his minister to Washington, Richard Pakenham, Aberdeen gave reassurance of Britain’s intention not to impose its influence in Texas nor try to abolish slavery there.²³ He later warned Elliot, “You...should observe the greatest caution in all your dealings and conversation with the authorities of Texas, and...you should in no way commit your Government to any line of active policy with regard to that Country.”²⁴

That Aberdeen’s fundamental outlook, however, was no different from Palmerston’s is made plain by what he wrote next: “We consider that Independence of the highest importance for Mexico, for Texas herself, and even eventually for the United States, to which country, in the opinion of her Majesty’s Government, the possession of Texas, although it might at the present Moment satisfy the peculiar interests of the South, and gratify the National vanity of all the States, would scarce fail, in no long time, to become a serious source of Contention, between the Northern and the Southern States and, at the same time expose the whole Confederation to great hazard.”²⁵

It was too late. The Democrats’ victory in the November 1844 election made the United States acceptance of Texas more likely. It came to pass, when on March 1, 1845, Congress, by joint resolution of the two houses, gave a majority in favor of incorporating the Lone Star entity. Thus, through inability to act rapidly and decisively, Britain found that time

had overtaken her desires. Belatedly, Elliot, in a secret, unauthorized trip to Mexico in May 1845, finally prevailed upon that nation to admit Texas' independence. In the recognition a provision was attached specifying that Texas must not unite with another. The Texas Congress, given the choice of an independence with this restriction, as well as no guarantee from Britain and France, or the offer to join the United States, much preferred the latter. It was unanimously so voted, June 16, 1845.

As for the afterward, William Kennedy, the British consul in Texas from 1841 to 1847, writing to Aberdeen's successor, the reinstated Palmerston, gave it as his view that Britain could have forestalled annexation without producing war. By implication, he criticized Aberdeen as showing insufficient determination.²⁶ All along, England had striven for an independent Texas, at whose side she hoped to stand as overseer and patron. Had this come to pass, the United States would have had a more stunted future than came her way through the acquisition of Texas.

NOTES

¹Nina V. Potokova, "The Studying of the History of the American Southwest in the U.S.S.R.," First Symposium of Soviet Americanists, November 30-December 3, 1971, Moscow, 1973, Vol. I; pp. 176-181.

²*American Expansionism in Modern times*. (Moscow, 1985).

³*Contemporary American Expansionism* (Moscow, 1986).

⁴Ephraim D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1836-1846* (rep. Gloucester, 1963), pp. 233, 252, 264; Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York, 1970), pp. 41-43.

⁵*London Times*, November 27, 1837.

⁶*Morning Gazette* (London), November 7, 1837.

⁷David M. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Annexation* (Columbia, Missouri, 1973), p. 79.

⁸*Telegraph and Texas Register*, July 5, 1843.

⁹Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of Negroes in Texas, 1528-1971* (Austin, 1973), p. 14.

¹⁰Malcolm D. McLean, ed., *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony* (Fort Worth, Texas, 1972); II, pp. 479-480, 531-532.

¹¹(London, 1847), II, p. 1260.

¹²Nancy M. Barker, ed. and tr., *The French Legation in Texas* (Austin, 1971), I, p. 147.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 206.

¹⁴John MacGregor, *The Progress of America*, II, pp. 1256, 1259-1260.

¹⁵Steven G. Gamble, "James P. Henderson in Europe: The Diplomacy of the Republic of Texas, 1837-1840." (unp. Doctoral Dissertation, Lubbock, Texas, 1976), pp. 59-63.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁷*British and Foreign State Papers* (London, 1858), 30, pp. 1127-1128; *Laws of Texas, 1822-1897*, H.P.N. Gammel (arr.) (Austin, Texas, 10 vols. 1898-1902), Volume II, pp. 886-887.

¹⁸Anson Jones, *Memoranda and Official Correspondence, relating to the Republic of Texas, Its History and Annexation* (New York, 1973 rep.), pp. 79-80.

¹⁹*The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 16 (July, 1912-April, 1913), pp. 321-323. After annexation, Houston, in need of regaining popularity, said the contrary — *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. 20 (July, 1916-April, 1917) pp. 400-403-, but we can assume his viewpoint at the time expressed his true feeling.

¹¹*The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 17 (July, 1913-April, 1914), pp. 74-75.

¹²*Ibid.*, 20 (July, 1916-April, 1917), p. 166.

¹³*Congressional Globe* (28th Congress, 1st Session and Appendix, May 7, 1844), 13, Part 2, pp. 445-448.

¹⁴*The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 19 (July, 1915-April, 1916), p. 417.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 21 (July, 1917-April, 1918), pp. 211-213.

DOCUMENTS: THE GARDENING SENTIMENTS OF AN EARLY TEXAS PIONEER

by *Jeffry and Leabeth Abt*

For most people, the mention of Texas in the early 1800s brings to mind ugly, dirty towns full of lawless ruffians. Very few would think of Texas settlers growing flower gardens or planting trees and shrubbery for the mere aesthetic value. On a trip to Texas in 1854, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted painted a horrible picture of East Texas. This is confirmed by Melinda Rankin, who wrote *Texas in 1850*:

...it appears that the neglect of attention to the cultivation of flowers in Texas, must evidently be regarded as a want of good taste. Nothing presents a greater evidence of refinement than a tasteful adornment of dwellings and their environs, with trees and flowers; and it would be a great advance towards refined and decent civilization in Texas, if more attention were paid to the transplanting of forest trees and shrubbery around buildings.

Yet, there were exceptions.

Thomas Stuart McFarland moved to Texas from Louisiana in 1830 with his father, William McFarland, and other family members. At the age of twenty-two, Thomas McFarland bought 640 acres from Chichester Chaplin for \$200. He then formed a stock company and divided the tract into 356 lots that were shared among the members. McFarland surveyed these lots and established San Augustine, the first town in Texas to be laid off on a purely American plan with two lots near the center kept for a public square. This was the beginning of his career as surveyor, officeholder, and farmer.

Thomas McFarland was no ordinary settler. In his journal he mentions Homer, Chaucer, and Shakespeare, and indicates a keen interest in the political career of Napoleon Bonaparte. He was shrewd in business and quick to see opportunities, as he wrote to his daughter, Kate, in 1879:

Seeing that we have a country where a man may have a reasonable industry everything he needs for comfort and good living, it seems strange that our whole population should not be independent and even rich having all things in abundance.

But more than this, Thomas McFarland's journal reveals a man who thought it a "task of importance" to bring to bear the civilizing influences of a beautiful garden. The many references to gardening in Thomas McFarland's journal unveil a man with a taste for beauty and order in his garden.

The reminiscences which follow are from the journal Thomas McFarland kept over a period of four years (1837-1840). The original manuscript and other family papers can be found in the Special Collections, Ralph W. Steen Library, Stephen F. Austin State University. A

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recent publication of the journal was made in 1981 by the Newton County Historical Commission:

* * * * *

February 1, 1837

My garden was finished to-day, all excepting the gate;-This my second garden, that I have paled in;-a good garden is full half support of a house or family: and there is no pleasure so interesting as that to be found in the arrangement and beautifying of the different productions of nature, in well arranged gardin.

February 4th, 1837

Yesterday I determined to give up old garden to the growth of fruit trees, flowers, vines, grapes &c which (as i have another) will be most profitable-Consequently transplanted several trees in it-

9th Feb. 1837

Yesterday I had a number of seeds sown in my new garden for a beginning-such as-Lettuce, cabbage, pepper, onions, mustard, fenel, parsley &c-also a number of Shrubs, viz- the Althea, Sweet rose, running rose, sage, dwarf apples, &c, and herbs,- tanzey, mint, sorrell, and a handsome bed of Strawberries, & yarrow- N.B. my father appears particularly partial to strawberries and milk, a luxury by the bye, which is but seldom enjoyed in this country.

Roses in my garden I have planted,
Thorns upon same, around the bud are formed
A shield *nature* 'gainst the lover granted
As in trouble he walks the garden round

I planted there some other roses too
The vine is small and formed to entwine
As lovers hearts when *One* is made of *two*
So that death alone can o'er make them twain.

Tanzey here is found that tastes so bitter
And yarrow too on the same bed is set
And there is neither, weed, grass nor litter
Where these herbs by dew from heaven are wet.

A fine bed of Strawberries all in rows
You'l find on the side that's tow'rd the west
And near to them a few dwarf apples grows
That's fair to look upon and sweet to taste.

On the side that most to the South includes
I've planted Figs, as suiting best the clime
And I love this tree when covered with vines
It sounds so much like Abrams good old times.

As we pass around towards the centre
I'll show you roses all cov'ring over
Encircling about the door we enter
To an arbour with beans vines for cover.

If any one to view this garden spot
 Would on himself a little trouble take
 He something there would find, if pleasing not
 That would a *tho't* on past & future wake.

I've sought the muses, to assist my strain,
 My genius inspire, to the love of song,
 Yet, to describe the garden, all is vain;
 It was commenc'd in haste and all is wrong.

So heres an end for the present of poetical description; my fire burnt down
 & I'm cold and now to rest-

Feb'y 11th 1837

The greater portion of today I have occupied in transplanting of trees,
 replanting my orchard &c- I have had sixty one peach trees set out (in
 the ground allotted of an orchard) today, besides sixty five that were there
 before, making in all an hundred & twenty six peach trees-and I have
 another orchard of about 80 peach trees and still another of 20 or more-
 making more than 230 *peach trees*, and 200 more in nursery.

I also planted out several other trees in the yard and garden, most
 of which were fruit trees-

61 peach trees in orchard
 2 mulberry trees in yard
 4 walnut do in do
 7 Fig trees in yard
 4 do in garden
 10 do slips in old garden
 1 china tree in yard
 1 Althea Shrub do
 90

Making ninety trees
 transplanted today in dif-
 ferent parts of the farm
 -Value \$400-

“It is a pleasing task” to work with the young trees, to prune off
 the useless branches, and loping off whatever is unsound to bend the twig
 as the tree should stand: assisting nature as it were, in teaching “the young
buds to shoot”- While young, there is nothing but what may be shaped
 after the style ones own mind; how easy to bend the young trees as we
 desire the ones to grow; and the child, if taken in due season is alike suscep-
 table of bias, and may be taught to act with rationality in every respect,
 or to the contrary according to the principles or character of the tutor;-

Saturday 18th Feb. 1837

Yesterday commenced pailing in my yard which I have pretty well
 set with china and walnut trees, besides others- have got the most of posts
 set around the yard,-

Tuesday 22nd Feb 1837

...And yesterday my brother brought from Capt. Stedum's ten small
 black locust trees, the whole of which trees I have set out in different direc-
 tions about my yard. This is an acquisition of which I am very proud as
 serve much to ornament a place, and are as yet, but rarely found in Texas-

Monday 27th February 1837

...Went home with Augustine and got some, white mulberry seed, which I wish to plant, for the purpose of commencing to raise silk worms- Mrs. Augustine promises to furnish me with some *seed* of the *Silkworm*.

Friday 17th March 1837

...Today procured of Capt. S. Brown about 30 young apple trees, which I have out in different parts of the place; some in the old garden, some in the yard, some in the peach orchard where I have oats sown.

May 4th 1838

Eight years expires today. about nine of the clock, since I first crossed the Boundary of the U.S. and entered Texas. The Country at that time was comparatively a wilderness and the few who inhabited it, were of an unruly, turbulent and savage disposition, generally; though at that time there were some who possessed principles of worth, and men of honor and weight of character. Some of the most prominent men of the present time were then in the country.

Texas since that date has been the theatre of strife and disquietude, of trouble and misery, and the seat of war with all its calamities, and horid outrages, yet, notwithstanding all its trouble and difficulty, our country has flourished largely and still continues to prosper most gloriously.

(Diary continues after move from San Augustine to Belgrade)

1st of March 1839

Commenced the other day to garden, Sowed peas, mustard, Lettuce, &c- A garden well cultivated is the most pleasant view, the farm can have in the agricultural line-When the heart is troubled or the mind morose or feverish, a walk in a garden handsomely arranged, is sufficient, to give relief-The human feelings are such, that every variety of antidote to unhappiness are resorted to by those who suffer, and whilst the mind is capable of acting in concert with reason, we should provide the means of cure before we are attacked by the disease- We should rather choose some remedy indicated by nature, or at least in which there is no harm, nor abuse of person or intellect that like the vulgar world, to seek the haunts of dissipation & riot; which instead of giving relief to the burthened mind, but adds to the catalogue of miseries, and distress and ruin- A garden has a tendency to draw the mind from its troubled thro'ts, while at the same time it inspires a love of order and arrangement such as represented on its plan-Another important lesson taught by the garden is this: The features of the mind of him, whose design it is, is here plainly indicated; if we have a love of order is exhibited if we are profuse or economical the traits are alike evinced, or if we are fond of the ornaments of nature, or are only pleased by the prospect of having appetite satiated 'tis plain to be seen if the mind is chaste, elevated, enlarged, sordid, or if it is fancifull imaginary, poetic, or confused by worldly concerns, how easy can the lines of every portrait be traced; nor does it require even the experienced eye, to scan that which is indicated in such striking colours-

When so much of our mind and sensations are exhibited in the appearance of our garden, and so much of our pleasure and happiness depend upon a well regulated and handsome garden—Should we not bestow special care upon its order and culture? The same observations (nearly—are applicable in all our domestic arrangements, order, embellishment, variety, cheerfulness, and constant vigilance to prevent the rising of weeds, or other rancorous growth, with constant attention (or cultivation) to the germinations of a tender nature—

April 18th 1839

On taking a view of our garden I find the following different species of Vegetables, which I think does very well for the time we have been cultivating it, only six weeks:-

2 Peas 2 kinds in Bloom	30 Onions
4 Beans 2 kinds	31 Melons
5 Butter beans	32 Althea
6 Long Pea	33 Cypress vine
7 Cucumbers	34 Flower Bean
8 Squashes	36 Pinks- 2 kinds
10 Radishes, 2 kinds in use	37 Thyme
11 Carrots	38 Cockscomb
12 Beets	41 Touch-me-not 3 kinds
13 Parsnips	42 Flags, yellow
14 Cabbage- in use several times	43 Red Poppies
15 Eschallottes-do	44 Merry gold
16 Mustard 2 kinds- in use	45 Jerusalem Apple
18 Lettuce 2 kinds	46 Sun Flower
20 Tongue grass 2 kinds in use	47 Rhue
21 Ocre	48 Balm
22 Corn	49 Egg Plant
23 Kale	50 Mint
27 Pepper 4 kinds	51 Saffron
28 Tomatoes	52 Hoarshound
29 Cellery	53 Peach trees, June peach

May 2nd 1839

Rain, rain today for the first time in nearly four weeks- 26 days without rain- Sowed radishes and set out a good many things.

3rd

This morning we set out or transplanted a great many plants, consisting of touch-me-nots, cox-comb, poppies, pinks, sunflowers, peppers, merry-gold, tomatoes, cabbage &c and- five chance of potatoe plants- $\frac{1}{3}$ an acre.

May 19th 1839

CUCUMBERS!! CUCUMBERS!! 1st time this year eaten or ate today! We could have had them three or four days sooner, but saved the first coming for seed!

March 1st 1840

Myself and brother arrived at home today from Calcasiu where we purchased a lot of goods from A. Bourgeois & Co. on six months time.

We have been absent six days- the goods consist of a common assortment of such articles as we have not on hand.

While gone we stayed going and coming 2 nights at Maj. Cowards, one at Smith's on the river, Calcasiu, and two nights at John Spark's on the Sabine River.

The trip was attended with as much success as usual on such occasions- During the trip we procured the following variety garden herbs trees and shrubbery-

1 Sweet fennel	10 Hoarhound
2 Raspberry	11 Mullen
3 White rose	12 Sour orange
4 Red velvet rose	13 Pumgranates
5 Monthly rose	14 Privy
6 quince	15 October Peach
7 Strawberries	16 Red flowering Althea
8 Yellow flower name not known	17 Sage
9	18 Plumbs

Which will enlarge our hitherto very small variety- In a new country it is a task of importance, to acquire a good variety of garden shrubbery- I have found it difficult to obtain even a common assortment-

BOTTANY

April 16th 1840

The following is a list of the shrubs, herbs and vegetables now in our garden.

Names		Whence they came
1 Althea Red		
2 Althea white	Marsh Mallow	
3 Raspberry	Rubus Idacus	
4 Strawberry	Fragaria	Texas
5 Rose white	rosaalba	Scotland
6 Rose Red velvet	rosa damascen	Belgium
7 Rose monthly	rosa mundi	England
8 quince	Pyrus, Cydonia	Supposed France
9 Sour Orange	Citrus aurantium	Indies
10 Pomgranate		
11 Privet	Ligustrum	E. Indies
12 Hoarhound		
13 Mullen		
14 Peach October	Amygdalus	
15 Plum	Prunus domesticus	America
16 Sage	Salvia Officienalis	From Greece
17 Sweet Fennel	Anethun furiculum	Canaries
18 October Pink	Dianthus carnation	Italy
19 Sweet Pink red & verigated	Dianthus	Italy
20 Saffron	Crocus	
21 Cucumber	Cucumis	Egypt
22 Marygold	Calendula	S. America
23 Garlic	Allium	East
24 Parsley	Apium	Egypt
25 Gourd	Cucurbita	Arabia or Astrean
26 Potatoes Irish	Solanum, Tuberosum	Brazil
27 Radishes	Raphanus sativus	China
28 Tobacco		Mexico

29 Spear Mint	Mentha viridis)	
30 Peppermint	Mentha piperita)	Europe
31 Penny royal	Mentha	Pulegium)
32 Cabbage	Brassica	England
33 Egg Plant	Melongena	W. Indies
34 Tomatoes	Solanum	Italy
	Lycopersicum	
35 Bunch Beans	Phaseolus	E. Indies & U. States
36 Garden Peas	Vicia, Faba	Egypt
37 Red Beet	Beta Valgaris	Europe-Madera
38 Turnip	Brassica rapa	do Holland &c.
39 Lettuce	Lachica	
40 Mustard		
41 Cresses	Cress	Crete
42 Squashes		
43 Balm		
44 Coxcomb	Celosia	
	Russian	
45 Touch-me-not		
46 Sun flower	Helianthus	America
47 Cypress vine		
48 Pretty-by-night	Circaea	Germany
49 Yellow flag	Iris	Europe
50 Blue flag	Iris	Texas
51 Rhue		
52 Palmchristial		
53 Sugar cane	Sacharum Officinarum	Brasil
54 Musk mellon		
55 Fig tree	Ficas Carica	Asia
56 Holly Hock		
57 Catalpa	Bignonia	Indigenous
58 China tree		
59 Black haw		
60 Peaches	Amygdallus	
61 Hemp	Cannabis sativa	
62 Shuckcorn		
63 Balsam		
64 Thyme	Thymus vulgaris	Spain
65 Eshallot	Alliam Ascalonicum	Palestine-Asia
66 Onions	do	do
67 Bachelor buttons	Lychuis diurna	Eng. or Scotland
68 Coriander	Coriandrum statioum	
69 Lady Pea	Cicer	Spain
70 Love Creeper	Bignonia radicauss	Via & Canada
71 Humlus or Hops	Indigofera tinctoria	Asia, Amer. & Africa
72 Worm Wood	Artemisia	Absinthium
74 Carrot	Daucus Carota	Fleming
75 Parsnip	Pastinaca Sativa	
76 Walnut Black	Inglans nigra	Indigenous
77 Lark spur	Delphinium	Europe

17th April 1840

The whole vegetable Kingdom is now green and beautiful; the trees are nearly in full foliage and the grass is large and fine for grazing.

Garden-looks well, promises fair, some flowers already- there is a good prospect of beans as there is a great many very small ones, also the garden looks well.

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

The twenty-eighth Annual Meeting was held in Nacogdoches, Texas, on September 21-22, 1990, at the Fredonia Inn. Banquet addresses were delivered by Dr. Ben Procter, Texas Christian University, and Dr. Alwyn Barr, Texas Tech University. President Linda Cross delivered her presidential address, "The Brown Boys From Buncom," on Friday afternoon. That evening a reception hosted by Captain and Mrs. Charles Phillips was held at the restored home of Tol Barret. Six other sessions featuring nearly forty presenters were held on Friday afternoon and Saturday morning.

The Spring meeting will be held in Fort Worth on February 15-16, 1991. The Hyatt-Regency Hotel will serve as headquarters, but the program will include tours of museums and other sites. Cissy Lale, Fort Worth, serves as program chair for the meeting. Additional materials regarding the meeting will accompany the Spring Journal. PLEASE send in your pre-registration materials by Monday, February 11. We will have some firm deadlines for reservations for meals and the tour, and we must have your registration in early to insure you a place.

The Old San Antonio Road Preservation Commission is continuing to plan for the 300th anniversary of this important thoroughfare that runs through the heart of East Texas. Tentative plans call for special signage and historic displays, a caravan to travel the road to give publicity to various events, and a request that all cities and counties along the route plan special events during the year. Publicity will be given to these events through the Commission and the Texas Historical Commission.

The Southern Association for Women Historians announces a new round of competition for the Julia Cherry Spruill Publication Prize in Southern women's history. The \$500 prize will be awarded every two years for the best published book in Southern women's history. They also offer a \$750 prize, the Willie Lee Rose Publication Prize, for the best book in Southern history authored by a woman. For details, contact Martha Swain, Department of History and Government, Texas Woman's University, Denton, TX 76204.

The Third Armored Division Association has named ETHA member Haynes W. Dugan as *de jure* historian of the association. He was also presented the Commander's Award for Public Service by the Department of the Army on August 13, 1990, "for exceptionally dedicated service in the 3D Armored Division and the Spearhead Association since 1941."

The North American Society for Sport History will hold its Nineteenth Annual Convention at Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, on May 25-27, 1991. Those interested in presenting a paper should contact: Robert K. Barney, Faculty of Kinesiology, Thames Hall, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada, N6A 3K7.

“Come Hungry, Come Thirsty,” a documentary for public television on the religious camp meeting tradition, is available for viewing. Co-sponsored by the East Texas Historical Association and produced through the facilities of KNCT-TV, Killeen, and funded by the Texas Committee for the Humanities, the Huntsville, Texas, Arts Commission, and others, it should appear on local PBS stations soon. For further information, contact Melvin Mason, Box 2146, SHSU, Huntsville, TX 77341.

We are saddened by the death of several good friends, including Past Presidents Allen Ashcraft and Maury Darst, and noted restoration architect, Raiford Stripling. The following tributes were prepared by friends who knew them well:

Raiford L. Stripling

When I learned last Spring about the death of my friend Raiford L. Stripling on April 19, 1990, at seventy-nine years of age, I discussed it with our editor, Archie McDonald, who asked me to write a memorial for the next issue of the *Journal*. As I began to draft the memorial in the third person, I realized that it was too formal, and I could not express my sense of loss without personalizing it. Ann and I have known and admired Raiford for about thirty years. He served as the architect of our restoration of my great-great grandparents' house in Comanche County in 1986, during which we achieved a friendship and bond with him available only to those who work together on such sympathetic projects.

Most Texans concerned about historical preservation know that Raiford was a lifelong resident of his beloved San Augustine where he was a practicing architect with his son, Raggie, who survives him. To visit them in their offices and studios on the second floor of the old San Augustine County Jail House was an educational adventure. Raiford achieved national recognition as the Centennial architect during the Texas Centennial in 1936 when he worked on a number of projects, including Mission Espiritu Santo at Goliad, Fort Parker at Mexia, and other major architectural projects of that observance. Later he worked on the French Legation at Austin, Ashton Villa at Galveston, and achieved the pinnacle of his professional career by restoring Presidio La Bahia at Goliad. His many great restoration projects are detailed in a recent biography, *Restoring Texas, Raiford Stripling's Life and Architecture*, written by Michael McCullar, published in 1985 by the Texas A&M Press.

To really appreciate Raiford Stripling one had to visit him in San Augustine and have him show you and describe the restoration of the various projects in that town and county on which he so lovingly worked. They include his own S.W. Blount and Milton Garrett Houses. Among his other restoration projects in San Augustine were the beautiful Cullen House, owned by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, the charming Matthew Cartwright House, the Horn-Polk House, T.N.B. Greer House, the Herring-Clark House at Straddlefork Farm, the Columbus Cartwright House, Christ Episcopal and Memorial Presbyterian Churches.

While Raiford was at his best in East Texas and in the Goliad area, he did wonderful work in Waco, Fort Concho, and other locations in his native state far removed from his beloved East Texas. Raiford was more than an architect; he was an able historian and researcher. A superb artist in his own right, Raiford never lost the sense of history about the projects in which he was involved. He loved to describe how the old builders had achieved their feats of construction with the simple and crude tools available to them at that time. Upon noticing a particularly handsome cornice, he would admiringly call its unexpected beauty to your attention and speculate on how the old designer must have achieved such an effect. Raiford had a great admiration for early Texas buildings and their builders. He never spoke in my presence of any primitive Texas building in a condescending way. Through the many years of work with frontier houses, he achieved a sort of rapport with the pioneers. It was a harmony that very few modern architects are able to achieve. In East Texas we are particularly indebted to Raiford for having saved for us and generations to come many evidences of the habitations (both primitive and refined) of our ancestors. He came along at a time in Texas when it was essential for someone to devote a career to the restoration of the evidences of our past before they were lost forever. Long after all of us who have known Raiford are gone and he is remembered only by his reputation, Texans will still be enjoying and benefiting from viewing restorations all over Texas achieved by his skills, understanding, tenacity, and farsightedness.

F. Lee Lawrence
Tyler, Texas

William Maury Darst

William Maury Darst was born on December 8, 1937 in Galveston, the son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Homer William Darst. He died in his sleep of heart failure May 24, 1990 at his home in Galveston. Into his fifty-two-plus years of life, he packed an enviable amount of living and achievement to the credit of the town and state that he loved.

Maury and I first met in the late 1950s at Stephen F. Austin State College (now University), where he had enrolled as a student and where I was completing my first decade as a teacher and administrator. What brought about our meeting was the introductory journalism class I was

teaching. Although Maury was a history major, he was drawn to journalism by the common bond it shares with history: much of the stuff of history comes from journals, the mirrors of contemporary events; and in their quest to report and analyze contemporary events, journals perforce must rely upon history for perspective. A somewhat secondary inducement for Maury, who aspired to write about history as well as to teach it, was the fact that journalism stresses clarity and economy of expression.

Maury quickly proved to be more than a good student of journalism. As the course unfolded to include consideration of advertising, the life blood of journals, as well as the gathering of and writing about news events — then, Maury's interest intensified. Student publication sponsor as well as journalism teacher, I always looked for students with dedication to practice in the student newspaper and yearbook what they were learning in the classroom. I therefore capitalized upon Maury's expanding interest to enlist him for double duty as a reporter and an advertising salesman.

Before his student days had run their course, they witnessed Maury's serving as editor of the student newspaper and his winning of Texas Intercollegiate Press Association awards for excellence both in writing and editing and in advertising conception and selling. In the two decades I taught journalism and supervised the student publications before moving into the teaching of American literature, numerous talented students prepared in my classes and moved on to professional careers throughout the nation. Of them, Maury Darst stood among the foremost in dependability and versatility. Little wonder our student-teacher relationship transcended the ordinary.

Even less wonder that our relationship — indeed, our abiding affection for each other — continued and deepened after Maury had completed his B.A. degree in 1961 and his M.A. degree in 1973, both at SFA. I encouraged and rejoiced in Maury's repeated success as a teacher at his alma mater, Ball high school (1965-67), and at Galveston College (1967-90); and, part-time, at Texas A&M University at Galveston; and, simultaneously, his other career, either full- or part-time, as a reporter, columnist, and editor of the Galveston *News* and the Texas City *Daily Sun*. A World War II Marine, I took additional pride in Maury's service over the years as a Navy reservist.

As his professional life flourished, Maury's personal life enjoyed fulfillment. Maury married Mary Lou Hughes, who shared his Episcopalian faith and many other interests. In time, they became the parents of a son, Robert (Rob), and a daughter, Catherine Fontaine, the latter now an SFA student.

When their children were young, Maury and Mary Lou often brought them to the East Texas Historical Association and other professional meetings that Maury considered essential to the development of his knowledge about history and related fields. Maury served those profes-

sional societies in many ways — as a participant on the programs, as a member of important committees, and as an officer. He contributed informed articles often about his native Galveston to the *East Texas Historical Journal*, the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, and other scholarly journals; and he edited religious news for the *Galveston News*.

William Maury Darst's interest in his local and state heritage was more than academic. He qualified for membership in the Sons of the American Revolution, the Sons of the Republic of Texas, and the Descendants of San Jacinto. In other words, that heritage was a family matter for him. And in keeping faith with his past, he earned recognition in *Who's Who in Texas Today*, the *Dictionary of International Biography, Personalities of the South*, and *Outstanding Educators of America*.

Maury's death came as a deep personal loss for many of us who cherished his friendship. It represented a regrettable loss for scholarship. As Markham said in another context, it "leaves a lonesome place against the sky" of Texanna.

—Edwin W. Gaston, Jr., Emeritus
Stephen F. Austin State University

Allen Coleman Ashcraft

The History Fraternity lost a good friend and strong supporter with the death of Allan Coleman Ashcraft, Professor Emeritus of Texas A&M University, on January 5, 1990, after a long illness.

Allan was born August 19, 1928 in San Antonio, Texas, but spent most of his youth in San Marcos and Austin, and took great pride in being a native Texan. He attended Texas A&M College where he earned a bachelor's degree in history. After a stint in the Field Artillery in Korea where he saw front line action, he returned home to continue his education. He matriculated to Columbia University for graduate studies, where he received his M.A. and Ph.D. in history. In 1956 he joined the faculty of Texas A&M where he remained until his retirement in 1988.

Active in the Army Reserve, he was a graduate of the Command and General Staff School and the United States War College and retired with the rank of colonel. Former members of his command remember him as a firm but kind and patient officer.

Known for his expertise on the Civil War and his stimulating, entertaining, but no-nonsense lecture style, he was in demand as a guest lecturer or panel discussant. A member of the Texas Civil War Centennial Commission, he wrote the Centennial volume on the role of Texas during the war, and numerous articles relating to the general subject.

The recipient of many awards and honors, he was most proud of his Teaching Excellence Award from Texas A&M University (1966-67). Students looked forward to taking his Civil War and Reconstruction class and were disappointed when it was not taught. Never looked upon as a

“grade point class,” students took Ashcraft because he made the past come alive and seem important to even those who questioned the relivancy of such a long dead subject.

Allan was a member of the Texas State Historical Association, American Historical Association, and Sons of Confederate Veterans, but he gave his most active attention to the East Texas Historical Association and served as president of the Association. An active outdoorsman, he enjoyed hunting but his true love was fishing. He often bragged he could fillet a fish in two strokes. He was descended from the *Mayflower* settlers, Lee Family, Sir William Wallace of Sterling Castle fame in Scotland, and Dr. Thomas P. Coleman, the personal physician to General Stonewall Jackson.

The least that can be said of him is he was an eminently civilized man, good friend to those who knew him, server of an epicurean table, and a fine teacher. He is survived by his wife, Dr. Nena Harris Ashcraft, two children, Ann and Ace, and one granddaughter, the “apple of his eye,” Patty.

Victor H. Treat
Texas A&M University

BOOK NOTES

Among the many books received for reviewing, we have the latest volume in Malcolm McLean's *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas*, volume 15 (University of Texas Press, Box 19929, Arlington, TX 76019-0929, \$35.00 Hardcover). McLean's contribution to the historiography of Texas is monumental. His works have made an important primary resource available to all Texans with access to libraries. According to the compiler, "This volume covers two major themes: the organization of the Texas Rangers, and the activities of the First Senate of the Republic of Texas, both as seen through the eyes of Empresario Sterling C. Robertson." There is a list of previous volumes, a list of awards won by the series, a painting of Robertson, a dedication to Jenkins and Virginia Garrett, a preface and an introduction, and 600 pages of documents relative to the subject and period covered. Users should pay special attention to McLean's introduction to increase the utility of the documents.

The Sportsman's Guide To Texas: Hunting and Fishing in the Lone Star State, by Dick Barlett and Joanne Krieger, and edited by David Baxter with illustrations by Jack Unruh (Taylor Publishing Co., 1550 West Mockingbird Lane, Dallas, TX 75235, \$34.95 Hardcover), is magnificently illustrated in color photos and drawings. Readers begin with an introductory chapter titled "Texas: An Ecological Perspective," followed by chapters on the dove, quail, ducks, geese, turkey, pheasant, deer, and hogs. There are also chapters on small game, predators, fishing, and a section on making camp. A chapter on a species of game contains introductory essays on, for example the turkey, advice on how to hunt it, and recipes for the preparation of the meat if you are successful. The chapter on the camp is most useful; it includes advice on all sorts of things, including how to care for problems from blisters to heart attacks. But the illustrations are the best part of the book for the casual reader.

Texas: A Modern History, by David G. McComb (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713, \$12.95 Paper. \$24.95 Cloth), might have been published during the Sesquicentennial. It is good that it was not, because it deserves more attention and use than it probably would have received during that niagara of Texana. David long has been established as Texas' leading urban historian by his studies of Houston and Galveston. Now he has broadened his examination to look at the whole of Texas. In six chapters and an afterword, he traces the history of the state from its natural history to modern struggles. Most pages contain either black-and-white illustrations of the subjects they cover, marginal additions, or both. There are also charts and maps to illustrate the text. This coverage is brief, but it will be of interest to the general reader and could be used in a college class.

Association member Mike Kingston's latest edition of the *Texas*

Almanac (Dallas Morning News, distributed by Texas Monthly Press, P.O. Box 1569, Austin, TX 78767, \$8.95 Paperback), for 1990-1991, is a continuation of the good work that has made this work indispensable for all who study Texas. This issue contains special coverage of science, a history of West Texas, the environment, crime and punishment, and the usual statistical report on the state of the state. It is impossible to be a Texas historian, and darn hard just to be a Texan, without the Almanac at hand.

The Statehouse Press of Austin continues to reprint works of interest. The book at hand, *The Border And The Buffalo, An Untold Story of the Southwest Plains*, (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX 78761, \$14.95 Paper, \$21.95 Cloth), and subtitled "The Bloody Border of Missouri and Kansas, The Story of the Slaughter of the Buffalo. Westward Among the Big Game and Wild Tribes. A Story of Mountain and Plain," by John R. Cook, first appeared in 1907. The present edition contains a foreword by David Dary. As Al Lowman once told me, "For the folks who are interested in this sort of thing, this is the sort of thing that will interest them." I assumed that was double-talk at the time, but now I think it is inspired. Indeed, those who are interested in the buffalo-and-Indian era of plains history will find this book a must.

We have received a batch of books from Wallace O. Chariton. They are titled *Texas Wit & Wisdom* (\$9.95 Hardcover), *Exploring The Alamo Legends* (\$18.95 Hardcover), *100 Days in Texas: the Alamo Letters* (\$21.95 Hardcover), *Forget the Alamo* (\$18.95), and *This Dog'll Hunt*, (Wordware Publishing Inc., 1506 Capital Ave., Plano, Tx 75074, \$14.95 Hardcover). The latter contains an introduction by Ann Richards, whose speech to the Democratic Convention in 1988 is the inspiration of the title. It is a compendium of Texas sayings that is reminiscent of our own Bob Bowman's works. "Professional Texans" will find these books amusing and interesting.

Washington, D.C., In Lincoln's Time: a Memoir of the Civil War Era By the Newspaperman Who know Lincoln Best, by Noah Brooks, and *Abraham Lincoln: A Press Portrait*, both edited by Herbert Mitgang (University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA 30602), are reissued editions of works that testify to the role of journalism during the American Civil War. Both show the power of the press during this important era of our nation's history.

How To Write Biographies and Company Histories, by Richard Sawyer (Mountain Press Publishing Company, Missoula, MT), is an interesting "how to" book. It contains samples and exercises for the beginner, but the experienced writer can profit from the review of fundamental techniques it offers.

Gunsmoke: A Complete History, by SuzAnne and Gabor Barabas (McFarland & Company, Inc., Box 611, Jefferson, NC 28640), says its subtitle, is a "complete history and analysis of the legendary broadcast

series with a comprehensive episode-by-episode guide to both the radio and television programs." The Barabas' have written a monumental book to a television monument. They enjoyed the cooperation of the network, producers, guest stars, "regulars," and even the show's reclusive main character, James Arness. Part I traces the history of the series, Part II contains a lengthy photo section, Part III an episode-by-episode list of characters and plot analysis, and Part IV contains quotes from "Gunsmoke" and lists of directors, writers, producers, and awards. If there ever was a book that will tell everything you might want to know about its subject, this is probably it.

Two juvenile books have come from Hendrick-Long. They are *Blind Bess, Buddy, and Me*, by Ruby C. Tolliver with illustrations by Lyle L. Miller (Hendrick-Long Publishing Co., P.O. Box 12311, Dallas, TX 75225), and *The Ghost at the Old Stone Fort*, by Martha Tannery Jones, with illustrations by Donna Loughran (Hendrick-Long Publishing Co., P.O. Box 12311, Dallas, TX 75225). "Me" is eleven-year-old Gus Roundtree, whose story is told against the backdrop of the Great Depression in East Texas. Buddy is his friend, and Bess is a mule. The book is about their adventures. The Ghost book features the story of two sixth-graders in Nacogdoches who spend two nights in the old fort and find various adventures.

Folks who like cartoons such as the Far Side will find Dan Piraro's *Too Bizarro* (Chronicle Books, 275 Fifth Street, San Francisco, CA 94103), lives up to its title. The cartoons, two to a page, are presented without comment, save for the creator's credits on the last page. He claims to have been "born off the coast of Missouri," to have "played in the shipyards as a child," to have been "Minister of Punctuation for Louisiana," and he "worked as a representative of a male catalog called 'Beff.'" If you believe that, you will relish his bizarre humor in the cartoons.

A challenging, entertaining, and even frustrating book is Jaime O'Neill's *What Do You Know: The Ultimate Test of Common (and Not So Common) Knowledge* (Bantam Books, 666 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10103. \$9.95). Jamie gained national attention when the CBS television show "60 Minutes" ran a story about a test he administered to his classes at a community college in Washington State. His students flunked in droves. The test consisted of questions on history, literature, geography, and other things often taken for granted as shared information known by the general public. Jamie found that not to be the case. At about the same time, but not knowing of his activities, I conducted a survey of college students in Texas to see what they knew about their state. Not much, was what I found out. After seeing the television show, I contacted Jamie and we have corresponded a few times about this, and now comes this book. I recommend it for all our members and for our members' friends. The book is a book of tests, and I challenge each of you to take them. He does not claim that everyone ought to be able to answer every

question; rather, Jamie sees his tests as a way for each one of us to determine what we do NOT know so we can correct our ignorance. It is challenging, it is entertaining, but it is also frustrating — so be forewarned. But it is also important that we learn these things about ourselves and about our society. We Texans talk a good game about educational reform. It is past time that we did something about it.

BOOK REVIEWS

The History of Texas, by Robert A. Calvert and Arnolde De León (Harlan Davidson, Inc. 3110 North Arlington Heights Rd., Arlington Heights, IL 60004-1592) 1990. Photographs. Maps. Index. P. 488. \$21.95 Paper. \$32.95 Cloth.

For generations of teachers and students of Texas history, *Texas, The Lone Star State*, now in its fifth edition (1988), has served as the "standard" text. This new book by Robert A. Calvert of Texas A&M University and Arnolde De León of Angelo State University offers an alternative that many will likely welcome, so a brief comparison of the two texts seems in order.

First, whereas the older text consists of a mix of chronological and topical chapters, *The History of Texas* is organized strictly along chronological lines. Second, Calvert and De León devote somewhat less space to the early nineteenth century and give much more attention to the twentieth century. For example, they cover the years from 1821 to 1846 in two chapters and approximately fifty pages and devote six chapters and more than 200 pages to the twentieth century. By contrast, *Texas*, has four chapters and nearly 100 pages on the 1821-1846 period and six chapters but only a little more than 100 pages on the twentieth century. Reactions to these differences in coverage will differ, of course, according to the interests and purposes of each instructor. But many will welcome a text that places greater emphasis on more recent history. Finally, there is the matter of price. *A History of Texas* is available in paper for less than \$25.00; *Texas, The Lone Star State* is considerably more expensive.

Calvert and De León present a thoroughly multi-cultural view of Texas History. Virtually every chapter contains material on Tejanos and black Texans. The Indians receive attention where appropriate, and the authors describe the contributions of the many European immigrants in a predominantly Anglo-American society and culture. The text also reflects recent advances in women's studies in that it presents information on the role of women in Texas throughout the past.

Calvert and De León have incorporated in their text much of their own research as well as the newest work by other scholars. The inclusion of recent scholarship in social history and demography is especially notable. The interpretation of Reconstruction is thoroughly revisionist and should contribute to a better understanding of an era that is probably the most misunderstood and misrepresented in Texas history. Lists of major books and articles at the end of each chapter offer hundreds of the newest sources on Texas and make the book a useful bibliography as well as text.

Specialists in particular periods of Texas history will undoubtedly wish for more detail on their interests. East Texans, for example, may be dismayed to find no mention by name of Mission San Francisco de los

Tejas as the beginning of Spanish settlement in that region. Textbooks can hardly be all-inclusive, however, and Calvert and De León have replaced every piece of information that the reader might expect but not find with other interesting and significant material.

In short, this is a solid textbook that gives more attention to the twentieth century than is found in existing texts and reflects recent emphasis on the roles of minorities and women in the shaping of our history. All teachers of Texas history should review it for adoption.

Randolph B. Campbell
University of North Texas

The Bexar Archives (1717-1836): A Name Guide, by Adan Benavides, Jr., Editor (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713) 1990. P. 1040. \$60.00 Hardcover.

All serious researchers dedicated to the Spanish colonial and Mexican periods of Texas history are acquainted with the Bexar Archives. Scholars of senior rank, before the advent of the guides to the microfilmed edition, will recall exasperating experiences trying to reconcile information listed on calendar cards with the content of the documents themselves. Now, after years of patient waiting for the fulfillment of a promise, Adán Benavides has provided a legitimate shortcut to preliminary research with a hefty volume entitled *The Bexar Archives (1717-1836): A Name Guide*.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, convinced that the Spanish and Mexican records occupied too much space in the courthouse (not to mention their haphazard arrangement), the governing commissioners of Bexar County determined that the then-recently established University of Texas at Austin was a suitable depository. Accordingly, in September 1899, the commissioners approved an agreement by which the Bexar Archives would be transferred to the university for preservation, organization, translation, and consultation — until the county government could construct an adequate depository. Just prior to the actual transfer, the commissioners ordered retention of a corpus of documents deemed necessary for the conduct of county business, such as land deeds, marriage records, wills and estates, and Spanish mission records. Separated from the crates conveyed to Austin, these records, popularly called the Bexar County Archives, remained loosely clustered until 1923 when Carlos E. Castaneda inventoried their contents for his master's thesis project, later published as *A Report on the Spanish Archives in San Antonio*.

Meanwhile, the massive bulk of the Bexar Archives, when finally inventoried and classified, consisted of 80,795 documents representing an aggregate of more than 250,000 manuscript pages and over 4,000 pages of printed matter. A half-century later, beginning in the 1960s, the custodians of the Bexar Archives launched an ambitious copying project that culminated in a microfilmed edition of 172 reels and that became available

to researchers at other institutions either through interlibrary loan or outright purchase.

The seminal idea for a guide to names associated with the Bexar Archives probably occurred to several individuals at different times, but it was Adán Benavídes who persistently explored the possibility of uniting the skills of computer technicians with the resources of sympathetic benefactors to assist him in transforming his concept into a functional research tool. To achieve a modicum of control over an undertaking that easily could have discouraged the most talented innovators, Benavídes consulted both the product and the chief compilers of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest Project at the University of Arizona. Encouraged by their success, he opted to isolate 30,000 manuscripts in the Bexar Archives that fitted the conceptual framework for extracting data about individuals whose surnames (and in some instances only a given name), were alphabetized, followed by a litany of activities with corresponding dates and microfilm reel and frame numbers. For researchers in pursuit of topics instead of names, Don Adán included a minutely detailed index and a glossary of highly specialized terms. A feature that is truly commendable about this guide is the intermittent appearance of women's names which shatters the myth that Hispanic society in Texas was exclusively male-oriented.

For remarkable dedication and perseverance that resulted in *The Bexar Archives: A Name Guide*, Adán Benavídes has won the respect and gratitude of researchers everywhere.

Félix D. Almaráz, Jr.

The University of Texas at San Antonio

An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865, by Randolph B. Campbell. (Louisiana State University Press, Highland Road, Baton Rouge, L.A.), 1989. 4 Appendices. Bibliography. Index. \$35.00. P. 306.

At last a glaring gap in Texas historiography has been admirably filled. Now the only slave state without a book-length study of slavery is Delaware (which probably does not need one). But Randolph B. Campbell's *An Empire for Slavery* is not just a space filler. It is an exemplary classic in both content and style.

Campbell covers Texas slavery from the arrival of Estevanico in the Narvaez expedition in 1528 to the simultaneous arrivals of Major General Gordon Granger and freedom on "Juneteenth," June 19, 1865; but his major focus is slavery's development as increasing numbers of Southern Anglo-Americans flooded into the area from 1828 to 1865, some of whom brought with them their slaves and ideas. After this overview, he switches to topical chapters on which Texans' economics and law, attitudes and defensiveness about slavery, the slaves' physical (work, responsibility, and

treatment) and social (family, religion, music, behavior, and desire for freedom) situations, and the impact of the Civil War culminating in freedom on Juneteenth (still a holiday for many Afro-American Texans). This dual (chronological/topical) approach allows him to describe and explain both institutions and individuals, actions and attitudes, Afro-Americans [he uses the term, Negro] (slave and free) and Anglo-Americans (owners and non-owners of slavers). He covers all the major topics and addresses all the important issues.

Just as impressive as the book's comprehensive content are Campbell's styles of exhaustive scholarship and balanced presentation. Along with traditional manuscript and published sources and existing scholarship, Campbell (the forthcoming *Texas Handbook's* county history editor) effectively uses probate, tax rolls, and other county records as well as W.P.A. slave narratives. While not an econometrician, he has made numerous statistical studies which he summarizes in seventeen tables and nine maps. But he balances these numbers with personal anecdotes and analysis to preserve his narrative flow. Even more notable is his even, balanced tone and approach in dealing with a subject which inevitably arouses strong feelings. Although he repeatedly stresses his assumption of slavery's immorality, he sees history (and organizes this book) not as a theory to be proved, but as a series of questions to be answered, which may encourage the study's use as a textbook. Even with the subject/topical access limitations of its index, *An Empire for Slavery* is enjoyable, imperative reading for scholars of Southern, Afro-American, or Texas history. Those who know "Mike" personally because of his participation in sessions of the East Texas Historical Association will be especially interested in the most recent example of his scholarship.

Robert G. Sherer
Tulane University

Rise of the Lone Star: The Making of Texas, by Andreas V. Reichstein, translated by Jeanne R. Willson (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, Tx 77843) 1989. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 303. \$29.95 Hardcover.

Andreas Reichstein, American scholar at the University of Freiburg, West Germany searched for *the* contributing factor which led to the Texas Revolution. He examined traditional views that the conflict was caused by cultural and political differences; westward expansion of the frontier; manifest destiny; and a conspiracy to expand the slave states. His criticism of these interpretations was that no foundation was laid for the events which conflicted, each treated the revolution as part of a greater phenomenon, and all left many unanswered questions.

Reichstein's book is a comprehensive study of persons, motivations, and conditions which brought about the Texas Revolution. Popular history

buffs may find this ponderous reading, but to those interested in the *why* of history, it will be fascinating because he used material never before published. He found "a bundle" of factors bound by common interest in Texas real estate speculation, yet he credited Stephen F. Austin's change in attitude from one of cooperation to confrontation as that spark which united the Texans to oppose the Mexicans.

This outsider's objective analysis of one of the most important events in Texas, United States, and Mexican history added Europe's vested interests in the Texas Revolution and brought an international dimension to those seemingly local events of 1836. Jeanne Willson should be praised for her gratis translation of the German publication which allowed this important historical contribution to be shared beyond the German reading public.

Linda Hudson
Longview, Texas

Texans in Revolt, The Battle for San Antonio, 1835, by Alwyn Barr
(University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713) 1990.
Notes. Index. Appendix. Bibliography. P. 94. \$18.95 Hardcover.

Historians have long needed a reliable study of the San Antonio campaign of 1835. Using a solid array of primary and secondary accounts, Alwyn Barr has filled that gap with his brief *Texans in Revolt: The Battle for San Antonio, 1835*. As the conflict between many Texans and the rest of Mexico took a violent turn that fall, skirmishing broke out around strategic Bexar. The Texans, having failed to lure the Mexican defenders from their positions, nearly lifted their loose siege until informed that their opponents were in even worse condition. The ensuing house-to-house struggle finally ended with the negotiated surrender of Mexican forces.

Barr's analysis is generally persuasive; his brief biographical sketches and discussions of the soldiers' backgrounds are particularly good. He concludes that the Texans, whose army remained in a constant state of flux due to command changes, reinforcements, and withdrawals, outnumbered their foes until after the assault began. Stressing the superior firepower of the rifle-toting Texans, Barr also captures the peculiarly democratic nature of the rebel forces — commanders explained and counseled rather than ordered.

Less convincingly, Barr argues that morale problems forced General Martin Perfecto de Cos to surrender. Although this may have been the case, the monograph's Texas slant allows the reader little feel for events behind Mexican lines. Barr's gentle treatment of Cos, who handled his cavalry poorly and failed to secure sufficient supplies, also seems overly generous. But these are minor points. Barring the discovery of new

materials illuminating the Mexican perspective, this will be the standard account of the San Antonio campaign of 1835.

Robert Wooster
Corpus Christi State University

Protestants and the Mexican Revolution: Missionaries, Ministers, and Social Change, by Deborah J. Baldwin (University of Illinois Press, 54 East Gregory Drive, Champaign, IL 61820) 1990. Maps. Charts. P. 203. \$26.95 Hardcover.

Concentrating primarily on events between 1900-1920, this important study traces the involvement of Protestants, mainly American missionaries and Mexican ministers and converts, in the Mexican Revolution. Influenced by Max Weber, Deborah J. Baldwin, an historian at the University of Arkansas-Little Rock, is more concerned about the ideological than theological and philosophical aspects of Protestantism. That is, Protestantism as a force for sociopolitical change is more important to her work than specific beliefs about God and the human condition. And as Baldwin sees it, Protestantism in Mexico, pointing toward liberal democracy, economic advancement, and educational reform, easily coalesced with the nascent liberalism of the Mexican Revolution.

Although Protestantism in Mexico never embraced more than two percent of the population at this time Baldwin convincingly insists that it was a significant force. Protestant missionary activity centered in northern Mexico, especially along major transportation and commercial routes, and won converts among the middle-class, particularly artisans and teachers. Coincidentally, the revolution was not only intense in this region, but also had the support of local Protestants. As Baldwin shows, however, American missionaries and Mexican Protestants contributed to the revolution in different ways.

Prior to 1905, American missionaries, indebted to the Porfirio Diaz regime for allowing them into the country, avoided political commentary altogether. This changed as younger men and women, influenced by the social gospel movement back home, arrived on the field. Convinced that salvation was social as well as individual, this new generation was less inclined to ignore social and economic injustices. Ultimately, as the revolution became more violent, American missionaries generally returned home, where they lobbied President Woodrow Wilson to grant diplomatic recognition to Venustiano Carranza and to abstain from military intervention in Mexico. Meanwhile, Mexican Protestants actively joined the revolutionary cause. Having already broken with tradition on the issue of religion, it was relatively easy for them now to pursue drastic economic and political changes. They usually took civilian positions in the Carranza government, often devoting themselves to educational programs.

Though somewhat repetitious, Baldwin has produced a useful book.

Her research in Mexican and American religious newspapers and archives is thorough, and her prose, while not scintillating, is clear and free of jargon. Enhanced by numerous tables, maps, an adequate index, and notes at the end of each chapter, this work will be of interest primarily to scholars.

John W. Storey
Lamar University

Texas Divided, Loyalty and Dissent in the Lone Star State, 1856-1874, by James Marten (University Press of Kentucky, 633 S. Lime Street, Lexington, KY 40506-0336) 1990. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 246. \$25.00 Hardcover.

In this volume, revision of a University of Texas doctoral dissertation (1986), James Marten, assistant professor of history at Marquette University, describes the role and activity of Texas dissenters during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Marten contends that these individuals dissented from majority opinion for a variety of reasons. Some were extremely high-minded individuals dedicated to preservation of the American Union and opposed to secession on principle. Others, fearful of social or political implications of secession and war, merely wished to protect their own self interest. Most of these Texas dissenters did not advocate the end of slavery or equality for blacks. "A common denominator," writes Marten, "was the explicit or implied criticism of southern society" (p. 31).

Much of the information presented by Marten has been published in earlier works. The story of prominent Texas Confederate Unionists such as James W. Throckmorton, Ben Epperson, Sam Houston, and William Pitt Ballinger has been told before as has also that of Texans Andrew J. Hamilton, George Washington Paschal, and Edmund J. Davis who gave active support to the Union cause. Marten does provide a service by bringing the story of these individuals together in one work. He also shows that most of these dissenters later united with their former Confederate adversaries in support of white supremacy and the Lost Cause.

The work is well written and the author has consulted most of the major primary and secondary sources.

Ralph A. Wooster
Lamar University

Spoiling for A Fight, The Life of John S. Roberts and Early Nacogdoches, by Joe E. and Carolyn Ericson (Texian Press, Box 1684, Waco, TX 76703) 1989. Photographs. Sketches. Bibliography. Index. P. 250. \$17.95 Hardcover.

Texas has been a magnet for the type of character the authors have chosen to use as a foil about which to weave a story of the life and times

of East Texans immediately before, during, and after the founding of the Republic. Semi-scoundrel, entrepreneur, land speculator, man of affairs, family man, but ready at the least provocation to drop everything to get into the thick of a brawl or a full fledged gun firing fight, that was John S. Roberts.

When he wasn't engaged in fighting at the Battle of New Orleans, the Fredonia Rebellion, the Battle of Nacogdoches, the Storming of Bexar, Cherokee Indian campaigns, and the Cordovan Rebellion, he found time to wheel and deal in land, operate a mercantile business, be a signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence, and spend endless hours in court battles relating to some of his rather shady and unethical business and land manipulations. The reader is constantly kept in suspense wondering in what next scrape Roberts will find himself.

One very important and interesting feature of the book is the copious, well-researched set of footnotes that follow each chapter. Every person named is completely identified as to his background and place in Texas history.

A first reading is pure enjoyment. A second reading makes you aware of the tremendous amount of factual Texas history you have absorbed.

Along with the other East Texans such as Houston, Rusk, and Starr, John S. Roberts may now take a place as a true Texian patriot.

Charles K. Phillips
Nacogdoches, Texas

Monterrey Is Ours! The Mexican War Letters of Lieutenant Dana, 1845-1847, by Robert H. Ferrell, Editor (University of Kentucky Press, 663 South Lime Street, Lexington, KY 40506-0336), 1990. Maps. Photographs. Illustrations. Index. P. 218. Hardcover.

Archivists such as myself derive a great deal of pleasure from seeing primary papers published, and this book brings much joy indeed. Compiled from 120 letters of Lieutenant Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana written to his wife, this narrative of grand adventure on the border of Texas and into Mexico is a treasure of information about army life, military tactics, Mexican-Texan relations, and the day-to-day toil of the Mexican-American War.

Dana's writings represent the largest such collection of Mexican-American War letters discovered to date, and his keen eye for detail and description only add to the quality of his work. A graduate of West Point at the age of twenty in 1842, Dana brought an enthusiastic, yet critical eye to the military world. Much of the story he told of his experiences in Texas occurred on the banks of the Nueces, at Fort Brown, and across the Rio Grande into Mexico. He provides a good, but second-hand account of the Battle of Palo Alto and, with much detail, a wonderful eye-

witness story of the cattle of Monterrey. Wounded at the battle of Cerro Gordo, Dana ended his saga by returning home. As editor Ferrell explains in the book's introduction, Dana lived out a long career in banking, in the military during the Civil War, and in government service.

Although the editor selected only the passages from Dana's long epistles which dealt with the war, he left just enough of Dana's very personal remarks to his wife to make the reading surprisingly titillating. He also allows us to recognize Dana's racism and perhaps very typical Americanism of the mid-nineteenth century. An extremely readable work, thanks to Ferrell's modernizations of spelling and insertions of paragraphs, *Monterrey is Ours!* will be useful for both primary research and general classroom reading.

David J. Murrah
Texas Tech University

Shield of Republic/Sword of Empire, A Bibliography of United States Military Affairs, 1783-1846, by John C. Frederiksen, compiler (Greenwood Press, Inc. 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881) 1990. Bibliography. Index. P. 446. \$65.00 Hardcover.

This excellent bibliography covers the six decades of American military and naval experience between the American Revolution and the Mexican-American War and is an update, extension, and supplement to the author's previous work, *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*.

Divided into five chapters, the first is a bibliography of the entire sixty-year period and is strictly chronological with wars segregated from political and diplomatic events. Chapters Two and Three deal with the United States Army and Navy. Sub-topics include administration, personnel, policy matters, etc. Chapter Four could be entitled "Miscellany," for it includes all that the compiler could not place anywhere else. The compiler uses the title, "Militia, Canada, Indians." Finally, Chapter Five is devoted entirely to biographies.

Frederiksen suggests that this bibliography be used as a companion piece to his earlier work. This reviewer regrets that this present volume does not supplant completely the other; however, that is the only criticism and perhaps costs. Together, both volumes contain about 12,000 items. Entries are cross-referenced and the indices complete. In sum, this bibliography is welcome, and it should remain the standard for many years.

James W. Pohl
Southwest Texas State University

Fighting For The Confederacy, The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander, by Gary W. Gallagher, Editor (University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515) 1989. Maps. Bibliography. Photographs. Index. P. 664. \$34.95 Hardcover.

“I think ... that during the whole war our president & many of our generals really & actually believed that there was this mysterious Providence always hovering over the field & ready to interfere on one side or the other & that prayers & piety might win its favor from day to day ... But it was a weakness to imagine that victory could ever come in even the slightest degree from anything except our own exertions” (p. 59), said General Edward Porter Alexander in the original manuscript of *Fighting For the Confederacy*. Written only for his children and a few intimate friends, the account of his experiences with both the Army of Northern Virginia and the Army of Tennessee can be blunt. “I have not hesitated to criticise our moves ... no matter what General made them” (p. xvi) he wrote to his sister.

With extensive editing and revision, the manuscript became the basis for the classic *Memoirs of a Confederate*. Here skilfully reassembled and compiled. Alexander’s original commentary is delightful.

Intelligent and perceptive, his patience sometimes wore thin: “I see in Gen. Jackson’s ... conduct a sort of faith that he had God on his side & could trust to Him for victory without overexerting himself & his men” (p. 97). He could be prudent: “General Lee in person ... came up to where I was on the line & for the first time I saw him in a temper ... what it was about I never have exactly found out yet ... the old man seemed to be feeling so real wicked I concluded to retain my ideas exclusively in my own possession” (. 213). Concerning General Polk: “The Lord had made him a splendid bishop ... so all our pious people (with) the conviction that the Lord would surely favor a bishop ... made him a Lieutenant General which the Lord had not” (p. 289).

Jewels like these abound throughout — no one has ever said it better!

Bob Bradfield
Boulder, Colorado

Damned Yankee, The Life of General Nathaniel Lyon, by Christopher Phillips. (University of Missouri Press, 2910 LeMone Blvd. Columbia, MO 65201), 1990. Photographs. Epilogue. Bibliography. Index. P. 287. \$26.00 Hardcover.

Nathaniel Lyon (1818-1861), Connecticut born, West Point graduate, and career infantry officer, died at the Battle of Wilson’s Creek near Springfield, Missouri, on August 10, 1861. He played a minor role in mid-nineteenth-century military history and became a “hero” only because

he was the first of his rank to be killed in the nation's most significant war.

In a thorough, yet rather unsympathetic biography (but then Lyon engendered little sympathy), Christopher Phillips has provided a superbly researched, well-written, and generally judicious account of this "damned yankee" whose army service included the Seminole War, the Mexican-American War, "Bleeding Kansas" (Lyon was anti-slavery and anti-black), and the frontier.

Driven by a perverted sense of duty, one Iowa volunteer private described Lyon as a man "devoted to duty, who thought duty, dreamed duty, and had nothing but 'duty' on his mind." (p. 246). Lyon, whose punishments bordered on the sadistic, was roundly hated by the soldiers who served under him. Dr. William A. Hammond, a post surgeon, observed that he had never met a man "as fearless and uncompromising in the expression of his opinions" and "so intolerant of the views of others." An "incorrigible person," Hammond believed if Lyon had lived in the fifteenth century he would have been burned at the stake (p. 82).

Because of Lyon's St. Louis actions in attempting to keep Missouri within the northern orbit, Phillips contends that he was largely responsible for the internecine conflict that raged in that state during the Civil War. This latter judgment may be somewhat unfair as there were many additional factors which led to Missouri's own civil war.

The major flaw with this monograph is the lack of maps, especially for Lyon's participation in the Missouri conflict. It is incredibly difficult to follow battle sequences only from a narrative. Nevertheless, Phillips' study of Lyon's life will surely be the standard account for many years to come.

Barry A. Crouch
Gallaudet University

Cracker Culture, Celtic Ways in the Old South, by Grady McWhiney (University of Alabama Press, Box 870380, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-0380) 1988. Sketches. Appendix. Index. P. 290. \$15.95 Paper.

Cracker Culture attempts to explain the differences between Southerners and Northerners prior to the Civil War. The author concludes that the most important cultural distinctions originated when Celts from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall permanently established their way of life in the antebellum South.

McWhiney reveals the distinctive cultural elements. These are settlement, heritage, herding, hospitality, pleasures, violence, morals, education, progress, and worth. Based upon an excessive reliance on travelers accounts — some of which were biased and of doubtful value — these chapters identify and compare Southern and Celtic lifestyles. For example, "the rash and the insolent in the Old South as well as in premodern

Scotland, Ireland, and Wales rarely died in bed, unless put there by a mortal wound.” (p. 170) McWhiney believes that “from the Celtic pastoral tradition emanated a whole network of interrelated customs and beliefs that separated Celts and Southerners from Englishmen and Yankees” (p. 78). He argues unconvincingly that a Southerner “could not understand why anyone would work when livestock could make a living for him; indeed he doubted the sanity of people who labored when they could avoid it.” (p. 79)

Cracker Culture discusses values. As the two sections neared the Civil War, white Southerners were “more hospitable, generous, frank, courteous, spontaneous, lazy, lawless, militaristic, wasteful, impractical, and reckless than Northerners who were in turn more reserved, shrewd, disciplined, gauche, enterprising, acquisitive, careful, frugal, ambitious, pacific and practical.” (p. 268)

While there may be some merit to this conclusion and to the importance of Celtic culture, other significant factors existed in the South. In evaluating the impact of the Celts, regrettably ignored was the significance of agriculture with slavery and the impact of the Southern environment.

Readers of the *Journal* will find a fascinating, complex book with interesting anecdotes. While thought provoking and readable, this book is not a definitive explanation of the origins of Southern or East Texas culture.

Irvin M. May Jr.
Blinn College at Bryan and
College Station

Stonewall Jackson at Cedar Mountain, by Robert K. Krick (University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27514) 1990. Maps. Bibliography. Photographs. Index. P. 472. Hardcover.

During the Summer of 1862, beleaguered General Robert Lee, still pinned to the Peninsula by General George B. McClellan’s huge army, directed the already-famous Stonewall Jackson to debauch from the Shenandoah Valley into north-central Virginia to counter the threat posed to the left flank and rear of the Army of Northern Virginia by a new Federal force assembling there under General John Pope. The bombastic Pope, just arrived from the West, was threatening confiscation of food supplies and retaliation against civilians for depredations committed by Confederate guerrillas — measures which would become common two years later. Lee’s letter to Jackson said, “I want Pope to be suppressed!”

Pope’s army had a two-to-one advantage in numbers, but Lee slipped General A.P. Hill’s bill division out of the Richmond lines and dispatched it to bolster Jackson. Now the crusty Confederate commander envisioned a sudden strike against a portion of the widely scattered Federal

forces, hoping to defeat them in detail. Instead, when a Federal column made contact with Jackson's force at Cedar Mountain, the aggressive Federals struck first, driving the astonished Confederates back. The Federal assault was unsupported; when Hill's Division hurried forward, the Confederates launched a counterattack which drove the Federals from the field.

Inconclusive, as were so many Civil War battles, the nearly-forgotten Battle of Cedar Mountain was a bloody encounter for the time: casualties totalled more than 4000. When the Fifth Texas camped on the battlefield a month later, a favorite occupation was to stand in one location and see who could pick up the most bullets without moving his feet — the winner collected more than forty.

Well-known historian Robert K. Krick has produced a tightly-woven narrative, based on letters, diaries, post-war memoirs, and official reports. His book's only fault lies in the assumption that readers already are familiar with the engagement and need only to be filled in on the details. A map of northern Virginia for proper strategic location is needed badly; graphics of the battlefield itself are very good. Photographs included are not particularly helpful and many, unfortunately, did not reproduce well.

Bob Bradfield
Boulder, Colorado

The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia, by Mark E. Neely, Jr. (DeCapo Press, Inc. 233 Spring Street, New York, N.Y. 10013) 1982. Photos. Sketches. Index. P. 356. \$17.50 Paper.

It is estimated that over 7,000 books have been written about Abraham Lincoln, which is probably more than any human being in history. One would think that the last thing we need on Lincoln is another book, especially an encyclopedia. But because there is so much written on this great American is the reason we need this work by Mark E. Neely, Jr. We need a fact-filled volume that can be used for those questions on Lincoln that pop up every so often and this work certainly fills the bill.

Compiled by one of the foremost Lincoln scholars of our time, this large, 356-page volume is superbly written and illustrated. Each entry is concise, to the point, and opinionated. Neely not only profiles Lincoln's contemporaries, he covers all the important Lincoln's advocates of his and our time, including writers, artists, and collectors. Every facet of Lincoln's life is covered including how he really felt about such things as family and friends. Just what was Lincoln's views on race, the Civil War, his in-laws, etc.? The Assassination, Texas Annexation, and Reconstruction are a few of the entries covered in great detail. Complete listings, state by state, of the result of Lincoln's elections and why he ran and why he won are here. Space limitations do not begin to permit me to detail the complete scope of this work.

This is not just another Lincoln book of facts. This is really very enjoyable reading. Years of research and editing of the highly acclaimed "Lincoln Lore" by Neely has resulted in a first-class publication. If you are an avid Lincoln buff, this book is a must. If you are interested in American History, the Civil War, or just curious about the life of the saviour of the Union, this book is still a must.

Mike Cavanaugh
Cinnaminson, New Jersey

The Story of Cynthia Ann Parker, Sunshine of the Prairie, by Jack C. Ramsay, Jr. (Eakin Publications, Inc., P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1990. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. P. 178. \$16.95 Hardcover.

Typical Texas history such as that written by James T. DeShields, Carl Coke Rister, and J.H. Wilbarger pictured the Comanches as frontier raiders. The crafty varmints struck frontier outposts like the one settled in 1836 by the Parker clan, committed atrocities, and then fled retribution at the hands of John S. Ford, Earl Van Dorn, or Sul Ross. According to the author, this perspective prevented any appreciation of these Indians or why Cynthia Ann Parker chose to become one of them. He used narratives of the original raid and of the return to the Parker family to reinterpret her story.

Cynthia Ann Parker, who was nine years of age at the time, saw the murder, mutilation, and rape and was carried off together with four other captives, but chose to remain with the Comanches for twenty-five years. She married a war chief, bore at least three children, and was an unwilling repatriate after the fight with Sul Ross and the rangers on the Pease River in 1860. Together with her daughter (Prairie Flower), Cynthia Ann Parker was returned to the Parker family, but she never found her place with them. And when the baby caught a fever and died, the mother soon followed from grief. Only later was she allowed to return to her people when her famous son, Quanah, had her remains moved from the Fosterville cemetery (near Poynor) to Fort Sill. Her case excited widespread interest as seen in a grant of land and appropriations for a pension and for a monument.

In examining archives and books and in interviewing descendants, Ramsay found much more about the recapture and death of Cynthia Ann Parker than her life with the Comanches. The author fleshed out her story with other captive narratives and the Comanche life, but he found little direct evidence extant of Cynthia Ann Parker with the Comanches. The book also needed a map.

William Enger
Trinity Valley Community College

From Shawnee Prairie, by Mildred Lowery (Carlton Press, Inc., New York, NY.) 1990. P. 127. \$11.50 Hardcover.

With gentle yet clear and steady wisdom, Mildred Lowery has captured much of what growing up in Texas, particularly East Texas, was in earlier times. Her memoirs of that now vanishing life are an important contribution. They preserve true Americana for future generations.

Lowery's style is direct, open, honest. She knows well the importance of verbal economy. Her ability to use illustrative anecdotes enhances this small volume's charm and value as a meaningful recording of typical experiences in Texas.

Writers in the Anglo-American tradition long have made effective use of metaphoric analyses of the human condition by focusing on seasonal holidays. Lowery understands this established practice. Her accounts of shopping for Christmas presents evoke an innocence as well as a wisdom of the heart with which many Texans — especially those past fifty years of age — will identify immediately and warmly.

From Shawnee Prairie is a small treasure. Readers caught up in the hurry of freeway existence will find it a comfort; those who grew up in circumstances which gave Lowery the heart's wisdom to write such a moving remembrance will be grateful for her skill in preserving much that is important to the understanding of who and what we Texans are.

Kenneth W. Davis
Texas Tech University

Cattle Kings of Texas, by C.L. Douglas (State House Press, P.O. Box 15247, Austin, TX 78761) 1990. Bibliographys. Photographs. Index. P. 386. \$21.95 Hardcover. \$14.95 Paper.

Published in 1939, *Cattle Kings of Texas* was reissued in 1968 and again, but with a new foreward and index, in 1989. The book is a collection of articles about many of the state's leading cattle raisers of the nineteenth century which first appeared in *The Cattleman Magazine*. Included are such prominent ranchers as C.C. Slaughter, John Chisum, Shanghai Pierce, Murdo Mackenzie, Richard King, and Charles Goodnight. The articles are not biography in the strictest sense, but they do recount some of the major episodes in each rancher's life, with an emphasis on ill-fortune, trouble, and disaster encountered by the subject of each tale. The book has more than one hundred photographs of western scenes by Erwin E. Smith and W.D. Smithers. It contains few of the scholarly trappings often associated with studies of this kind; indeed, it was written for a general audience.

It is an interesting book that has remained popular, especially among young readers. In some ways, that is too bad, for the book still contains the same errors of fact and misconceptions that first appeared in 1939,

and it is woefully insensitive toward Indians and other minority groups. Nonetheless, many people insist that the book is a classic of Texas history.

Paul H. Carlson
Texas Tech University

Boardin' in the Thicket: Reminiscences and Recipes of Early Big Thicket Boarding Houses, by Wanda Landrey (University of North Texas Press, P.O. Box 13856, Denton, Tx 76203) 1990. Foreward. Photos. Recipes. Index. PP. 224. \$19.95 Hardcover.

Wanda Landrey's enthusiasm in compiling these yarns and recipes is evident on every page and this is much more than just another regional cook book. She interviewed 140 persons who lived or worked in the dozen places she featured. From a unique black hotel in Trinity with embroidered napkins and crystal, to an antebellum health resort that featured wild game, to the ordinary Harvey House restaurants in railroad depots, Landrey touched on a Big Thicket life few persons know existed. She tested the delicious recipes that vary from plain to exotic fare and that gave each place its own personal charm. Many photos add to the narrative and a map indicates the locations.

Other aspects of boardinghouse life included boiling sheets to get rid of grim left by roughnecks. The stories of hardships, eccentrics, lumber barons, romances, and how Ginger Rogers entertained local boarders until she was kidnapped, add spice to this educational, entertaining, and amusing book for anyone interested in the Big Thicket, good food, or the social history of small town life.

Next to teaching school, running a boarding house was the most respectable way women earned their living in the past and most of the places were owned or operated by women. It was more profitable than teaching school, but a lot more work. As Landrey meandered through the Thicket for ten years collecting this material, her labor of love became a treasure with a mystique that defies description — like the Big Thicket. I liked it!

Linda Sybert Hudson
Longview, Texas

"Hello, Sucker!" The Story of Texas Guinan, by Glenn Shirley. (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709), 1989. Photographs. Index. P. 124. \$15.95 Hardcover.

"Hello, Sucker!" The Story of Texas Guinan could be accurately titled *The Life and Times of Texas Guinan*. While the reader might not come away with a perception of the real-life person underneath the flamboyant public persona, a very complete coverage of her entertainment career and the times that spawned it is provided. Texas Guinan and the

era were equally flashy and outrageous, and probably no character of the times better personified the gaudy, bawdy period.

Glenn Shirley covers Texas Guinan's life and career from her birth in Waco, Texas, in 1884 to her death in Vancouver, British Columbia, in 1933. Mary Louise Cecilia Guinan became known as "Texas" Guinan at age fourteen while participating in a frontier day celebration in McClenan County. From that point Texas pursued a career in entertainment that encompassed wild west shows, vaudeville, Broadway musicals — including a Ziegfeld extravaganza — and the movies, She could do it all — ride, rope, shoot, and sing. The author covers it all and in doing so gives us a vivid picture of a background of Tin Pan Alley, Broadway theatrical companies and personalities, and the birth of the movie industry and the Hollywood Western.

Shirley also covers the best known career of Texas Guinan, that of speak-easy queen, complete with photographs and newspaper clippings. All of which makes a lively chronicling of the problems officials had of riding herd on a rebellious society intent on flaunting Prohibition.

When Texas Guinan died on a tour through the Northwest with a troupe of forty fan-dancers her body was returned to Broadway to lie in state. Over twelve-thousand people filed by to pay tribute. The stage and radio entertainer, Jack Pearl, commented, "She was the most lovable and honorable girl Broadway has ever known."

Glenn Shirley has done an in-depth coverage of Texas Guinan's entertainment career and in so doing has presented a vivid social history of a most colorful period in America's story.

Hazel Shelton Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin State University

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